

Crime and Policing in a Seaside Town:
interwar Scarborough, 1920-1936.

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Abstract

As a distinctive type of urban environment, the development of seaside resorts and the particular economic and social conditions associated with them has given rise to a body of research over recent decades, examining such settings as a recognized type within the wider study of the urban context. As resorts grew over the later 19th and early 20th century, local authorities were faced with managing a number of competing pressures: promoting the leisure economy whilst balancing visitor and resident interests, assuring the confidence of visitors in the 'tone' and security of the resort, and maintaining law and order particularly during the peak times of the holiday season. The case study presented examines the nature of criminality in the environs of Scarborough, a Yorkshire seaside resort, principally during the interwar period of the 20th century, analysing the responses to crime by the police and courts, and examining the lives of those experiencing the criminal justice system as offenders in the aftermath of the First World War. The study makes use of a novel primary source: a Police Photograph Book, (or so-called 'mugshot book'), dating from the interwar period, containing images of offenders, and documenting personal information, details of offences and outcomes of court appearances.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The approach to Scarborough by rail is pretty enough, but gives no idea of the magnificent appearance from the sea of the two fine bays divided by the Castle Rock. There is nothing so grand and so beautiful in the British Isles...One scene only can compare with it abroad. The most splendid object on the Corniche Road, between Marseilles and Genoa, is the rock of Monaco, stretching out into the sea like some couchant monster waiting to spring upon his prey.¹

With its origins as a spa resort attracting a privileged clientèle, Scarborough, on the east coast of Yorkshire, has long been portrayed as a 'refined' destination in comparison to other popular seaside resorts. As effusively portrayed above by Richard Taylor in the extract above from his 1891 *Handbook for Tourists*, the characteristics of Scarborough's development owe much to its particular geography, with the North and South Bays separated by a prominent headland, on which the 12th century castle is situated.² The town's origins as a resort lie in the discovery of the so-called 'Spaw' waters flowing from the base of the South Bay cliffs in the 1620s, and from this time, publications promoting its alleged medicinal properties began to attract visitors.³ By the middle of the 17th century, a number of inland towns such as Bath, Buxton and Harrogate were known as fashionable spa resorts; into the Georgian period, Scarborough additionally benefited from the growing enthusiasm for sea-bathing.⁴ Daniel Defoe noted that, 'the admiral virtues [of the spa] yearly occasion a great concourse of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom so that Scarborough, I think, might even be said to rival Bath, and on several accounts is more eligible and inviting to strangers'.⁵ From the early 19th century, developing transport links increased the accessibility of the resort to visitors: stagecoaches operated from York, a 'boat coach' from Thornton Dale, and regular steam packets ran from London and Edinburgh.⁶ The coming of the railway in 1845, linking Scarborough with York and connections beyond, provided access both to those with the

¹ Richard Jackson, *Jackson's Handbook for Tourists in Yorkshire and Complete History of the County*, (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1891).

² Histories of Scarborough's development include: Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough North Yorkshire*, (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2001); Keith Snowden, *Scarborough through the Ages*, (Pickering: Castleden Publications, 1995); Richard James Percy, *Scarborough in the 1930s & 40s*, (Hendon: Nelson, 1990); Arthur Rowntree, *The History of Scarborough*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931); J.G. Rutter, *Scarborough 1866-1966*, (Scarborough: Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, 1966).

³ Binns, *The History of Scarborough*, p.93.

⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

⁵ Snowden, *Scarborough*, p. 33.

⁶ Ibid., p.38-39.

means to stay for a period of time, to short-term visitors and to day-trippers.⁷ Scarborough's particular geography and pattern of development mirrored the social contrasts associated with the different residential areas of the town and in its evolution as a resort.⁸ In overview, historically, the terraced streets of the Old Town around the Harbour and below the Castle housed the fishing community, whilst the areas adjacent to the South Bay and the Spa were characterised as attracting the more affluent residents and visitors. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, expansion inland provided housing for lower- and middle-income residents, whilst for holiday-makers and day-trippers, developments around North Bay were also seen as catering for the lower- and middle-classes.⁹ Named the 'Queen of English sea-bathing places' by Dr. Granville in his 1839 *'Spas of Northern England'*, nineteenth century newspapers made frequent use of this and similar epithets in describing Scarborough.¹⁰ Into the twentieth century, advertisements for railway excursions continued to feature the 'Queen of Seaside Resorts' slogan, and the phrase can similarly be found in newspaper articles into the 1930s and beyond.¹¹ Despite this projected image, contemporary descriptions also paint a more colourful, and sometimes troubling, view of life in the resort. Osbert Sitwell, born in 1892, recalls from his childhood that Scarborough offered an 'inexhaustible supply' of 'beggars, tramps, pedlars, clowns, organ-grinders, contortionists, company of the crazy & street-singers'.¹² In the period of social and economic change in the aftermath of the First World War the local authority was faced with managing a number of competing pressures: promoting the leisure economy whilst balancing visitor and resident interests, assuring the confidence of visitors in the 'tone' and security of the resort, and maintaining law and order particularly during the peak times of the holiday season.

⁷ Binns, *The History of Scarborough*, p. 255.

⁸ Ibid., p.16.

⁹ Ibid., p.17.

¹⁰ Jack Binns, *Scarborough's Heroes, Rogues and Eccentrics : A Biographical Journey through Scarborough's Past*, (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2010), p.239; Stephen Ward, *The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities*, (Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2005); 'Scarborough', *The Graphic*, 14 October 1871. <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 January 2023].

¹¹ 'Scarborough', *London Evening Standard*, June 21 1913. <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26th July 2023]; 'Over the Moorland to Scarborough', *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, May 18 1939. <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023]; 'Scarborough', *Hull Daily Mail*, August 28 1970. <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26th July 2023].

¹² Osbert Sitwell, *Left Hand, Right Hand*, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1952), p. 82.

In the growing body of work concerned with the history of crime and policing, the focus has predominantly been on urban and metropolitan criminality, particularly in London, and through studies of regional crime and policing, but the county of Yorkshire (and its Ridings) has attracted less attention from historians.¹³ Some exceptions are studies on crime and policing in Leeds and West Yorkshire, Sheffield, Middlesbrough and Hull, thus as a contrast to the Northern industrial centres, the seaside setting of Scarborough presents a distinct case for analysis.¹⁴ The study presented here aims to establish the nature of criminality in the environs of Scarborough, principally during the interwar period of the twentieth century, and to explore the proposition that, by its nature as a seaside town and holiday destination, the setting could be viewed as 'criminogenic'.

The research question is addressed through analysis of the responses to crime by the police and courts, and through consideration of the lives of those experiencing the criminal justice system as offenders in the aftermath of the First World War. Whilst drawing on a range of sources, the study makes particular use of a volume entitled 'Photograph Book No.8' (a so-called 'Mugshot Book') which originates from the records of Scarborough Borough Police.¹⁵ The volume now forms part of the collections of Ripon Museum Trust (RMT), which manages three museums in Ripon, North Yorkshire: the Workhouse Museum, the Police & Prison Museum, and the Courthouse Museum. The Photograph Book is a large leather-bound volume containing the 'mugshots' of approximately 700 arrested persons (all now deceased), along with their photographs, personal details and information relating to their offences and court appearances in Scarborough and elsewhere. As revealed by the process of transcription and discussed further in Chapter 2, the principal period of recording within the volume relates to the interwar years, with information dating back to the late 19th century also present, and

¹³ John E. Archer, *The Monster Evil: Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); Michelle A. Abraham, 'The Summary Courts and the Prosecution of Assault in Northampton and Nottingham, 1886-1931', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester, 2012); Kevin Felstead, 'Interpersonal Violence in Late Victorian and Edwardian England : Staffordshire 1880-1910', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Keele, 2001).

¹⁴ David Christopher Churchill, 'Crime, Policing and Control in Leeds, C1830-1890', (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2013); Chris A. Williams, 'Police and Crime in Sheffield, 1818-1874', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sheffield, 1998); David Taylor, *Policing the Victorian Town: The Development of the Police in Middlesbrough, c.1840-1914*, (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Ashley R. Borrett, 'Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull and East Yorkshire During the Interwar Period', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Hull, 2018).

¹⁵ Ripon Museums Trust, 2009.001.1020_Scarborough Criminal Record Book.

this finding served to guide the time period under study. Initial interest in this source came about through my role as a volunteer with RMT within the Curatorial Team. Whilst no systematic analysis of the information contained within the book has previously been carried out, records and images from the Photograph Book were previously used as a stimulus within a collaborative project between RMT, artist Faye Claridge and HMP Askham Grange, a women's prison near York.¹⁶ Within this project, through research into the stories of individuals recorded in the book, present day women prisoners reflected on the similarities and differences between current and past experiences of the criminal justice system.¹⁷ The outcomes of the project were shared through audio, textiles and photography in an exhibition located in Cell 13 of the Police and Prison Museum.¹⁸ In discussions with the Museum Curator, it became clear that the source offered potential for research as a basis for furthering the understanding of the history of policing and the criminal justice system in Yorkshire, and for future public engagement activities.

1.1 Research Review

As a distinctive type of urban environment, the development of seaside resorts and the particular economic and social conditions associated with them has given rise to a body of research over recent decades, although earlier studies had begun to examine these settings as a recognized type within the wider study of the urban context.¹⁹ Related early work concerns the growth and use of leisure time within the lives of working people, and this area continues to attract attention.²⁰ Pioneering and prominent within the historiography of the seaside resort, the works of Walton bring an overview to the field, with a focus in particular on the North West and Blackpool, and also bringing comparison with continental resorts.²¹

¹⁶ Ripon Museums, *Prisoners on Prisoners* <<https://riponmuseums.co.uk/explore/past-exhibitions/prisoners-on-prisoners/>> [accessed 1 March 2024].

¹⁷ Ripon Museums, para. 2 of 4.

¹⁸ Ripon Museums, para. 1 of 4.

¹⁹ Gilbert E.W., 'The Growth of Inland and Health Resorts in England', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 55 (1939) cites Professor Demangeon's 'pithy and illuminating observations' labelling resorts as "parasite towns" in A. Demangeon, *Géographie Universelle*, vol. 1, Les Iles Britanniques, p. 282. Paris, 1927; J.A. Barrett, 'The Seaside Resort Towns of England and Wales', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1958).

²⁰ J.A. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History*, (London: Harvester Press, 1947).

²¹ J. Walton, 'The Demand for Working Class Seaside Holidays in Victorian England', *The Economic History Review*, 34 (1981); John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); J.K. Walton, 'Municipal Government and the Holiday

Continuing to draw strongly on Walton's work, the historiography has expanded to address aspects of resort development and characteristics across a range of locales and time periods. Cannadine, for example, discusses the influence of land ownership patterns in Eastbourne in determining resort geography.²² Turning to the human experience of such settings, Shields discusses the nature of liminality and the 'carnavalesque' at Brighton, where the marginal situation invites behavioural norms to be relaxed within the anonymity of the holiday crowd.²³ More recently, Chamekh considered the promotion of Skegness as a health resort and its changing clientele over the 19th and 20th centuries.²⁴

Over the 19th century, the regularisation of working hours, the introduction of a paid half-day holiday and rising incomes for employed members of both working- and middle-classes led to the expansion of seaside towns, as they accommodated increasing numbers of visitors, and adjusted their economies to meet the needs of holidaymakers. These demands created opportunities and employment in services such as hotels and lodging houses, in retailing and in the building trade.²⁵ As an example, In Morecambe, the number of lodging houses increased from 150 in 1881 to 513 in 1899.²⁶ Clearly, the expansion of the railway network and its affordability for both visitors and commuters played a role in this expansion, and also contributed to the relative success of neighbouring, and potentially competing, towns. In Torquay, for example, the population of around 2,000 in 1821 multiplied some 8-fold by 1861, in part due to its accessibility by rail. In comparison, in nearby Exmouth, where the railway line stopped across the River Exe at Starcross, requiring visitors to take a ferry crossing to reach the town, the population less than doubled from a similar starting point.²⁷ Resorts also

Industry in Blackpool, 1876 - 1914.', in *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939*, ed. by John K. Walton and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); John K. Walton and others, 'Policing the Seaside Holiday : Blackpool and San Sebastián from the 1870s to the 1930s', in *Comparative Histories of Crime*, (Cullompton: Willan, 2003), pp. 145-58.

²² D. Cannadine, *The Aristocracy and the Towns*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980).

²³ R. Shields, 'The 'System of Pleasure': Liminality and the Carnavalesque at Brighton.', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (1990), p.102.

²⁴ M. Chamekh, 'The Interplay of Health, Pleasure and Wellness in British Seaside Resorts: The Case of Skegness on the Lincolnshire Coast', *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* [Online], XXIV (2019) <http://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/4330> [accessed 2 February 2022].

²⁵ Walton, *The British Seaside*, p.251.

²⁶ D. Jarratt and S. Gammon, 'We Had the Most Wonderful Times: Seaside Nostalgia at a British Resort', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 41 (2016) pp. 123-133.

²⁷ J. Bryon, 'Authority and Crime 1835-1860: A Comparison between Exmouth and Torquay', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, 2012).

became places of residence for retirees and commuters.²⁸ Certain towns acted as suburbs for cities in commutable distance, for example, Cleethorpes, close to Grimsby, and Southport, close to Liverpool.²⁹ In Southend, the population increased from 2500 in 1856 to 63,000 in 1911 as residents and commuters settled from the 1860s.³⁰ By the time of the 1931 census, the proportion of retired persons ranged from approximately 8 to 11% in the larger resort towns, in comparison to approximately 6% in England and Wales as a whole.³¹

In broad terms, a distinctiveness came to characterise seaside resorts in comparison to both inland towns and to neighbouring non-resort coastal towns: a labour market strongly related to services such as accommodation and entertainment, a rapid population turnover of residents and visitors, a higher percentage of women in the population and an age structure of long-term residents dominated by the middle-aged and elderly.³² Opportunities for time away from work gradually became established over the 19th century and earlier 20th century, and became further accepted following the First World War. By 1925 1.5 million employees were entitled to a paid holiday, increasing to 4 million in 1937, although the right to paid time-off was not made mandatory until the Holiday with Pay Act 1938 entitled workers to three consecutive days holiday with pay.³³ In terms of the adoption of the seaside holiday by working-class communities, Walton's work has been influential in demonstrating how the seaside holiday became an established feature in the lives of textile workers in North Western towns and cities, and the particular patterns of employment and social relations which underpinned the phenomenon in this region.³⁴ Being unpaid, holidays were frequently enabled by savings schemes over the course of the year.³⁵ Entertainments associated with traditional festivals such as St. Monday and Wakes Weeks, typically involving games, sports,

²⁸ N.J. Morgan and A Pritchard, *Power and Politics at the Seaside: The Development of Devon's Seaside Resorts in the 20th Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), p. 49.

²⁹ Philip Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 144.

³⁰ David Churchill, 'Living in a Leisure Town: Residential Reactions to the Growth of Popular Tourism in Southend, 1870–1890', *Urban history*, 41 (2014) pp. 42–61 (p.45).

³¹ Gilbert, *The Growth of Inland and Health Resorts*, p. 20.

³² John K. Walton and others, 'Crime, Migration and Social Change in North-West England and the Basque Country, C. 1870—1930', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999) pp. 90–112.

³³ Julie-Marie Strange, 'Leisure', in *Twentieth Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, ed. by Francesca Carneval and Julie-Marie Strange (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.198; Martin Pugh, *We Danced all Night; A Social History of Britain between the Wars* (London: The Bodley Head, 2008), p.233.

³⁴ Walton and others, 'Crime Migration and Social Change', p. 95.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.97.

dancing and drinking became translated to the seaside setting. In addition, providers of entertainment who might once have travelled around local festivals over the course of a season were able to offer their services in one location.³⁶

Considering the interwar years, as a period of leisure time away from the confines of work and the everyday became the norm across society, themes within the historiography explore the seaside holiday as a cultural phenomenon alongside its geographical and economic impacts within resort settings.³⁷ Interviews with holidaymakers during Wakes Weeks in Blackpool as part of the *Mass-Observation Survey* documented visitors' preferred holiday experiences: 'pleasure/amusement' formed the most popular category (including Sideshows, Dancing, The Tower and Shows), followed by 'health', and 'sea/beach'.³⁸ From the early 1920s, investment by local authorities in developments such as piers, cinemas, dance halls, cinemas, lidos and bandstands aimed to provide the entertainment of the period.³⁹ Alongside 'modern' entertainments, appreciation of a seaside location and its associated benefits to health remained significant, as suggested by the *Mass-Observation* survey. Writing shortly after the Second World War, Pimlott notes, 'the peculiar fascination with the sea' and that,

The ingredients of the seaside holiday are much the same as they always were. Beneath a façade of modernity, in the shadow of the illuminations, in the Victorian streets behind the luxury hotels, amongst the giant racers, the 'dodgems' and the other electrical marvels of the amusement parks, there is on every hand evidence of a lasting conservatism.⁴⁰

Similarly linked to perceptions of their health benefits, a growing fashion for sunbathing and the popularity of lidos for outdoor bathing characterized the period.⁴¹ In addition, these spaces offered social opportunities: as Horwood concludes in a study of woman and swimming, 'the evidence confirms that the beach and the outdoor pool can be coupled with

³⁶ S.R. Barton, 'Why We're All Going on a Summer Holiday: The Role of the Working-Class Organisations in the Development of Popular Tourism, 1850-1950', (unpublished PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 1999).

³⁷ Gary Cross and John Walton, *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); John Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

³⁸ Gary Cross, *Worktowners at Blackpool: Mass-Observation and popular leisure in the 1930s*, (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 49.

³⁹ Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night*, p. 234; J.A. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History*, (London: Harvester Press, 1947), p. 244.

⁴⁰ Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday*, p. 129.

⁴¹ John Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 100.

the dance hall as being in the forefront of young girls' social lives in the inter-war years'.⁴² In turn, the appeal of these pursuits brought changes to clothing, and to a loosening of behavioural and dress codes.⁴³ In the nineteenth century, in part deriving from the male custom of swimming nude, bye-laws were widely used to regulate mixed bathing at the beach.⁴⁴ In Lowestoft, for example, women were prohibited from approaching within one hundred yards of male bathers and were required to wear a 'suitable gown or other sufficient dress or covering to prevent indecent exposure of the body'.⁴⁵ By the early twentieth century, as men adopted swimwear and as swimming became more popular for women, mixed became more widely accepted.⁴⁶ Reporting on the issue of in May 1906, an article in *The Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury* notes the 'Change of Feeling at Northern Resorts' and 'Mixed Bathing' as 'Almost Universally Sanctioned'.⁴⁷ Women's swimwear evolved over the course of the 1920s, for example, to become more 'revealing' and suited to sunbathing and swimming.⁴⁸ Discussing the association of seaside towns with feminine characteristics, Chase observes that 'The new fashions were part of a discourse which integrated swimming and sun tanning with health, hygiene and progress, essential characteristics of the 'modern' interwar resort image'.⁴⁹

Building on nineteenth century legacies, resort developments both responded and contributed to the recognized 'social tone' of a particular town.⁵⁰ In Blackpool, for example, hosting the mass exodus from nearby industrial centres, spatial distinctions arose as entertainments viewed as appealing to working-class visitors came to dominate central areas, whilst attempts to gentrify the resort brought parks and promenades at the extremities of

⁴² Catherine Horwood, "'Girls who arouse dangerous passions': women and bathing, 1900-39", *Women's History Review*, 9.4, (2007), pp. 653-673, p. 667, doi: 10.1080/09612020000200265.

⁴³ Stephen Braggs and Diane Harris, *Sun, Sea and Sand: The Great British Seaside Holiday*, (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 48.

⁴⁴ Laura Chase, 'Public Beaches and Private Beach Huts – A Case Study of Inter-war Clacton and Frinton, Essex', in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. by John K. Walton, (Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 211-227, (p. 213).

⁴⁵ Catherine Horwood, 'Girls who arouse dangerous passions', p. 656.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ 'Mixed Bathing', *The Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, May 16 1906, < <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000747%2F19060516&page=5&article=213&stringtohighlight=mixed+bathing+beach+sea+scarborough> > [accessed 10 December 2024].

⁴⁸ Braggs and Harris, *Sun, Sea and Sand*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Chase, p. 218.

⁵⁰ Harold Perkin, 'The "Social Tone" of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976) pp. 180-194.

the town.⁵¹ Additionally, price structures contributed to social segregation, entrance to the North Pier, for example, being twice the cost of entrance to the South Pier.⁵² Alongside the attractions of the piers and the Pleasure Beach, a 'darker side' to Blackpool persisted into the 1930s, where the Golden Mile featured so-called freak shows and peep shows, such as the 'Elephantine Woman', the 'Tiny Man' and exhibits known as 'The Starving Brides', in which young women were posed in glass cases and supposedly starved.⁵³ Resorts considered more 'refined' similarly encompassed a ruder side: writing from the perspective of the 1930s, V.S. Pritchett hints at the clandestine side of Scarborough: 'the hall porters of the hotels were celebrated for their resourcefulness in providing a gentleman with everything he might desire'.⁵⁴

Whilst generalisations about diverse resort towns might be problematic, a unifying theme is the contrasts often seen to typify resort settings, with pleasure-seeking holiday crowds and a local economy predominantly geared towards providing entertainment juxtaposed alongside manifest disparities between rich and poor, seasonality of employment and the potential for conflict between residents and visitors.⁵⁵ In turn, this particular blend of circumstances brings a perception of the seaside resort as being 'criminogenic', and it is perhaps surprising, therefore, that as a specific focus, the historiography of crime within seaside resorts is not extensive.⁵⁶ Considering first the historiography of policing in the early twentieth century, examples of research addressing this particular theme are examined below.

In overview, the early twentieth century is often characterised as an era of 'modernisation' of the police force, particularly following the end of World War One, seeing the standardisation of police practices and conditions of service throughout England and Wales,

⁵¹ Walton and others, 'Crime Migration and Social Change', p. 102.

⁵² Ibid., p. 103.

⁵³ Braggs and Harris, *Sun, Sea and Sand*, p. 21; Vicki Pugh, 'Problem bodies and sideshow space: A study of the twentieth century sideshow in Blackpool 1930-1940', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 2020), p. 227.

⁵⁴ V.S. Pritchett, 'Scarborough', in *Beside the Seaside. Six Variations.*, ed. by Yvonne Cloud (London: Sanley Nott, 1934), p. 222.

⁵⁵ John K. Walton and others, 'Crime, Migration and Social Change in North-West England and the Basque Country, C. 1870—1930', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999), pp. 90-112 (p. 92).

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 100.

and the increasing professionalisation and specialisation of roles within the force.⁵⁷ When considering the interwar years, Borrett notes that the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Second provide 'convenient bookends' in chronological terms.⁵⁸ To draw an analogy, in considering the breadth of work within this field, the 'bookends' might be represented at one end by the overarching impact of government policy towards policing, and at the other, by the day-to-day experience of the 'bobby' on the beat.⁵⁹ Framed within these poles, lie the interlinked relationships between the Home Office, the Local Authority and the police (often in the person of the Chief Constable). Thus, overlaid on historical and geographical characteristics, the nature of policing in practice in a particular setting was subject to a web of factors such as the relative influences of Chief Constable and the Local Authority's Watch Committee or Standing Joint Committee, and the degree of independence which the Local Authority maintained towards the Home Office.

A number of research themes pertinent to this particular period are also notably represented within the historiography, with developments in communications technology and the rise of motor transport, along with the associated issues for society and policing being prominent amongst these.⁶⁰ The functioning of policing 'on the ground' and the experiences of rank-and-file officers are reflected in such developments over the period. The make-up of the police workforce showed broad changes over time, for example, with recruits being younger and taller in the early twentieth century compared to the mid-nineteenth century, and being more likely to come from a semi-skilled occupation.⁶¹ The views of the Chief Constable of a particular force could further shape recruitment. Contrasting two Midland cities, Ewen found

⁵⁷ Contrasting views are explored, for example, in: H. Taylor, 'Forging the Job : A Crisis of 'Modernization' or Redundancy for the Police in England and Wales, 1900-39', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999) pp.113-115 and Barry Godfrey, 'Changing Prosecution Practices and Their Impact on Crime Figures, 1857-1940', *British Journal of Criminology*, 48 (2008) pp.171-189.

⁵⁸ Borrett, 'Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull', p. 1.

⁵⁹ Clive Emsley, *The English Police : A Political and Social History*, (Oxon [England]: Routledge, 2014).; Barrie Davies, *Old Time Policing : A History of How Policing Was in the Mid 20th Century*, (Central Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2010).

⁶⁰ Keith Laybourn and David May Taylor, *The Battle for the Roads of Britain : Police, Motorists and the Law, C. 1890s to 1970s*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Joanne Klein and Gerald Blaney, 'Traffic, Telephones and Police Boxes : The Deterioration of Beat Policing in Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester between the World Wars', in *Policing Interwar Europe : Continuity, Change and Crisis, 1918-1940*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 215-36.

⁶¹ Shane Ewen, 'Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities C1870-1938', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester, 2003).

that in Birmingham, recruitment from outside the city was actively promoted, with the rationale that outsiders were less susceptible to entrenched influences; in Leicester, however, such a policy was not actively pursued.⁶²

Contributing to the diversity in policing practices, police forces in England and Wales in the early to middle 20th century fell into the three groupings established in the previous century: the Metropolitan Police covered London, the County forces and the Borough forces served individual towns and cities.⁶³ In terms of governance, the Metropolitan Police was controlled directly by the Home Office, Chief Constables of the County forces reported to a Standing Joint Committee (SJC) comprised of magistrates and county councillors, whilst Borough Chief Constables reported to the local Watch Committee, drawn from elected members of the local authority.⁶⁴ Scarborough fell into the latter category, Scarborough Borough Police being established following the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835 and overseen by the Watch Committee of the Town Council. Aspects of the diversity of police governance and the consequences for policing has received attention within the historiography of policing in the North of England. Analysing the relations between Chief Constables and SJCs in six northern county forces from the later decades of the 19th century, Leigh concluded that 'the attitude of constabulary committees towards chief constables ranged from antagonism through non-involvement to active support'.⁶⁵ In Lancashire, for example, the SJC supported the Chief Constable's request to the Home Office for additional police numbers to manage the influx of visitors to Morecambe in the summer.⁶⁶ Considering relations between Chief Constables and the Watch Committee in Halifax in the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the First World War, Posner demonstrates the increasing independence of the Chief Constable from the Watch Committee around the beginning of the 20th century, and the identification of this role with professional and technical expertise.⁶⁷ The demands of the First World War on policing are seen as contributing further to this development through the

⁶² Ibid., p. 195.

⁶³ Emsley, *The English Police*, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.45.

⁶⁵ Juliet Esme Leigh, 'Early County Chief Constables in the North of England 1880-1905', (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2013), p. 242.

⁶⁶ Leigh, 'Early Chief Constables', p. 169.

⁶⁷ Jane Posner, 'The Establishment and Development of the New Police in Halifax, 1848-1914', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2014), p. 290.

establishment nationally of closer direct ties between the Chief Constables and the Home Office, with the latter adopting a co-ordinating role during wartime. Taylor identifies the influence of individuals such as Sir Nevil Macready, Chief Constable of the Metropolitan Police, who as a proponent of centralised control of the police, initiated discussion of policing policy amongst selected colleagues.⁶⁸ Post-war, the District Conference system subsequently established in 1918 provided a mechanism for police chiefs from the 8 defined districts to be in direct communication with regional colleagues and with government, and additionally, 'to assist the Home Office in the issue of such instructions as might be required for the guidance of the police'.⁶⁹ As an illustration, communications in the form of Home Office Police Circulars rose in number from around a total of 20 in the 1900-1909 period to almost 300 in the period 1930-1939.⁷⁰ In addition, the trend for a growing proportion of such circulars to be sent directly to Chief Constables, in comparison to those sent directly to the Municipality, continued over the following decades.⁷¹ Weinberger further argues that closer direct links between Chief Constables and the Home Office during the inter-war period, and the reduced influence of the local authority, contributed to the force's self-image as one of professional independence.⁷² Similarly, examining relations between the Home Office, Inspectors of Constabulary, Watch Committee and Chief Constable in Birmingham and Leicester in the inter-war period, Ewen proposes that:

The move from a fragmented system of administration to a more centrally co-ordinated and standardised structure was the result of growing professionalisation, the diffusion of expertise and information through local and national networks, the impact of exogenous factors (notably the effect of the First World War on administrative and personnel strategies), and a realignment of the central-local financial relationship with the police community in 1918.⁷³

At the opposite end of the policing system, wartime conditions imposed significant strains on rank-and-file police officers with, for example, the shortage of manpower leading to the

⁶⁸ Howard Taylor, 'The Politics of Crime in Interwar England and Wales: With Particular Reference to some Discontinuities with Nineteenth Century Criminal Justice Policy', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 1997), p. 213.

⁶⁹ R. B. Johnson, 'The Story of Acpo', *The Police Journal*, 65 (1992) pp. 193-199.

⁷⁰ Ewen, 'Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities', p. 128.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁷² Barbara Weinberger, *The Best Police in the World: Oral History of English Policing from the 1930s to the 1960s*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

⁷³ Ewen, 'Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities', p. 194.

eventual suspension of the right to one rest day a week. At the same time, pay was effectively reduced due to wartime inflation. Such factors contributed to a series of police strikes in 1918 and 1919, principally in the larger cities such as London, Manchester and Liverpool.⁷⁴ The potential for further industrial action led, amongst other concerns, to the establishment of a Committee on the Police Service by the Home Secretary, Edward Shortt, chaired by Lord Desborough. Here, the disparate nature of the policing system and the inconsistencies within it became apparent. With regard to pay, evidence considered by the Committee showed that the wage of a Metropolitan Police constable was typically £3 7s per week, whilst that of a Borough policeman was £2 15s. In comparison, a tram driver in Newcastle earned £3 5s per week, and a labourer in London, £3 8s - thus, at best, a police officer's pay was comparable to that of a semi-skilled worker.⁷⁵ The lack of consistency in pay and conditions between different forces was noted as contributing to the recent industrial unrest.⁷⁶ Following the Committee's recommendations, the Police Act of 1919 established national pay and pension scales for different ranks, standardising conditions across the country. At the same time, the Police Act established the Police Federation as a body representing officers below the rank of superintendent, disallowing industrial action and membership of any other trade union. Further proposals sought to address the apparent inconsistencies in the organisation of policing. Finding that Forces ranged in size from 12 officers in some Borough forces to the 21,500 men of the Metropolitan Police, the Desborough Committee proposed the amalgamation of Borough forces serving a population or less than 50,000 into neighbouring County forces. In addition, with powers relating to appointments, promotion and discipline lying with Watch Committees in Boroughs, the recommendation was made to transfer these powers to the Chief Constables, as in the County forces.⁷⁷ These proposals were strongly opposed by representatives of some Local Authorities, defending the perceived tradition of the police as a local service.⁷⁸ In Sheffield, for example, the Watch Committee refused to fund

⁷⁴ Ron Bean, 'Police Unrest, Unionization and the 1919 Strike in Liverpool', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15, (1980), pp. 633-53.

⁷⁵ House of Commons Papers, 'Committee on the Police Service. Minutes of Evidence of The Committee appointed to Consider and Report Whether Any and What Changes Should Be Made in the Method of Recruiting for, the Conditions of Service of, and the Rates of Pay, Pensions, and Allowances of the Police Forces of England, Wales and Scotland'. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1920-023766?accountid=12507, 1920>> [accessed 3 March 2022].

⁷⁶ Bean, 'Police Unrest, Unionization and the 1919 Strike', p. 640.

⁷⁷ Emsley, *The English Police*, p. 102.

⁷⁸ Laurence Lustgarten, *The Governance of the Police*, (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1986).

the police according to Home Office directives, resulting in the funding received from Government being withheld⁷⁹. In contrast, Birmingham and Leicester implemented the new funding and administrative arrangements.⁸⁰

A little more than a decade later than the Police Act, in 1934, a Parliamentary Committee into the Amalgamation of English and Welsh Police Forces again proposed that Borough forces serving a population of less than 75,000 should be amalgamated into the County force. A near-contemporary article published in the *Police Journal* by P.McA. Stewart, a serving police superintendent, observed the 'vehemence' with which the proposals were met from borough authorities, chief constables and other representatives of police officers.⁸¹ Stewart bemoaned the 'Canker of Excessive Localism' which led to personnel within Borough Forces concerned only with their local jurisdiction, and the lack of a 'machinery' to co-ordinate regional and national policing, called for greater powers for Inspectors of Constabulary in order to monitor and ensure co-operation between forces.⁸² Despite repeated attempts by governments to force the issue, it was not until 1947 that the post-war Labour Government's Police Act saw the abolition of 45 Borough forces, and the total number of forces in England and Wales reduced to 131, with Scarborough Borough Police amalgamated into North Riding Constabulary at this time.⁸³ Thus, although acknowledging the impact of the directives imposed by central government which sought to bring standardisation in this period, the historiography repeatedly reveals the persistent distinctiveness of the local experience.

Similarly, the historiography of the Petty Sessions within the criminal justice system, whilst demonstrating broad trends in changes over time, repeatedly reveals the distinctness of the local experience. The Petty Sessions had developed over the course of the eighteenth century from the various meetings held by local Justices of the Peace to carry out administrative duties such as the granting of licences to alehouses, known as 'petit' sessions, to hear matters related to the Poor Law, as well as their judicial functions conducting pre-trial examinations

⁷⁹ Craig O'Malley, 'Crime and Consensus : Elite Perceptions of Crime in Sheffield, 1919-1929', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2003).

⁸⁰ Ewen, 'Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities', p. 74.

⁸¹ P. McA Stewart, 'Towards a Co-Ordinated Constabulary', *Police Journal*, 10 (1937), pp. 68-86, (p. 80).

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁸³ Emsley, *The English Police*, p. 95.

of complainants, and presiding over trials in summary cases.⁸⁴ Providing the basis for the court's procedures and practice, the Jervis Acts of 1848 are widely recognised as laying the foundations for the regulation and expansion of summary justice over the following decades, leading to the vast majority of cases being heard in this way to the present day.⁸⁵ Into the early part of the 19th century, at least outside of London, these hearings were convened informally, and it was customary for the Sessions to be heard in any convenient building, including the home of the JP.⁸⁶ The Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1848 brought this judicial process under public scrutiny by specifying that the sessions should be held in "an open and public place to which the public generally may have access".⁸⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, Petty Sessions or Police Courts were typically held several times per week. Abraham, in an analysis of Petty Session records of cases of assault in Northampton and Nottingham from 1886-1931, notes that the courts sat on six days per week, with Sundays excluded, although the number of cases varied over the course of the week: 'In sitting so often, the summary courts offered a regular, swift and efficient means of dealing with disputes and often cases of a straightforward nature were settled within two to three days from the point of an assault being committed to adjudication by the magistrates'⁸⁸

In addition to mandating a public location for a summary hearing, the Summary Jurisdiction Act 1848 for the first time clarified the Justices' jurisdiction and codified the procedure to be followed prior to and during the court hearing.⁸⁹ At the same time, the Indictable Offences Act 1848, similarly prescribed 'the entire course of proceedings from the information, summons, or warrant, to the commitment for trial or discharge of the accused', laying down procedures for the preliminary examination of those accused of these offences, with provisions such as witness statements to be recorded in writing, the accused person being

⁸⁴ Eric Maddison, 'The Justices of the Peace and the Administration of Local Government in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire between 1680 and 1750', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leeds, 1986).

⁸⁵ Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, (Harlow: Pearson Educational Limited, 2010).

⁸⁶ Maddison, 'The Justices of the Peace and the Administration of Local Government', p. 50.

⁸⁷ R.H. Maudsley and J.W. Davies, 'The Justice of the Peace in England', *U. Miami L. Rev*, 18(3), (1964), pp. 518-577; In Scarborough, court hearings had in practice taken place from the early part of the 19th century at the Old Town Hall; from 1867 the courthouse was located adjacent to the New Town Hall on Castle Road, attached to the Police Station.

⁸⁸ Abraham, 'The Summary Courts and the Prosecution of Assault', p. 47.

⁸⁹ Alexander, *The Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters: In England and Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1915), p. 41; Maudsley and Davies, , 'The Justice of the Peace in England', p. 521.

permitted to question witnesses, and clarification of the justice's role in determining whether a case should proceed to trial.⁹⁰

Summary jurisdiction was further expanded through legislation such as the Criminal Justice Act 1855 which allowed cases involving the theft of items up to the value of five shillings to be heard summarily.⁹¹ In 1879, the Summary Jurisdiction Act increased this limit to 40 shillings with the consent of the defendant, who retained the right to trial by jury.⁹² This Act also saw reforms in trial procedures involving children and young people: when charged with any indictable offence other than homicide, children aged between 7 and 14 years were able to be tried summarily with the consent of their parent or guardian, young people of 14 to 16 years of age similarly accused were able to give their own consent.⁹³

It has been argued that the Jervis Acts led to a shift in the position of the magistrate from paternalistic authority with discretionary powers established through custom and exercised through the individual magistrate's inclination and political persuasion, to that of an "explicitly rule-bound jurisdiction".⁹⁴ Indeed, Oke's 'Magisterial Synopsis', a handbook for Justices, first published in 1848, ran to some 600 pages, laying out the provisions of the Acts, the Justices' duties and procedures, and listing offences under headings from 'Alehouses' through to 'Wrecks', along with their ascribed penalties.⁹⁵ However, in examining the police courts of London in the second half of the nineteenth-century, Davis observed that the role of magistrates "extended far beyond the adjudication of criminal prosecutions and the imposition of punishment", for example, in using their discretion within proceedings, and in dispensing advice and financial relief.⁹⁶ Similarly, considering the summary courts in two Midland towns over a later period (mid-1880s – 1930), Abraham finds magistrates acting, "as

⁹⁰ J.R. Roberts, *Stone's Justice's Manual* (London: Butterworth & Co., 1914), p.2.

⁹¹ A.W. Ager, *Crime and Poverty in 19th-Century England: The Economy of Makeshifts*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

⁹² David Bentley, *English Criminal Justice in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998); Roberts, *Stone's Justice's Manual*, p. 22.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp.24-26.

⁹⁴ Peter Langford, 'State, Law and Prosecution : The Emergence of the Modern Criminal Process 1780-1910', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1993).

⁹⁵ Thomas William Saunders, *Oke's Magisterial Synopsis*, (London: Butterworth, 1849).

⁹⁶ Jennifer Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice: the London Police Courts in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), pp. 309-355.

brokers of settlement, often attempting to preserve civil relations between individuals as far as possible, as much as being an arbiter of the law when dealing with assault cases".⁹⁷

The impact of an individual magistrate on the outcome of cases and sentencing patterns is demonstrated in study of policing and the court's response to female drunkenness in mid-Victorian Lancashire.⁹⁸ In Salford, Sir John Mantell, the Stipendiary Magistrate, imposed increasingly harsh fines and committals on women appearing on charges of drunkenness over the years from 1869 to 1875, in a 'vain attempt' to deter drunkenness.⁹⁹ The author observes that, "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. There is little evidence from Salford that Mantell dispensed help and advice to the poorer working-class".¹⁰⁰ Mantell also influenced the lay magistrates to follow the trend of increased fines and longer sentences. By contrast, in nearby Rochdale, the magistrates tended not to impose the fines allowed under the Licensing Act 1872, knowing that the female defendants were unlikely to have the means to pay. Thus, although a statute was in place, its observance was not guaranteed or consistent across localities.¹⁰¹

Added to these components, the role of private individual as prosecutor must also be considered. Until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the majority of cases heard within summary jurisdiction were brought by an individual accusing the alleged offender.¹⁰² Godfrey outlines how this took place:

....victims had three possible routes to justice. A complainant could obtain a summons from a magistrate and take out a private prosecution (although, as stated, this was becoming ever rarer); they could involve the police in the arrest of a suspect or the preparation of a case, but then continue to prosecute the case themselves (possibly with a solicitor acting on their behalf). Lastly (and clearly this was what was becoming the dominant system by this time), the complainant could act as a witness in their own

⁹⁷ Abraham, 'The Summary Courts and the Prosecution of Assault', p. i.

⁹⁸ Craig Stafford, 'The Worst of Drunkards: female drunkenness in mid-Victorian Lancashire', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 2019), p. 7.

⁹⁹ Stafford., 'The Worst of Drunkards', p. 80.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 160.

¹⁰² Barry Godfrey, 'Changing Prosecution Practices and Their Impact on Crime Figures, 1857-1940', *British Journal of Criminology*, 48 (2008), pp. 171-189.

case, with a police prosecutor asking the questions, examining witnesses and presenting the prosecution case.¹⁰³

Davis discusses the use of the London police courts by working-class men and women as prosecutors of complaints, finding that in the late nineteenth century, some twenty percent of larceny charges were brought by individuals, with approximately half of these cases concerning alleged offenders known to them.¹⁰⁴ The study also reports that a 'substantial' number of assault charges were brought by working-class victims although it is acknowledged that "this claim can only be made from subjective evidence – in particular, newspaper court reports".¹⁰⁵ Similarly, in a study of 3 Staffordshire towns from 1880-1910, Felstead noted a high incidence of private prosecutions in assault cases, also concluding that a genuine decrease in cases of violence took place over the period.¹⁰⁶ Examining approximately 50,000 cases before magistrates in Crewe from 1880-1940, Godfrey concluded that the police increasingly replaced private individuals as prosecutors as the twentieth century progressed. Overall, the police prosecuted 90% of public order and property offences, but 20% of cases of interpersonal violence – the remaining 80% being prosecuted by the victims.¹⁰⁷ Over the period, however, the figures for individuals bringing cases involving assault fell from 11.5 per 10,000 in 1880 to under one per 10,000 in 1940.¹⁰⁸ The authors observe that 'by the First World War, they [the victims] were essentially witnesses to their own complaint'.¹⁰⁹ Abraham, considering cases of assault brought to the magistrates' courts in Northampton and Nottingham, similarly found a decline of approximately 75% in both cities over the period 1891-1931, although by contrast found, 'there is little evidence to suggest that they [the police] were completely replacing the litigious actions of individuals'.¹¹⁰ The author, however, also observed the difficulty of establishing this information from the registers of the Petty Sessions.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Godfrey, 'Changing Prosecution Practices', p. 175.

¹⁰⁴ Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice', p. 318.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 319.

¹⁰⁶ Felstead, 'Interpersonal Violence in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', p. 264.

¹⁰⁷ Godfrey, 'Changing Prosecution Practices', p. 180.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 181.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 183.

¹¹⁰ Abraham, 'The Summary Courts and the Prosecution of Assault', p. 70.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 50.

In considering the question of 'criminogenicity' within seaside resorts, two related aspects of this enquiry present themselves – firstly, to what extent the particular characteristics of resort towns combined to engender criminality, (in comparison say to 'normal' urban settings), and secondly, what was the nature of offending in such towns. Clearly, perhaps the overriding distinction to be considered is the large numbers of visitors arriving in a resort, concentrated over a relatively short time period. At a practical level, the logistics of crowd and traffic management have the potential to lead to conflict and the involvement of the police. Offences of public disorder such as drunkenness and assault might typically be anticipated, whilst those with money to spend offer targets for theft and for gaining money by false pretences. Further, a local economy dependent largely on entertainment perhaps inevitably encompasses an illicit milieu at its fringes bringing potential corruption, exploitation, prostitution and sexual violence. Notoriously, the activities of 'racecourse gangs' and their association with extortion and violent crime became particularly linked to Brighton during the interwar years.¹¹² Aspects of these questions are addressed in a limited number of studies across a range of time periods and settings.

Considering resorts in the south-west of England in the early- to mid-nineteenth century, Bryon, for example, compared crime in Torquay and Exmouth from 1835-1860.¹¹³ Here, larceny in the form of property theft was found to be predominant, commonly featuring the theft of clothes by domestic servants, although the theft of food and money was also common. As a further form of workplace crime, the theft of tools and materials figured frequently from the many building sites which grew up as the towns expanded.¹¹⁴ Bryon also examined the authorities' responses to anti-social behaviour in Torquay over a similar time frame.¹¹⁵ In the period, the resorts of Devon's south coast were portrayed as health resorts, competing with other South Coast and Continental resorts. As such, the authorities were keen to attract a middle- and upper-class clientele, and to preserve the area's reputation for gentility. From 1835 in Torquay, appointed Improvement Commissioners made use of the

¹¹² Douglas D'Enno, *Brighton Crime and Vice*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2007), p. 165; Heather Shore, 'Criminality and Englishness in the Aftermath: The Racecourse Wars of the 1920s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22 (2011), pp. 474-497 (p.484).

¹¹³ Bryon, 'Authority and Crime 1835-1860', p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ J. Bryon, 'The Uniqueness of Torquay: Government and Anti-Social Behaviour in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Law, Crime and History*, 3 (2013) pp. 66-90.

provisions of the Local Improvement Act to regulate the urban environment and public behaviour within it. The first commissioners to be elected, owners or occupiers of property with a rental value of £15 per annum, were drawn from local prominent families and also included several members connected broadly to the building trade, and were responsible for appointing watchmen to police the town and the provisions of the Act. Whilst controlling tasks such as the loading and unloading of carriages, and the disposal of night soil, clauses within the Act also addressed public decency in relation to bathing and undressing, and the use of offensive language, both spoken and printed. The summary courts upheld perceived standards of civic orderliness, for example, prosecuting cases against chair and chaise drivers for 'driving furiously' and for washing their carriages on the highway, against builders for depositing rubbish in the streets, against a butcher for depositing dung in the streets and against a resident for beating his carpets on the beach. Both men and women were prosecuted for indecent language, in some cases resulting in a prison sentence at Exeter jail. In certain periods, the courts evidently 'cracked down' on vagrancy, with a rise in the number of cases brought forward within a relatively short period. Bryon concludes that prosecutions, 'revolved around the twin issues of maintaining order on the streets and preserving the notion of civic pride', and demonstrates how the application of both local and national legislation by the authorities influenced the shaping of a resort's character.¹¹⁶

The theme of spatial divisions, and the responses by the local authority to maintain decorum in certain areas of a resort is further evident in a number of settings, one example being Southend in the later nineteenth century. Following the Bank Holiday Act of 1871, four occasions for a day's leave during the year were established, one of these being August Bank Holiday – at that time held on the first Monday in August. With its proximity to London, working class visitors to Southend tended to be day trippers, whilst the town's viability as a resort was dependent on middle class visitors.¹¹⁷ Estimates of tourist numbers over August Bank Holiday show a rise from 19,000 in 1879 to 49,000 in 1889.¹¹⁸ The town reflected this geographical split – day trippers tending to visit the Old Town, east of the pier, whilst Cliff Town to the west was more exclusive, with a pleasure garden and a yacht club. Thus, the two

¹¹⁶ Bryon, 'The Uniqueness of Torquay: Government', p. 85.

¹¹⁷ Churchill, 'Living in a Leisure Town', p. 45.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 46; The Bank Holidays Act 1871 established the first Monday in August as a public holiday.

zones had contrasting 'tones', despite being within proximity. Using reports from the *Southend Standard*, Churchill traces the changes in views of residents towards day-trippers, showing that views were generally favourable during the 1870s, but became more opposed during the 1880s, with language used to depict the tripper as a 'homogeneous cultural unit, embracing an "us against them" tone.'¹¹⁹ Opinions regarding the town's development and related issues were divided in letters to the paper – some expressing opposition whilst others could be supportive of businesses which promoted the town's appeal.¹²⁰ The development of the resort also brought those catering to the visitors such as entertainers, hawkers and donkey drivers, and these trades impacted on the spaces used by residents. In 1867, the town had one permanent police officer, this increased to 25 on the August Bank Holiday of 1880, and 37 in 1887, with officers being drafted in from Essex Constabulary at peak holiday times. Even so, police numbers were often insufficient to deal effectively with large crowds on weekends and holidays. Whilst identification of offenders often relied on police officers recognizing those concerned, the inability to identify visitors led police to subject known local drivers and hawkers to closer surveillance and to prosecution under byelaws.¹²¹

In one of the few studies of crime and policing in a seaside context, comparison is made between Blackpool and San Sebastian in Northern Spain in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and further comparison of these resorts with two industrial centres – Liverpool and Bilbao.¹²² Blackpool received 4 million visitors in 1913, rising to 7 million in the 1930s, and, as noted earlier in Torquay, the local authority also made use of local bye-laws to regulate public behaviour. In terms of rates of indictable crime, Blackpool was comparable to Manchester, but with a much lower rate than that of Liverpool.¹²³ Prosecutions for assault were around the national average, and those for drunkenness well below the rates seen in Manchester and Liverpool. The bulk of indictable crime involved burglary, housebreaking and larceny, as well as 'in interwar specialism in fraud and confidence tricks'.¹²⁴ The authors observe that the

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 50.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 53.

¹²² Walton and others, 'Crime Migration and Social Change', p. 95.

¹²³ Ibid., p.101.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 102.

crime statistics in Blackpool do not bear out the expected 'criminogenicity', and consider possible underlying factors which may lead to illegal activity being missing from the police and judicial record. Representatives of the entertainment and alcohol-related industries sitting on the Watch Committee, for example, may have fostered a lenient approach to the policing of drunkenness and disorder; similarly, beggars and petty offenders were often discharged on the understanding that they would move on from the town.¹²⁵ Periodic crusades against drinking led by the Nonconformist press brought challenges to such acceptance, to the extent that in 1919 a Home Office enquiry into the regulation of licensing in the town resulted in resignations from the Watch Committee and by the Chief Constable. On balance, that authors consider that town had a 'distinctive policing and judicial regime which helps to explain its unremarkable looking crime figures; but the case against its being a non-criminogenic environment remains unproven'.¹²⁶

1.2 Conclusions

Prompted by the opportunity to explore previously unresearched archival material, this study aims to address the question of the criminogenicity in Scarborough during the interwar years of the 20th century, considering the role of the local authority, police and courts, as well as exploring the experiences of those appearing as offenders within the criminal justice system. In serving as destinations for holidaying and entertainment, seaside resorts may be viewed as a distinctive type of urban environment with characteristics which bring consequences for the management and policing of the locality. Whilst such settings have factors in common, their historical development and individual features are often disparate in nature and lead to a recognized difference in 'social tone'. The characteristics of such towns, as discussed above, bring a perception of seaside resorts as 'criminogenic'; within the historiography, however, detailed analysis of crime and policing within this distinctive urban environment is relatively limited.

The early part of the 20th century, particularly following the First World War, is often characterized as a period of 'modernization' within policing. Themes within the

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 103.

historiography explore moves to professionalize the police force, to bring specialization, for example, in promoting the role of detectives, and both to adopt new technologies and to respond to their use in society at large. At the same time, the management and daily operation of policing remained largely a local concern, with forces guarding their autonomy within their 'patch'. Further, the influence and priorities of the Chief Constable and his relations with the local authority impacted the nature of policing in a particular area.

In parallel, the historiography of the Petty Sessions within the criminal justice system, whilst demonstrating broad trends in changes over time, repeatedly reveals the distinctiveness of the local experience. In developing this field of research, King's observation, (although referring to a period spanning the end of the 18th and into the early decades of the 19th century), that 'in parallel with research on the role of parliament and of central government we need to give serious attention to the ways the courts themselves shaped the nature of justice as it was actually delivered on the ground' would appear to be equally applicable to the period under consideration here.¹²⁷ As Borrett concludes from his study of crime and criminality in Hull in the inter-war period, 'it may be preferable to view crime and reactions/responses to offending as a set of diverse, local histories, each with its own distinct characteristics and intricacies'.¹²⁸

1.3 Thesis Outline

The subsequent parts of this thesis are structured as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the methodology used and reviews the key sources contributing to the research, and considers in overview the trends in offending seen nationally during the interwar period; Chapter 3 focusses on Scarborough, considering the development of the town, its characteristics as a seaside resort and the issues faced by the local authority; Chapter 4, discusses the operation of the criminal justice system in the town; Chapter 5 further considers evidence from the Photograph Book and related sources to examine patterns of offenders and offending, and responses to these.

¹²⁷ King, *'Crime and Law in England 1750-1840'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006).

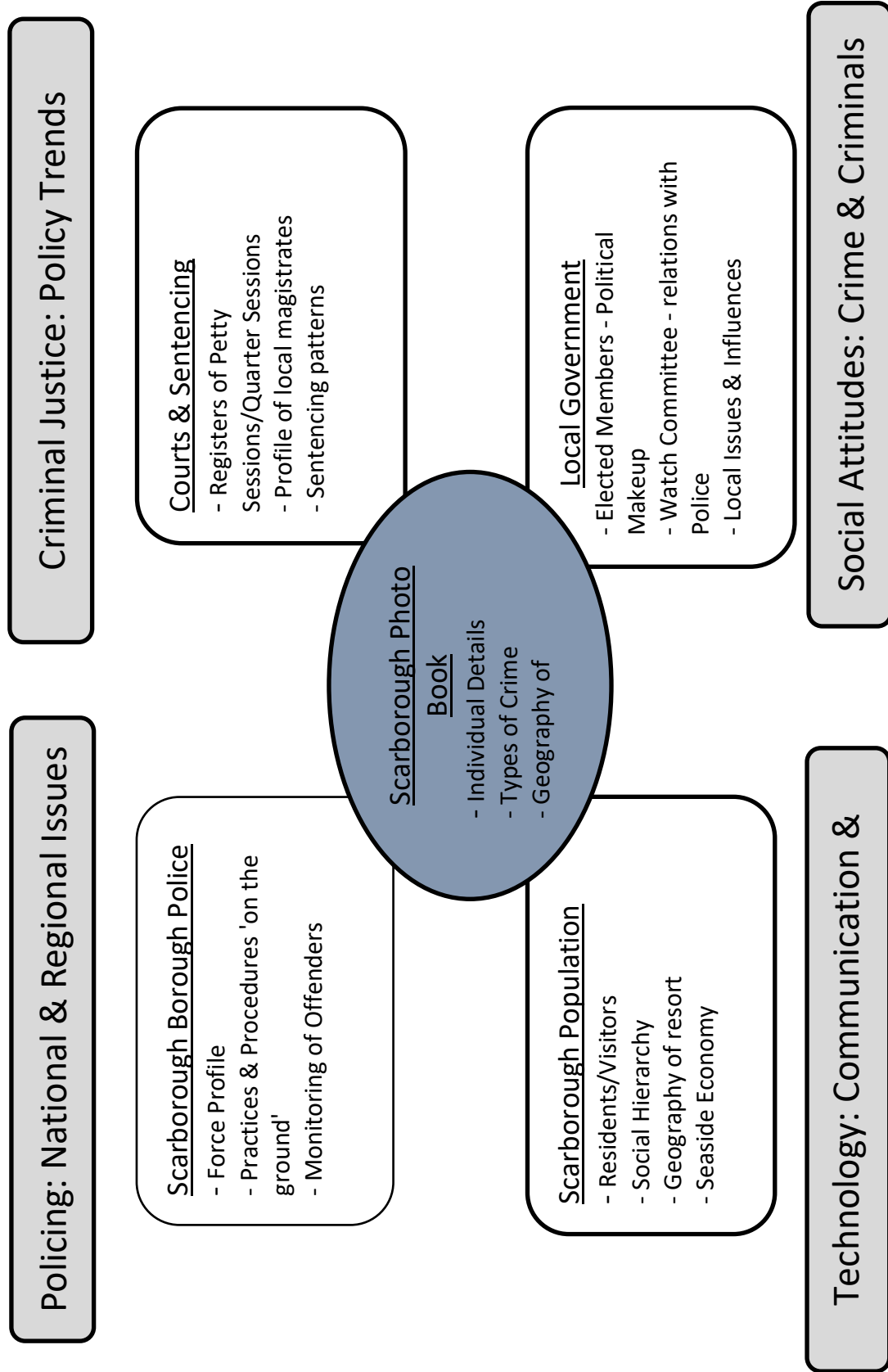
¹²⁸ Borrett, 'Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull', p. 10.

Chapter 2 Sources and Methodology

2.1 The Research Framework

This chapter discusses the methodological approach taken to the research and the range of key sources consulted in addressing the research questions. In essence, the research described here is a case study of crime and policing in a defined location – Scarborough – over a particular period – the interwar years of the twentieth century. As will be shown, the use of the Scarborough Photograph Book as a principal primary source served to define these elements. Further, being previously unresearched as archival material, an element of discovery was involved which unfolded as the records contained within the book were transcribed, coded and analysed. In particular, as the timespan of recording within the book and its purpose became clearer, additional sources were used to provide triangulation and further context, and to allow a perspective on responses to crime in Scarborough over the time period in question to be developed. The framework for the case study is viewed as operating at a number of levels, summarized below in Figure 2.1. The setting of Scarborough, as a Yorkshire seaside town, provides the main focus, with factors within the town such as its geographical setting, its character as a seaside resort and the operation of policing and the local authority being central. At the wider level, regional and national influences are explored, for example, in examining the place of the Scarborough Photograph Book within the West Yorkshire Clearing House system and in assessing crime statistics within Scarborough in the context of changing national trends in offending. At the other end of the scale, the use of digital sources to uncover the stories of individuals recorded within the Photograph Book brings a focus to experiences of the criminal justice system at ground level.

Figure 2.1 Research Framework



As an approach within the historiography, the term 'Case Study' can be found over a significant span of historical research. Published in 1937, for example, Justice Herbert Evatt's work on the Tolpuddle Martyrs, *'Injustice within the law: a study of the case of the Dorsetshire labourers'*, uses the word 'case' to mean the particular legal proceedings which took place, whilst also positioning these events within the wider social and economic context, considering the aftermath in terms of the convicted men's transportation and treatment, and the political consequences of their subsequent pardons.¹²⁹ More recent examples of case studies typically bring a focus to a defined set of circumstances and sources to explore wider issues of the particular time and place. Although of a comparable nature, such studies vary in range and scope. In a case study of King's Lynn and Plymouth, for example, Baker analyses the records of the Port Authorities to chart the development of maritime trade over a period of 20 years in the late fifteenth century.¹³⁰ In contrast, using a source derived from an individual - the diaries of a nineteenth century GP - Beardmore considers emotional responses to death and dying in the context of the development of the medical profession.¹³¹ Within the historiography, the term 'microhistory' has also become current, although the term has been in use for several decades.¹³² Microhistories similarly take an approach in which, 'a small unit of study (an individual or small community) can reflect a larger whole, highlighting the importance of these small units and demonstrating their importance for historical debate'.¹³³ As with case studies, a microhistory may range in scale from the individual to a wider, but defined, inquiry, and the terms are arguably interchangeable: exploring the lives of petty offenders appearing before magistrates in Great Yarmouth, for example, Rogers suggests that microhistory 'lends itself to crime history' with 'the case study – its standard method'

¹²⁹ Herbert Evatt, *Injustice within the Law: A Study of the Case of the Dorsetshire Labourers*, (Sydney: Law Book Co. of Australasia, 1937).

¹³⁰ Gary Paul Baker, 'Domestic Maritime Trade in Late Tudor England C.1565-1585. A Case Study of King's Lynn and Plymouth.', in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800*, ed. by Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert, and Steve Mentz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

¹³¹ Carol Beardmore, 'Death, Grief and the Victorian Gp: A Case Study of Edward Wrench of Baslow, Derbyshire, 1862 - 1898', *Midland History*, 47 (2022), pp. 313-30.

¹³² See for example George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge. A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959). Magnusson and Szijarto survey the origins of the microhistory approach in Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson and Istvan M. Szijarto, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

¹³³ David S. Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, *Law, Crime and Deviance since 1700 : Micro-Studies in the History of Crime*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 42.

presenting parallels with the trial process.¹³⁴ Adopting the microhistory approach, Johnson, Godfrey and Turner argue that in exploring the life and experience of an individual female convict, a more general analysis can be derived, and further note the public interest in this field of research.¹³⁵ Making use of penal records and licensing papers held in the National Archives as a central source, the authors observe that, without such records, 'many of these life histories would otherwise be invisible or lost within the machinery of nineteenth-century criminal justice'.¹³⁶ Their research 'spanned out' from this collection of records to include the use of court and prison registers, census returns, Birth, Marriage and Death indices and digital newspaper collections, allowing the construction of a 'life-grid' for individual prisoners.¹³⁷ Thus, a specific archival source provided a starting point which allowed the linkage of further records from a range of original and digital sources.¹³⁸ Reflecting on the difficulty of reconstructing past lives from sporadic data such as censuses and of interpreting the 'incidental anecdotes and fragments of "voices" found in the archive', Rogers, similarly draws on a number of datasets ranging through personal, constructed and official – transcripts of prisoners' tattoos, the life-courses of transported convicts and records of admissions to Yarmouth prison – to provide 'a framework to decode fragmentary scraps of evidence of words and actions, scattered across unconnected collections' whilst focussing primarily on the lives of two brothers encountering the criminal justice system.¹³⁹ Comparable approaches to combining digital and 'traditional' sources are seen in studies such as that by Borrett, where public responses to crime in the inter-war period in Hull and East Yorkshire are assessed through qualitative and quantitative analysis of digitised newspaper reports, along with contemporary records such as judicial statistics, Chief Constables' returns and police

¹³⁴ Helen Rogers, 'Making Their Mark: Young Offenders' Life Histories and Social Networks', in *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700 : Micro-Studies in the History of Crime*, ed. by David S. Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 227-49 (p. 227).

¹³⁵ Helen Johnston, Barry Godfrey, and Jo Turner, 'I Am Afraid She Is Perfectly Responsible for Her Actions and Is Simply Wicked': Reconstructing the Criminal Career of Julia Hyland', in *Law, Crime and Deviance Since 1700 : Micro-Studies in the History of Crime*, ed. by Anne-Marie Kilday David Nash (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), pp. 210-25 (p. 210).

¹³⁶ Johnson and others, 'I Am Afraid She Is Perfectly Responsible', p. 210.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 211.; Barry S. Godfrey, David J. Cox, and Stephen D. Farrall, *Criminal Lives: Family Life, Employment and Offending*, (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

¹³⁸ Further examples include: Lucy Williams and Barry Godfrey, *Criminal Women 1950-1920: Researching the Lives of England's Criminal Women*, (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Books Ltd., 2018); Barry Godfrey and others, *Young Criminal Lives: Life Course and Life Chances from 1850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹³⁹ Rogers, 'Making Their Mark: Young Offenders' Life Histories and Social Networks', p. 231.

orders.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the interwoven analysis of archival sources and digitised information allows a comprehensive view of a context to be constructed.

2.2 The Police 'Mugshot' as an Archival Source

In an age beset with digital images, historic photographs of criminals continue to elicit a response from the modern viewer, and the survival of such archives commonly prompts media and public interest.¹⁴¹ Increasingly, collections of 'mugshots' are becoming available digitally, along with varying degrees of the information associated with them.¹⁴² Ethical considerations regarding the use of 'mugshots' within historical research have become the subject of debate, particularly given the growth of their availability and accessibility.¹⁴³ Considering the legal position of such research, prior to the passing of the *Data Protection Act 2018*, archival records in England and Wales containing sensitive personal information 'which would substantially distress or endanger a living person or his or her descendants' were subject to a 100-year rule, that is, in most circumstances, remaining closed for 100 years from an individual's birth.¹⁴⁴ Now, the provisions of the *Data Protection Act 2018* relate to 'any information relating to an identified or identifiable living individual': the records considered

¹⁴⁰ Ashley Borrett, 'Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull and East Yorkshire During the Interwar Period', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Hull, 2018).

¹⁴¹ David Morton, 'Victorian 'criminal' mugshots from the Tyneside of 1871-1873 – in colour', *Chronicle Live*, 23 May 2022. <<https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk>> [accessed 5 January 2024]; 'Britain's oldest police mugshots show Birmingham criminals arrested more than 150 years ago', *Independent*, 13 June 2018. <<https://independent.co.uk>> [accessed 5 January 2024].

¹⁴² Niall Cullen, *Find mugshots and more in new crime records* (2021), <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 5 January 2024]; *Category: Mugshots from the Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums* (2018), <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Mug_shots_from_the_Tyne_and_Wear_Archives_and_Museums> [accessed 5 January 2018].

¹⁴³ See for example: Katherine Biber, 'Dark Archive: The Afterlife of Forensic Photographs', in *Photography and Ontology : Unsettling Images*, ed. by Donna West Brett and, Natalya Lusty, (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, pp. 41-55 (p. 46) <<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mmu/detail.action?docID=5580253>> [accessed 23 November 2024]; Penny Tinkler, *Using photographs in social and historical research* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), doi.org:10.4135/9781446288016.

¹⁴⁴ The National Archives, 'Life expectancy and the closure of personal records. A paper for the Advisory Council on National Records and Archives', 2014, pp. 1-8 (p. 1) <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/freedom-of-information/information-requests/life-expectancy-closure-period-policy>> [accessed 10 November 2024].

here all concern persons born more than 100 years ago who are now deceased.¹⁴⁵ Related guidance from the National Archives similarly states that, 'Public use of "archived" personal data will generally be possible once the people concerned are dead'.¹⁴⁶ Thus, whilst no legal grounds prevent the use of the Scarborough records, given the focus on criminal activity and the time-span of interest, (ending in the mid-1930s), in ethical terms, sensitivities might be considered to remain particularly for the children and grandchildren of the mugshot subjects. In practice, however, the newspaper reports and genealogical information used to develop this case study are within the public domain, being widely available and accessible online. In discussion with the Community Curator at Ripon Museums Trust, it was decided to make some illustrative use of the photographs from the mugshot book within this thesis, and to reconsider the position in any further publications.

In terms of the history of policing, sources as the Photograph Book allow inquiry at a range of levels from that of the individual within the criminal justice system to wider questions concerning the surveillance of criminals by the police, and the political agendas which drove their implementation. The background to the evolution of such systems is considered below. In the UK, the beginnings of the systematic collection, storage and dissemination of information concerning criminals and their offences can be seen with the passing of the Habitual Criminals Act in 1869 and its successor, the Prevention of Crimes Act 1871. The 1869 Act, described by Radzinowicz and Hood as 'a heavy baggage of repressive measures', encompassed provisions for the supervision by the police of convicts released on licence from penal servitude and of 'habitual criminals' - those convicted of a second felony or certain misdemeanours - following their release from prison.¹⁴⁷ The Act also stipulated that 'for the better supervision of criminals a register of all persons convicted of crime' should be maintained, one in London under the management of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners

¹⁴⁵ *Data Protection Act 2018* <<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2018/12/contents/enacted>> [accessed 10 November 2024].

¹⁴⁶ The National Archives, 'Guide to Archiving Personal Data', 2018, pp. 1-45 (p.6) <<https://cdn.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/information-management/guide-to-archiving-personal-data.pdf>> [accessed 10 November 2024].

¹⁴⁷ Barry S. Godfrey, David J. Cox, and Stephen D. Farrall, 'Serious Offenders', (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 97; Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, 'Incapacitating the Habitual Criminal: The English Experience', *Michigan Law Review*, 78 (1980).

and one in Dublin.¹⁴⁸ The Act similarly required prison governors and chiefs of police to make returns of those convicted of crime to the Secretaries of State ‘with respect to persons convicted of crime, as they may from time to time respectively direct’. These provisions led to the creation of the Habitual Criminals Register.¹⁴⁹ The operation of the Act in relation to the supervision of released prisoners was to prove unwieldy in practice, with the numbers of released convicts far exceeding the capacity of the police to comply with regulations for supervision. In 1871, the Prevention of Crimes Act replaced the previous legislation and gave courts the power to determine whether a person required supervision following their release. With this condition, the numbers under supervision fell by half between 1870 and 1872.¹⁵⁰ The 1871 Act extended the information to be gathered: with the stated purpose of facilitating ‘the identification of criminals’, the Act required that registers of ‘all persons convicted of crime’ were maintained and introduced the photographing of all prisoners convicted of crime.¹⁵¹ The Secretary of State was to ‘prescribe the time or times at which and the manner and dress in which such prisoners are to be taken and the number of each photographs of each prisoner to be printed, and the persons to whom such photographs are to be sent.’¹⁵² The expense of keeping the Habitual Criminals Register – the employment of clerks and so on – was to be paid by parliament, but the expense of photography to be paid through prison expenses.¹⁵³

In 1894, a committee appointed by the then Home Secretary, Herbert Asquith, and chaired by Charles Troup, inquired into the ‘best means available for identifying habitual criminals’.¹⁵⁴ In reviewing the workings of the Habitual Criminals Registry, the report noted that the initial registration of all criminals was unworkable, with the terms of the 1871 Act leading to the inclusion of first-time offenders in the register, including some children, so that ‘the results

¹⁴⁸ *The Habitual Criminals Act 1869* (32 & 33 Vict.), (London: HMSO, 1869).

¹⁴⁹ Bill Heberton and Terry Thomas, *Criminal Records: State, Citizen and the Politics of Protection*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1993), p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Godfrey, *Serious Offenders*, p. 10.

¹⁵¹ *The Prevention of Crimes Act 1871* (34 & 35 Vict. c. 112), London: HMSO, 1871), p. 3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Identification of habitual criminals. Report of a committee appointed by the Secretary of State to inquire into the best means available for identifying habitual criminals with minutes of evidence and appendices. 1894.* (London: HMSO, 1894).

attained were altogether disproportionate to the labour involved'.¹⁵⁵ This situation had been partly addressed by an Amendment of 1876 which allowed the Secretary of State to prescribe the 'class or classes' of prisoners to be registered and photographed, rather than applying this provision to all those convicted of crime.¹⁵⁶ Further regulations in 1877 were intended to confine the register to 'every person convicted on indictment of a crime, a previous conviction of a crime being proved against him'.¹⁵⁷ At this time, responsibility for the Register was transferred to the Home Office, under the direction of Edmund du Cane, Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons. In 1896, this responsibility was transferred back to Scotland Yard, under the Metropolitan Police Commissioner.¹⁵⁸

The Habitual Criminals Register was published annually and contained an alphabetical list of the names of those released from jail in the previous twelve months, along with particulars of their 'distinctive marks', details of previous convictions, and the destination on release. A separate index, the 'Register of Distinctive Marks' classified and detailed distinctive features on each part of the body and was similarly published annually. Copies of both registers were distributed to all police forces. The indices were intended to act as an aid to the identification of an arrested person, or to verify their identity – the use of aliases being a common practice. Thus, in theory, the procedure would be to examine the indices of distinctive marks, establish any corresponding similarities shown by the person of interest and to cross-reference from there to the register of names. In parallel with the Home Office registry, the Metropolitan Police established the Convict Supervision Office (C.S.O.) in 1880.¹⁵⁹ This organization also maintained registers of convicted criminals, albums of photographs and a Register of Distinctive Marks, organised reportedly to allow more rapid searching than the format adopted in the Home Office version.¹⁶⁰ The CSO published the *Police Gazette* twice weekly, including copies of photographs of individuals being sought.

¹⁵⁵ *The Identification of Habitual Criminals*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ *Prevention of Crimes Amendment Act 1876. A bill to amend the Prevention of Crimes Act 1871.* (London: HMSO, 1876).

¹⁵⁷ *The Identification of Habitual Criminals*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ Heberton and Thomas, *Criminal Records: State, Citizen and the Politics of Protection*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁹ Terry Thomas, *Criminal Records: A Database for the Criminal Justice System and Beyond*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 13

¹⁶⁰ *The Identification of Habitual Criminals*, p. 9.

The systemized collection of information about a person held in custody was gathered by means of a “route form” which was circulated from the force holding the person to others where it was likely that they may have previously been held or convicted. An example from Leeds Police is shown as an Appendix to the Croup report.¹⁶¹ This document consisted of 2 main sections – the top half of the page recording the name and description (e.g. age, height, hair, eyes, complexion, build) of the prisoner concerned, their place of birth and trade, with a space for their photograph and further description of marks. The bottom section was divided into columns headed Route, Date Received, Result of Inquiry, Date forwarded and Signature. This form would be circulated along the ‘route’ to relevant forces in order to establish whether the person was known or recognized in that area. The form was required to be returned to the issuing force within a week, the usual period for a person held on remand. The committee noted that Route Forms ‘afford the most remarkable instance of the way in which the facilities for personal recognition are increased by the use of photography’.¹⁶² Essentially, the format and specifics of the data collected were to persist until the middle decades of the twentieth century.

An illustration of regional initiatives, the West Riding Clearing House system had its origins in the second half of the 19th century, somewhat pre-dating the establishment of the C.S.O. within the Metropolitan Police. In 1867, the Chief Constable, Lieutenant Colonel C.A. Cobbe, obtained permission to establish a printing press at the headquarters of the West Riding Constabulary, and began the production of ‘*The Police Reports*’, a publication circulated to West Riding police stations with details of recent serious crimes or series of crimes.¹⁶³ Initially, ‘*The Police Reports*’ appeared three times per week on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. By 1932, the paper published on each weekday and by 1945 a Saturday edition was added, with 4100 copies of each issue being produced giving a weekly production of 45,100. Each edition of ‘*The Police Reports*’ was typically a 4-page publication, three of the pages containing information from West Yorkshire and surrounding areas, with the fourth page entitled ‘*Supplementary Police Reports*’ publishing information from other forces. As an example, ‘*Police Reports*’ No. 6395 published on Monday 14th July 1913 showed on the first page details

¹⁶¹ *The Identification of habitual criminals, Appendix C.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶³ West Yorkshire Archive, West Riding Constabulary, *Booklet on the Clearing House*, WYP1/4/11/9, (1949).

Fig. 2.2 Example Police Reports Publication for Monday 14th July 1913



Photographs of two of the men are shown in the style of the 'mugshots' found in the Scarborough Photograph Book, that is, with a pair of face-on and profile images (see Fig. 2.5). The descriptions of the men similarly reflect the recording found within the Photograph Book, giving details of age, height, dress along with particular of the crime. Also given are details of items stolen in the course of reported larcenies. The second and third pages feature similar reports from Sheffield, Wakefield, Lancashire, Liverpool and Nottinghamshire of wanted persons and stolen items. Two of the reports involve men wanted for Indecent Assault, indicating that details of Indictable Crimes were disseminated alongside those of 'offences for gain' such as Larceny and False Pretences. A section on the third page entitled 'Further Information' refers back to previous issues, giving reports of property recovered, persons arrested and, in this example, the identification of a body. Details of two missing persons are also reported on this page. The fourth page, 'Supplementary Police Reports' gives details under the headings 'Apprehensions sought', 'Property Stolen' and 'Missing' from Derbyshire, York City and Warwickshire.

In the years prior to the start of the First World War, the Clearing House system was further developed by Major General Llewellyn Atcherley, Chief Constable of West Riding Constabulary from 1908 until his appointment as H.M. Inspector of Constabulary in 1919. Atcherley also developed the 'Modus Operandi' or M.O. system, whereby the methods used in particular crimes were recorded and classified, with the aim of identifying the perpetrators of similar crimes based on their methods.¹⁶⁴ Atcherley set out the rationale and the processes involved in the Clearing House System in his 1922 publication, '*M.O. in Criminal Investigation and Detection*'.¹⁶⁵ As previously established for Habitual Criminals, participating forces were to submit details of offenders through a 'Route Form' with a photograph and description of the individual, their trade, birthplace, 'Marks' and 'Peculiarities', details of the offence including the M.O.. Such information was classified at the Clearing House through a series of card indexes which allowed later retrieval of information from specified categories.

¹⁶⁴ Robert D. Keppel, 'Investigation of the Serial Offender: Linking Cases Through Modus Operandi and Signature', in *Serial Offenders Current Thought, Recent Findings*, ed. by Louis B. Schlesinger (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2000), p.123.

¹⁶⁵ West Yorkshire Archive, '*M.O. In Crime Investigation and Detection*', WYP/BR/A366/14/8, (1922).

Additionally, the Clearing House produced so-called 'Criminal Route Maps' which plotted the location of the offences of individuals with a view to identifying patterns of offending.¹⁶⁶ In effect, the operations of the Clearing House encompassed a physical database and an early geographical information system. By 1932, 84 forces in England and Wales subscribed to the Clearing House scheme and by 1949, the West Yorkshire Clearing House held 250,000 records, reported to be increasing by 13,000 per year.¹⁶⁷ Whilst the system reportedly allowed increasing numbers of identifications of suspected offenders - from 51 in 1928 to 749 in 1949 – its effectiveness appears modest against the input of labour required to maintain it.¹⁶⁸

2.3 The Scarborough Photograph Book

As an example of a surviving 'mugshot book', the following section describes the Scarborough Photograph Book and details how the process of transcription and analysis allowed specific strands of inquiry to be developed: firstly, in providing a knowledge base concerning the individuals recorded in the book, allowing interrogation of this data, and secondly, in revealing indications as to the place of such data collection within the policing system of the time, also raising further questions around its operation and import.

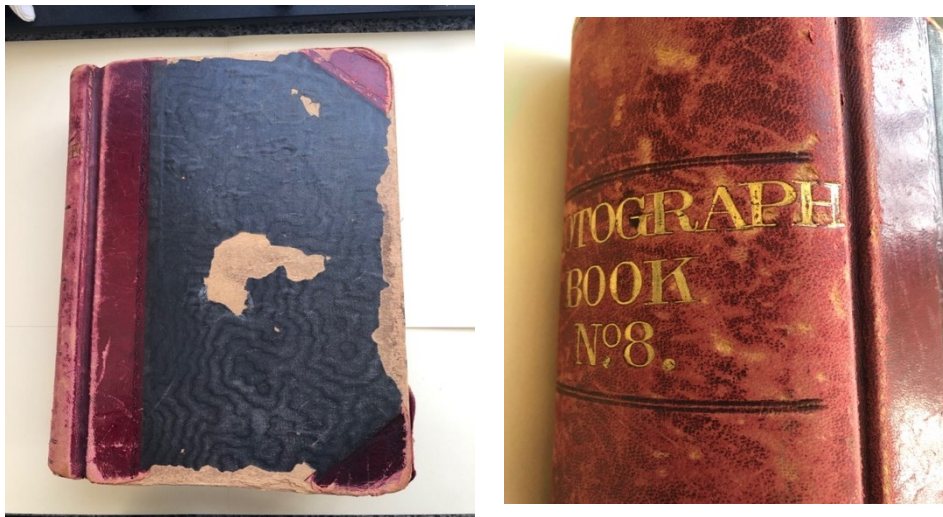
The Photograph Book is a large leather-bound volume containing the 'mugshots' of approximately 700 arrested persons, along with their personal details and information relating to their offence(s) and court appearances in Scarborough and elsewhere. Prior to the start of this research, the exact purpose of the book in the policing of Scarborough was unknown, beyond its evident use as a collection of images and information on persons arrested in Scarborough and elsewhere. In order to establish the context for this analysis, the principal features of the Photograph Book are discussed below.

¹⁶⁶ West Yorkshire Archive, *M.O. In Crime Investigation and Detection*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Figure 2.3 Scarborough Photograph Book No.8



The Photograph Book contains photographs and details for 671 individuals (disregarding a small number of duplicates and missing information), and a total of 2507 offences recorded both in Scarborough and elsewhere. As shown by the bookplate inside the front cover, the book was printed for Scarborough Borough Police by W.H. Smith in Scarborough (Fig. 2.4). The layout of the internal pages was clearly designed specifically for its intended purpose, and as shown by the label on the inside cover, the production of further copies was anticipated.

Figure 2.4 Scarborough Photograph Book - Bookplate



Character No., Forename, Surname, Aliases, C.R.O., W.R.C. No., Born (*Date/Year*),
Nativity (*ie Place of Birth*), Height, Complexion, Hair, Eyes, Build, Trade, Peculiarities,
Marks.

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Character No.

Name **JAMES DENNIS LEWIS**
 Aliases *James Lewis*
 C.R.O. 6625-18 W.R.C. No. 1789-25
 Born 9-1-1906 Nativity *Horwich*
 Height 5' 2 1/2" Comp. *Fresh* Hair *Blason*
 Eyes *Blue* Build *Slender* Trade *Handwritten*
 Peculiarities *Smiling disposition* *Handwritten*
Smokes cigarette
 Marks *Scar on face, small marks on back of neck, scar on right*
Scar on left leg

452

Character No.

Name **EDWARD STRICKSON**
 Aliases
 C.R.O. 12245-14 W.R.C. No. 1789-25
 Born 1900 Nativity *Grandman*
 Height 5' 7 1/2" Comp. *Full* Hair *Dark Brown*
 Eyes *Blue* Build *Slender* Trade *Handwritten*
 Peculiarities *Of late, somewhat balding* *Scar on back of head*
Scar on face, small marks on back of neck, scar on right
 Marks *Scar on left forearm, small scar on right leg*

453

Character No.

Name **ALICE LOUIE**
 Aliases *Alice Louie*
 C.R.O. W.R.C. No.
 Born 1900 Nativity *Belton*
 Height 5' 6" Comp. *Full* Hair *Dark Brown*
 Eyes *Blue* Build *Slender* Trade *Handwritten*
 Peculiarities *Of late, somewhat balding* *Scar on back of head*
Scar on face, small marks on back of neck, scar on right
 Marks

CONVICTIONS.

No.	Date	Place	James Dennis Lewis Offence	Decision	Name	Off. in case
1	7-3-18	Belton Co.	Big Bandage, etc.	Imprisoned in Industrial	James Lewis	
2	do	do	Big Bandage & Blanket	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
3	do	do	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
4	24-3-22	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
5	2-7-22	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
6	28-4-24	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
7	14-2-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
8	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
9	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
10	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
11	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
12	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
13	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
14	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
15	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
16	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
17	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
18	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
19	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
20	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
21	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
22	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
23	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
24	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
25	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
26	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
27	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
28	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
29	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
30	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
31	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
32	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
33	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
34	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
35	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
36	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
37	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
38	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
39	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
40	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
41	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
42	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
43	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
44	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
45	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
46	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
47	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do	
48	1-4-28	Belton Co.	Big Bandage	Imprisoned in Industrial	do</	

38

comments such as 'Slovenly gait', and 'Well educated but addicted to drink', whilst those under 'Marks' detail physical characteristics such as 'Scar inside left forearm', or may give detailed descriptions of tattoos. The facing page of each record is headed 'Convictions', and gives six categories of information:

Date, Place, Offence, Decision, Name, Officer in Case.

The section is designed to allow 16 convictions to be recorded for each individual - in a few cases, the number of convictions exceeds this and the officer has recorded more than one conviction to a line. The recorded offences are those committed not only in Scarborough but include (as far as is known) details of an individual's complete criminal history in chronological order. With a few exceptions, the earlier images – Records 4 to 29 – consist of a single photo showing the individual's head and shoulders. From Record 30 onwards, the image comprises two photos – one with a front view, the other showing a view in profile. In some cases, the subject is wearing a hat in both photos, in others, the hat is worn in only one of the views. Again, in most cases, but not always, the individual is holding a small board with the date of their court appearance marked on it.

Figure 2.6 Scarborough Photograph Book - Example Individual Entry

37		Character No. 6.E.1.1.		CONVICTIONS.					
Name		Kate LEVERSON		Date	Place	Offence	Decision	Name	Off. in case
Aliases		Madame Leontine, Mad. Jackson		11.9.12	BLACKPOOL P.C.	Shoplifting (stealing)	3 mths. Comm.	Kate LEVERSON	
C.R.O.		5/170354		23.11.12	KENT	ROBBERY	12 mths.		
W.R.C. No.		25767/20		3.5.16	CARLISLE SESSIONS		15		
Born		1851		7.2.19	DURHAM		12		
Nativity		London		6.1.20	SCARBOROUGH DIST. CT.	(3 cases) 6 mths. 3 cond. with prob.			2.1. ABLETT
Height		5' 7 1/2"		Comp.		Pale		Hair	
Eyes		Brown		Build		Slender		Trade	
Peculiarities				Trade		Business			
Marks		Ears pierced							

Taken as a whole, the recording within the Photograph Book shows that the earliest offences date from the last decades of the 19th century and the latest from the 1940s (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Time Period of Recording within Photograph Book				
	Number	%	Earliest	Latest
Offences recorded in Scarborough	1096	44	26/11/1885	22/09/1936
Offences recorded elsewhere	1411	56	18/02/1875	17/10/1941
Total	2507	100		

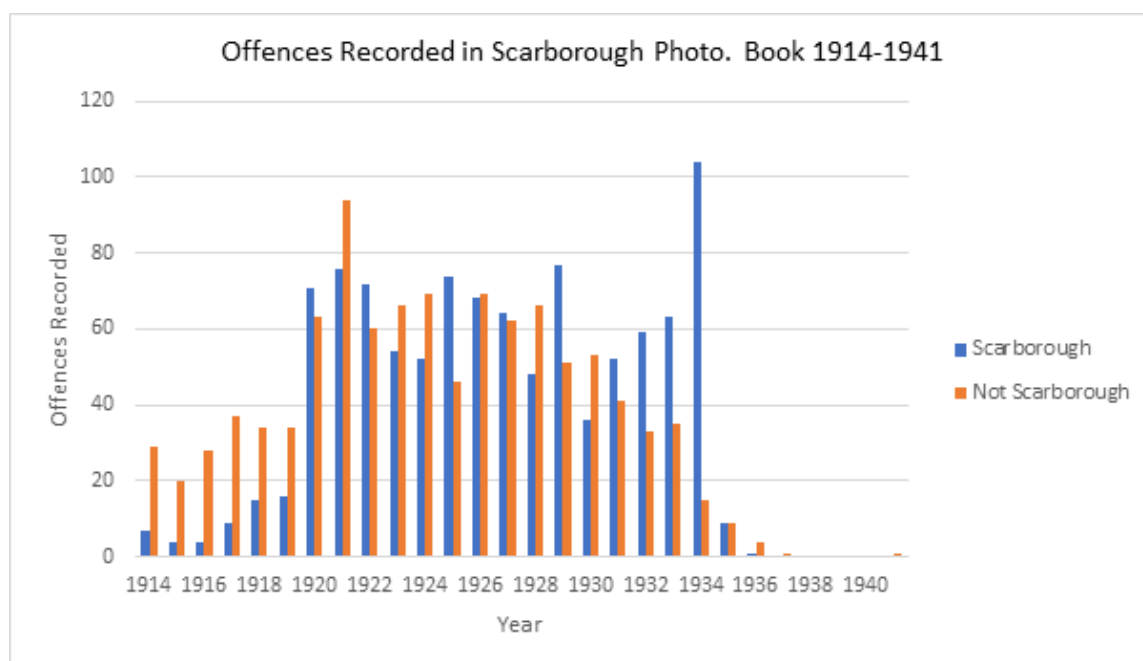
However, examining the order in which the entries were made reveals that recording began with offences committed in Scarborough in January 1920, with previous offences also being entered on the individual's record.

Figure 2.7 The first two entries in the Scarborough Photograph Book

The image displays two pages from a historical document titled 'Scarborough Photograph Book'. The left page contains two individual entries, numbered 4 and 5. Entry 4 is for William John JUDGE, born 1894, with a photograph and various details like height (6' 0"), eyes (Grey), and trade (Electrician). Entry 5 is for Francis WILTON, born 1896, with a photograph and details like height (5' 7"), eyes (Blue), and trade (Painter). The right page is titled 'CONVICTIONS' and lists previous offences for these individuals, including dates, places, and descriptions of the offences.

Thus, the entry of an individual's details and previous convictions was, in the main, prompted by their court appearance in Scarborough. It is evident that the first 130 records are in the same handwriting, suggesting that an officer or clerk was tasked with compiling the records from another source. Thereafter, a number of different handwriting styles are seen. The recording fell off sharply in 1935 (Graph 2.1), perhaps due to a change of policy or procedure. The last few pages of the book contain photographs without the entry of any further information. With transcription of the data complete, evaluation of the book's chronology directed the main focus of the case study to the interwar years of the twentieth century.

Graph 2.1 Scarborough Photograph Book: Recorded offences over time



The vast majority of offences recorded in Scarborough were heard at the Police Court, (this term being used interchangeably with Petty Sessions). Analysis of the records of individuals who also offended elsewhere shows that a somewhat greater proportion of cases were held at the higher courts in the region where the offense took place. In some 30% of the records, the officer entering the information in the Photograph Book entered only the name of the location without specifying the type of court.

	Cases heard outside Scarborough		Cases heard in Scarborough	
	No.	%	No.	%
Petty Sessions	761	54	1059	97
Quarter Sessions	114	8	36	3
Assizes	97	7		
Sherriff & High Court (Scotland)	17	1		
Overseas	10	1		
Type of Court Not Specified	412	29		
Total	1411	100	1095	100

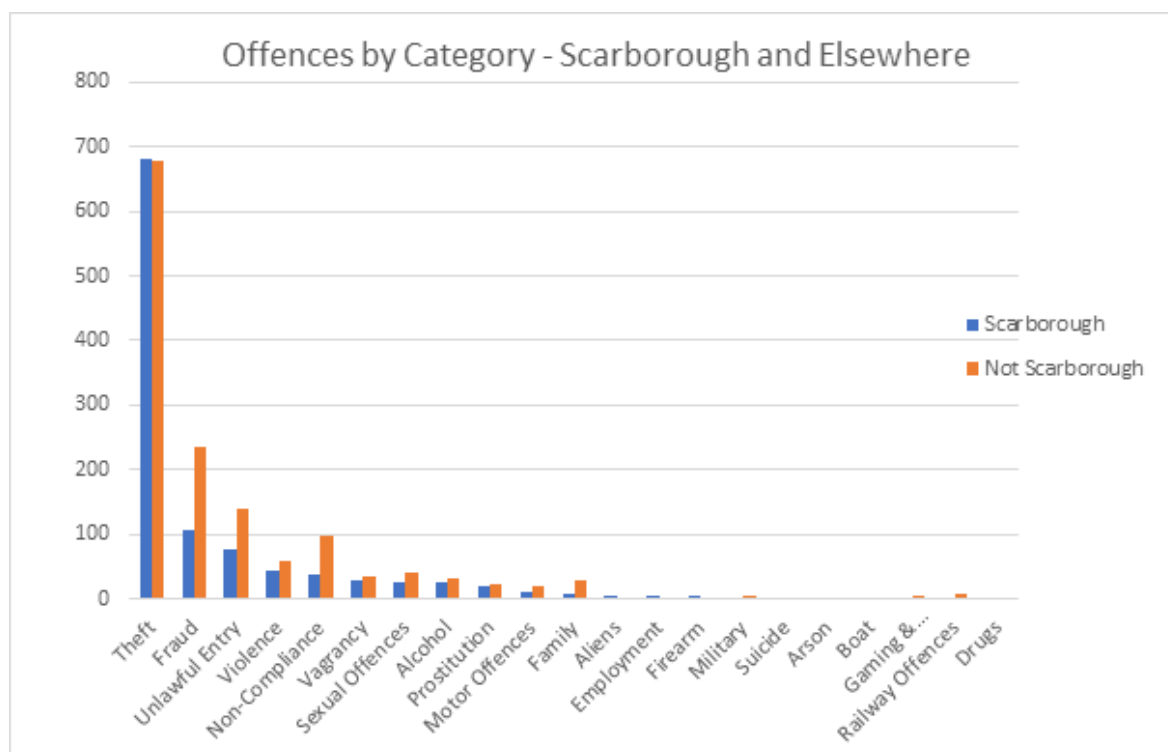
In order to establish whether all offences heard in Scarborough were entered in the Photograph Book, the data were compared to a small sample from the Register of the Petty Sessions Court in Scarborough, for the three months from the beginning of January 1920 to the end of March 1920.¹⁶⁹ Over this period, an average of 4 cases per day were heard, ranging from 1 per day to a maximum of 10, with the number of offenders appearing ranging on any day from 1 to 7, with an individual frequently being tried for more than one offence. Comparing the Petty Session Register with the records contained in the Photograph Book, it was clear that in the sampled period a minority of cases were entered in the book (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Sample of cases recorded in Petty Session Registers and Photograph Book			
Sample: 01/01/1920- 31/03/1920	Petty Session Registers	Nos. Recorded in Photograph Book	% Recorded in Photograph Book
Total no. of cases heard	164	17	10
Total no. of accused persons appearing	87	13	15

To gain an overview of the types of offences within the Photograph Book, the records were coded, and overall, 109 types of crime appear in the transcribed information. For ease of interpretation, crimes were further grouped into categories, for example, 'Offences for Gain' including 'Stealing', 'Embezzlement', 'Larceny', 'Receiving' and such crimes were categorised as 'Theft'; the results of this grouping is shown below (Graph 2.2).

¹⁶⁹ North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Scarborough Petty Sessions Court Registers*, PS/S 1/1-6, 1916-1936.

Graph 2.2 Offences by category in the Photograph Book



From this analysis, it was clear that the majority of offences entered in the book and recorded both in Scarborough and elsewhere were forms of theft. This finding led to the supposition that the book was primarily compiled in line with the requirements of the West Yorkshire Clearing House system, established in Wakefield around 1909 by Major Lewis Atcherley, when Chief Constable of the West Riding Force, as discussed above.¹⁷⁰ The system dealt primarily with so-called 'Offences for Gain': 'Larceny comprises over 90% of criminal work so that if thief-catching is thoroughly exhausted, the back of the Constable's work will be broken'.¹⁷¹ Following the initial analysis, further comparisons of the numbers and types of offences recorded within the Registers of the Scarborough Petty Sessions were made in order to verify more securely the rationale for the content within the Photograph Book.

2.4 Triangulation with Scarborough Petty Session Registers

¹⁷⁰ *Committee on the Police Service. Report of the Committee on the Police Service of England, Wales and Scotland. Part II.*, (London: HMSO, 1920), p. 5.

¹⁷¹ West Yorkshire Archive, *M.O. In Crime Investigation and Detection*, WYP/BR/A366/14/8, 1922, p. 5; Appendix 2.2 shows the classification of 'Offences for Gain' under the system.

In Scarborough, the Petty Sessions (this term being used interchangeably with 'Police Court') were held at least three times per week, and on occasion, on every day of the week apart from Sunday. A juvenile court took place on Wednesdays. Court hearings had taken place in the early part of the 19th century at the Old Town Hall; from 1867 the Court House was located adjacent to the New Town Hall on Castle Road, attached to the Police Station. The court of Petty Sessions would also hear the initial indictments for more serious crimes before referring these on to the higher courts: either the Quarter Sessions, held every three months in Scarborough, or the Assizes, held in York and Leeds. Samples from the Scarborough Petty Session records 1916-1936 (PS/S 1/1-6), held by North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO), were transcribed and analysed for the months of January-February and July-August in the years 1922 and 1932.¹⁷² In this way, in addition to comparison with the Photograph Book in terms of types of offences, the samples provided for further evaluation a contrast between summer and winter hearings, and of the situation ten years apart under two different Chief Constables: Henry Windsor in 1922 and Walter Abbott in 1932.

The Petty Sessions Register recorded the following details of each case:

Date, Name of Informant, Name of Defendant, Age, Nature of Proceeding, Nature of Proceeding or Matter of Complaint, Date of Offence, Plea, Minute of Adjudication, Justices Adjudication, Time Allowed for Payments and Instalments, Remarks.

Cases were heard before a panel of between two and six magistrates, and the records for each day's cases were signed by the Chair of the panel. Along with criminal offences, the court regularly considered applications for alcohol and music licences. Cases related to non-payment of support payments for children also appeared frequently, as did summonses for non-payment of rates. Whilst private individuals on occasion brought cases against other individuals, for example, for assault, the majority of cases were prosecuted by the police, as became typical in this period.¹⁷³ With the main focus here on police prosecutions, in the 1922 Scarborough sample, the Chief Constable Henry Windsor was invariably present in court and acted as the 'Informant' in the cases prosecuted by the police; his subordinate, Walter Abbott, then a Detective Inspector, very occasionally appeared presenting a case. In contrast in 1932,

¹⁷² North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Scarborough Petty Sessions Court Registers*, PS/S 1/1-6, 1916-1936.

¹⁷³ Barry Godfrey, 'Changing Prosecution Practices and Their Impact on Crime Figures, 1857-1940', *British Journal of Criminology*, 48 (2008) pp. 171-189.

both Walter Abbott, now the Chief Constable, and D.I. Keith Webster both appear regularly in court as the informant, perhaps suggesting a shift in priorities for senior officers.

The offences recorded over the sample periods were coded under the categories as tabulated in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 of *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1922*, (as summarized here in Appendix 2.1), and then grouped either as 'Offences for Gain' or 'Other Offences' as defined by the West Yorkshire Clearing House system (Appendix 2.2).¹⁷⁴ Table 2.4 below provides an overview of these groupings in sampled periods. Whilst on average four to five cases brought by the police were heard each day at the Police Court, cases were commonly adjourned to a later date, sometimes two or three times. The information collated below refers to the final hearing, where a judgement was reached on the case. A more detailed breakdown of offence types is discussed further in Chapter Four as part of the investigation of crime statistics relating to Scarborough.

Table 2.4 Sampled extracts from Scarborough Petty Session Registers and Photograph Book, 1922 and 1932 with categories of offences recorded in January-February 1922, July-August 1922, January-February 1932, July-August 1932.									
Scarborough Petty Session Registers									
Offence Type	Offence Code	Number of cases							
		Jan-Feb 1922		Jul-Aug 1922		Jan-Feb 1932		Jul-Aug 1932	
		Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB
Total Offences		47	11	143	10	43	17	46	4
Total - Offences 'For Gain'		13	11	28	10	17	16	10	3
Total - Other offences		34	0	115	1	26	1	36	1
% of cases in each 2-month sample									
		Jan-Feb 1922		Jul-Aug 1922		Jan-Feb 1932		Jul-Aug 1932	
		Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB
Total Offences		100	23	100	7	100	40	100	9
Total - Offences 'For Gain'		28	23	20	7	40	37	25	7
Total - Other offences		72	0	80	<1	60	2	75	2

¹⁷⁴ House of Commons, Judicial statistics: England and Wales, 1922: Criminal statistics: Statistics relating to criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, and criminal lunatics, for the year 1922, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Appendix 1 and 2, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1924-026851?accountid=12507>> [accessed 6 December 2023]; West Yorkshire Archive Service, 'M.O. in Criminal Investigation and Detection', WYP/BR/A366/14/8, (1922).

The comparison here shows that the records being entered in the Photograph Book were primarily those 'For Gain': in the first sample, Jan-Feb 1922, no other types of offence were recorded in the book, and in the following three samples, only one 'Not for Gain' offence was entered. Thus, in relation to the rationale for photographing an offender and recording their details in the Photograph Book, the sample suggests that, in the majority of cases, the records were being compiled in line with the procedures of the West Riding Clearing House system. Exceptions to this, however, can be identified, perhaps providing some indication of police procedures in practice through further analysis of individual cases.

In conclusion to this section, through the comparison between the Petty Session Registers and the Photograph Book, it became clear that the information contained with the Book represented only a partial sample of those who offended during the time period in question, an outcome which may necessarily influence the interpretation of further findings. Inevitably, some factors remain unknown, for example, whether records relating to other types of offences may have been compiled in separate volumes which have not survived. Significantly, however, the process served to further understanding of the overarching purpose for the compilation and storage of offenders' records by Scarborough Borough Police and allowed key themes for the research to be developed. The sections below describes some key sources used in developing themes and in building a comprehensive case study as visualized in the research framework.

2.5 Key Sources: Digital Sources

The principal online sources used included findmypast giving access to the British Newspaper Archive (BNA).¹⁷⁵ Currently, Scarborough newspapers are not available digitally for the time period in question. A sample of articles relating to policing and the courts was taken from print copies of Scarborough News for 1922 and used to search the BNA using relevant keywords. This showed that, in the main, such reports also appeared in regional newspapers and often in others for further afield. The coverage of areas of interest in Scarborough was sufficient for the purposes of the research through the BNA. The findmypast website was

¹⁷⁵ Findmypast, <www.findmypast.co.uk>.

also used to research details of individuals recorded in the Scarborough Photograph Book, such as census returns. Ancestry was used to research details of individuals recorded in the Scarborough Photograph Book.¹⁷⁶ A Vision of Britain through Time provides census reports and data summaries extracted from censuses.¹⁷⁷ Parliamentary Papers were used for data extraction of Home Office *Criminal Statistics* for England & Wales, Scarborough, and regional/resort settings.¹⁷⁸

2.6 Key Sources – Crime and Policing

Given the focus here on the interwar period, established as discussed above through analysis of the time span of recording within the Photograph Book, relevant data from further sources covering this time period were extracted and compiled: Table 2.5 summarizes the sampling periods and the nature of the sampled data.

¹⁷⁶ Ancestry, <www.ancestry.co.uk>.

¹⁷⁷ Vision of Britain, <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/>>.

¹⁷⁸ Parliamentary Papers <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/search/basic/hcppbasicsearch>>.

Table 2.5 Sampled Primary Sources ¹⁷⁹		
Source	Data Sampled	Dates Sampled
Scarborough Petty Sessions	Court Registers – defendant, offence, outcome, magistrates	Jan-Feb 1922 Jul-Aug 1922 Jan-Feb 1932 Jul-Aug 1932
Scarborough Watch Committee	Minutes of Meetings	Jan-Dec 1922 Dec 1928 Jan-Dec 1932
Home Office <i>Criminal Statistics</i>	England & Wales Police Returns: Numbers of Indictable & Non-Indictable Offences including individual categories of offences	1922-1938
	Scarborough Police Returns: Numbers of Indictable & Non-Indictable Offences including individual categories of offences	1922-1938
	Yorkshire Towns/Cities Police Returns: Totals for Indictable & Non-Indictable Offences	1922-32
	Seaside Towns Police Returns: Totals for Indictable & Non-Indictable Offences	1922-32

Scarborough Watch Committee

As a Municipal Borough, oversight of policing in Scarborough was the responsibility of the Watch Committee, appointed from the elected councillors of the Borough. At the time of this study, Scarborough comprised 6 wards - North, North-West, Central, East, West and South – which each ward elected 4 representatives to the Town Council. Six of these 24 councillors were then appointed as Aldermen for a period. The Watch Committee comprised eight aldermen and councillors, meeting once a month, generally with 6 members present. Overlap between functions in the local administration was common, for example, in 1925, five of the councillors and the Mayor were also magistrates, who numbered 25 in total.¹⁸⁰ The

¹⁷⁹ North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Scarborough Petty Sessions Court Registers*, PS/S 1/1-6, (1916-1936); North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Watch Committee Minutes* DC/SCB II 1/5/6-7, (1922); North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Watch Committee Minutes*, DC/SCB II 1/21/1-10, (1932); House of Commons, *Judicial Statistics, England and Wales*, (1922-1938). Part 1.--Criminal Statistics. Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, and Criminal Lunatics, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com>> [accessed 6 December 2023].

¹⁸⁰ *Kelly's Directory of the North & East Ridings of Yorkshire*, (London, Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1925).

Corporation employed a number of officers, one of these being the Chief Constable, others including the Town Clerk, Medical Officer, Coroner, Inspector of Weights and Measures and Borough Engineer. In line with the samples taken of the Petty Session Registers, the minutes of this Committee for 1922 and 1932, held by North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO), were consulted in detail in order to discern local authority views towards crime and to evaluate relations between the authority and the police.¹⁸¹ In addition, a period of months following the end of December 1928 was considered, spanning the period from the resignation of Chief Constable Henry Windsor, and the appointment of his successor, Walter Abbott, in view of possible changes in policy or relations.

Home Office *Criminal Statistics*

The value of crime statistics as an accurate representation of the number of crimes committed in reality has long been the subject of debate. Writing in the mid-twentieth century, for example, the criminologist Silcock observed the lack of a uniform system of recording crime prior to 1937, with methods varying from one police authority to another, and that ‘the decision to classify a report as a “Crime” will in many instances depend upon the judgement of a police officer’.¹⁸² Similarly writing from the perspective of the 1940s and into the post-World War II period, Herbert Mannheim in his work on *Social Aspects of Crime between the Wars* proposed some underlying causes of variation in reported statistics, with the local autonomy of police and judiciary in decisions concerning the charging and sentencing of offenders being significant amongst these.¹⁸³ In cases of vagrancy, for example, magistrates were known to adopt the practice of discharging offenders on the understanding that they would leave the locality; as a consequence, the local police force became less disposed to bringing such cases before magistrates, knowing that a conviction was unlikely.¹⁸⁴ Certain local priorities, often promoted by influential sections of the local authority, are also seen to impact offending rates. In 1911, for example, Lincolnshire recorded the highest rate of

¹⁸¹ North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Watch Committee Minutes*, DC/SCB II 1/5/6-7, (1922); North Yorkshire County Record Office, *Watch Committee Minutes*, DC/SCB II 1/21/1-10, (1932).

¹⁸² H. Silcock, *The Increase in Crimes of Theft 1938-1947*, (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1949), p. 13.

¹⁸³ Hermann Mannheim, *Social Aspects of Crime between the Wars*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950), p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ Mannheim, *Social Aspects*, p. 54. Mannheim cites 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, ‘*Vagrancy Committee. Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy. Volume I.*’, (1906).

convictions for begging – 8.5 per 1000 population, seven times the national average, whilst in comparison, the rates for nearby Nottingham and Norfolk stood at 0.2 and 0.6 respectively.¹⁸⁵ The practice was modified following objections by the Prison Commissioners due to the overcrowding at Lincoln Jail.¹⁸⁶ Year to year variation might also arise due to local disputes between different bodies. In 1933 in Leeds, for example, the Chief Constable reported a suspension of police activities against gaming machines due to disagreement with magistrates' decisions on such cases.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, the associated figures for prosecutions in 1932 amounted to 431, dropping to 33 in 1933 and rising again to 290 in 1934, when the police again took action. As Mannheim concludes, 'This example shows again how fallacious may be the bare figures of Criminal Statistics, if interpreted without sufficient knowledge of local conditions'.¹⁸⁸

The enactment of new legislation can also be observed to promote changes in convictions patterns, leading to inconsistencies in the recorded statistics. The introduction to *Criminal Statistics* for 1909, for example, observed as an outcome of the Probation Act 1907, 'a growing reluctance to take the trouble to prosecute a thief, who, if he is convicted, is likely to be let off with little or no punishment'.¹⁸⁹ Apparent increases in convictions for certain categories of offences also arose from legislation which widened summary jurisdiction, this effect being attributed to the easing of the associated court procedures for the offences concerned, allowing cases to be heard by a magistrate at the Petty Sessions without a jury.¹⁹⁰ As an example, following the Summary Jurisdiction Act 1899 which brought False Pretences under this jurisdiction, the *Criminal Statistics* of 1902 recorded a 50% increase in persons tried for this offence.¹⁹¹ Changes in police systems and procedures similarly impacted on reported statistics. Following the abolition of the Metropolitan Police's 'Suspected Stolen' books, figures for reported larcenies increased significantly as stolen items were now recorded as crimes rather than simply being listed in the book.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.68.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p.52.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p.64.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p.65.

¹⁹² Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England*, (Harlow: Longman, 2011), p. 17.

As Godfrey suggests, in practice statistics provide a starting point for researchers in establishing the types of offences recorded and prosecuted in a given period.¹⁹³ Emsley provides an overview of historians' approaches to such sources, describes these as ranging from the 'positivist' - considering such statistics to show the state of crime and to reveal trends over time – to the 'pessimist' – considering them to be fundamentally unreliable.¹⁹⁴ Taking the 'pessimist' view, Taylor has argued that crime statistics were intentionally manipulated by the police in order to justify increases in manpower and funding, this analysis forming part of his wider contention that crime statistics represent a 'supply-side' approach to published figures of reported crime.¹⁹⁵ He contends that Leonard Dunning, Chief Constable of Liverpool from 1902-1905 and later the first H.M Inspector of Constabulary, was instrumental in encouraging the inflation of crime figures, having overseen a reported doubling of the rate of indictable crime during his tenure at Liverpool, and considering low crime rates as a marker of police inaction.¹⁹⁶ In Taylor's view, 'this was clearly a planned book-keeping exercise since there was no increase in persons apprehended for indictable offences'.¹⁹⁷ Following the Desborough Committee and the Police Act 1921 which instituted significant pay rises for the police and consequent increased costs for the Treasury, Taylor further argues that pressures to limit any rise in police numbers brought a reaction from within the police to find "new crime" in order to justify their numbers, and that the prosecution of motoring offences provided a timely focus.¹⁹⁸ Taylor's thesis has been challenged notably by Morris: on the issue of increasing prosecutions for motor offences, for example, he suggests that the increase in road traffic by more than 350% between 1920 and 1938 inevitably impacted upon police resources and activity, and finds that the supply-side argument, 'relies more than seems credible on supposition, and on arithmetical relationships that are more accidental than probative'.¹⁹⁹ In deconstructing Taylor's analysis, Morris

¹⁹³ Barry S. Godfrey, David J. Cox, and Stephen D. Farrall, *Serious Offenders: A Historical Study of Habitual Criminals*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Clive Emsley, 'Historical Perspectives on Crime', in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, ed. by Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan, and Robert Reiner (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 130.

¹⁹⁵ Howard Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales, 1914-1960', *Crime, histoire & sociétés/Crime, history & societies*, 2 (1998), pp. 5-28 (p.11).

¹⁹⁶ Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics', p. 12.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁸ Howard Taylor, 'Forging the Job : A Crisis of 'Modernization' or Redundancy for the Police in England and Wales, 1900-39', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999), pp. 113-35 (p.124).

¹⁹⁹ Robert M. Morris, 'Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics: Reinterpreting the Criminal Statistics of England and Wales.', *Crime, History & Societies*, 5 (2001), pp. 111-127, (p.124).

concluded, ‘Nonetheless, criminal statistics are incontestably the most profuse and the most accessible data available. They are, therefore, to be taken seriously for what they are, that is artefacts of contemporary social processes’.²⁰⁰ An intermediate position, termed ‘interactionist’ by Emsley, similarly takes the view that, with critical interpretation, crime statistics can be of value in informing understanding of the criminal justice system.²⁰¹ Where the focus of inquiry concerns a localized setting, complementary primary sources such as court registers provide further context and an element of corroboration (or otherwise) of nationally-published crime statistics.²⁰² Abraham, for example, uses records of prosecutions for assault in the Petty Session Registers of Nottingham and Northampton to explore the local reality of the apparent decline in violent crime suggested by government statistics in the period from the late 19th century to the 1930s.²⁰³ Likewise, noting the observed rise in juvenile crime during the interwar period, Borrett analyses entries in registers of the Juvenile Court in Hull in order to examine responses to crime by the authorities in the city, given contemporary public concerns with regard to juvenile delinquency.²⁰⁴

2.7 Offending during the Interwar Period

With the caveats discussed above, in order to develop an overview of the types and amounts of offending during the inter-war years nationally and in Scarborough, figures were extracted from the tables of Police Returns within the Home Office publications of *Criminal Statistics* for the years 1922 – 1938 for England and Wales, and for Scarborough, this time period covering the principal period of recording within the Scarborough Photograph Book, as discussed above.²⁰⁵ From the period prior to the First World War onwards, ‘Police Returns’ within the annual report of *Criminal Statistics for England and Wales* included a number of

²⁰⁰ Morris, ‘Lies, Damn Lies and Statistics’, p. 124.

²⁰¹ Emsley, ‘Historical Perspectives’, p. 120.

²⁰² Examples include: Michelle A. Abraham, ‘The Summary Courts and the Prosecution of Assault in Northampton and Nottingham, 1886-1931’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester, 2012); Ashley R. Borrett, ‘Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull and East Yorkshire During the Interwar Period’, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Hull, 2018).

²⁰³ Abraham, ‘The Summary Courts’, p. 2.

²⁰⁴ Borrett, ‘Reactions to Crime’, p. 163.

²⁰⁵ House of Commons, Judicial Statistics: England and Wales 1922, Criminal Statistics: Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, and Criminal Lunatics, for the Year 1922, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cm 2265, P.98 in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1924-026851?accountid=12507> [accessed 6 December 2023].

tables detailing figures at District Level, that is, for both County and Borough Police Forces.²⁰⁶

Offences were reported under three broad sub-divisions: Indictable Offences, Non-Indictable Offences akin to Indictable Offences and Other Non-Indictable Offences. These are summarized in Table 2.6 below and further detailed in Appendix 2.1.

Table 2.6 Categorisation of offence types within <i>Criminal Statistics</i> ²⁰⁷		
Category	Examples	
Indictable Offences – further sub-divided as shown	Class I	Offences against the person eg Murder, Manslaughter, Rape
	Class II	Offences against Property with violence eg Burglary, Housebreaking
	Class III	Offences against Property without Violence eg Aggravated Larceny
	Class IV	Malicious Injury to Property eg Arson
	Class V	Forgery and Offences against the Currency eg Forgery, Coining
	Class VI	Other Offences Not in the above classes eg Attempted Suicide
Non-Indictable Offences akin to indictable offences tried summarily	Assaults, Brothel-Keeping, Cruelty to children, Offences against Prevention of Crimes Act, Indecent Exposure	
Other Non-indictable Offences tried summarily	Betting & Gaming, Highways Acts, Drunkenness, Offences against Poor Laws, Prostitution, Begging, Sleeping Out	

Within the publication, the tables for Indictable and Non-Indictable Offences show numbers of ‘Persons Proceeded Against’ and the ‘Result of Proceedings’, also giving the numbers apprehended and summonsed. For Indictable Crimes, a column additionally shows ‘Number of crimes known to the Police’. A further table details for each District the numbers of each type of offence. Within the category of Indictable Offences, a number of offences such as

²⁰⁶ House of Commons, Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1913. Part I.--Criminal Statistics. Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for the Year 1913, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cd. 7536, 7600, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1914-018133?accountid=12507> [accessed 6 December 2023].

²⁰⁷ House of Commons, Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1919. Part 1.--Criminal Statistics. Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for the Year 1919, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cmd. 1424, 1362, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1921-024827?accountid=12507> [accessed 6 December 2023].

Simple Larceny, False Pretences, Receiving, Libel and Habitual Drunkenness were tried summarily.²⁰⁸ In the pre-war period, in addition to numbers of offences, Police Returns gave the 'Numbers of persons under police supervision in each District', 'Habitual Criminals at Large and Houses of Bad Character in each District'.²⁰⁹ Over the war years, from 1914-18, the summary tables for Indictable and Non-Indictable Crimes were retained in the publication, but the more detailed District figures broken down by category of offence were omitted as noted in the foreword, 'as a consequence of the War'.²¹⁰ In 1919, these tables were re-instated, however figures relating to police supervision and habitual criminals were no longer reported. In 1920 and 1921, the *Criminal Statistics* were not published as Parliamentary Papers, however annual publication by the Home Office was re-instated from 1922. From 1934, the detailed tabulation of categories of offences was modified.²¹¹ Notably, 'Larceny of Pedal Cycles' and 'Larceny from Vehicles, Shops, Meters etc.' were now separately reported in addition to the figures for 'Simple and Minor Larcenies'.²¹² Similarly, within prosecutions for Non-Indictable Offences, eight categories of motor and pedal cycle offences were separated out where previous recording reported all offences against the Highways Acts in one figure.²¹³ Conversely, prosecutions for Begging, Sleeping Out and offences against the

²⁰⁸ David Bentley, *English Criminal Justice in the 19th Century*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998).

²⁰⁹ House of Commons, Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1913. Part I.--Criminal Statistics. Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for the Year 1913, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cd. 7536, 7600, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1914-018133?accountid=12507> [accessed 6 December 2023].

²¹⁰ House of Commons, Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1919. Part 1.--Criminal Statistics. Statistics Relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for the Year 1919, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cmd. 1424, 1362, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1921-024827?accountid=12507>> [accessed 6 December 2023].

²¹¹ House of Commons, Criminal Statistics England and Wales. Statistics Relating to Crime, Criminal Proceedings and Coroners Investigations for the Year 1934, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cmd. 5185 in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. [accessed 6 December 2023].

²¹¹ Writing at the end of the following decade, Mannheim was to observe that, 'classifications actually made by the criminal law are sometimes ignored in *Criminal Statistics* and offences of very different characteristics lumped together in one figure.'; also see H. Silcock, *'The Increase in Crimes of Theft'*, p. 7.

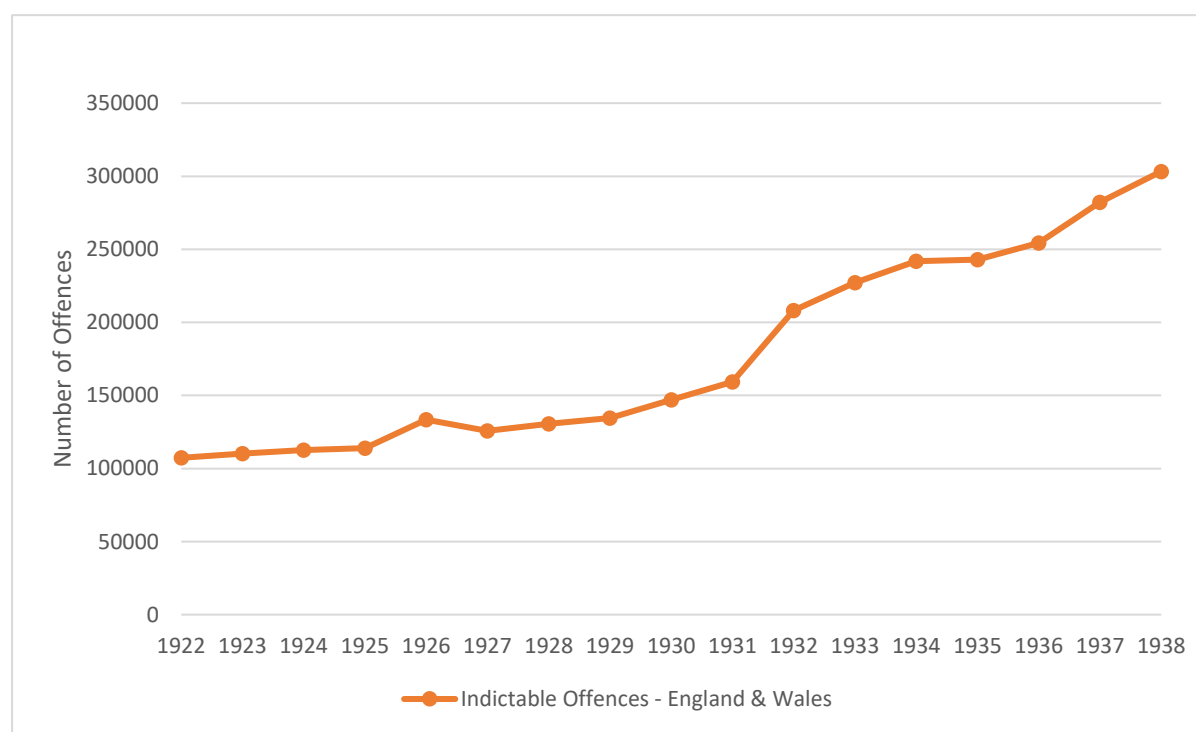
²¹² House of Commons, Criminal Statistics England and Wales. Statistics Relating to Crime, Criminal Proceedings and Coroners Investigations for the Year 1934, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cmd. 5185 in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1935-034132?accountid=12507>> [accessed 6 December 2023].

²¹³ House of Commons, Home Office. Criminal Statistics England and Wales 1933. Statistics Relating to Crime, Criminal Proceedings and Coroners' Investigations for the Year 1933', 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Cmd. 4977 in *UK Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1934-033569?accountid=12507>> [accessed 6 December 2023].

Poor Laws were no longer reported separately.²¹⁴ The publication of criminal statistics was suspended during the years of the Second World War, with a summary relating to 1939-1945 appearing in 1947.

Grouped under the three main categories of offence - Graph 2.3 shows Indictable Offences and Graph 2.4 shows the two categories of Non-Indictable Offences.²¹⁵ Here, an overview of changes in recorded offences in England and Wales is considered and some prevalent themes concerning crime in the period are explored.

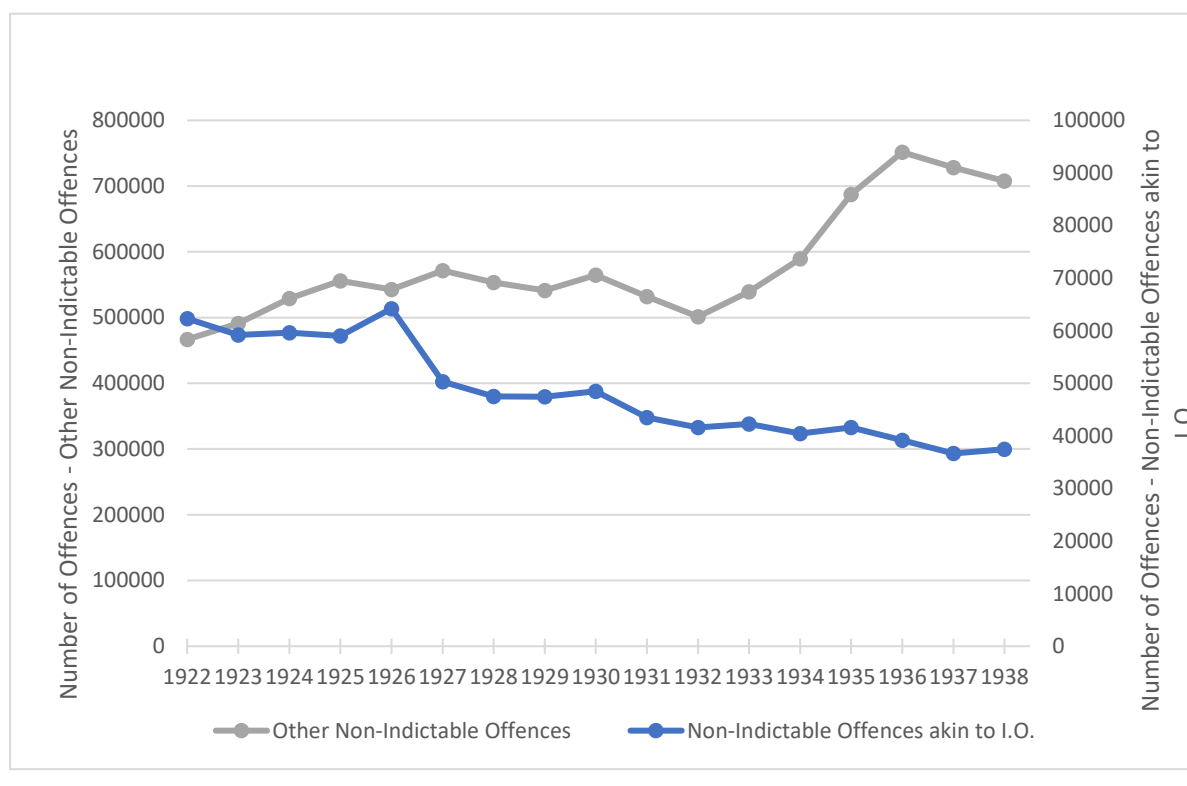
Graph 2.3 *Criminal Statistics - Police Returns for England & Wales 1922-1938 – Indictable Offences*



²¹⁴ Silcock, *The Increase in Crimes of Theft*, p. 7.

²¹⁵ Within the statistical tables of Police Returns, in the case of the category of Indictable Crime, figures are reported for 'Number of crimes known to Police', for 'Persons Proceeded against', for 'Results of Proceedings', and for 'Crimes for which the perpetrators are known but for which no proceedings are shown'; for Non-Indictable Offences, figures are given for 'Persons proceeded against' and 'Results of Proceedings'. Thus in the figures shown here, for Indictable Offences, the number shown is the total 'Number of crimes known to Police', whilst for Non-Indictable Offences, the number is the total 'Persons proceeded against'.

Graph 2.4 *Criminal Statistics* - Police Returns for England & Wales 1922-1938 – Non-Indictable Offences akin to I.O. (Right-hand axis) Other Non-Indictable Offences (Left-Hand Axis)



In overview, the figures for Indictable Offences in England & Wales (Graph 2.3) show a gradual increase in the number of offences through the 1920s followed by a steeper rise broadly from 1930 onwards, resulting in close to a tripling of known offences from 1922 to 1938. With the population of England and Wales increasing by around 5% over this period, from just under thirty-eight million to approximately forty million, an increase in the rate of offending is also suggested by these figures. Various forms of theft constituted the vast bulk – around 90% - of Indictable crime both in 1922 and 1938. The overall increase over the period was primarily due to a 47% increase recorded in the number of Simple Larcenies, and from 1934, the separate recording of Larceny of Pedal Cycles, Larceny from Vehicles etc. and Theft of Motor Cars, additionally amounting to nearly 36% of total offences at the later date. These four categories taken together as a percentage of the total remained similar: 58% in 1922 and 66% in 1938 (Table 2.7).²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Detailed figures for all categories of offence for the years 1922, 1932 and 1938 are shown in Appendix 2.3.

Table 2.7 England & Wales - <i>Criminal Statistics</i> - Police Returns for 1922 & 1938 – Indictable Offences					
Indictable Crime					
Offence Code	Type of Offence	1922		1938	
		Number of offences	% of total	Number of offences	% of total
34 to 36	Burglary, housebreaking etc	17481	16	49184	16
37 to 43	Aggravated Larcenies	8820	8	19206	6
44	Larceny of Pedal Cycles			30463	10
45 to 47	Larceny from Vehicles, Shops, Meters etc			56838	19
44	Simple and Minor Larcenies*	62103	58	91114	30
45	Obtaining by false pretences*	8581	8	12594	4
48 & 138	Unauthorised taking and theft of motor vehicles			20051	7
	Total – Selected Offences shown here	96985	90	279450	92
	Total – All Offences	107230	100	303288	100

Turning to Non-Indictable Offences (Fig. 2.4), a contrasting pattern is seen, although this is in part a consequence of the grouping of types of offences either as ‘akin to Indictable Offences’ or as ‘Other’. The decline in offences in the former category - some 40% over the period - was primarily due to a decline in recorded assaults, accounting for approximately 50% of all offences in this grouping (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8 England & Wales - *Criminal Statistics* - Police Returns for 1922 & 1938 – Non-Indictable Offences akin to Indictable Offences

Non-Indictable Offences akin to Indictable Offences					
Offence Code	Type of Offence	1922		1938	
		Number of offences	% of total	Number of offences	% of total
85-87	Assaults	33869	54	19000	51
89,177	Brothel-keeping and living on prostitute's earnings	563	1	452	1
91	Cruelty to children	1913	3	1084	3
109	Indecent Exposure	1875	3	1954	5
129 to 133	Malicious damage	16271	26	11048	30
151 to 153A	Prevention of Crimes Act, offences against	176	0	118	0
162 to 166,170	Stealing, unlawful possession etc	4190	7	477	1
175,176	Frequenting, found in enclosed premises etc	3448	6	3310	9
	Total – All Offences	62305	100	37443	100

The remaining large category of 'Other Non-Indictable Offences' saw a relatively stable situation over the 1920s, averaging some 550,000 offences per annum, followed by a steep increase from the early 1930s. Here, the increase was overwhelmingly due to the increased prosecution of Highways Offences. A further significant change saw close to a 30% decline in offences against liquor laws, including drunkenness although as shown in Appendix 2.3, a decrease by close to 60% occurred from 1922-32, with a renewed increase from 1932-1938.

Table 2.9 England & Wales - *Criminal Statistics* - Police Returns for 1922 & 1938 – Other Non-Indictable Offences

Other Non-Indictable Offences					
Offence Code	Type of Offence	1922		1938	
		Number of offences	% of total	Number of offences	% of total
102 to 106	Highway Acts, Offences against	145717	31	487232	69
110,111	Intoxicating liquor laws, offences against - Drunkenness	81150	17	58883	8
142-146	Police regulations, offences against	67963	15	37636	5
147-150	Poor Laws, offences against	4492	1		
154,154A	Prostitution	5067	1		
156	Revenue Laws	20747	4	34487	5
172	Begging	5203	1		
173	Sleeping out	2548	1		
174	Gaming &c	16467	4		
178	Other Vagrancy Offences	1139	0		
185-191	Vagrancy Offences			9847	1
	Other offences, inc Sunday Trading etc	59239	13	65962	9
	Total – Selected Offences shown here	409732	88	694047	98
	Total – All Offences	636469	100	1048692	100

2.8 Responses to Crime during the Interwar Years

Responses in the public eye to apparent rises in crime took on various guises over the period. Shortly following the First World War, contemporary debates were concerned with a rise in juvenile crime, commonly attributed to the absence of parental supervision whilst fathers were absent, and to perceived threats from brutalised former soldiers returning to civilian

life.²¹⁷ However, challenges to such ‘panics’ were also found: in its editorial of February 1920, The Clarion, a weekly socialist publication, stated:

Several readers call attention to the demand in certain papers for the use of the cat to stop the alleged epidemic of crime, and ask us to protest. We have protested in the past and will protest again, but we do not think anything we can say will influence those who, in a state of panic, are demanding that men convicted of crimes of violence should be flogged [...] With the humanising of prisoners and the amelioration of penalties, crime has steadily decreased.²¹⁸

Cinema-going was also implicated in juvenile crime. Writing to the Western Mail in October 1920, a correspondent notes that twelve out of fifteen prisoners at recent Cardiff City Sessions were under the age of 21. He continues:

I should like to say as one with considerable experience of criminals, that one of the principal causes of this is undoubtedly the cinema. This opinion is held by many experienced barristers. The influence of the ultra-sensational stuff that is provided in the picture houses has a most deleterious effect on young and immature minds. Is it not the time that the whole question of the attendance of young people at the cinema was investigated and the matter regulated?²¹⁹

In fact, just a few months previously, the Cardiff magistrates had heard from the probation committee that juvenile crime was decreasing in the city.²²⁰ Influential factors were felt to be the return of fathers to their homes and ‘the better methods introduced for the correction of juvenile offences.[...] placing young people under the care of a kindly and experienced officer had a successful reformatory influence’.²²¹ Allegations regarding cinema-going were perhaps unsurprisingly rebuffed by trade journals, also fearing a pretext for the introduction of more stringent censorship. The *Kinematograph Weekly* of February 1921, for example, reports on a parliamentary debate in which the M.P. Major Glyn called for a limitation in ‘crime’ films, prompting the Home Office Under Secretary Sir J. Baird to ‘knock on the head the persistent

²¹⁷ Emsley, ‘Historical Perspectives’, p. 24.; Clive Emsley, ‘Violent Crime in England in 1919: Post-War Anxieties and Press Narratives’, *Continuity and Change* 23 (2008) pp. 173-195.

²¹⁸ ‘The Editorial at Home’, *The Clarion*, 6 February 1920. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

²¹⁹ ‘Juvenile Crime’, *Western Mail*, 5 October 1920. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

²²⁰ ‘Juvenile Crime. Gratifying Decrease at Cardiff’, *Western Mail*, 28 January 1920. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

²²¹ *Western Mail*, 28 January 1920. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

fable that the kinema theatre has been responsible for an increase in juvenile crime'.²²² The report goes on to observe that 'the kinema theatre, if it enters into the problem at all, is shown to have had an ameliorative effect.'²²³

As the decade progressed, attention turned to the impact of the rising number and availability of motor cars and the potential for their use in crime. The portrayal of so-called 'motor bandits' in the media engendered fear of this relatively new form of crime, arguably as Brown notes, out of proportion to the threat posed.²²⁴ Cases such as that of the so-called 'bobbed-haired bandit', involving a female accomplice to a career criminal, received wide coverage in the press and played on both the supposed glamour of daring 'smash-and-grab raids' and the novelty of a young, 'modern' woman as perpetrator.²²⁵ The reality proved different: after several convictions for petty theft, Lilian Goldstein, the woman in question, had her sentence commuted to three months at her final court appearance, and was then put on probation.²²⁶ In 1944, she chose to renounce her married surname, reverting to her maiden name, presumably with the intention of severing ties with the criminal image that had been constructed for her.²²⁷ The Introductory Note published within *Criminal Statistics* for 1928 firmly ascribes case of offences against property with violence to 'the incoming of the Motor Age', detailing a number of contributory factors such as the spread of urban settlement into country areas and the difficulty in policing these, the availability of cars to 'the idle or criminally disposed' and the 'chances of doing the job successfully and getting away with it'.²²⁸ Conversely, noting the increase in simple and minor larcenies, the note concludes that, 'It is impossible to say what significance attaches to the rise.....for, as already pointed out, statistics

²²² 'The State of Trade Censorship', *Kinematograph Weekly*, 24 February 24 1921 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

²²³ *Kinematograph Weekly*, 24 February 24 1921 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

²²⁴ Alyson Brown, 'Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 25 (2011), pp. 551-68.

²²⁵ Alyson Brown, 'The Bobbed-Hair Bandit and the Smash-and-Grab Raider', in *Fair and Unfair Trials in the British Isles 1800-1940*, ed. by Anne-Marie Kilday David Nash (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), (p. 201).

²²⁶ Brown, 'The Bobbed-Hair Bandit', p. 211.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

²²⁸ House of Commons, Home Office. Criminal Statistics England and Wales 1928. Statistics Relating to Crime, Criminal Proceedings and Coroners' Investigations for the Year 1928, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, CMD. 3581 in UK Parliamentary Papers. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1929-030503?accountid=12507>> [accessed 20 December 2023].

of this class of offence cannot accurately reflect the number of offences actually committed'.²²⁹

In contrast to the apparent rising incidence in certain crimes, convictions for drunkenness fell over the 1920s. Studies of alcohol consumption over the long-term suggest, with some fluctuations, that a steady decline in per capita consumption of alcoholic drinks took place from around 1870 until the beginning of the First World War.²³⁰ Following a further sharp decline during the war years and a short-lived increase immediately following the end of the war, consumption again fell away until a renewed increase from the early 1930s onwards.²³¹ From 1929-1931, a Royal Commission on Licensing carried out a wide ranging inquiry into the operation of the licensing laws and on social and economic questions related to alcohol consumption.²³² The report notes a fall in consumption of beer in the United Kingdom from 33 gallons a head per annum in 1899 to 16 gallons a head in 1929.²³³ Consumption of spirits in England and Wales fell from approximately 1 gallon per head in 1899 to 0.25 gallons per head in 1929. The report notes that 'the present century has seen a distinct advance on sobriety[...]particularly noticeable amongst the younger people'.²³⁴ In tandem, convictions for drunkenness were also seen to fall. In 1913, 153,112 men and 35,765 women were convicted for drunkenness as against 35,212 men and 7,131 women in 1931; overall this represents a fall from 51.2 to 10.6 convictions per 10,000.²³⁵ The report considers a number of factors which have led to this change notably the growth of so-called 'counter-attractions' such as 'cinemas, wireless, allotments and gardens on new estates, playing fields, travel facilities and

²²⁹ House of Commons, Home Office. Criminal Statistics England and Wales 1928., p. xv.

²³⁰ Paul Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 19.

²³¹ In 2009, the House of Commons Health Committee reporting on contemporary health issues related to alcohol published statistics to demonstrate long-term trends in alcohol consumption derived from George B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation. A Contribution to the Study of the Liquor Problem in the United Kingdom from 1800-1935*, (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1940).; House of Commons, Health Committee - First Report Alcohol 2009. <<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmhealth/151/15102.htm>> [accessed 5 January 2024].

²³² House of Commons, Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales) 1929-31. Report, 20th Century House of Commons Command Papers, Cmd. 3988 in *UK Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1931-031614?accountid=12507>> [accessed 5 January 2024].

²³³ House of Commons, Royal Commission on Licensing, p. 5. 33 gallons equates to 150 litres per head per year. For comparison, in 2017, beer consumption per head was approximately 60 litres per head per year. *British Beer & Pub Association Statistical Handbook*, (London: London Brewing Publications, 2018).

²³⁴ House of Commons, Royal Commission on Licensing, p.8

²³⁵ Mannheim, *Social Aspects*, p. 165.

so forth'.²³⁶ In addition, better housing, education and public health services are noted as contributory factors to the change as is 'the public attitude towards drunkenness. Drunkenness has gone out of fashion and is not tolerated as he used to be'.²³⁷

2.9 Conclusions

With this study taking as its focus the nature of offending in Scarborough during the interwar years of the twentieth century, the discussion above details two aspects underpinning the development of the case study: firstly the methodological approach taken and the sources used within the research, and secondly, the background to the main trends in offending over the time period, drawing on national statistics, providing context for the further analysis of the types of offending encountered within Scarborough. The conclusions from these two facets are presented below.

As an initial point of enquiry concerned with a key primary source, transcription and analysis of the Photograph Book, along with triangulation with samples from the Police Court Registers, demonstrated that the contents of the book relate primarily to the recording of 'Crimes for Gain', such as Larceny, False Pretences and so on. This finding led to the conclusion that the book formed part of the West Riding Clearing House system, which developed mainly from the period prior to the First World War and which functioned alongside systems administered by the Metropolitan Police. The assemblage of offences termed 'Crimes for Gain' were seen to account for the vast majority of recorded crime and provided the rationale for the focus of data collection within the West Yorkshire Clearing House system.

In essence, the purpose of the compilation of the Photograph Book lay in the communication of information concerning offenders between Police Forces, through publications such as the *Police Gazette*. Whilst at one level the Clearing House system might be viewed purely as an operational tool, it also illustrates a facet of the post-War 'modernization' of policing which sought to professionalize the force: participation within this system brought an obligation to compile and communicate information and challenged the insularity of local forces.

²³⁶ Licensing Commission, p.9.

²³⁷ Ibid., p.10.

Prosecution of these offences took place primarily at Police Courts (also known as Petty Sessions), with outcomes and sentencing decided by a panel of magistrates, thus those considered here were heard at Scarborough Police Court. However, whilst in the minority, a number of more serious Indictable Offences such as cases of manslaughter, bigamy and indecent assault, are recorded in the Photograph Book: these cases were heard initially at the Police Court and then referred to the Quarter Sessions or Assizes. The presence of such records within the Photograph Book tends to suggest that Scarborough Borough Police, whilst following the procedures of the West Riding Clearing House system, additionally made local judgements as to which individuals should be included.

In overview, given the caveats discussed above in relation to the interpretation of criminal statistics, trends in recorded crime during the interwar years arguably demonstrate observable associations with technological and societal developments over the period. Responses to these trends were similarly evident in the public debates and press reporting of crime. Following the end of the First World War, such debates centered on the supposed rise in crimes committed by juveniles, based on the premise that young people had suffered from the absence of fathers during the war years. The adverse influence of cinema-going was frequently cited as further incitement to criminal behaviour although unsurprisingly this view was rebuffed by the cinema industry. Later in the decade, the rise in car numbers brought new concerns: the perceived use of cars for criminal ends became both the subject of overblown press reports as well as the focus of debate concerning policing priorities, with consequent outcomes for how car-related crime was recorded.

In England and Wales, an approximate tripling of Indictable Offences occurred between 1922 and 1938, with approximately 90% of such crimes attributable to various forms of theft both at the beginning and the end of this period. This apparent increase over the period was primarily due to an increase in the number of Simple Larcenies recorded but also in part a result of the recording of Larceny of bicycles and cars as separate offences from the early 1930s onwards. Similarly, within the category of Non-Indictable Offences and reflecting the rise in the ownership and availability of motor vehicles in the period, the most evident change in came in the recording of prosecutions under the Highways Acts, which more than tripled over the period and by 1938 formed the majority of such lesser offences.

In Scarborough, analysis of Police Court (Petty Session) Registers suggest a relatively low incidence of those prosecuted for anti-social offences such as drunkenness whilst numerous prosecutions for 'Motor Offences' or related categories such as 'Obstructing the Highway' show a concern for the authorities in managing traffic within the town. This analysis also demonstrated how priorities at a local level might contribute to the marked variability in returns of criminal statistics. In one of the four six-month periods sampled, for example, the number of offences heard at the Police Court was some 200% higher than average, principally due to a high number of prosecutions related to the licensing of a bus operator and other motor offences.

Nationally, notable trends over the period saw the number of convictions for assaults fall by over 40%, whilst prosecutions for drunkenness fell over the period 1922-32, with a renewed increase seen from 1932 onwards. These trends have been attributed in part to changes in preferences for forms of socializing - the rise of the cinema, for example, bringing opportunities for men and women to socialize together, whilst the importance of the public house as a predominantly male environment declined. Having established an overview of national trends in offending between the wars, comparable data establishing the types of crime seen in Scarborough, along with comparisons of rates of offending in regional settings and other seaside resorts is addressed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 Scarborough

This chapter examines the context of Scarborough and considers a number of aspects which contributed to its characteristics as a distinctive Northern seaside town including its geographical setting and development as a resort, and its demography and economy in the inter-war years. The nature and influence of the local authority are considered in relation to these aspects. The following discussion is intended to ‘set the scene’ and act as a baseline for the analysis in later chapters of primary source material such as that derived from the Scarborough Photograph Book.

3.1 Scarborough’s Development as a Resort

The recognition of the seaside resort town as a particular type of urban setting brings a contradiction: whilst geography (i.e. a coastal location) and the economic *raison d’être* in providing the amenities to attract visitors are necessarily common elements, the towns themselves and their evolution are heterogeneous. Certain resort towns such as Scarborough, Margate, Hastings and Weymouth were long-established as fishing ports, others, including Bournemouth, Blackpool, Southend and Southport were developed essentially *de novo* from the late 18th and early 19th centuries.²³⁸ Three Teesside towns, Redcar, Saltburn and Seaton Carew, although near neighbours on the North-East coast, each developed recognisable contrasts.²³⁹ As observed by the 20th century commentator V.S. Pritchett:

We are dealing with a recognisable and distinctive type of town, but with as many variations as a hawkweed or a burnet moth.²⁴⁰

The question of this diversity has been examined within the historiography: Waller, for example, asks, ‘why some places boomed and others barely stirred, and why, of those that did flourish, they assumed one character and not another?’, whilst Urry points to a ‘complex of conditions’ which gave rise to the elevated rate of expansion found in resorts.²⁴¹ Whilst

²³⁸ Gilbert E.W., ‘The Growth of Inland and Health Resorts in England’, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 55 (1939), pp. 16-35.

²³⁹ Mike Huggins and John Walton, ‘The Teesside Seaside between the Wars: Redcar and Its Neighbours, 1919-1939.’, (North East England History Institute., 2003), pp. 1-35.

²⁴⁰ V.S. Pritchett, cited in John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.53.

²⁴¹ Philip Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2011).

factors common at the national level underpinned the overall trends of development across seaside resorts, as notably proposed by Perkin, local conditions such as land ownership and the composition of the local authority strongly influenced the specific character of a resort, in terms of both spatial layout and 'social tone'.²⁴² Soane summarises these effects:

The entire physiognomy of a resort could indeed depend on which particular social group had become dominant during its most creative period of growth and the extent to which this cultural hegemony was disputed by later competing groups. These, deeper, more primitive divisions, which reflected the underlying social and spatial conflicts of nineteenth-century industrial urbanization, evoked both emotional and paradoxical feelings amongst many visitors to the seaside. On the one hand, no other built environment inspired such powerful feelings of universal aesthetic pleasure for town dwellers. On the other hand, no other locale exhibited, in such extreme form, the conventions and divisions of every social class.²⁴³

In the case of Scarborough, the town's distinctive geography readily leant itself to the evolution of such social and spatial divisions. Long established as an historic borough, Scarborough maintained its boundaries following the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, lying within the county of the North Riding of Yorkshire. Illustrating the setting of the town and its expansion from the 1850s to the 1930s, Figures 3.1-3.4 show the change from the original settlement mainly south of the headland, including the harbour and South Bay, and the gradual spread of built-up areas along the North Bay and inland.²⁴⁴ From just over 4,000 dwelling houses in 1861, the number of houses in the town increased to close on 10,000 in 1911.²⁴⁵ As noted above, the area around the harbour was historically home to the fishing community, whilst the spacious villas and hotels of the South Bay housed the more affluent visitors and residents; expansion inland and along the North Bay provided housing and accommodation for lower- and middle-income residents and visitors.

²⁴² Harold Perkin, 'The "Social Tone" of Victorian Seaside Resorts in the North-West', *Northern History*, 11 (1976) pp. 180-194.

²⁴³ John Soane, 'The Origin, Growth and Transformation of Maritime Resorts since 1840', *Built Environment*, 18 (1992) pp. 12-26.

²⁴⁴ *Digimap*, (2023) <<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>> [accessed 23rd July 2023].

²⁴⁵ S.D Adshead and H.V. Overfield, *The Further Development of Scarborough*, (Scarborough: Borough of Scarborough, 1938), p. 15.

Figure 3.1 Ordnance Survey Map of Scarborough, 1850



Figure 3.2 Ordnance Survey Map of Scarborough, 1891



Figure 3.3 Ordnance Survey Map of Scarborough, 1910

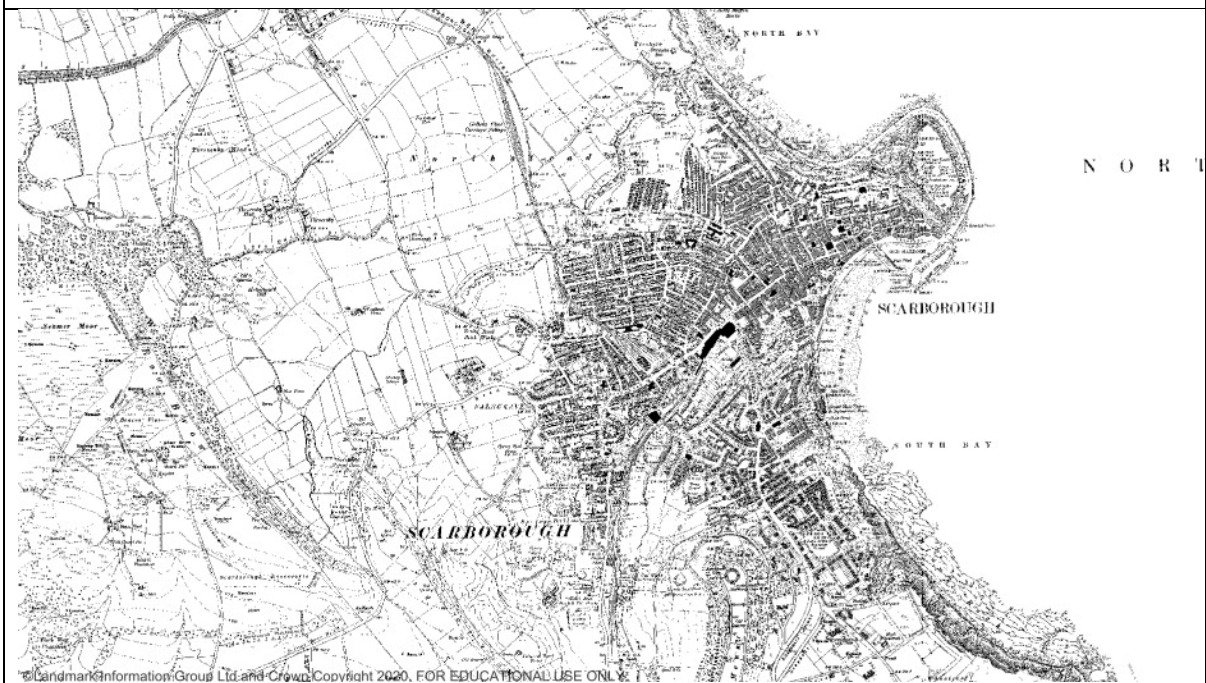
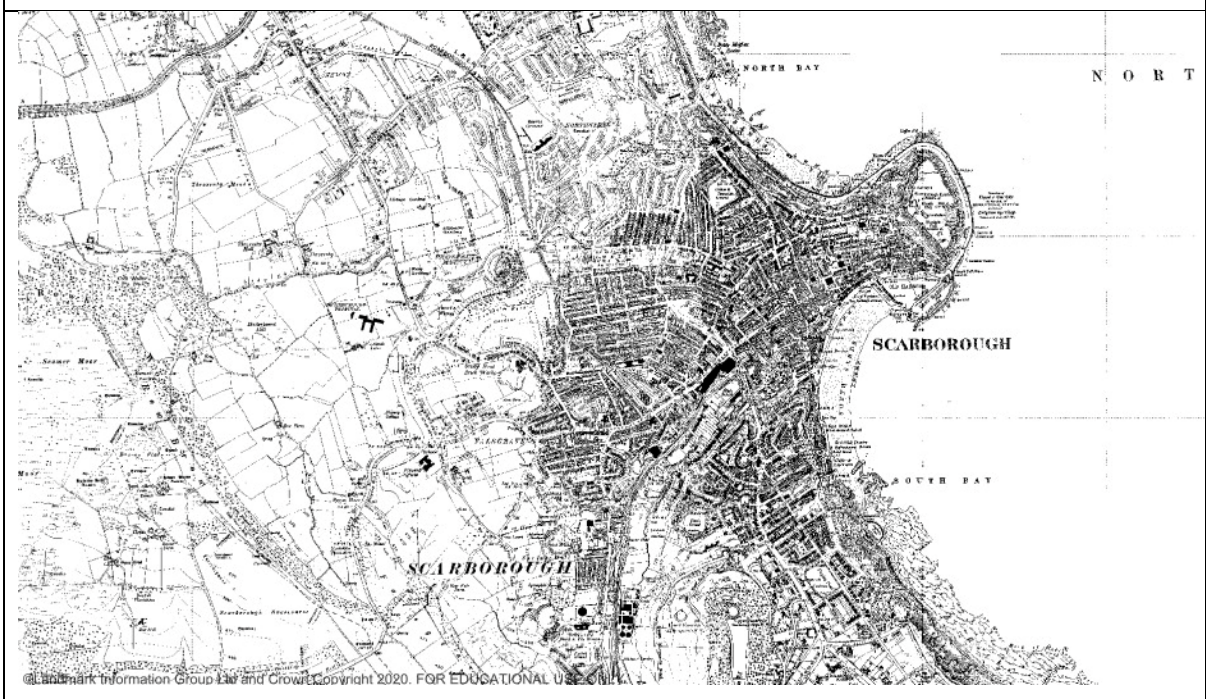


Figure 3.4 Ordnance Survey Map of Scarborough, 1930



3.2 The Population of the Town

In common with national trends, resort towns were to see significant increases in population and urban settlement over the long nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1911, the

population of 50 seaside resorts (as well as 8 inland resorts such as spa towns) increased some seventeen-fold, whilst the population of England and Wales as a whole increased four-fold.²⁴⁶ Thus in broad terms, the rate of growth in resorts far exceeded the overall national rate and was comparable to that found in the major industrial and mining centres, driven by the demands of industry.²⁴⁷ In Scarborough, the population increased over the course of the 19th century from some 6,500 in 1801 to around 38,000 at the beginning of the 20th century, approximately a six-fold increase.²⁴⁸ The early twentieth century began to see changes to this pattern. Between 1911 and 1931 the population of England as a whole increased by some 11%.²⁴⁹ In Scarborough, from 1911 to 1921, the population again increased by some 25% from around 37,000 to 46,000, but a decrease of 10% to approximately 42,000 was recorded ten years later in the 1931 census (Appendix 3.1).²⁵⁰ It should be noted that from 1841 to 1911, censuses were taken at the end of March or the beginning of April, and in 1931, on the 27th April, before the main holiday season. In 1921, however, the census was carried out on the 19th June, and those enumerated in Scarborough may have included holiday-makers and seasonal workers, so inflating the recorded population figures. By the time of the 1931 census, as a resort town, Scarborough's population was somewhat comparable to Margate and Great Yarmouth, but significantly lower than those of Blackpool, Southend and Brighton (Table 3.1).²⁵¹ In terms of Yorkshire towns, Scarborough occupied an intermediate position – approximately half the size of York, the largest city of the North Riding, but significantly larger than neighbouring coastal towns such as Redcar and Whitby. Being predominantly rural, the entire population of the North Riding was comparable to that of the City of Hull.

²⁴⁶ Law C.M., 'The Growth of Urban Population in England and Wales, 1801-1911', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41 (1967) pp. 125-143.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 130.

²⁴⁸ GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, Scarborough Ap/CP through Time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time* (2017) <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10466970>> [accessed 20 May 2023].

²⁴⁹ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, England Dep through Time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time* (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10061325/cube/TOT_POP> [accessed 20 May 2023].

²⁵⁰ GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, Scarborough Ap/CP through Time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time* (2017) <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10466970>> [accessed 20 May 2023].

²⁵¹ ²⁵¹ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, England Dep through Time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time* (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10061325/cube/TOT_POP> [accessed 20 May 2023].

Table 3.1 Population in 1931 of Seaside Resorts and Yorkshire/North-Eastern Locations			
Population in 1931			
Seaside Resorts		Yorkshire Towns/Cities/Regions	
Margate	31341	Whitby	11451
Scarborough	41788	Redcar	20160
Great Yarmouth	56771	Scarborough	41788
Eastbourne	57435	York	84813
Hastings	65207	Middlesbrough	133960
Blackpool	101553	North Riding	288627
Southend	129738	Hull	313544
Brighton	147427	Leeds	482808

Despite burgeoning transport links, the population of Scarborough prior to the First World War was overwhelmingly English, and predominantly Yorkshire-born (Appendix 3.2). At the time of the census from 1851 to 1911, of those born in England (around 96% of people enumerated), some 82% were born in Yorkshire, and this figure also remains stable over the same time period. As might be expected, of those born outside Yorkshire, birthplaces in the Northern counties and the Midlands tend to predominate, whilst significant numbers from Norfolk and Lincolnshire suggest links with other fishing ports. Several hundred people from Middlesex, (i.e. London), were consistently present (Appendix 3.3).

3.3 Scarborough Corporation and its influence

Scarborough Corporation – the local authority of the Borough – played a significant role in shaping the town over its period of growth, often using its resources to acquire or develop the resort’s amenities. Initially formed of 2 wards, for the purposes of local elections from the 1880s, Scarborough was divided into 6 wards - South, Central, East, West, North and North-West - somewhat mirroring the geographical and economic divisions of the town.²⁵² Terry Baker, born in Scarborough in 1936, grew up close to the Harbour, in the Old Town area known as ‘Bottom End’ and the residents there as ‘Bottomenders’: ‘to be a true Scarborian,

²⁵² In 1938, 5 wards were renamed: South – Weaponness, East – Castle, West – Falsgrave, North – Northstead, North-West – Woodlands, Central remaining as it was.

you must be born below the pump'.²⁵³ He recalls that the houses had no electricity or bathroom, only an outside toilet, and the streets around were lit by gas.²⁵⁴ At the opposite end of the social spectrum, the family of Sir George Sitwell owned and resided from time to time in a villa named 'Wood End', situated on the Esplanade close to the South Bay.²⁵⁵ John Watson Rowntree, a Quaker and proprietor of the family grocery business lived at the time of the 1911 census in Westover Road, close to the commercial centre of the town.²⁵⁶

Over the later 19th century and up until universal male, and limited female, enfranchisement following the end of the First World War, the political balance on the Council remained consistently split between Liberals and Conservatives, with the occasional Independent candidate elected and, in 1912, one Socialist, Arthur Briggs.²⁵⁷ Over the interwar years, from this position of relative parity, the Liberals in particular gradually lost seats to Independent candidates (Table 3.2).²⁵⁸ In 1919, and at a by-election in 1920, two women representing the Women Citizens League were elected. Although Labour candidates regularly stood for election in a number of wards, the party did not regain a seat until 1938, when S. Simpson was elected in the Falsgrave (previously West) Ward.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ Terry Baker, *A Merry Dance : Tales of a Scarborough Lad from the 'Bottom End' of Town*, (Richmond: Caroline Brannigan, 2010), p.1.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵⁵ Sir George Sitwell was MP for Scarborough from 1892-95. His son, Osbert Sitwell, recorded episodes from their time in Scarborough in his autobiography, 'Left Hand, Right Hand'.

²⁵⁶ John Watson Rowntree was a Liberal Councillor, serving as Mayor of Scarborough from 1906-1908. After the First World War he stood for election as the Independent Labour Party candidate, but failed to be elected.

²⁵⁷ The six wards were: South, Central, East, West, North and North-West. Six of the 24 councillors, one from each Ward, were appointed by colleagues as Aldermen for a period. Elections were held yearly as councillors completed their term of office or due to the 'elevation' of a councillor to Alderman. In 1938, 5 wards were renamed: South became Weaponness, East – Castle, West – Falsgrave, North – Northstead, North-West – Woodlands, Central remaining as it was.

²⁵⁸ Figures for local election results were compiled from various online historic newspapers.

<<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20th July 2023].

²⁵⁹ 'Scarborough Labour Councillor for First Time', *Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer*, 2nd Nov 1938 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 23rd July 2023].

Table 3.2 Composition of Scarborough Town Council 1919 – 1938								
	1919	1920	1926	1930	1931	1934	1935	1938
Conservative	11	10	9	11	10	10	10	11
Liberal	11	12	9	7	7	5	4	4
W.C.A.	1	2						
Independent			6	6	7	9	10	6
Ind. Conservative								2
Labour								1

The Corporation employed a number of officers, one of these being the Chief Constable, who also acted as Chief Fire Officer; others included the Town Clerk, Harbour Master, Medical Officer, Coroner, Inspector of Weights and Measures and Borough Engineer.²⁶⁰

Further illustrating the geography of the resort, Figures 3.5 to 3.7 show some key features broadly running from South to North, in a map dating from 1920.²⁶¹ Fig. 3.5 shows the South Cliff Gardens and the Spa, the adjacent broad streets occupied by spacious villas and upmarket hotels.²⁶² The mid-Victorian Spa buildings, partially destroyed by fire in 1876, were rebuilt and extended in 1880, with a Grand Hall which could accommodate an audience of 3000 people.²⁶³ The Cliff Bridge, spanning the valley from St Nicholas Bridge to the Spa gardens, was constructed in 1827 by the Cliff Bridge Company and was described in Hinderwell's 1832 History of Scarborough as 'a walk from which the improper classes were excluded' (Figure 3.6).²⁶⁴ In 1890, the Town Council purchased the bridge at a cost of £35,000, maintaining that 'would not involve any charge upon the rates' as it generated an income of £2,000 p.a..²⁶⁵ Along the South Sands, Foreshore Road, constructed by the Corporation in 1879, (Fig 3.7), offered numerous opportunities for entertainment.²⁶⁶ Kelly's 1925 Directory lists picture houses, restaurants, public houses, refreshment rooms and an oyster saloon, as well as confectioners, fancy goods dealers, milliners, tobacconists and photographers.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁰ Kelly's Directory of the North & East Ridings of Yorkshire (Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1925).

²⁶¹ Digimap, (2023) <<https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>> [accessed 23 July 2023].

²⁶² Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough North Yorkshire*, (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2001), p. 289.

²⁶³ 'Scarborough Spa Buildings', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 July 1880 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 23 July 2023].

²⁶⁴ Arthur Rowntree, *The History of Scarborough* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931), p. 274.

²⁶⁵ 'Improvements at Scarborough', *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 15th April 1890 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 23 July 2023].

²⁶⁶ J.G. Rutter, *Scarborough 1866-1966* (Scarborough: Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, 1966), p.81.

²⁶⁷ Kelly's Directory, pp. 343-365.

Figure 3.5. The Spa and South Cliff Gardens.



Figure 3.6 Foreshore Road and East Ward

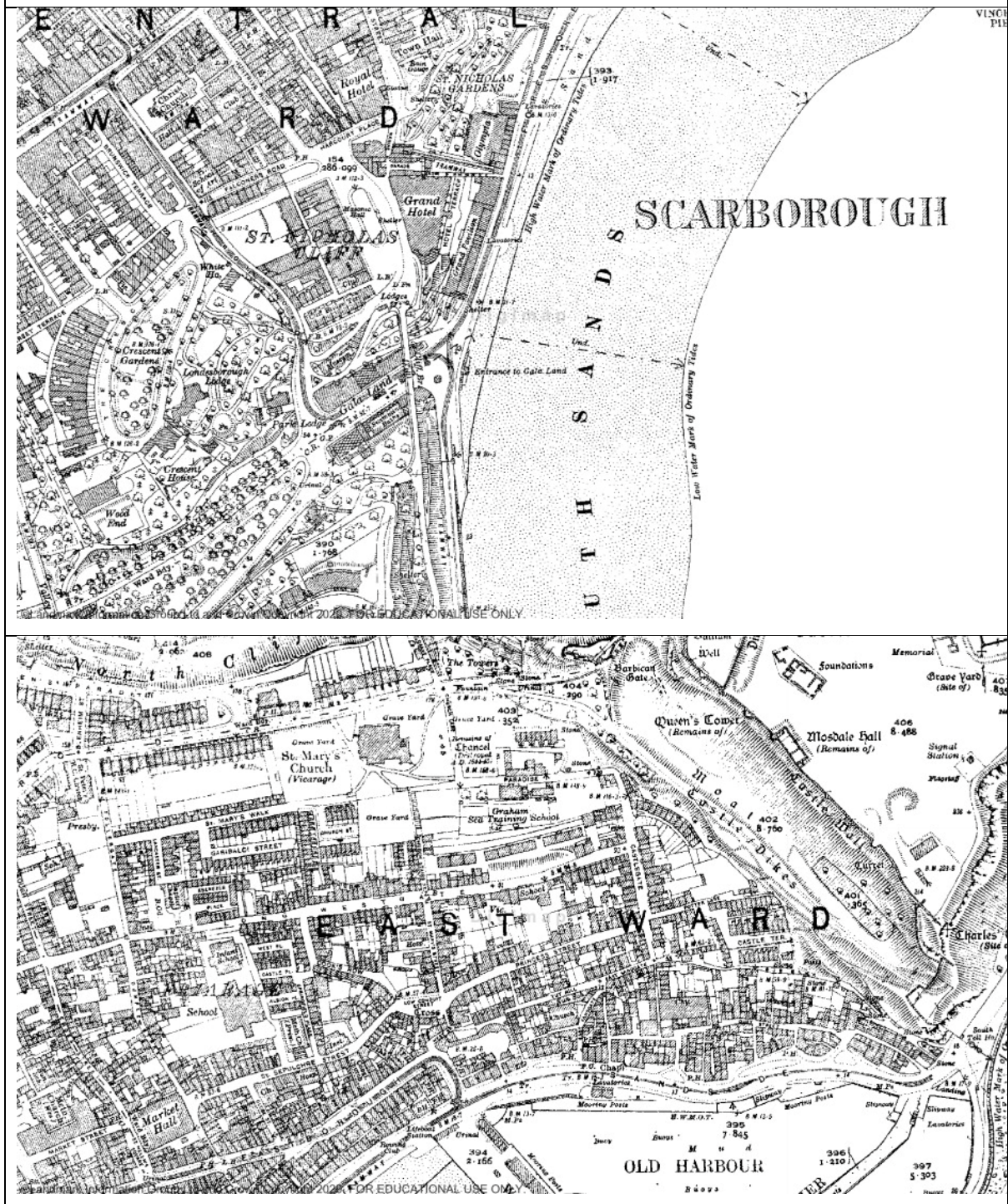
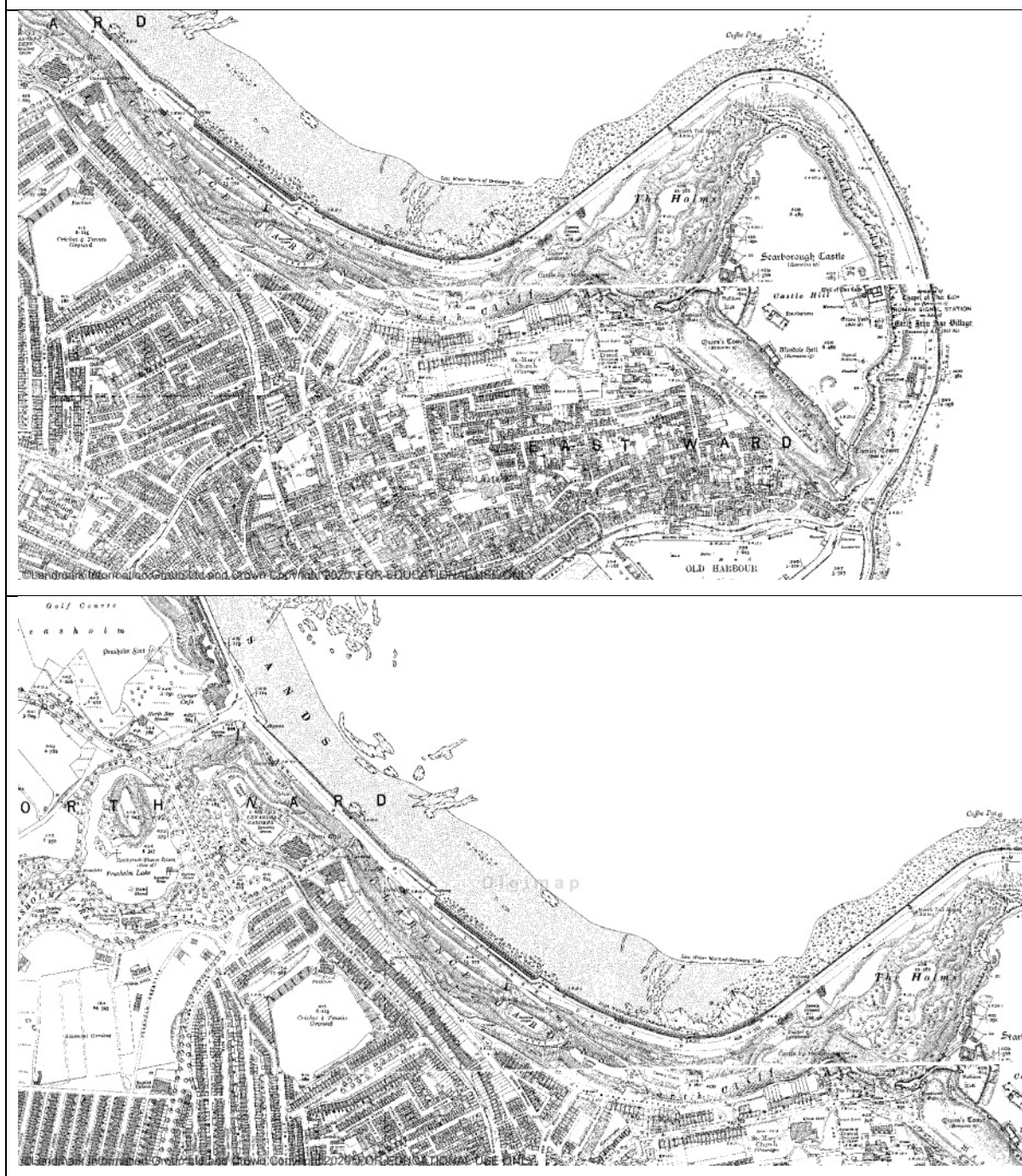


Figure 3.7 Marine Drive and North Bay



The development of North Bay was facilitated by the construction of the Royal Albert Drive in 1890 and the Marine Drive, connecting the North and South Bays around the headland, in 1908 (Fig. 3.7).²⁶⁸ North Marine Road and the adjacent streets provided numerous modest hotels and boarding-houses, and led on to Peasholm Park, with its Japanese-themed pleasure gardens and boating lake, which opened in 1912. The park, designed by Harry Smith, the

²⁶⁸ Rowntree, *The History of Scarborough*, p. 284; Rutter, *Scarborough 1866-1966*, p. 81.

Borough Engineer, was developed on land purchased from the Duchy of Lancaster by the Corporation.²⁶⁹ Viewed as 'a catalogue of progress', a 1919 article provides a summary of the resort's attractions resulting from such investments in civic development:

Apart altogether from the water supply, sanatoria, and similar services, probably a quarter of a million money has been expended, since 1888, on public gardens, public drives, promenades, bungalows, bathing pools and other attractions. Withing the last fifteen or twenty years alone, a wonderful transformation has taken place.²⁷⁰

3.4 The Tourist Trade

Once seen as isolated, ever-developing transport links increasingly made Scarborough accessible and affordable to reach: to accommodate the additional rail passengers and traffic an additional railway terminus was opened in 1908 at Londesborough Road.²⁷¹ In 1923, the Scarborough Flier, (sometimes pulled by the Flying Scotsman), completed the journey from King's Cross to Scarborough in four and a half hours; in addition, regional connections provided 'regular services southwards to Filey, Bridlington and Hull; westward to Malton, York, Leeds and Pickering; and northward to Whitby, Saltburn and Middlesbrough.'²⁷² Monthly return tickets were advertised 'to Scarborough from Anywhere' at a cost of 1d a mile.²⁷³ A similar cost was advertised for railway tickets over the Christmas period in 1933 – thus a traveller from Sheffield would pay fifteen shillings for a return ticket to Scarborough.²⁷⁴ At the time, for a skilled man earning an average annual wage of £195, this equated to approximately a day-and-a-half's wages.²⁷⁵ By the 1930s, coach travel was also extensive. The United Automobile Service, Ltd, for example, offered services to and from Bridlington,

²⁶⁹ Binns, *The History of Scarborough*, p.301.

²⁷⁰ 'The Claims of Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, August 29th 1919 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30 July 2023].

²⁷¹ J. Robin Lidster, *Scarborough Railway Station from Steam Age to Diesel Era : A Pictorial Record of a Seaside Railway Terminus* (Hendon: Nelson, 1995), p.8.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 11; Ticket conditions were remarkably flexible: 'Outward and Return journeys may be completed on any day within a calendar month of the date of issue-you can break your journey when, where, and as often as you like on the direct route'.

²⁷⁴ 'Christmas Holiday Travel at a Penny-a-Mile!', *Sheffield Independent*, 12 December 1933 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30 July 1933].

²⁷⁵ Andrew Thorpe, *Britain in the Era of the Two World Wars* (Harlow, Essex: Longman Group UK Limited, 1994), p. 83.

Whitby, Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Durham with frequencies in the summer ranging from every quarter of an hour (Bridlington) to two per day (Newcastle and Durham).²⁷⁶

Although definitive estimates of visitor numbers are elusive, over the course of the holiday season in the early to mid-twentieth century, visitors to Scarborough numbered in the 100,000s. In 1926, for example, 464,599 people arrived by train from May to September, this figure increasing to 770,600 in 1933 and 864,000 in 1934, the latter two figures being for May to October.²⁷⁷ The town's popularity as a holiday destination continued even through the years of the First World War. In 1917, the *Hull Daily Mail* reported a doubling of numbers at August Bank Holiday compared to 1916: 'thousands of holiday makers, chiefly munition workers, crowded on the Spa and other places of entertainment'.²⁷⁸ Some 11 years later, in 1928, the *Sheffield Independent*, describing the town as 'Leeds by the sea', reported 20,000 visitors arriving in a day at the Bank Holiday on 36 excursion trains, 12 of them from Leeds.²⁷⁹ A further report notes the 'Well-Behaved Crowd', with no cases appearing in front of the Police Court.²⁸⁰ The Bank Holiday represented a particular source of income, not only for local businesses, but also for the Corporation, derived from its amenities such as Cafés, the Bathing Pool and Peasholm Park, from bathing fees on the beaches and from the toll for the Marine Drive.²⁸¹

Employment in Scarborough was necessarily heavily dependent on the tourist trade, as indicated by the recording of occupations in the censuses from 1911-1931. Due to changes in the methods of recording, figures derived from the successive 1911 and 1921 censuses may point to broad trends rather than being strictly numerically comparable (Appendix 3.4).²⁸² In

²⁷⁶ Adshead and Overfield, *The Further Development of Scarborough*, Appendix 1.

²⁷⁷ 'Visitors to Scarborough', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 23 October 1926 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30 July 2023]; Lidster, *Scarborough Railway Station*, p. 8.

²⁷⁸ 'Mail Mems', *Hull Daily Mail*, 7 August 1917 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed July 30 2023].

²⁷⁹ 'Scarborough Records Broken', *Sheffield Independent*, 7 August 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30 July 2023].

²⁸⁰ 'Well-Behaved Crowd', *Daily Mirror*, 8 August 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed July 30th 2023].

²⁸¹ 'Holiday receipts at Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 August 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30th July 2023].

²⁸² 1911 Census of England and Wales, *General Report with Appendices* (1917-18 xxxv (Cd.8491) 483), <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1911GEN/5#>> and 1921 Census of England and Wales, *General Report with Appendices*, <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1921GEN/8>> [accessed 30th July 2023]. The classification of occupations was revised in 1911 and again in 1921, with the 1931 census making use of the latter classification (Appendix 3.4). For the 1911 census, twenty-two

1911, almost 80% of men, i.e. around 12,500 individuals, were 'Occupied': some 12% of men, around 1500 individuals, were employed in the category of occupations relating to 'Food, Tobacco, Drink and Lodging', whilst transport and building trades accounted for another 20% of male workers. Those in Professional Occupations and the category related to Banking together made up another 10%, with 500 to 600 men employed in each field. Despite the significance of these service industries, employment was represented across 22 occupational codes, suggesting an element of diversity in the town's economy as a whole. In 1921, some 83% or 12,500 men were recorded as 'Occupied' with employment represented across the revised 31 occupational codes. Nearly 20% of men, (i.e. somewhat over 2,000), were employed in 'Commerce and Finance' and another 14%, (some 1750 persons), in 'Transport and Communication'. A further 20% of men were employed within three categories: Metal Workers, Clerks and Draughtmen, and Personal Service. The remaining 25 occupational categories each employed up to 5% of working males; only 3% of men were employed as fishermen.²⁸³ In comparison with 1911, those employed in building trades appears to have decreased, perhaps reflecting a slowing in the town's expansion. Ten years later, in 1931, the picture remained similar with 'Commerce & Finance' and 'Transport and Communication' remaining the two principal categories of employment.²⁸⁴ Whilst modest in numerical terms, perhaps significant changes were seen in certain categories, in the context of an overall 6% fall in the population of working men. For example, the number of men working in Personal Service rose from 732 in 1921 to 984 in 1931 (+34%), those working in Public Administration fell from 415 to 166 (-29%), and those working as fisherman fell from 421 to 300 (-29%). Scarborough did not entirely escape the mass unemployment of the early 1930s: at the time

categories of occupation were defined, with the term 'Occupied' used regardless of whether the person was employed at the time or not. An additional category included persons termed 'Unoccupied', that is, those retired or with independent means, children over 10 years of age and students, and married women with solely domestic duties; In 1921, 32 'Occupied' categories were defined in order to better define both occupation and the industry concerned, with an additional category for 'Unoccupied and retired'.

²⁸³ GB Historical GIS, *1921 Census of England and Wales, County Report: Yorkshire East and North Ridings*, (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/pub/EW1921COU_YOEN?show=DB> [accessed 5 March 2023].

²⁸⁴ GB Historical GIS, *1931 Census of England and Wales, Occupation Tables*, (2017) <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/report/EW1931OCC?show=DB>> [accessed 5 March 2023].

of the 1931 census, male unemployment in the Borough stood at approximately 13% against the national figure of 21%.²⁸⁵

Across the time period, the relative proportions for those Occupied or Unoccupied contrast sharply for men and women: around 80% of men were Occupied, 20% Unoccupied or Retired, whilst for women 37% were recorded as Occupied, 63% as Unoccupied or Retired (Appendix 3.5).²⁸⁶ Again, these proportions are relatively stable over the three censuses from 1911 to 1931, although the proportion of Occupied men tends to increase slightly over time. Amongst women, some three-quarters of those employed were unmarried, whilst only around 10% of married or widowed women were employed. Whilst women's occupations were heavily concentrated in domestic and other services, employment in professional roles were also evident. In 1911, 12% of women, i.e. over 30% of those 'Occupied' - some 2000 women, were employed in domestic service.²⁸⁷ Significant other occupations included those working as shopkeepers, in other services such as in laundries and as charwomen, and trades such as dressmaking and millinery. Some 250 women were recorded as Teachers and 136 as Midwives and Nurses. By 1921, around 55% of working women, (i.e. some 4,500 women), were employed in 'Personal Service', and 14% (approximately 1000 women), in 'Commerce and Finance'.²⁸⁸ Other significant areas of employment were 'Textile Goods & Clothing', 'Professional Occupations', and 'Clerks and Draughtsmen', each sector employing more than 500 women. The remaining categories show some employment of women, although often the number employed is in single figures, and no women feature in heavy industries such as Mining, Quarrying or Gas, Electricity & Water Supply. Whilst none are recorded as 'Fishermen', women workers traditionally played a role in the fishing industry, sorting fish on the pier, storing the catch in ice and baiting cod lines with mussels.²⁸⁹ Ten years on, the picture

²⁸⁵ Thorpe, p.88; GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Scarborough MB through time | Statistics |, *A Vision of Britain through Time*. <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10108810/cube/CENSUS_EMPL> [accessed 5 March 2024].

²⁸⁶ GB Historical GIS, *Census Reports, 1911 Census, England and Wales: Occupations Vol 1, Table 15a*, (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1911OCC1_M15A> [accessed 5 March 2024].

²⁸⁷ GB Historical GIS. *Census Reports, 1911 Census, England and Wales: Occupations Vol 1, Table 15a*, (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1911OCC1_M15A> [accessed 5 March 2024].

²⁸⁸ GB Historical GIS. *Census Reports, 1911 Census, England and Wales: Occupations Vol 1, Table 15a*, (2017) <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1911OCC1_M15A> [accessed 5 March 2024].

²⁸⁹ Baker, *A Merry Dance*, p.3.

for women in 1931 remained remarkably stable in terms of the range of employment types and the proportions employed in each.²⁹⁰

Writing in the 1930s, V.S.Pritchett was to observe that,

And here it begins to dawn that the seaside resort is a woman-run town, a fact which is plenteously confirmed in Scarborough today. The boarding houses are held very commonly in the woman's name; the place is the widow's or the spinster's gold mine;[...] and the young men of a town like Scarborough leave the place when they grow up.'²⁹¹

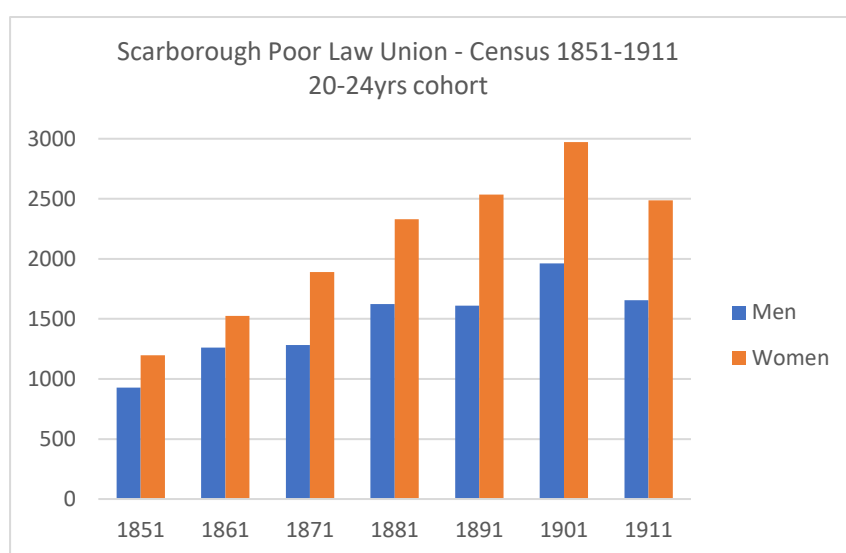
In effect, census returns recorded from 1911 to 1931 show that overall, the borough's population was divided approximately 40:60 between men and women, and the relative populations of men and women recorded remained relatively stable over this time period. Examining the age structure of residents, the beginnings of this disparity can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century. (Due to availability of data, the following figures relate to the area of the Scarborough Poor Law Union which included Scarborough Metropolitan Borough and the surrounding rural area). Across all censuses from 1851 to 1911, the numbers of boys and girls up to the age of 14 resident in the area were similar, however as illustrated in Graph 3.1 by figures for the 20-24 years age group, women significantly outnumbered men from 1871 onwards, with the gap widening over time.²⁹² Figures for all adult age groups follow a similar pattern. These figures indeed suggest, as Pritchett had speculated, that a proportion of young men left the area, presumably with the intention of finding work due to a lack of employment opportunities locally.

²⁹⁰ GB Historical GIS, *1931 Census of England and Wales, Occupation Tables*, <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/table/EW1931OCC_M17?u_id=10108810&show=DB> [accessed 5 March 2024].

²⁹¹ V.S. Pritchett, 'Scarborough', in *Beside the Seaside. Six Variations*, ed. by Yvonne Cloud (London: Sanley Nott, 1934), p. 213.

²⁹² GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, Scarborough Plu/Regd through Time | Population Statistics | Age and Sex Structure to Age 85 and up, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10139594/cube/AGESEX_100UP> [accessed 5 March 2024].

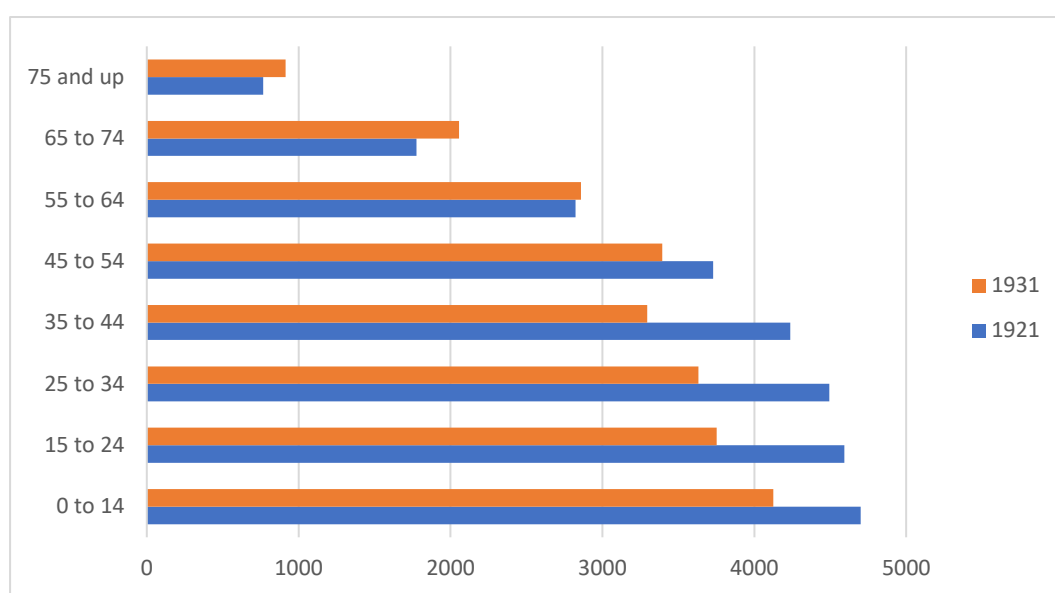
Graph 3.1. Population of men and women recorded in censuses for 20-24yrs cohort



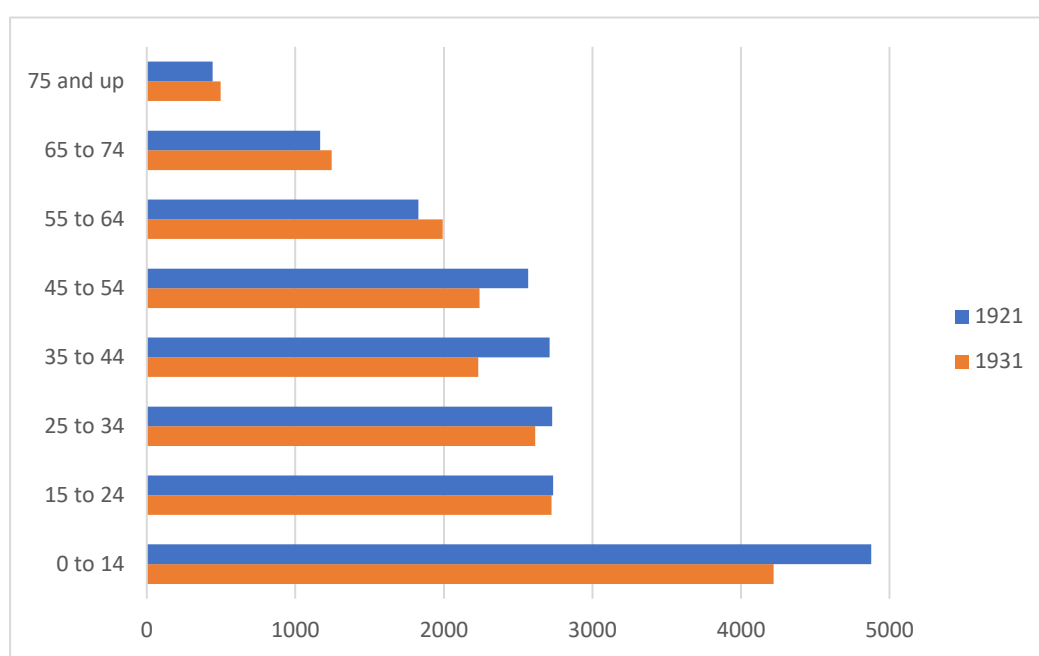
As noted above, the 1921 census was carried out in June, whilst that of 1931 took place in April, with the suggestion that the early summer date might have led to the inclusion of summer visitors or those employed for the holiday season. A comparison of the age structure shown in the 1921 and 1931 censuses in effect tends to suggest a relative increase in the number of women of working age when the enumeration took place in June (Graph 3.2), whilst this effect is not observed for males (Graph 3.3), perhaps reflecting women seeking employment in Scarborough during the summer months.²⁹³

²⁹³ GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, Scarborough Mb through Time | Population Statistics | Age and Sex Structure to Age 85 and up, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, (2017) https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10108810/cube/AGESEX_85UP [accessed 4 April 2023].

Graph 3.2 Scarborough MB - Age structure for females - 1921 & 1931 Census



Graph 3.3 Scarborough MB - Age structure for males - 1921 & 1931 Census



The 1921 census of servants employed at the Grand Hotel shows that of the thirty-seven male servants, four were from Scarborough, eight from elsewhere in Yorkshire and seventeen from outside Yorkshire; similarly, of the thirty-one female servants, five were from Scarborough, eight from Yorkshire and twenty-four from elsewhere. Birthplaces of the non-Yorkshire individuals ranged across the UK, from Scotland to Bournemouth, and a small number of the staff were of Swiss and Czech nationality. Notably, of the sixteen chambermaids, only one

was born in Scarborough whilst the female ‘servants’ also included three women musicians – a violinist, pianist and cellist.²⁹⁴

In July 1935, the *Leeds Mercury* reported that ‘the seasonal demand for domestic workers again exceeds the supply’, noting that Scarborough Employment Exchange, ‘had made arrangements for between 200 and 300 domestic workers to travel to the town towards the end of next week’, and estimates that the town’s ‘seasonal importation of these workers is 2,000’.²⁹⁵ The article goes on to discuss the changes which had contributed to this situation, suggesting that due to ‘increased prosperity’, former seasonal workers were now full-time employment and themselves taking holidays. In addition, holiday-makers were travelling by car, instead of by train, and staying one night rather than several – this led to more frequent changes of laundry in hotels, thus requiring more chambermaids. Evening excursions to seaside towns were also increasing, leading to an increased demand for restaurant staff. A few years on, in July 1938, the same paper again reported on the difficulties faced by hotels and restaurants in recruiting sufficient staff for the holiday season, explicitly noting the need for female employees in these roles: ‘The demand for waitresses and other women workers far exceeds the supply available at the local Labour Exchange, and the position is becoming serious with the approach of the Bank Holiday rush’.²⁹⁶

Whilst recruitment of sufficient staff during the holiday season presented challenges, on the other side of the coin, out-of-season unemployment within Scarborough remained an ongoing issue. Historically, the Town Council had initiated projects to provide employment in the winter months: for example, in 1911, the construction of Peasholm Park, using funds raised through public subscription, and in 1924, the construction of the North Side Bathing Pool, through applications to the Unemployment Grants Committee²⁹⁷. Provision was also made to support business owners such as lodging-house keepers whose trade had suffered

²⁹⁴ 1921 Census of England and Wales, Scarborough Grand Hotel, <<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=GBC/1921/RG15/23897/0510&parentId=GBC/1921/RG15/23897/0509/01>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

²⁹⁵ ‘Plenty of Work at the Seaside’, *Leeds Mercury*, 30 May 1935 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

²⁹⁶ ‘Waitresses Wanted’, *Leeds Mercury*, 24 July 1938 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

²⁹⁷ ‘Scarborough Aid for Unemployed’, *Leeds Mercury*, 28 January 1911, <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26th July 2023]; ‘Scarborough’, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 29 July 1924) <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

as a consequence of the war. In 1916, grants amounting to £1,068 were made, against, £1000 in 1918 and £733 in 1918, with a report to the Scarborough Council of Social Welfare in that year noting a decrease in applications for assistance due to 'the increased improvement of the town following the successful season.'²⁹⁸ At the Poor Law Conference held in Scarborough in 1921 with George Rowntree in the chair, it was reported that 'unemployment relief, again, almost exclusively occupied the attention of the delegates'.²⁹⁹ Following the end of the season that year, some 769 individuals were registered at the Labour Exchange in Scarborough, 596 men, 127 women and 44 juveniles.³⁰⁰ In 1936, the Yorkshire Post would similarly report an increase in unemployment of 800 individuals due to the end of the season.³⁰¹

3.5 The Interwar Years

In the post-First World War period, the perceived need to further develop visitor attractions continued to provoke debates concerning the nature of the resort. In 1921, for example, the Yorkshire Post published an interview with George Whitfield, then Chair of the Council's Education Committee, concerning his recent investigative visits to the Lancashire resorts and the Isle of Man. He observed:

I should never like to see Scarborough become Blackpool, nevertheless, we can go a little out of the way. I feel strongly that we must make a move. [...] We never saw anything like the gardens of Scarborough, but these other enterprising resorts certainly make more use of their opportunities than we do. They seem to go in for pleasure to a much greater extent. They cater for pleasure-seekers more than we do. The holiday spirit is much more pronounced than here.³⁰²

The article goes on to comment on that Scarborough being 'used to catering for high-class visitors' but 'they could not overlook the fact that the people who had the money at the present time [...] were the middle-class mixed with the artisan class, who wanted the variety of amusements'. Perspectives on the 'tone' of the resort figure in media reports throughout

²⁹⁸ 'Less poverty in Scarborough', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 21 November 1918 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26th July 2023].

²⁹⁹ 'Sheffield Daily Telegraph', 10 October 1921 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed on 26 July 2023]. George Rowntree was Chair of Scarborough's Poor Law Guardians.

³⁰⁰ *Hull Daily Mail*, 18 October 1921, <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed on 26 July 2023].

³⁰¹ 'Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 October 1936 [accessed on 26 July 2023].

³⁰² 'Scarborough and her Rivals', *Yorkshire Post*, 1 September 1921 [accessed on 28th July 2023].

the period and illustrate tensions between commercial interests and those seeking to uphold the perceived probity of the town. In 1925, Mr. W.H. Emerson, manager of the Spa, in a speech to the Scarborough Entertainment Managers is reported as saying that, 'the old fetish about Scarborians feeling that visitors should go to bed at ten o'clock at night still exists', and went on to say that the Spa was losing patrons who were required to return to their lodgings or risk being locked out.³⁰³ More evidently by the 1930s, guesthouses would frequently feature the phrase 'no restrictions' in their newspaper advertisements, for example, Caber Hill Guest House promised, 'No irksome restrictions; good food; good company and plenty of entertainment'.³⁰⁴ The issue of Sunday Trading rumbled on over the period with opposition from certain religious bodies, such as the Scarborough Inter-Denominational Union and in particular from Councillor John Jackson, a vociferous opponent of the practice. In principle, under the Sunday Observance Act 1677, a fine of five shillings could be levied for trading on a Sunday.³⁰⁵ In practice contraventions were rarely pursued by local authorities or the police, the situation in Hull being a notable exception.³⁰⁶ In 1925, Jackson proposed a resolution to Scarborough Council, that Sunday trading by all of the Corporation's enterprises should be abolished. As reported by the *Leeds Mercury*:

...on Easter Sunday he found boating at the lake, the municipal cafés open, and the selling of sweet and chocolates taking place. On the foreshore not only sweet shops and tobacco shops were open, but also the song saloons, where they were singing and selling songs. Even the fun palaces were open, where in his opinion, the games were nothing less than gambling. He would like to see bathing at the bathing pool, the hiring out of chairs, the selling of sweets, chocolates, cigarettes and postcards all stopped. He asked them to put their own house in order and then to see that others did so.³⁰⁷

Objecting to the resolution, Alderman William Ascough observed that the undertakings 'in providing an outlet for energies they were doing no harm but an immense amount of good'.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ 'Seaside Restrictions. Scarborough Spa Manager and Board-House Rules', *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1925 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³⁰⁴ 'For a Jolly Holiday by the Sea', *Blyth News*, 07 May 1935 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³⁰⁵ J.R. Roberts, *Stone's Justice's Manual* (London: Butterworth & Co., 1914), p. 1269.

³⁰⁶ Ashley Borrett, 'Reactions to Crime, Criminality and Class in Hull and East Yorkshire During the Interwar Period', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Hull, 2018).

³⁰⁷ 'Sunday Trading. Scarborough and Municipal Undertakings. No Change this Season.' *Leeds Mercury*, 5 May 1925. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³⁰⁸ 'Sunday Trading. Scarborough and Municipal Undertakings. No Change this Season.' *Leeds Mercury*, 5 May 1925. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

In 1926, Jackson attempted to prosecute a music publisher for selling music on a Sunday, stating that 'He did not agree with visitors being provided with amusements on Sundays, and he objected to Sunday golf and tennis.'³⁰⁹ The defending solicitor countered that the Sunday Observance Act, 'if carried out to the letter, would spell utter ruination to a place like Scarborough, for visitors would taboo the town.'³¹⁰ The magistrates concurred with this view, considering the prosecution 'ill-advised'; whilst the case was proved, and the defendant was fined one shilling, Jackson was ordered to pay costs.³¹¹ Although Jackson continued his campaign over the following years, in effect, profits generated by the Corporation's enterprises were used towards rate relief, thus financial considerations largely overcame any moral scruples on the part of the those with influence in the local authority. However, the use of local regulation to influence behaviour is seen in the period: in 1920, for example, an application at the Brewster Sessions to the licensing justices for a cinema license brought newspaper reports of a discussion of 'Cuddling in Cinemas'.³¹² The Chief Constable, present at the session, stated that the settees which seated two people were known as 'cuddling chairs', and challenged the cinema manager: 'Has not your man told you that I have had to fetch young people out in a very doubtful position?'.³¹³ Despite manager's assertion that he had seen no 'kissing and cuddling', the licence was only granted on the understanding that 'more lights would be installed and the settees divided to prevent cuddling'.³¹⁴ Unlike the tolerance of Sunday trading, cinema performances on a Sunday were not approved until the end of the decade, but in 1929-30 a succession of reports over a relatively short period suggest a submission to an inevitable change in this stance. In March 1929, an application by the Futurist Cinema in Scarborough was refused by the magistrates, with opposition from the Inter-Denominational Union and the Free Church Council.³¹⁵ The case was put by a solicitor for the National Cinematographic Exhibitors Association who pointed out that performances were already allowed in Morecambe, Southport, Blackpool, Worthing, Hove and Brighton.³¹⁶

³⁰⁹ 'Prosecution Ill-Advised. Scarborough Magistrates and Councillor's Action', *Skegness Standard*, 18 August 1926 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹⁰ *Skegness Standard*, 18 August 1926 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² 'Cuddling Chairs', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 10 March 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹³ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 10 March 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ 'Scarborough Refusal', *Kinematograph Weekly*, 21 March 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹⁶ *Kinematograph Weekly*, 21 March 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

His further arguments reflect the social divisions in the town and took issue with the supposed 'moral' arguments:

There was a rich class who could pay for their recreation and relaxation in the form of golf or motoring or things of that kind, and another dependent on public facilities. The latter was a class which, for one reason or another, they did not seem able to get into their churches. They could either go to the public-house or walk up and down the streets. There was nothing more weakening to the moral fibre. It had been conclusively proved that where cinemas were open crimes and misdemeanours were fewer.³¹⁷

Although refused on that occasion, a few months later in November 1929, three licences were granted for Sunday performances for 'charitable objects', with the ruling that, 'this was not to be taken as a precedent, and that any application for the regular opening of cinemas would not be entertained in the same sympathetic spirit'.³¹⁸ The following month, however, a further commercial application provoked the magistrates' disapproval – as the event had evidently already been advertised – with reported phrases from the Chair of the Bench stating that, '...they think they ought to tell you that very great liberties have been taken' and 'We want again to impress on all those who are promoting these shows that the authority is the Bench of magistrates'.³¹⁹ Nevertheless, despite continued opposition from religious bodies, in March 1930 the magistrates granted licences for a year allowing all cinemas to hold a Sunday performance.³²⁰

Into the 1930s, Pritchett was similarly to observe the loosening of class distinctions:

The "improper classes" have gone, or rather they have come in a new guise although Scarborough is so cunningly devised by nature to perpetuate the amenities of the caste system without insisting anymore on its anomalies, that the "improper classes" can have the run of the magnificent modern North Bay, or – it they are very improper – of the foreshore and the harbour without being bored by the South Cliff and the Spa. The hills so divide Scarborough, in fact, that it has been able to tout for the masses without losing caste.³²¹

³¹⁷ 'No Sunday Films at Scarborough', *Leeds Mercury*, 12 March 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹⁸ 'Scarborough and Sunday Cinemas', *The Bioscope*, 13 November 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³¹⁹ 'Sunday Film Concert. Scarborough Magistrates Rebuke Organisers', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 18 December 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³²⁰ 'Sunday Cinemas. Licences Granted for a Year at Scarborough', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 04 March 1930 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 26 July 2023].

³²¹ Pritchett, pp. 225-6.

Towards the end of the decade in 1938, S.D. Adshead, Professor of Town Planning at University College London and the Borough Engineer, H.V. Overfield, were commissioned by Scarborough Corporation to produce proposals for the further development of the resort.³²² Although acknowledging that change is underway, the report is explicit in detailing the interests of different categories of visitor and linking these to locations within the resort:

Scarborough has natural barriers which separate her different classes of visitors, and although such differences as exist today are fast disappearing they are still very strongly marked. Those responsible for the development of Scarborough should keep these distinctions in mind.³²³

The authors first draw distinctions between 'the wealthier classes who visit Scarborough for a week, a month or even longer', the 'well-to-do week-end visitor who comes by train and private motor-car' and the 'Middle-Class visitor and his family'.³²⁴ Their stated interests remain strongly linked to the geography of the resort. The 'well-to-do week-end visitor' requires:

a variety of amusements, including dancing and bathing' and 'he also demands facilities for horse-riding, tennis or golf [...] but especially must he have well-equipped and up-to-date open-air swimming pools, ballrooms and light music.³²⁵

These 'needs' are linked to 'The Spa, The Esplanade and St Nicholas Cliff', which are identified as having 'an acquired interest in providing accommodation and entertainment for these people'. The exclusivity of the areas are further emphasised: 'The day excursionist, except by mistake, rarely invades these areas. His domain is Sandside and the approaches thereto, Westborough and Eastborough. He rarely comes along St Nicholas or Huntriss Row, and he has not the time, inclination or enterprise to climb up to the South Esplanade or to venture into the Spa'.³²⁶ The 'Middle-Class visitor and his family' is said to favour the sands of the North Bay and 'for his entertainment and recreation, swimming, dancing and every kind of organised amusement.[...]These are the people who make the most use of swimming pools,

³²² Binns, *The History of Scarborough*, p.356.

³²³ Adshead and Overfield, *The Further Development of Scarborough*, p. 17.

³²⁴ Ibid., p.17.

³²⁵ Ibid., p.16.

³²⁶ Ibid., p.16-17.

tennis courts, and bowling greens'.³²⁷ In contrast to these portrayals of the more affluent visitors, with their healthy pursuits and refined entertainment, the 'very distinct class of the Day Excursionist, and the poorer family who come to enjoy the seaside for a week or more' are depicted in terms subtly suggesting an invasion. Thus, they 'seem to concentrate along Foreshore Road and Sandside, where all their amusements are at present provided'. The route taken by such visitors to reach the sands, 'they make direct for the seashore', is also minutely detailed.³²⁸

3.6 Conclusions

Recurring themes within the historiography of the seaside resort address the consequences of the 'social and spatial conflicts' which arose in many resorts, and allied to this, the potential for the transgression of social norms and codes of behaviour by visitors released from their familial and work environments.³²⁹ As discussed here, Scarborough's particular natural geography, overlain with its development as a resort town, contributed to the evolution of enduring spatial and social dichotomies, despite almost a century of growing tourism.

Overall, census returns and allied sources paint a picture of stability within Scarborough: the vast majority of residents were born either in Scarborough or in Yorkshire, and patterns of employment changed little over the interwar years. The surnames of prominent families, often resident for generations in Scarborough, appear regularly over time in roles such as aldermen, magistrates and Poor Law Guardians. Whilst the town's economy was heavily dependent on commercial activity related to the tourist trade, men were employed in a diversity of sectors, including the historic, although declining, fishing industry, and within the building trade, as the town developed around the North and South Bays. In contrast, women's employment was heavily concentrated in domestic services and the retail trade. The hotel trade sought to attract additional staff from further afield during the holiday season, bringing in workers from across the UK and from overseas. Nonetheless, the resort's refined image

³²⁷ Ibid., p.17.

³²⁸ Ibid., p.17.

³²⁹ John Soane, 'The Origin, Growth and Transformation of Maritime Resorts since 1840', *Built Environment*, 18 (1992); R. Shields, 'The 'System of Pleasure': Liminality and the Carnavalesque at Brighton', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (1990), p.102.

belied the insecurity and deprivation experienced by some residents: schemes by the local authority to provide work for the unemployed were instituted following the end of the First World War. Further, the persistent imbalance in the population structure between males and females suggests that young men were commonly left the town to seek work elsewhere.

Promoting Scarborough as 'The Queen of Resorts', the local authority, Scarborough Borough Council, had been pro-active from the mid-nineteenth century onwards in developing amenities such as pleasure gardens and other attractions. In the context of a resident population of around 40,000, over the holiday seasons throughout the 1920s and 1930s, visitors numbered in the region of half- to three-quarters of a million people, whilst around 20,000 might come and go by train on a single Bank Holiday. Dominated by Liberals, Conservatives and Independents, and with a strong non-conformist tradition in the town, the council took a pragmatic approach to balancing entertainment and probity. For example, although opposition to Sunday trading was a frequent topic of discussion, business interests were to prevail. Above all, there existed a keen awareness in maintaining the 'tone' of the resort, and a resistance to the cruder developments thought to characterize seaside towns such as Blackpool.

Given this context, the following chapter consider the operation of the criminal justice system in Scarborough.

Chapter 4 Crime and the Criminal Justice System in Scarborough

With this view of the nature of the resort, the chapter considers the operation of the criminal justice system in Scarborough. The rates of offending encountered in the town, as indicated by the Police Returns and samples from the Petty Session Registers, are discussed in order to evaluate the proposition that Scarborough, as a seaside resort, was inherently 'criminogenic'. Similarly to this end, comparisons are made to regional settings and to other coastal resorts.

4.1 The Criminal Justice System

In brief, the origins of its of the three elements of the criminal justice system in Scarborough – the Borough Police, the Watch Committee and the magistrates stem from the early decades of the nineteenth century, an era which saw significant changes to the regulation of local government and its responsibilities with regard to policing and the administration of justice. In the aftermath of the 1832 Reform Act, a Royal Commission was formed to investigate the diversity of local administration throughout England and Wales, including the administration of justice, and to assess its functioning in practice. In summarising evidence from the range of municipalities under review, the commissioners were uncompromising in their assessment, reporting that, 'The corporate magistrates, generally speaking, are not looked upon by the inhabitants with favour or respect, and are often regarded with positive distrust and dislike' and 'The corporate magistrates are often selected from a class incompetent to the discharge of judicial functions, and the consequence has been a great defect in the administration of justice.'³³⁰ They further noted that 'The Borough Courts...seldom possess any printed or written rules regulating their proceedings, and their practice, therefore, is very ill-defined.'³³¹ In Scarborough at this time, the two Justices of the Peace were the Bailiffs of the Borough, elected annually by a selected minority of the 44 Common Council men, (or Capital

³³⁰ House of Commons Papers, Royal Com. Of Inquiry into Municipal Corporations of England and Wales. First Report, Appendices: Part I. (Midlands, W. And S.W. Circuits); Part II. (S.E. And S. Circuits); Part III. (N. And N. Midlands Circuits); Part IV. (E. And N.W. Circuits); Part V. (Other Places), 1835, in *UK Parliamentary Papers*, p.39. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1835-015608?accountid=12507>> [accessed 20 May 2023].

³³¹ Ibid., p.28.

Burgesses), who constituted the ruling body of the corporation.³³² In their examination of this body, the commissioners were to observe:

[...] a great prevalence of family influence in the corporation. There are five members of one family now in the council; viz. a father who is also town clerk and four sons. Three of them have been chosen bailiffs. There are five of another family. There are three of another family viz. the father, son and nephew; and three members of two other families.³³³

Leading on from the Commission, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 placed new duties on local government with respect to the administration of law and order within a borough, requiring *inter alia* the formation a local professional police force, to be overseen by a Watch Committee.³³⁴ Although Scarborough kept its historic boundaries, the borough was restructured into two wards of nine council seats each, where at the following local elections of December 1835 with a newly (if modestly) widened electorate, reformers took 17 of the 18 council seats, ending the domination of the former ruling clique.³³⁵ Addressing the nepotism such as that found in Scarborough, the Act led also to the appointment of magistrates by the Crown, effectively in the person of the Lord Chancellor, and in practice on the recommendation of the town council, and later with that of county or borough advisory committees.³³⁶

With these three potentially competing components – the Bench of magistrates, the Watch Committee and the local police force – Weinberger notes that the views of these three bodies on what constituted a criminal offence, and the interaction between them, determined the manner of the administration of justice in an area.³³⁷ Although the entrenched nepotism of the previous century had abated to some extent in Scarborough, a significant overlap between magistracy and town councillors (including those on the Watch Committee) continued to exist.³³⁸ Changes to this *status quo* would provoke media comment: the

³³² Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough North Yorkshire*, (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2001), p.224.

³³³ Royal Commission Of Inquiry, p.1717.

³³⁴ Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, (Harlow: Pearson Educational Limited, 2010), p.236.

³³⁵ Binns, *The History of Scarborough*, p.225.

³³⁶ R.H. Maudsley and J.W. Davies, 'The Justice of the Peace in England', *U. Miami L. Rev*, 18(3), (1964), 518-577.

³³⁷ Barbara Weinberger, *The Best Police in the World: Oral History of English Policing from the 1930s to the 1960s*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p82.

³³⁸ *Kelly's Directory of the North & East Ridings of Yorkshire* (Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1925), p.314.

appointment of Frank Appleby, a bricklayer, as a magistrate in 1920 prompted the article's headline 'Working Man Magistrate. A Bricklayer Appointed'.³³⁹ The same article goes on to report the appointment of the first two women magistrates for Scarborough: Miss M.G. Hopkins and, with the import of her husband's status evident, 'Mrs Tatham, wife of Lieut. Colonel Tatham M.P., assistant medical officer of health in Scarborough'.³⁴⁰ Both women were members of the Board of Guardians, a role which from the later nineteenth century was recognised as providing a means for women to participate in public life.³⁴¹

The members of the Watch Committee were drawn from Liberals, Conservatives and Independents, the parties which dominated the Town Council, and the individuals concerned reflecting the outward face of Scarborough as a place of commerce and enterprise. In 1922, the Liberal members of the Committee included the founder and owner of a drapery business (W. Boyes), a corn merchant (J. Bielby), and the manager of a brickworks (J. Malton); the Conservative members comprised the owner of an outfitters and soft furnishing business (G.W. Tindall), a former headmaster who also served as Clerk to the Scarborough School Board (W. Ascough), the proprietor of a private hotel (E.H. Matthews) and a doctor (D.G. Handcock). Boyes, Malton, Ascough and Matthews were also magistrates. Despite their similarities in professional status, further personal particulars typically correspond to their political alignments. The Conservative Chair of the Committee in 1922, George W. Tindall was a Freemason, as was Edward Matthews. The latter was also a member of the Rotary Club and Golf Club and was instrumental in the development of a new golf course. In contrast, the Liberal member William Boyes was a Primitive Methodist. When appointed Mayor in 1921, Boyes reportedly declined to wear the mayoral chain of office or attend a celebratory church service 'with the usual pomp and circumstance', preferring his usual chapel.³⁴² Ten years on, in 1932, the Committee comprised 4 Liberals, 2 Conservatives and 3 Independents. Some change in the members' social class was evident in comparison to 1922. Now, the Liberal members included a greengrocer (E. Smith), a builder and contractor (A. Moore), a master

³³⁹ 'Working Man Magistrate. A Bricklayer Appointed', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 15 September 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 21 January 2023].

³⁴⁰ 'Working Man Magistrate. A Bricklayer Appointed', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 15 September 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 21 January 2023].

³⁴¹ Pat Thane, 'Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England', *History Workshop*, 6, (1978), pp. 29-51.

³⁴² *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 21 November 1921 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 30th April 2023].

monumental sculptor (F. Webster) and a plumber's manager (J.C. Maynard). The Conservatives included an optician (J.W. Butler) and a baker and confectioner (F. Fisk), whilst the Independents included a gents' tailor and outfitter (J. Jackson), a house decorator (J.T. Cowton) and a newspaper proprietor (F.C. Whittaker).

The leadership of the police force saw limited change over the period of interest with only two Chief Constables in post during the interwar years: Henry Windsor, appointed in 1913 until retirement in 1929, and Walter Abbott from 1929-1941. Henry Windsor was born in 1875 in Colchester, Essex, the son of a gardener. In 1891, at the age of 16, he was recorded as a Solicitor's Clerk in Colchester; by the time of the 1901 census, he was employed as a Police Inspector in Norwich. Windsor made several attempts to gain promotion to Chief Constable whilst still in his early 30s. For example, in 1907 he was interviewed for posts both in Durham and in Windsor, in Merthyr in 1908 and Airdrie in 1909.³⁴³ Finally successful in Scarborough, he was appointed in 1913 at the age of 38, with 15 years' service as a Police Officer.³⁴⁴ His two predecessors – Henry Riches (to later become Chief Constable of Middlesbrough) and William Basham – had similarly been appointed from Norwich.³⁴⁵ Walter Abbott was born in 1881 in North Wingfield, Derbyshire, the son of a railway signalman. He joined Sheffield City Police in 1907 and in the 1911 census is recorded as a Police Constable.³⁴⁶ In 1920, then a Detective-Sergeant, he joined Scarborough Borough Police as a Detective-Inspector.³⁴⁷ He was promoted to Chief Constable in 1929 on the retirement of Henry Windsor. Thus, both men emanated from working-class backgrounds and their appointments suggest expanding career opportunities for men of this class within the police.³⁴⁸ In addition, as police officers, both were of an age to avoid conscription during the First World War and were able to

³⁴³ 'Merthyr Police', *Cambrian News*, 24 July 1908; 'Head Constable of Durham', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 15 May 1907; 'Norwich', *Norfolk Chronicle*, 21 September 1907 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 9th May 2023].

³⁴⁴ 'New Chief Constable of Scarborough', *Newcastle Journal*, 1 April 1913 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 9 May 2023].

³⁴⁵ 'Scarborough Chief Constable Resigns', *The Scotsman*, 5th December 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 9 May 2023].

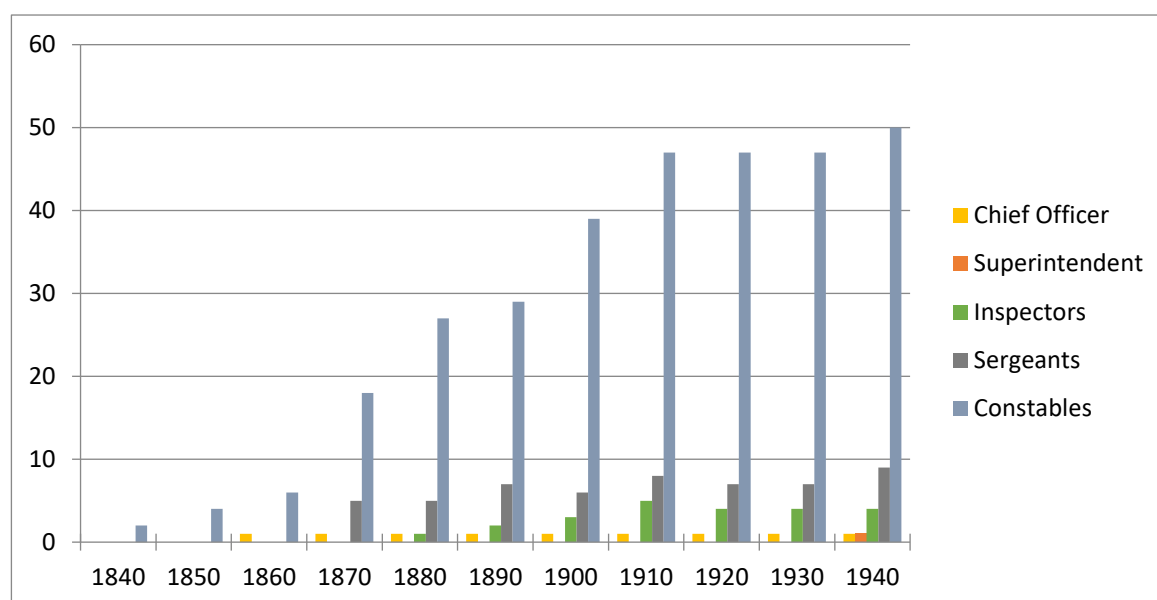
³⁴⁶ 'Police Chief to Retire', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 20th June 1941 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 9 May 2023].

³⁴⁷ 'Sheffield Detective goes to Scarborough', *Sheffield Evening Telegraph* <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 9 May 2023].

³⁴⁸ Juliet Esme Leigh, 'Early County Chief Constables in the North of England 1880-1905', (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2013), p. 242.

continue building their professional experience over this period. From a handful of officers at its beginnings in 1836, by 1910, the total force of Scarborough Borough Police had grown to around 60 officers, with numbers remained relatively stable until 1940 (Graph 4.1). In March 1932, the minutes of the Watch Committee note that the Police Matron, Mrs J. Taylor, had resigned. Police Matrons were mainly responsible for supervising women and children in police stations and the courts.³⁴⁹ Arrangements for the appointment to the post of Police Matron, at a salary of 10/- per week, and a Deputy Police Matron, at 5/- per week, were noted. (A newly appointed male police constable could expect to earn around 70s per week in the early 1930s).³⁵⁰ Although the First World War and its aftermath had brought jobs and recognition for women police officers in a number of forces, Scarborough was not to appoint a women police officer until the 1940s.

Graph 4.1 Police Officers in Scarborough by rank 1840-1940



Communications from the Home Office to the Watch Committee demonstrate central direction as a factor in local policing both as result of the standardisations introduced in the Police Act 1919 and through funding constraints such as those introduced following the

³⁴⁹ John W. Carrier, *The Acceptance and Statutory Recognition of Women as Police Officers in England and Wales, with Special Reference to the Metropolitan Police, 1914-31*, (1983).

³⁵⁰ House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report* (1 October 1942) <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1942/oct/01/police-pay>> [accessed 4 November 2023].

Geddes Report.³⁵¹ In March 1922, Scarborough Borough Police comprised one Chief Constable, 3 Inspectors, 5 Sergeants and 50 Constables: following the Geddes Committee, a 5% reduction in the strength of the force was required, met by the Watch Committee through the loss of 3 police constable posts. In parallel, records of the Watch Committee provide evidence of alliances between local authorities in their opposition to the intended amalgamation of smaller forces into the larger County forces. In July 1922, the Watch Committee discussed a letter from the Town Clerk of Luton inviting representatives to attend a forthcoming meeting at the Law Society in connection with their opposition to Clause 19 of the Economy (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill which proposed such consolidation of police forces. It was resolved that Councillor Tindall and the Town Clerk should attend, and the following month's minutes note a report by the Town Clerk on the meeting and the resolutions passed. Later the same year however, a further letter from the Town Clerk of Luton, revealed that the legislation was not being pursued due to the dissolution of parliament prior to the General Election of November 1922. As noted above, despite attempts by successive governments to rationalise the diverse nature of local forces, it was not until 1946 that the Police Act abolished forty-five non-county Borough forces, with Scarborough Borough Police being amalgamated into North Riding Constabulary from 1947.³⁵²

4.2 Policing and the Watch Committee

In considering the Watch Committee Minutes for Manchester and Salford in the late 19th century, Daniels describes the records as 'terse to the point of economy', and the same observation could be applied to those of Scarborough.³⁵³ The agenda for the monthly meetings followed a similar pattern with regular consideration of the police financial accounts, the return of crime figures, reports of fires (the Chief Constable also being Chief

³⁵¹ Chris A. Williams, James Robert Moore, and John Smith, 'Rotten Boroughs : The Crisis of Urban Policing and the Decline of Municipal Independence 1914–64 [Corruption in Urban Politics and Society, Britain 1780-1950]', in *Corruption in Urban Politics and Society, Britain 1780-1950*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 155-75.

³⁵² 'Police Mergers', *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 1 April 1947. <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000378%2F19470401&page=5&article=069&stringtohighlight=scarborough+police+merging>> [accessed 5 March 2024].

³⁵³ David Daniels, 'Watching and Policing in Manchester and Salford 1880-1900', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2018), p. 53.

Fire Officer), police appointments and disciplinary matters.³⁵⁴ The Committee also heard reports from the Inspector for Weights and Measures, considered licences for the sale of petroleum and other fuels, and applications for alterations to trading hours. In addition, regular items covered applications by charitable bodies for street collections and applications by transport companies for bus and tram operating licences. Thus, the Committee was responsible for considering a wide range of matters in addition to policing. Whilst in the relatively modest-sized borough of Scarborough, these responsibilities were handled by a single group of councillors and aldermen, in larger industrial centres such as Manchester and Salford sub-committees were formed to address each area covered within the remit of the Watch Committee.³⁵⁵

Relations between Watch Committee and Chief Constables varied significantly across the country reflecting the diversity in priorities for local authorities and the local force. In some cases, the interwar years saw disputes between Labour local authorities and police chiefs which resulted in intervention by the Home Office.³⁵⁶ In Monmouth and St Helens, for example, the Home Office supported the Chief Constable of the areas against the local authority, in one case through the withholding of funds and in the other through an enquiry which supported the Chief Constable.³⁵⁷ In examining the Manchester Watch Committee Minutes for the period 1880-1900, Daniels noted both contrasts and similarities to the situation in Scarborough.³⁵⁸ In one instance, for example, twelve pages of correspondence between a councillor, the Watch Committee and Chief Constable concerning a disagreement over a public house were noted, and such tensions between councillors, Watch Committee and the police force were identified as a 'recurring theme' throughout the period.³⁵⁹ However, in common with Scarborough, no discussion of police operational matters was minuted.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁴ Les Shannon, *Conflagration : Scarborough's Firefighting History*, (Scarborough: Scarborough St. John's, 2003).

³⁵⁵ Daniels, 'Watching and Policing', p. 46.

³⁵⁶ Barry S. Godfrey, Paul Lawrence, and Chris A. Williams, *History & Crime*, (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008). p. 87.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁵⁸ Daniels, 'Watching and Policing', p. 47.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Considering the role of the Watch Committee in early years of the twentieth century in Birmingham and Leicester, Ewen notes that the committee delegation of 'substantial authority' to Chief Constables in respect of personnel matters, showed little interest in 'the idiosyncrasies of daily policing' and were content to ratify the Chief Constable's decisions.³⁶¹ Overall, the written record of proceedings in Scarborough similarly suggest little challenge by the Watch Committee to the authority of the Chief Constable. Items such as inspections by HM Inspector of Constabulary, Major General Atcherley, which are minuted in the 1922 and 1932 samples, are on both occasions briefly noted with no detailed discussion further recorded. In cases of police discipline, decisions by the Chief Constable were routinely upheld. In February 1922, for example, fines imposed by the Chief Constable on P.C. Pickup and Roe were upheld and P.C. Salter was required to resign. The latter case was notable enough to be reported in regional newspapers with the *Sunday Sun (Newcastle)* of 19th February 1922 describing an incident in which the previous Friday's performance at The Theatre Royal Scarborough was interrupted by 'loud talking of two men in the wings, who.....were plain clothes police officers, and were under the influence of drink'. The report further states that Chief Constable Windsor was also in the theatre, and that one of the men (presumably Salter) was placed under temporary detention 'in consequence of his alleged conduct towards his superior officer'. The Scarborough Petty Session Registers confirm that Salter appeared in court on the following Monday 20th February 1922, charged only with drunkenness, pleaded guilty and was fined five shillings. The monthly meeting of the Watch Committee took place the following day, and Salter's fate was sealed. A few days later, the *Hull Daily Mail* reported the 'Sequel to Theatre Disturbance', detailing the Watch Committee's decision requiring an officer to resign and his appearance of the officer at the Police Court, charged with drunkenness and an alleged assault on a superior officer.³⁶² The Watch Committee took a partial role in disciplinary processes on some occasions – in a number of cases, officers subject to disciplinary action were evidently interviewed by the committee before fines were upheld; in another example, the officer's pay was reduced by a weekly amount for 6 months and the Chief Constable was required to report on his conduct. In contrast to disciplinary matters,

³⁶¹ Shane Ewen, 'Managing Police Constables and Firefighters: Uniformed Public Services in English Cities, C.1870-1930', *International Review of Social History*, 51 (2006), p. 55.

³⁶² 'Sequel to Theatre Disturbance', *Hull Daily Mail*, 22 February 1922 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 10 May 2023].

records of commendations are regularly noted. In August 1922, for example, P.C. Holroyd was commended for stopping a runaway horse and in February 1932, P.C. Veitch was commended for the arrest of two soldiers for theft.

External challenges to the Watch Committee or the Chief Constable were infrequent. In August 1922, the Committee instructed the Chief Constable to distribute cases for the Quarter Sessions and Assizes 'amongst the town's solicitors as far as possible', perhaps suggesting that the services of certain individuals had been favoured. In November 1929, a letter from Scarborough Labour Party objected to the action taken by the Chief Constable after the declaration of results of an election. The Committee resolved that no speeches would be permitted from the steps of the Town Hall after the Declaration of Poll, but also referred the questions for consideration to Edwin Smith (the Chairman) and the Chief Constable. Later that month, the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* reported that a proposal 'to prohibit after-the-poll speeches from the Town Hall steps has been referred back for further consideration'.³⁶³ In January 1930, the matter was concluded by the resolution that the Mayor should declare the results of elections.

In December 1928, Henry Windsor informed the Watch Committee of his intention to retire in March 1929 after thirty-one and a half years' service in the police. His pension for life was approved, although an application to Norwich Police for a contribution in relation to his service there was recorded. The Committee placed on record 'their high appreciation of the capable and efficient manner in which the Chief Constable has at all times discharged his duties'. In January 1929, the Watch Committee noted their intention to promote Inspector Walter Abbott to the post, apparently without recourse to seeking other candidates for interview. In February 1929, having received approval from the Home Office, Abbott was appointed as Windsor's successor at a salary of £550 per annum (equivalent to approximately £30,000 in today's values), with 3 triennial increments of £50 to a maximum salary of £700 (£36,000). The apparent good relations between the Watch Committee and the new Chief Constable evidently continued. In one instance, these might be deduced from the agreement obtained in April 1932 for Committee to meet the cost of laying electricity cables to Abbott's

³⁶³ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 20th November 1929, <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 10th May 2023].

private residence. On his appointment in April 1929, Abbott was immediately concerned with improving police resources such as telephone systems. Similarly at his first Watch Committee meeting Abbott reported on the style of uniform worn by the Borough Police. His proposals regarding the style of tunic and cap issued to Inspectors and that Sergeants should wear helmets rather than caps were accepted. In addition, he was authorised 'to purchase such Police Clothing as is necessary to be worn by him in his capacity as Chief Constable'. The impression given is of a man ready to bring change and to establish his authority. In effect, the appointment of Walter Abbott brought indications of the continued adoption of the technologies which were bringing changes to policing in this period. At the April 1929 meeting of the Watch Committee, the first after Abbott's appointment was confirmed, the purchase of a motor car for the police for official purposes as well as the purchase of a duplicating machine were proposed, with the Chairman, Edwin Smith, and the Chief Constable given 'powers to act'. In September 1932, the purchase of a Brough Superior Motorcycle for £75 was approved by the Home Office, this purchase being eligible for an Exchequer Grant. In March 1930, the closure of Falsgrave and South Cliff Police Sub-Stations due to the adoption of the police box system was noted, and in August of that year, the Chief Constable reported the proposed installation of "Carter-Micro" Telephone Boxes at a cost of £1259.12.3, with the Town Clerk instructed to gain approval from the Home Office.³⁶⁴

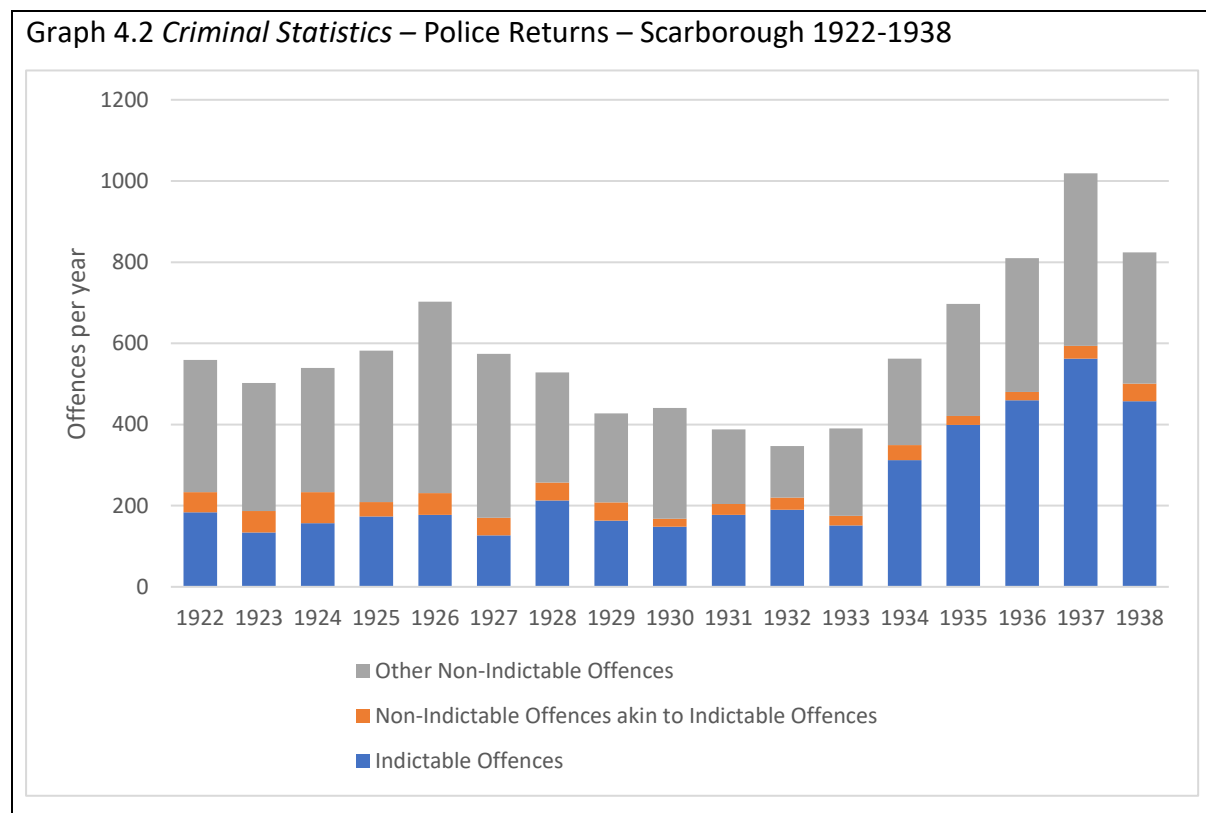
4.3 Overview of Recorded Crime in Scarborough

On balance, the Minutes of the Watch Committee evidence a lack of concern with crime as an issue. Crime figures were submitted monthly by the Chief Constable to the Committee but there is a marked lack of discussion of these, at least in the recorded minutes. In January 1920, the Committee resolved, 'that the form of publication of the Chief Constable's Annual Report be left in the hands of the Chief Constable', and it is noted that annual figures have been reported to the Home Office, but without further discussion.³⁶⁵ In the context of the national

³⁶⁴ The impact of the adoption of such technologies on policing is discussed in: Joanne Klein and Gerald Blaney, 'Traffic, Telephones and Police Boxes : The Deterioration of Beat Policing in Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester between the World Wars', in *Policing Interwar Europe : Continuity, Change and Crisis, 1918-1940*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 215-36.

³⁶⁵ North Yorkshire County Record Office, Watch Committee Minutes DC/SCB II 1/5/6-7, 1922; North Yorkshire County Record Office, Watch Committee Minutes DC/SCB II 1/21/1-10, 1932.

statistics discussed in Chapter 2, the figures concerned, those for the Police Returns for Scarborough published within the *Criminal Statistics*, provide a view of the overall change over time: for clarity, these figures are displayed as bar charts (Graph 4.2).



Before considering in more detail the types of offences underlying these changes in the following chapter, a number of observations may be made. Broadly, the trends seen in Scarborough mirror the national picture, further analysis showing, for example, that the increase in Indictable Offences from the early 1930s was, as nationally, largely due to the separate reporting of larceny relating to motor vehicles and bicycles. The volume of recorded crime occurring within the town (allowing for the potential inaccuracies noted above which may be with associated with Police Returns) is also of note. The minimum total offences recorded within a year during this period was 347 in 1932 and the maximum 1019 occurring in 1937, suggesting a range of 1 to 3 offences per day. As outlined in Chapter 2, samples of records were extracted from the Scarborough Petty Session Registers with the principal aim of establishing how the types of offences heard in court related to those recorded in the Photograph Book. From these samples, the number of offences heard in court also provide

some comparison with figures recorded in the Police Returns to the District reports within *Criminal Statistics* (Table 4.4). As ever, a number of caveats must be borne in mind. Firstly, 'Indictable Offences' were reported as 'Offences known to the Police', thus may not necessarily equate to all those appearing in court, whereas Non-Indictable Offences related to 'Persons proceeded against', thus might be expected to align with records of court appearances. Secondly, whilst offence codes governed wider groupings of offence types, the potential for inconsistent interpretation was pervasive. For example, Simple Larceny, offence code 44, an Indictable Offence although tried summarily, as an example included the designation, 'Stealing &c., trees, shrubs, &c. to value of 1*l.* in pleasure grounds, &c., or to value of 5*l.* if elsewhere'; the offence of Stealing, however, appearing in tables as a 'Non-Indictable Offence akin to Indictable Offences tried summarily', included '164. Trees, Shrubs, &c., to the value of 1*s* – Stealing, or cutting, rooting up, &c., with intent to steal, any tree, shrub, &c., to the value of 1*s*'.

Table 4.1 shows a comparison of figures as published in the District Reports with those totalled from the four-month samples (for January-February and July-August) from 1922 and 1932 in the Petty Session Registers. Thus, expecting over a four-month period that the number of offences would be comparable to one third of the yearly total, whilst variation between different categories occurs, overall the 184 offences recorded in the Petty Session Registers in four months of 1922 equate to 33% of the yearly total in the District Reports, whilst the corresponding 89 offences in four months of 1932 equate to 26% in the District Reports.

Table 4.1 Scarborough - Recorded Crime – District Reports and Petty Sessions Register 1922 and 1932						
	1922			1932		
Type of Offence	From District Reports	Petty Sessions Registers		From District Reports	Petty Sessions Registers	Petty Sessions Registers
	All 1922	Jan-Feb July-Aug 1922	4-month sample % total	All 1932	Jan-Feb Jul-Aug 1932	4-month sample % total
Indictable Offences	184	42	23	190	28	15
(of which: Indictable Offences tried summarily)	161	36	22	134	17	13
Non-Indictable Offence akin to Indictable Offences Tried Summarily	49	6	12	30	1	3
Persons Prosecuted for other non-indictable offences - Tried Summarily	326	136	42	127	60	47
Total	559	184	33	347	89	26

Whilst such interpretations must be treated with caution, the two sets of figures at least appear to agree in scale, and provide an element of confidence in the prevalence of offences recorded, if not the absolute numbers. Nevertheless, the question of how far recorded figures represent the reality of offending in a locale remains moot. In summary, in terms of the import of criminal activity in Scarborough, at face value, the figures reported here suggest modest rates of offending.

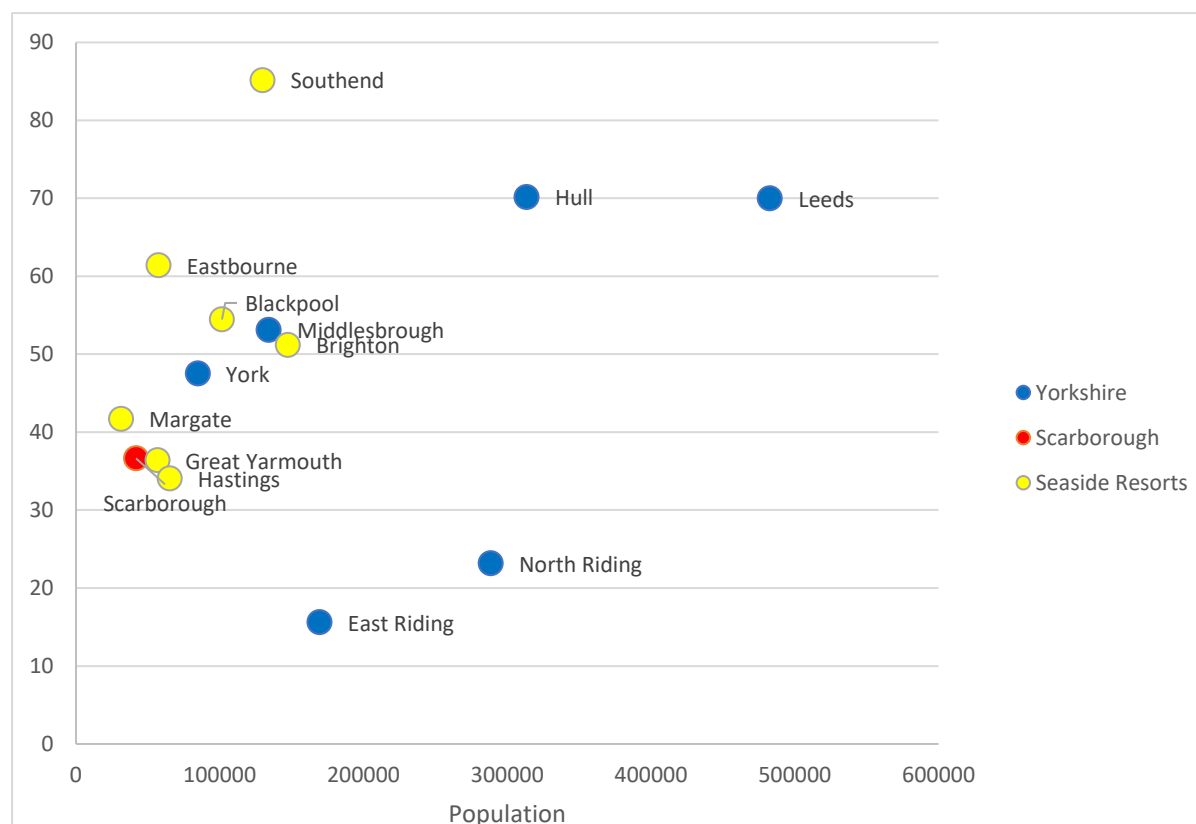
4.4 Recorded Crime: a comparative picture

To provide further context, the following section considers how offending in Scarborough compared to other regional locations in Yorkshire and to other seaside settings. The locations in Yorkshire and in those of coastal towns selected for comparison are shown in Table 3.1, with their populations recorded in the 1931 census.³⁶⁶ Whilst these figures necessarily do not

³⁶⁶ GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, *A Vision of Britain* (2009-2023), <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>> [accessed 01 December 2023].

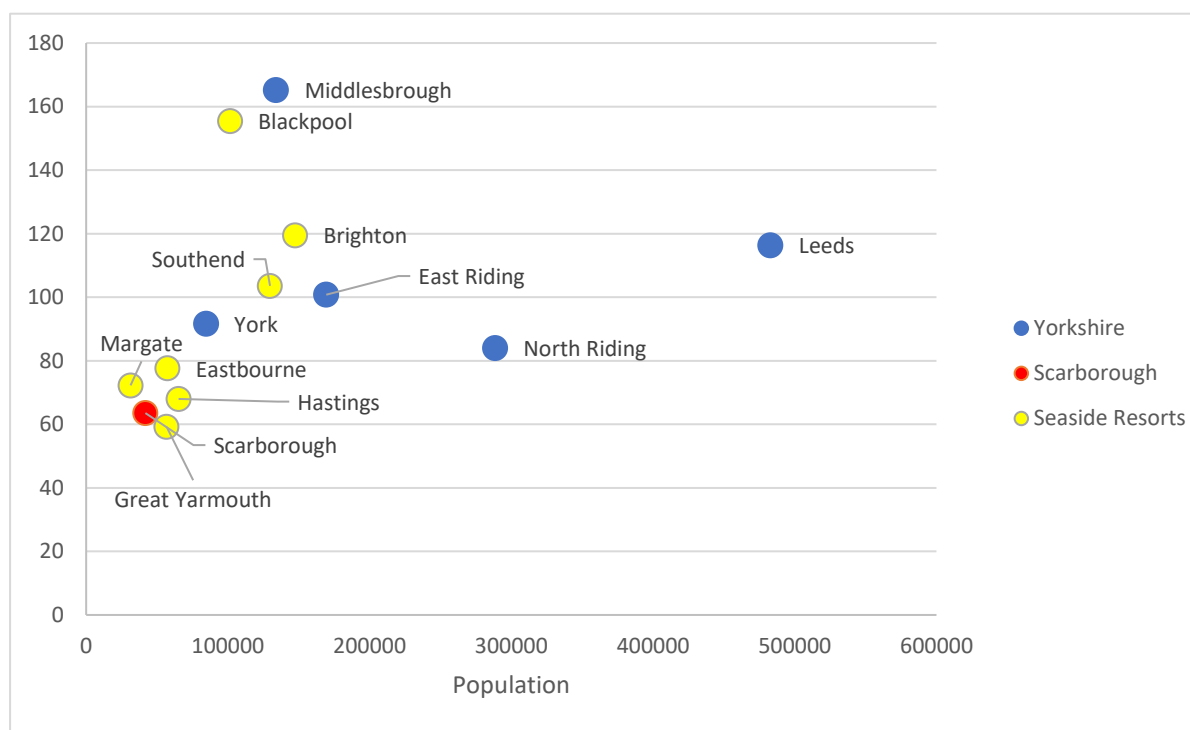
account for the temporary increases in population due to visitors in the holiday season, they indicate that Scarborough was similar in size to the seaside resorts of Margate, Great Yarmouth, Eastbourne and Hastings, these towns being significantly smaller than Blackpool, Southend and Brighton. In Yorkshire, the regional industrial centres of Leeds, Hull and Middlesbrough dominated, whilst compared to neighbouring towns, Scarborough occupied an intermediate position – being somewhat larger than the nearby coastal towns of Whitby and Redcar, about half the size of the City of York. As anticipated, comparison of trends over time in the different settings proved problematic due to considerable variation both between locations and between years in the same location. In order to reduce this inherent variability, the data was considered in terms of average rates of offending per 10,000 population over the period 1922-1933; Graphs 4.3a and 4.3b show the outcome for the categories of Indictable Offences and Other Non-Indictable Offences.³⁶⁷

Graph 4.3a *Criminal Statistics - Police Returns - Indictable Offences - Average rate per annum per 10,000 population 1922-1933 vs. Total Population*



³⁶⁷ As noted, categories of reported offences were modified in 1934, further complicating the comparison, therefore the years 1934-1938 were omitted from this part of the analysis.

Graph 4.3b *Criminal Statistics - Police Returns - Other Non-Indictable Offences tried summarily (Average per annum per 10,000 population 1922-1933) vs. Total Population*



The figures here suggest that rates of crime in Scarborough were somewhat comparable to those found in seaside resorts of a similar size, for example, Margate, Great Yarmouth and Hastings. In terms of the other parts of Yorkshire, for Indictable Offences, as might be expected, the large (and largely rural) areas of the East and North Riding showed lower rates, whilst the industrial urban centres of Leeds and Hull were notably higher, with York and Middlesbrough at intermediate positions. A similar pattern is seen for Non-Indictable Offences, although the rates for this category are higher than those of Scarborough in the North and East Riding, perhaps reflecting the predominance of petty crime in rural areas. The larger seaside resorts of Blackpool, Brighton and Southend show higher rates of Indictable and Non-Indictable crime on a population basis. Such higher rates in the southern resorts might in part be attributed to their proximity to London, their accessibility to excessive numbers of visitors, and the potential involvement of organised crime, linked in Brighton, for

example, to the racecourse.³⁶⁸ Blackpool similarly received significantly larger numbers of visitors than Scarborough, often concentrated in the Wakes Weeks, and had from its early days as a resort always been considered a working-class resort with a focus on popular entertainments.³⁶⁹

4.5 The Scarborough Photograph Book: Revealing the Archive

Beyond the statistics, in developing a view of the nature of offending in Scarborough, the following section briefly surveys some broad areas of interest that arose in the course of analysing the contents of the Photograph Book, providing further context before a more detailed analysis of offending and responses to crime in the following chapter. Acknowledging that the Book represents only a portion of the complete picture of offending, as a source, it is nevertheless valuable, used in conjunction with other digitized and archival sources, in providing significant detail concerning individuals who experienced the criminal justice system as offenders.

Whilst the entry of an individual's record was prompted by a court appearance in Scarborough, it is evident that records relating to those who had only offended elsewhere were also entered in the Photograph Book: the latter amounted to some 11% of male offenders and 7% of females (Table 4.2). Disparities are evident in the pattern of offending suggested by records for men and women: whilst approximately half of the men (52%) are recorded as offending only in Scarborough, close to three-quarters of women (73%) offended only in the town.

³⁶⁸ David Churchill, 'Living in a Leisure Town: residential reactions to the growth of popular tourism in Southend, 1870-1890', *Urban History*, 41 (2014), pp. 42-61; Heather Shore, 'Rogues of the Racecourse. Racing Men and the Press in Interwar Britain', *Media History*, 20(4), pp. 352-367.

³⁶⁹ John K. Walton, *The British seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

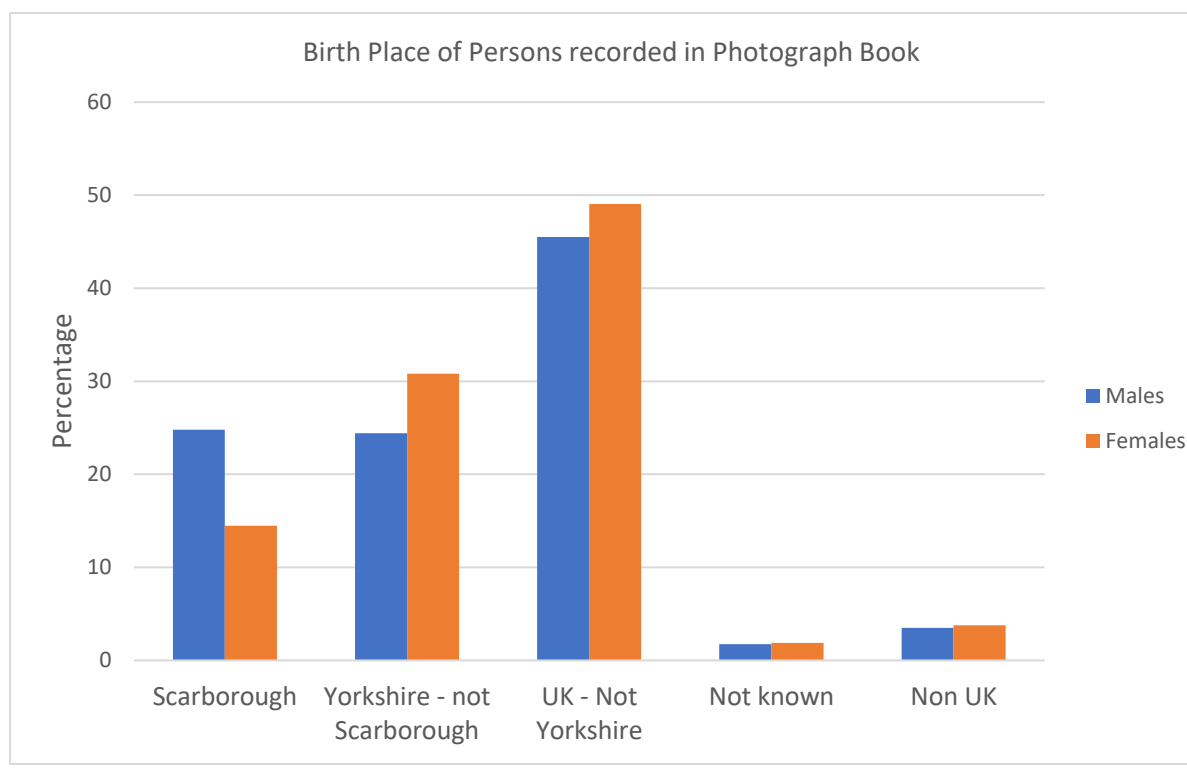
Table 4.2 Overview of Individuals – place of offending				
	Individuals			
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Offences only committed in Scarborough	266	52	116	73
Offences only committed elsewhere	56	11	11	7
Offences committed Scarborough and elsewhere	190	37	32	20
Total	512	100	159	100

Analysis of the geographical spread of offending suggests a predominance within the north of England, with 76% of recorded offences occurring in the region, and almost half (43%) in Scarborough itself (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Regional Breakdown of recorded offences	
Region	Percentage of Offences
Scarborough	43
Yorkshire (excl. Scarborough)	21
Other Northern England	12
Southern England	3
London	3
Eastern England	4
Western England	2
Midlands	5
Wales	1
Scotland	2
Ireland	1
Overseas	1
No location	1

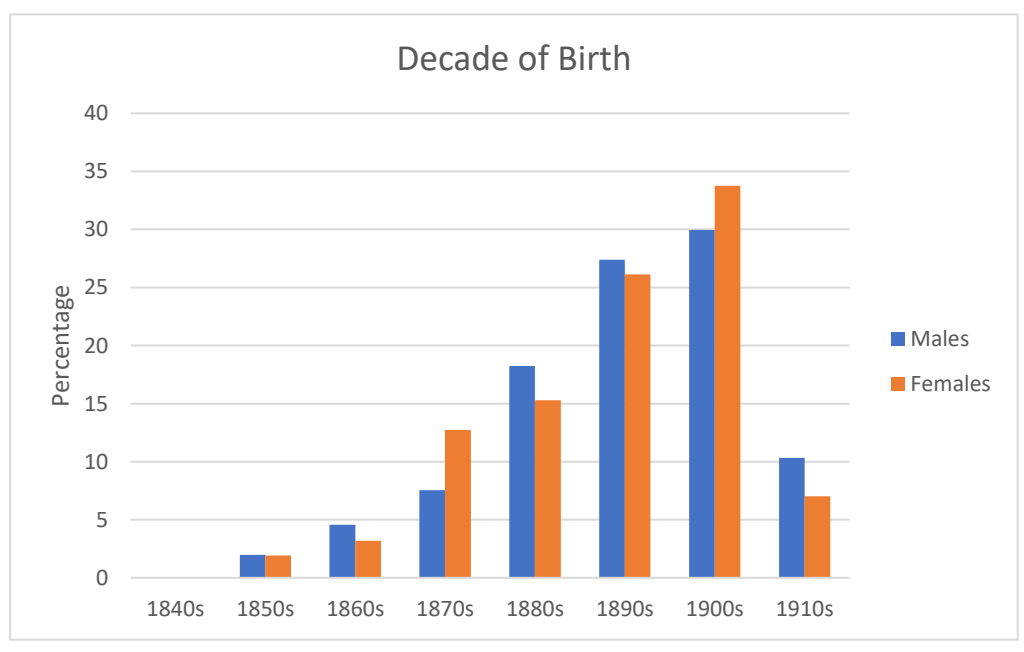
Considering the birthplace of offenders, approximately half of those recorded were born in Yorkshire, and half outside of the county (Graph 4.4). This data tends to suggest that a slightly higher proportion of the men recorded (approximately 25%) were locally born compared to women (approximately 15%), perhaps as a result of women moving into Scarborough to seek employment in domestic service and the hospitality trade, as discussed above in Chapter 3.

Graph 4.4 Overview of birthplace of offenders



With the compilation of the Photograph Book principally covering 1920 – 1935, as might be expected, the majority of offenders were recorded when in their twenties and thirties, whilst overall, earliest birth date for those recorded was 1851 and the latest 1916 (Graph 4.5).

Graph 4.5 Decade of birth of recorded persons



From the demography of Scarborough considered in Chapter 3, it is evident that a high proportion of the town's population were born in Scarborough - necessarily over the year, the town received large numbers of tourists from elsewhere as well as those employed in the holiday trade. Given this distinctive feature of a resort town, the records in the Photograph Book were considered in terms of those born in the town, and those born elsewhere as an approach to identifying differing patterns of offending or responses to offenders (Table 4.4). Firstly, the numbers of those recorded on this basis show contrasts: 127 were men born in Scarborough as against 385 born elsewhere; only 21 women offenders were born in Scarborough as against 95 born elsewhere. It is apparent that, of the men born in Scarborough, some three-quarters (76%) offended only in Scarborough, whilst for women born in Scarborough, the figure is 91%; in addition, no Scarborough-born women is recorded as offending solely elsewhere. For those men not born in Scarborough, similar proportions are found to have offended either solely in Scarborough, or in Scarborough and elsewhere (44%), whilst 12% offended solely elsewhere. For women not born in Scarborough, some 70% committed offences only in Scarborough, and a further 22% committed offences in Scarborough and elsewhere.

Table 4.4 Patterns of offending – individuals born in Scarborough and elsewhere								
	Individuals							
	Men				Women			
	Born Scarborough		Not born in Scarborough		Born Scarborough		Not born in Scarborough	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Offences only committed in Scarborough	96	76	170	44	21	91	95	70
Offences only committed elsewhere	10	8	46	12	0	0	11	8
Offences committed Scarborough and elsewhere	21	17	169	44	2	9	30	22
Total	127	100	385	100	23	100	136	100

Considering the breakdown of offences in a similar way, for men born in Scarborough, 80% of their offences occurred in Scarborough, and 20% elsewhere, whilst for women born in Scarborough, 95% of the offences occurred in the town and only 5% elsewhere. For men not born in Scarborough, 33% of the offences were recorded in Scarborough, whilst for the women not born in Scarborough, 57% occurred in the town, again suggesting greater mobility amongst the non-Scarborough men. From the overall pattern of offending by women, of the individuals born in Scarborough, 19 of the 21 women concerned committed only 1 or 2 offences, and only 2 Scarborough-born women was recorded as committing offences outside of Scarborough. Of the 136 women born outside of Scarborough, 95 offended only in Scarborough, with 88 of these women committing only 1 or 2 offences, whilst women who offended both in Scarborough and elsewhere all committed more than a single offence. These findings point to contrasts in men's and women's offending, and perhaps in their experience of mobility over the time period in question.

As outlined in Chapter 2, concern with so-called 'travelling criminals' had prompted the creation and expansion of recording systems aimed at facilitating the exchange of information between police forces. The West Yorkshire Clearing House established by Atcherley was the principal alternative to the Metropolitan Police's C.R.O., effectively duplicating its functions. Centered on the North of England and with a stated focus on crimes 'For Gain', the rationale for inclusion of individuals within the Scarborough Photograph Book is considered below, highlighting some instances of anomalies identified through the analysis of its contents and through comparison with samples from the Petty Session Registers.

In terms of compiling records of offences 'For Gain', the sample of the Petty Sessions Register for January-February 1922 shows that out of the thirteen such cases, two cases did not result in entries entered in the Photograph Book. In one instance, the defendant was found not guilty of stealing hedge slabs worth ten shillings, and no details or photograph of the defendant were entered in the Photograph Book. In the other case in this period, two men were found guilty of being in possession of hazel rods, but were both discharged under the Probation of Offenders Act. One of the offenders, however, George Stonehouse, a 45-year-old native of Scarborough, appears in the Photograph Book with nine offences already to his

22		JO. 6		Name		Byron JOHNSON	
Character No.		W.R.C. No.		Aliases		C.R.O. 258-99	
Born 1866		Nativity Scarborough		Height 5' 6 1/2"		Comp. Trade Hair M. Brown	
Eyes Blue		Build Prof.		Trade Labourer		Peculiarities	
Marks							

CONVICTIONS.			
Date	Place	Offence	Decision
27-4-1	WAKEFIELD P.S.	House of Justice	10 days
27-7-6	"	Trespass on Ry.	14
8-1-5	"	Disorderly Person	14
27-12	HULL	Begging	4
1-7-6	"	Stealing Clothing	30
25-7-6	SHEFFIELD	Beh of Ry by Law	Fined 5/-
28-8-6	"	Stealing a Dining Room	Comm. 2 mths H. G.
11-11-6	"	Vagrancy	1
4-3-5	"	"	7 days
29-8-5	DONCASTER	Stealing a rich Tin	1 mth
9-11	"	Vagrancy	1
5-1-5	NORTHALLERTON	Stealing a watch	6
2-9-5	SHEFFIELD P.S.	Stealing a pair of Boots	3
24-7-0	YORK	Stealing a dog	18

22 Further convictions recorded.


Although born in Scarborough in 1866, no offences are recorded in the town, although a note at the bottom of his record states '22 Further convictions recorded', and newspaper reports show that he appeared regularly at the Police Court and at Scarborough Quarter Sessions. Quite possibly, the officer compiling the records simply ran out of space on the page to enter the complete record of offences. Johnson is also recorded in the Habitual Criminals Register for 1899, having received a six-month sentence for larceny at Scarborough in 1898.³⁷⁰ Interestingly, the C.R.O. number in the Register and in the Photograph Book correspond, however the Register records a description of Johnson's tattoo whilst the Photograph Book does not, although there is space to do so. One supposition might be that Johnson was in effect well-known to the local force, so that detailed record-keeping for the purpose of identification was superfluous. In 1927, for example, when Johnson was charged with intent to commit a felony, a report of the case notes 'a list of previous convictions against him, dating back to 1883'; the Chief Constable brought the case without enough evidence to justify a charge of stealing a gold watch but was 'practically certain the defendant had done so', suggesting local knowledge of a repeat offender.³⁷¹

Samples from the Petty Session Registers include two examples of cases where the offences were 'Not for Gain', but where the offender was recorded in the Photograph Book. In the July-


³⁷⁰ 'UK, Registers of Habitual Criminals and Police Gazettes, 1834-1934', <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/77237:61812?tid=&pid=&queryId=9f81a072-6360-4445-8592-fd8470299f51&phsrc=UkY311&phstart=successSource>> [accessed 23 January 2024].

³⁷¹ 'Elderly Man with a Bad Record. Tale of Stolen Gold Watch at Scarborough', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 09 September 1927 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000273%2F19270909&page=7&article=172&stringtohighlight=byron+johnson+scarborough>> [accessed 23 January 2024].

August 1922 period, a 38-year-old man, Henry Stanton, was accused of bigamy and was remanded to appear before York Assizes.

173	Character No.	Name <i>Henry John Churchill STANTON</i>	No.	Date.	Place.	<i>Henry John Churchill STANTON</i>	Name.	Off. in case.
		Aliases	1.	17/11/22	LEEDS ASSIZES	BIGAMY	9 mths. DIV. II.	<i>Henry John Stanton</i>
		C.R.O. <i>3125-21</i>	2.	17/11/22	YORK ASSIZES	BIGAMY	3 years. P. S.	<i>Henry John Churchill Stanton, D. C. MARRIOTT</i>
		Born <i>29/8/1884</i>						
		Height <i>5ft. 6 1/2 in.</i>						
		Comp. <i>Fresh</i>						
		Hair <i>Dark Brown</i>						
		Eyes <i>Blue</i>						
		Build <i>Prop.</i>						
		Trade <i>Barber</i>						
		Peculiarities <i>Nose twisted to left</i>						
		Marks						

Later in the year, he was found guilty at the higher court, and was sentenced to three years' Penal Servitude, having two years previously been convicted of the same offence at Leeds Assizes, for which he served nine months in prison. Bigamy is not explicitly defined as an 'Offence for Gain' (Appendix 2.2), and the offender's inclusion in the Photograph Book may indicate a policy of recording those convicted of indictable offences, where the case would be heard at a higher court. In another example, in January-February 1932, where all but one of the cases entered in the Photograph Book are 'Offences for Gain', the exception involves Douglas Barwick, a 35-year-old solicitor who was fined £25 and banned for driving for three years for being drunk in charge of a motor car.

581	Character No.	Name <i>DOUGLAS HARRY BARWICK</i>	Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.	Name.	Off. in case.
		Aliases	1-5-32	Scarborough, P.S.	Drunk in charge of Motor Car	Fined £10 & 3 months imprisonment	<i>Douglas H. Barwick</i>	
		C.R.O. <i>9109-52</i>	4-1-32	Scarborough, P.S.	do	Fined £10 & 3 months imprisonment	do	
		Born <i>1896</i>	2-3-32	York Assizes	Drunk in charge of Motor Car	6 Months II Div.	do	<i>Dr. Nicholson</i>
		Nativity <i>Scarborough</i>					do	do
		Height <i>5' 4"</i>					do	do
		Comp. <i>Fresh</i>					do	do
		Hair <i>Brown</i>					do	do
		Eyes <i>Blue</i>					do	do
		Build <i>Thin</i>					do	do
		Trade <i>Solicitor</i>					do	do
		Peculiarities <i>Spots on face</i>					do	do
		Marks <i>None self temple</i>					do	do

In effect, his record was added to the Photograph Book later that year when he received convictions at York Assizes in relation to embezzlement, indicating that an offender's record might be retrospectively completed to include convictions in addition to those for 'Offences for Gain'. In such cases - where the offender appeared first at the Scarborough Petty Sessions charged with an indictable offence and was then committed to the Assizes - the photograph

of the individual was apparently taken at the time of the hearing at the Petty Sessions, despite the presumption of innocence which should have existed at this point.

As an application of a novel technology, the question of an individual's consent to be photographed received attention within the evolving legislation - the Prison Act of 1877, for example, concerned with the monitoring of habitual offenders, stated that:

Every prisoner may, if required for purposes of justice, be photographed on reception and subsequently; but no copy of such photograph shall be given to any persons except those officially authorised to receive it for the purposes of identification.³⁷²

An amendment in 1890-91 to the Penal Servitude Act extended the power of photographing prisoners, allowing photographs and measurements to be taken before conviction.³⁷³ The Troup Committee of 1894 would briefly address the issue of consent, observing that the number of photographs taken in county prisons had decreased 'in consequence of doubts as to the power to compel remand prisoners to be photographed'.³⁷⁴ The Committee proposed safeguards with respect to the taking and preservation of photographs of untried prisoners, namely that a magistrate's order should be required to photograph the prisoner and that the order 'should be made on reasonable ground being shown that the prisoner is an old offender'.³⁷⁵ In addition, the rules should state that photographs taken before trial should be destroyed if the prisoner is acquitted 'in accordance with a pledge given in Committee on the Penal Servitude Bill'.³⁷⁶ In the context of Victorian perceptions of non-criminal and criminal classes, Goldendfein suggests that such regulations represent the beginnings of 'proto-privacy protections'.³⁷⁷ A few decades into the 20th century, the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure of 1929 again considered the question of consent with regards to

³⁷² House of Commons, The Identification of habitual criminals. Report of a committee appointed by the Secretary of State to inquire into the best means available for identifying habitual criminals with minutes of evidence and appendices 1894, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, C.7263, p.15 in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1893-070826?accountid=12507>> [accessed 2 June 2022].

³⁷³ House of Commons, Bill to Amend Law Relating to Penal Servitude and Prevention of Crime, as Amended by Standing Committee on Law, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Bills and Acts 360, p. 3 in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1890-067661?accountid=12507>> [accessed 2 June 2022].

³⁷⁴ House of Commons, The Identification of habitual criminals, p.12.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁷⁷ Jake Goldenfein, 'Police Photography and Privacy: Identity, Stigma and Reasonable Expectation', *UNSW Law Journal*, 36 (2013), pp. 256-279.

photography of individuals by the police. The Commission recommended a 'Suggested Model Notice to Persons in Custody' with the wording:

You have the right to object to having your photograph or fingerprints taken, but if you do object, the Police can ask the Magistrate to remand you in custody so that your photograph and finger prints may be taken in prison.³⁷⁸

Some ten years later, in 1938, the Departmental Committee on Detective Work and Procedure, were to observe:

The police have no legal power to take photographs of a person without his consent: if they do not take them and the person is sent to prison, either on remand or on conviction, photographs may be taken at the prison as in the case of fingerprints. If the photograph is not taken and the defendant is found guilty of the offence of which he is charged but is not sentenced to imprisonment, there is no opportunity after the trial for taking his photograph, and the police records therefore remain permanently incomplete.³⁷⁹

Thus, this perspective appears to prioritize the requirement to acquire and conserve records over and above the question of individual consent. Noting the question of consent in the photography of juveniles, the Committee further observed that:

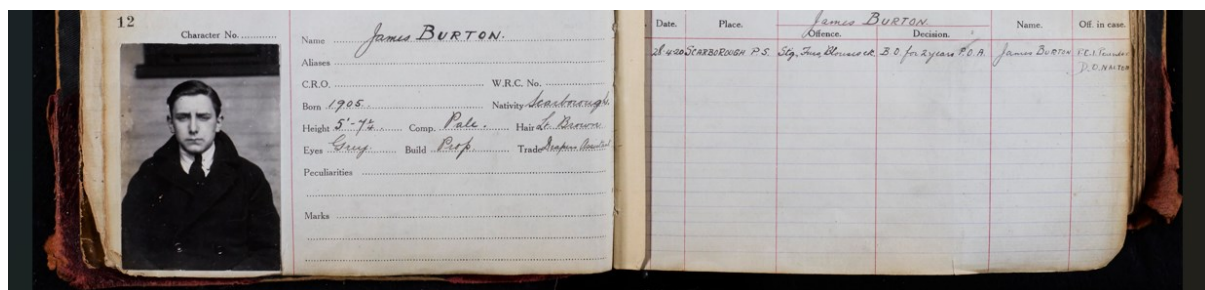
As in the case of fingerprint records, the situation in this respect is particularly difficult in the case of juvenile offenders, where the proportion of cases in which photographs can be obtained, otherwise than with consent, is very much smaller than in the case of adults. Accordingly, we recommend that general provision should be made for the photographing of juveniles and adults who are found guilty of crime, whether or not they are sent to prison, in any case in which there would be power to take fingerprints, as set out in paragraph 459 above.

The Photograph Book contains a number of records of individuals who offended as juveniles - the youngest boys recorded were 9 years of age at the time of their first offences, whilst no girls under 15 years of age were recorded (bearing in mind that the completeness of the records is uncertain). However, photographs of offenders as juveniles are few in number. In the Petty Session Registers for July to August 1922, for example, of the twenty-eight cases of 'Offences for Gain' heard, ten offenders appear in the Photograph Book and the disparity is accounted for by cases of larceny committed by juveniles - boys ranging in age from nine to fifteen. Records for these individuals are not entered in the Photograph Book. Similarly, in the

³⁷⁸ National Archives, Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure, (HL/PO/JO/10/10/911/324: Parliamentary Archives, 1929), p. 148.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

Registers for July-August 1932, two cases of larceny involved adult offenders and both of these were recorded in the Photograph Book; the remaining cases of larceny involved juveniles, again boys ranging in age from twelve to sixteen who were not recorded. Thus in the majority of cases, an individual's photograph and details were entered at the time of their court appearance in Scarborough for offence(s) committed as adults after 1920 (i.e. when the book began to be compiled), with their previous juvenile offences listed retrospectively. A small number of exceptions are seen, with five individuals recorded as offending at the age of fifteen or sixteen years from 1920 onwards. No clear pattern is evident for their inclusion, but suggest that judgements were made in relation to individual cases. James Burton, for example, born in 1905, was a draper's assistant charged aged fifteen in 1920 with stealing furs and blouses. Burton's appearance in his photograph contrasts with those typical of the book in that he is smartly dressed in a shirt and tie, and wearing a neat overcoat.



Census records suggest that Burton's family were of middle-class status – in the 1911 census, his father is recorded as a manager for a slating contractor and the family occupy a house with nine rooms.³⁸⁰ The household includes three single women boarders, two of whom are draper's assistants, (as James was to become), and a female servant. James's court appearance led to him being Bound Over for two years under the Probation of Offenders Act and no further offences are recorded against him; in the 1921 census, at the age of seventeen, James is boarding in Leeds, still employed as a draper's assistant.³⁸¹ In including him visibly in

³⁸⁰ '1911 England Census for William Burton', <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/39028859:2352>> [accessed 5 March 2024]. James' father was to die in 1916.

³⁸¹ 'Results for James Burton in 1921 Census of England & Wales', <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 20 March 2024].

their records, presumably with consent obtained, were the police (and perhaps the parent) seeking to deter a boy of 'good' family from further misdemeanours?

Some twenty-five years after the beginnings of the West Yorkshire system, the 1938 Departmental Committee on Detective Work noted that:

a number of individual forces maintain indexes on a much more comprehensive scale than is usual or necessary for local purposes.....but at present the work is neither systematic or complete.

The report went on to observe that such local record systems led to both overlap and gaps in the dissemination of information between forces and made recommendations to rectify this situation.³⁸² The above examples illustrate how, despite centralized moves towards the systemization of record keeping, local practices in maintaining records might arise and persist, particularly given the disparate nature of individual police forces.

4.6 Conclusions

Overall, the findings here suggest that recorded crime in Scarborough occurred at relatively modest levels during the interwar years and was in line with other regional and coastal settings of a similar population. Figures from the Police Returns to the published Criminal Statistics suggest an average of 1-3 recorded crimes per day. Perhaps as a result, crime does not feature significantly in the discussions between the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable, with the committee appearing to defer to his authority, as far as is evident from the available sources.

With respect to recorded crime, the low rates seen in Scarborough contrast in particular with the larger seaside resorts, such as Blackpool and Brighton, these resorts receiving significantly larger visitor numbers. Elevated crime rates here perhaps reflect, in the case of Blackpool, the large influxes concentrated in short time periods such as the Wakes Weeks of the industrial firms of the North East, and for Brighton, its proximity to and easy accessibility from London.

³⁸² *Report of the Departmental Committee on Detective Work and Procedure*, (London: HMSO, 1938), p. 44.

Similarly, Southend, although of a similar population size to Scarborough experienced relatively higher crime rates.

In 'unpicking' the Photograph Book, contrasting patterns in offending were revealed, both between men and women, and between those born in Scarborough and elsewhere. Overall, approximately half of the recorded offenders were born outside of Yorkshire. Scarborough-born men less likely to be recorded as offending elsewhere compared to non-Scarborough men; the same was true for women, with the vast majority of Scarborough-born woman offending only in the town. Amongst those not born in Scarborough, a higher proportion of men were found to offend in both Scarborough and elsewhere compared to women. These findings reflect the nature of the setting as a draw for both leisure and employment, and suggest contrasts in women's mobility which would bear further exploration.

Whilst 'modernisation' over the period was evident in the adoption of some technologies in policing, this chapter suggests that local knowledge and practices were brought to bear in the course of the practicalities of adhering to a 'system' for the monitoring of offenders. Inconsistencies in recording are found, for example, in the case of local offenders likely to be known to Scarborough Police, and in cases of juvenile offending, which suggest judgements being made at an individual level.

Chapter 5 Offenders and Offending in Scarborough

As the foregoing discussion has indicated, rates of recorded crime within the town were modest, nevertheless the Police Court took place several times a week, dealing promptly with the cases which arose. In the near absence of more serious crime, the requirement for hearing at the Quarter Sessions was limited: a report in October 1924, for example, notes that ‘there had been no case for trial at the Scarborough Quarter Sessions for nearly two years’.³⁸³ Here, the nature of offending in Scarborough underlying the broader statistical trends is considered: using samples extracted from the Petty Sessions and with further analysis of the Photograph Book, some characteristics of the offenders and the types of offending captured in the records are ‘teased out’ to provide a basis for the interpretation of responses to crime in this particular setting and time period.

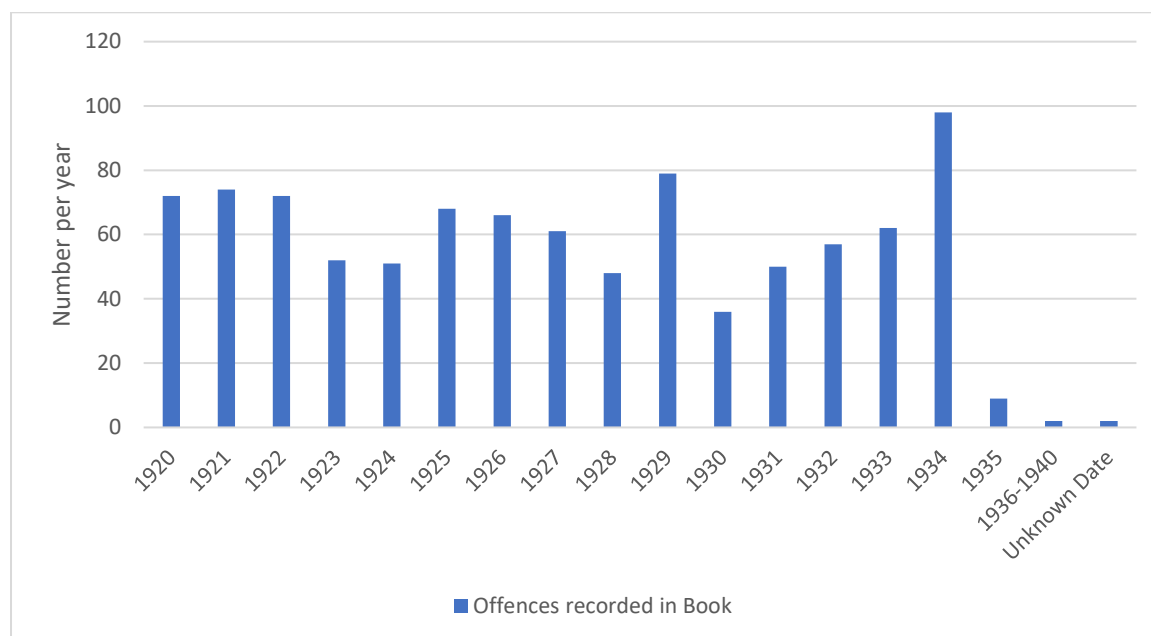
5.1 The Scarborough Photograph Book: Patterns of Offending

Overall, with its focus on crimes ‘For Gain’, such as Larceny, False Pretences and so on, the evidence from the Photograph Book related to these types of offences predominantly suggests a picture of low-level and opportunistic crime. Whilst as discussed, these records represent a partial sample of offending, the pattern of number of offences recorded over time mirrors that of the Police Returns submitted to the Home Office *Criminal Statistics* (Graphs 5.1 and Appendix 5.2).³⁸⁴

³⁸³ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 1924 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000250%2F19241025&page=12&article=492&stringtohighlight=mary+dixon+scarboroug>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

³⁸⁴ Graph 5.2 shows the period 1920-1935, the principal period of recording within the Photograph Book of offences in Scarborough; Graph 5.3 shows the period 1922-1938 for Police Returns within the *Criminal Statistics*. As outlined in Chapter 2, statistical returns did not appear as a Home Office publication in 1920 and 1921.

Graph 5.1 Offences committed annually in Scarborough from 1920 onwards and recorded in Photograph Book



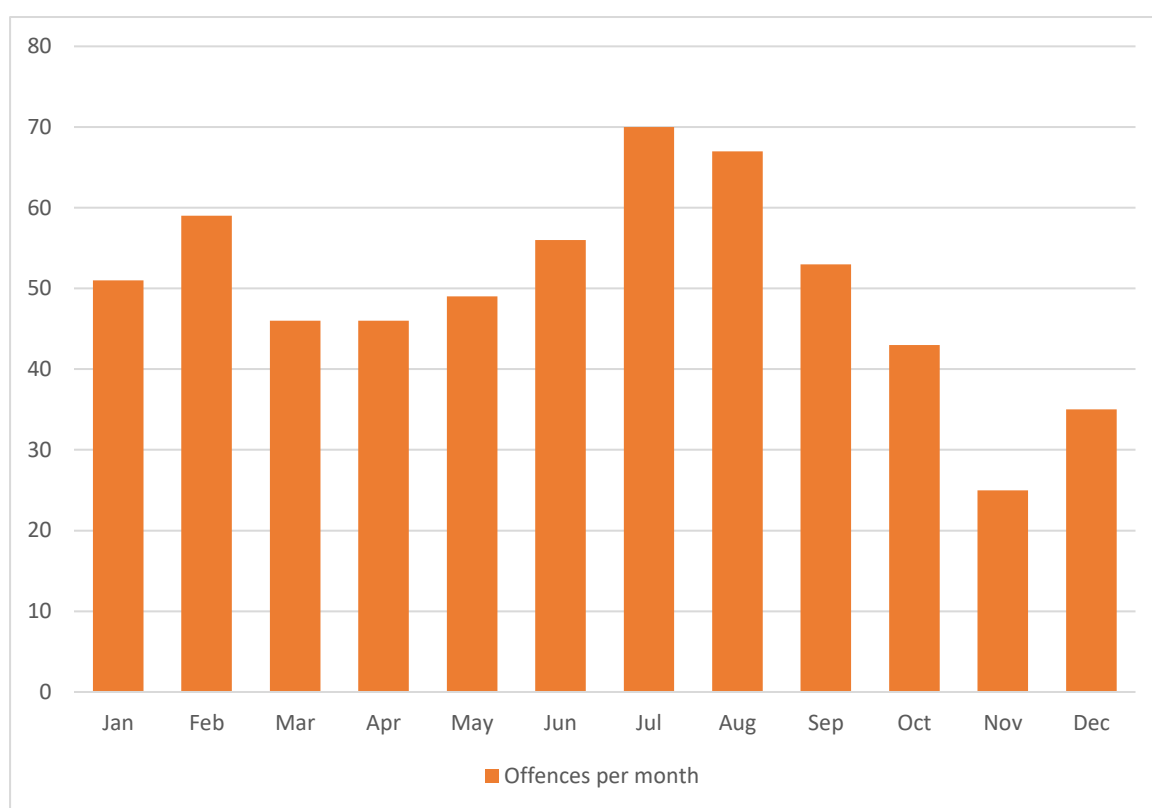
As noted in Chapter 2, the apparent rise in indictable crime nationally from the early 1930s was in part due to the separate recording of larceny from vehicles and of bicycles, although increases in simple larceny and burglary were also seen, and this increase is also present in the Police Returns for Scarborough, perhaps reflecting the increased opportunity for this type of crime as holiday-makers became more likely to travel to the resort by car (Appendix 5.2a). However, comparing records within the Photograph Book for 1933 and 1934, where offences increased from 62 in the former year to 98 the following year, whilst in both years the records are dominated by stealing, accounting for somewhat over 50% of cases, the type of stolen items were similar in both years with money, clothing and household objects being the predominant targets. Rather than vehicle-related offences, the increase in offences in 1934 was due to a greater number of convictions for false pretences and to other small increases in a range of offences. In the main, offenders in these cases were sentenced to being bound over for a period. Thus, the records within the Photograph Book are not able to account for the increases ‘Larceny from Motor Cars etc’ as reported within the Police Returns published within Home Office statistics, although this might have been expected given the type of offence. The reasons for this are not clear and would bear further investigation, again suggesting a decision not to conserve such records.

In overview, a total of 959 offences committed in Scarborough were recorded within the Photograph Book, with 75% of the individuals recorded being men and 25% women (Table 5.1). A further breakdown of the number of offences committed by the groupings shown in Table 5.1 (i.e. men/women, born Scarborough/not born Scarborough) were broadly in proportion to the size of each group.

Table 5.1 Individuals and Offences in Scarborough from 1920 onwards							
	Men			Women			All
	Born in Scarborough	Not born in Scarborough	Total	Born in Scarborough	Not born in Scarborough	Total	
Individuals	116	333	449	23	128	151	600
Offences	242	521	763	30	166	196	959
%Individuals	20	56	75	4	21	25	100
% Offences	25	54	80	3	17	20	100

On a monthly basis, offences entered in the Photograph Book show some variation over the year. As might be expected, there is a modest peak in recorded offences over the summer months, however the numbers in January and February are also relatively high (Graph 5.2). Both this data and that for cases recorded in the Petty Sessions Registers (Table 2.4) suggests that influxes of visitors in the summer months did not lead to excessive increases in crime, as far as can be judged by the number of court cases.

Graph 5.2 Average offences per month recorded in Photograph Book 1920-1936



In the following sections, records within the Photograph Book are further explored in terms of the types of offences occurring, and in the patterns of offending by women and by men. In addition, offending by those native to Scarborough and by those from elsewhere is considered with a view to establish the relative importance of these within the context of a seaside resort town.

5.2 Patterns of Offending by Women

Given the nature of the source with its focus on crimes 'For Gain', the records of women's offending in Scarborough are dominated by stealing, false pretences, larceny and related crimes such as shoplifting, amounting to around 85% of offences by both Scarborough-born non-Scarborough born women (Table 5.2). A similar figure for (broadly) property crime was found in a study of women offenders in Victorian London and Liverpool.³⁸⁵ Offences 'Not for Gain' also feature in small numbers, including Brothel-Keeping, Wounding, Assault and

³⁸⁵ Lucy Williams, "'At Large': Women's Lives and Offending in Victorian Liverpool and London', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 2014), p. 51.

Wandering Abroad (Table 5.2). There is a clear contrast between the range of offences for which women born outside of Scarborough and those by Scarborough-born women were prosecuted – with the latter involving only Stealing and Receiving, and a number of cases of Brothel-keeping.

Table 5.2 Number of women committing categories of offence 1920-1936		
	Women born Scarborough	Women not born Scarborough
Stealing	26	112
False Pretences	0	18
Larceny	0	8
Brothel-keeping	2	6
Shoplifting	0	4
Breach of Aliens Act	0	2
Breach of Recognizance	0	2
Drunk and Disorderly	0	2
Supplying False Information	0	2
Housebreaking	0	2
Obtaining Credit	0	2
Receiving	2	1
Absconding	0	1
Assault	0	1
Wounding	0	1
Shopbreaking	0	1
Wandering Abroad	0	1
Total	30	166

Similarly, the types of employment recorded for women born outside of Scarborough show a wider range than those born in Scarborough (Table 5.3) and perhaps reflect the draw of the resort as a place of employment in service industries. In both groups, those employed as domestic servants dominate, as well as other 'service' jobs such as Nurse and Cook. A small

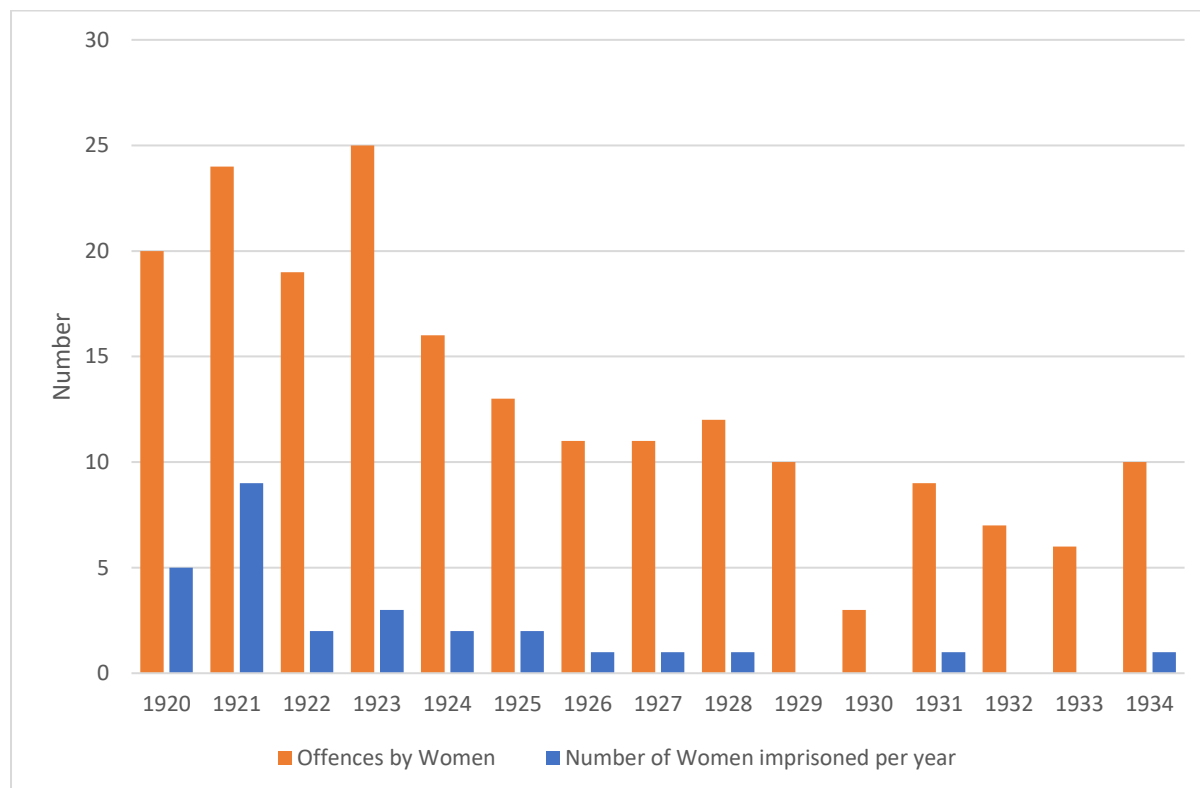
number of women were recorded with higher-status roles such as Typist and Clerk, as were a number with industrial roles such as Factory Hand and Machinist.

Table 5.3 Employment of Women Offenders 1920-1936		
	Women born in Scarborough	Women not born in Scarborough
Domestic Servant	9	51
Married Woman	3	27
Prostitute	0	12
Not known	0	9
Nurse	0	9
Clerk	0	6
Cook	1	5
Widow	0	5
Dressmaker	0	4
Laundress	1	4
Shop assistant	7	4
Charwoman	1	3
Mothers Help	0	3
Collector	0	2
Factory Hand	0	2
Hawker/Pedlar	1	2
Shorthand Typist	0	2
Toy Dealer	0	2
Typist	0	2
Barmaid	1	1
Companion Help	0	1
Confectioner	0	1
Costumier	0	1
General	0	1
Housekeeper	0	1
Kitchenmaid	1	1
Land Worker	0	1
Machinist	0	1
Milliner	0	1
Single woman	0	1
Waitress	0	1
Brothel Keeper	1	0
Day-girl	2	0
Hawker	1	0
Ice-cream bar attendant	1	0
	30	166

In cases of stealing, the offence most commonly involved small sums of money, rarely exceeding £10 in value, and goods such as jewellery, household items and clothing. The majority of such cases were dealt with by the offender being bound over or fined. From 1923

onwards, the number of women recorded in the Photograph Book tended to decrease, and the number of women imprisoned also showed a sharp decrease after 1922 (Graph 5.3).

Graph 5.3 Offences by women and number of women imprisoned per year 1920-1934



This fall is in line with the national trend, where the female prison population fell sharply as a whole from approximately 2,000 at the end of the First World War, levelling out at around 750 by the mid-1920s.³⁸⁶ In all cases where women were imprisoned, (with one exception), the individuals concerned had previous convictions or were accused of multiple offences.

5.3 Patterns of Offending by Men

In terms of the records conserved in the Photograph Book, men were prosecuted for a much wider range of offences in comparison to those committed by women. In all, sixty types of offences were recorded in Scarborough in the period from 1920 onwards until recording

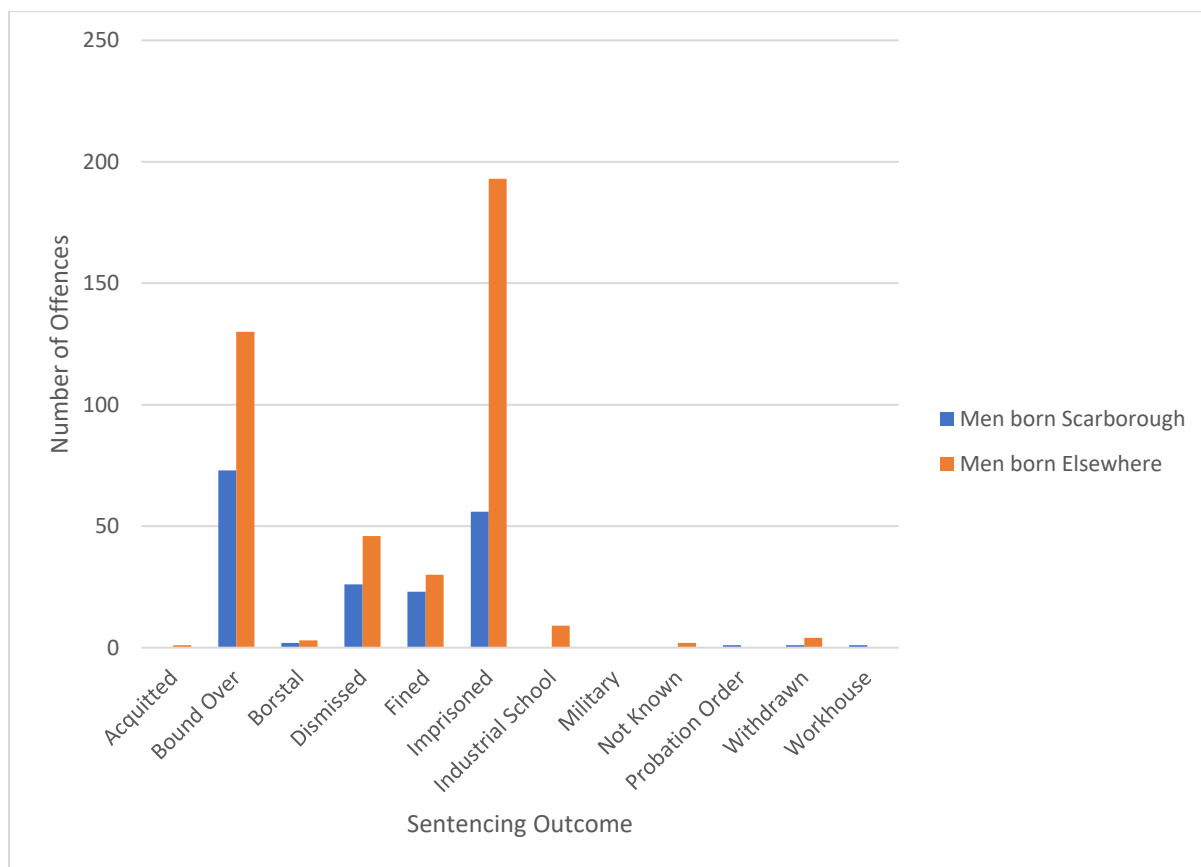
³⁸⁶ Grahame Allen and Noel Dempsey, *Prison population statistics*. (House of Commons Library Briefing Paper, No. SN/SG/04334, 4 July, 2016).

ceased in the mid-1930s, again with stealing and false pretences dominating - Table 5.4 shows the most frequent offences involved, covering approximately one-third of all offence types.

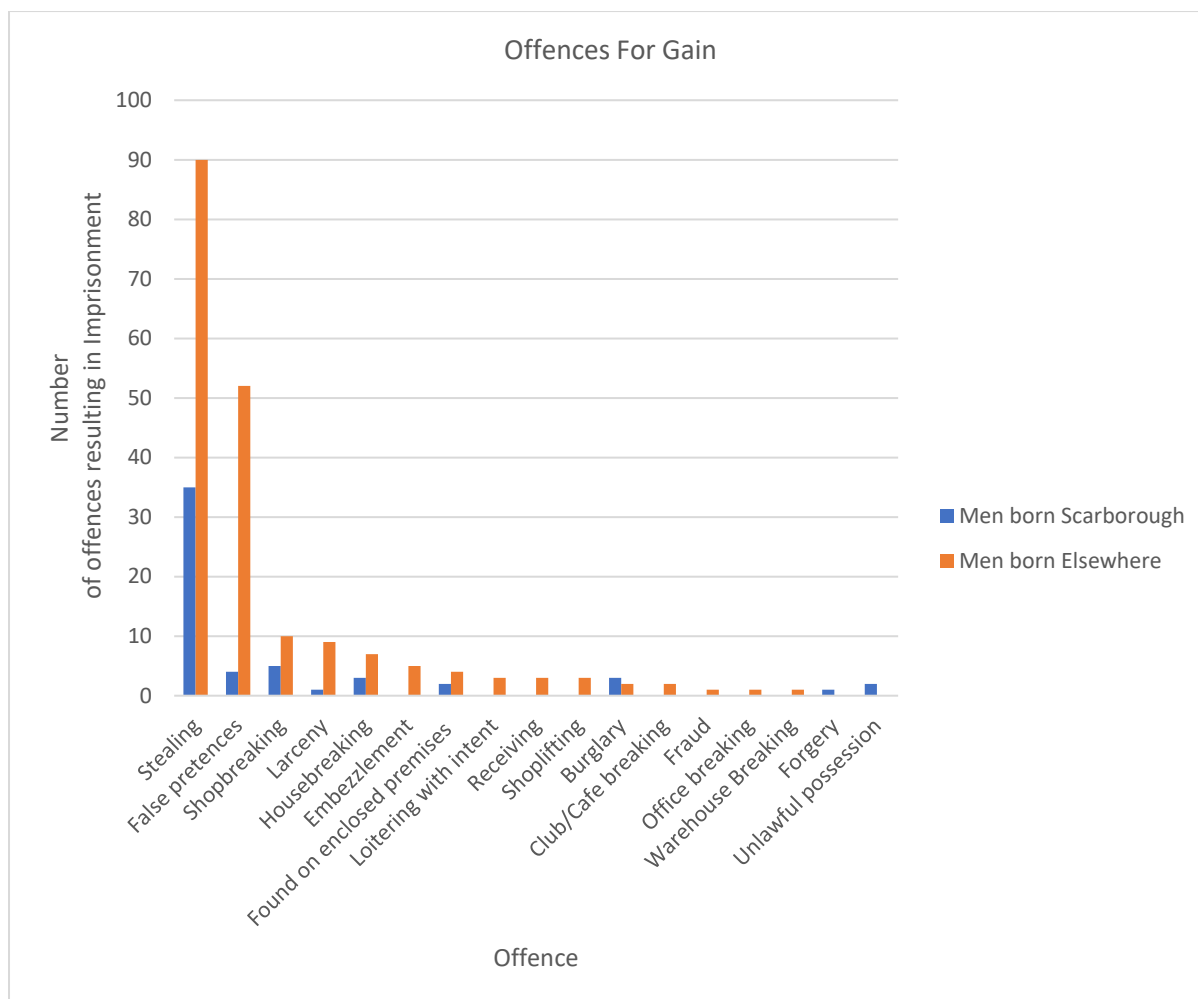
Table 5.4 Most frequent types of offence – by men born in Scarborough or elsewhere				
Offence Type	Category - 'Gain' or 'Not Gain'	Total Offences	Offences by Men born in Scarborough	Offences by Men born elsewhere
Stealing	G	383	142	241
False pretences	G	76	5	71
Begging	N	20	2	18
Larceny	G	25	8	17
Shopbreaking	G	20	5	15
Embezzlement	G	13	2	11
Found on enclosed premises	G	13	2	11
Housebreaking	G	13	3	10
Motor Offences	N	11	1	10
Drunk	N	19	11	8
Frequenting	N	7	0	7
Loitering with intent	G	7	0	7
Receiving	G	8	1	7
Exposing Person	N	6	0	6
Breach Aliens Act	N	5	0	5
Breaking & Entering	G	5	0	5
Indecent Assault	N	8	3	5
Indecent Exposure	N	10	5	5
Office breaking	G	5	0	5
Shoplifting	G	5	0	5
Assault	N	13	9	4

Where male offenders were concerned, approximately 40% of offences recorded in the Photograph Book received prison sentences, other outcomes most frequently including fines and being 'bound over' (Graph 5.4a). Where crimes 'For Gain' were concerned, imprisonment resulted predominantly in cases of stealing and false pretences, and reflected the value of the goods concerned as well as known previous convictions by the offender (Graph 5.4b).

Graph 5.4a Sentencing Outcomes for Men – Crimes 'For Gain'

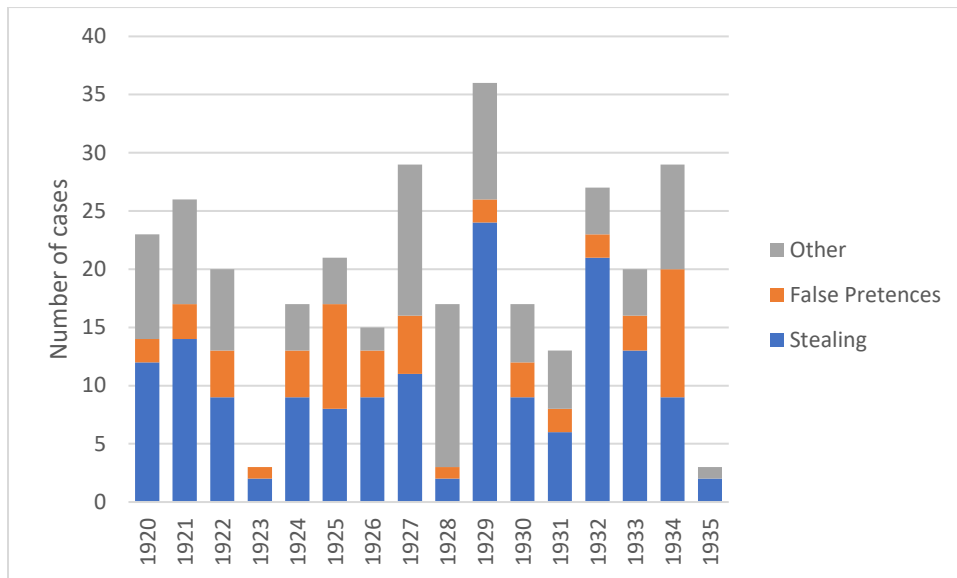


Graph 5.4b Type of Offences resulting in imprisonment – Offences for Gain

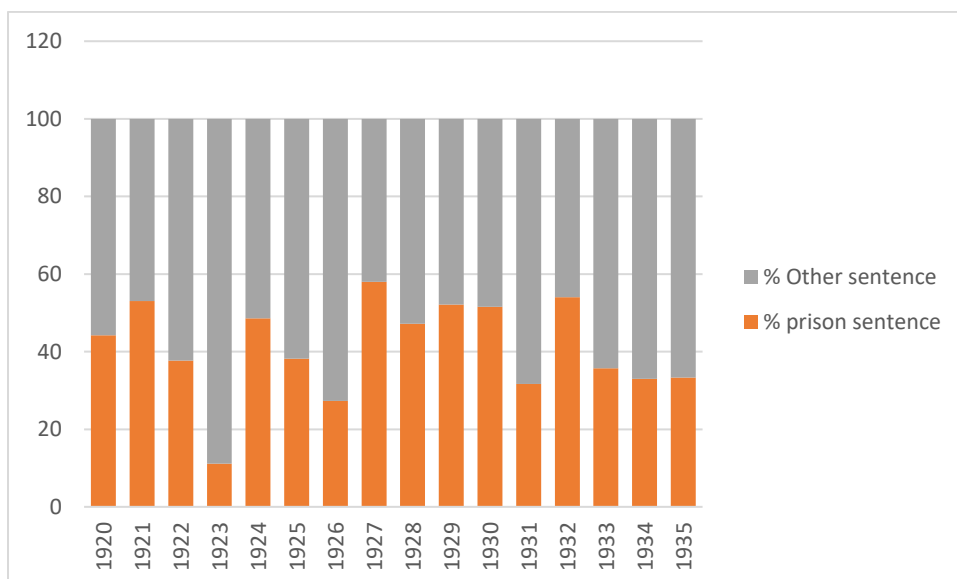


Over time, variation is seen year to year in the numbers imprisoned and this outcome did not show a clear reduction over time as it had for women (Graphs 5.5a and 5.5b).

Graph 5.5a Number of cases resulting prison sentence 1920-1935

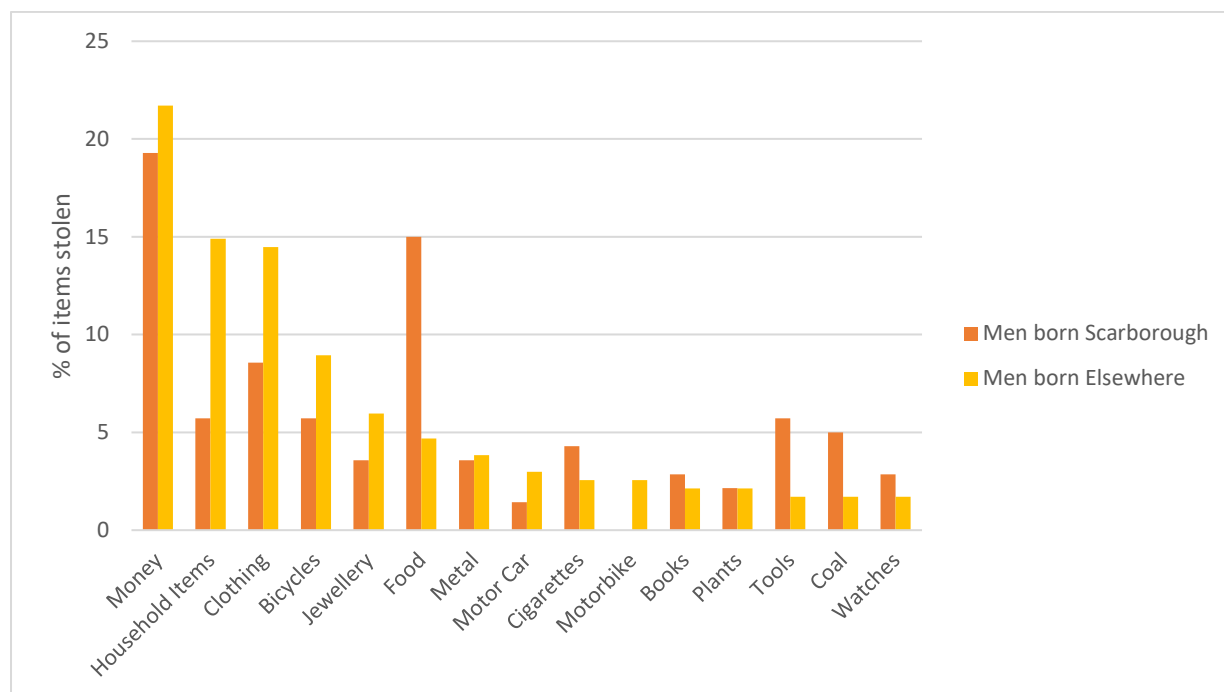


Graph 5.5b % of cases leading to imprisonment



Offences involving stealing showed a wider range of objects stolen compared to women's - with the most frequently stolen items being food, tools, bikes, coal, metal and plants - similarly suggesting crime opportunistic and low-level in nature. Some differences in the types of items stolen can be seen between men from Scarborough and those born elsewhere. Whilst in both groups, money was most frequently involved whilst food was more often the target for local men, and household items and clothes for others (Graph 5.6).

Graph 5.6 Type of items stolen by men from Scarborough and Elsewhere



The sums of money stolen were typically under £10 and often occurred through pilfering in shops or as theft from family members. Instances of the theft of more significant sums often involved stealing by hotel employees or by the offender from their lodgings. Whilst cases of housebreaking and burglary from commercial premises feature, direct theft from individuals (for example, by pickpocketing) are infrequent. Police actions to apprehend offenders suggest a concern with preventing theft even where small sums were involved: in an illustrative case, two detectives lay in wait overnight to catch a person suspected of previous thefts from a lock-up shop. Marked coins were placed in the till, and the offender was caught with these (with a value of six shillings and sixpence) having broken into the shop and forced the till.³⁸⁷ The person concerned, Walter Till, was later appeared in court and received a fine. Further cases suggest communication between forces to identify and apprehend wanted suspects, potentially making use of publications such as *The Police Gazette* and records such as the

³⁸⁷ 'Detectives Night Vigil', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 21 November 1922. <
<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000273%2F19221121&page=7&article=152&stringtohighlight=walter+dill+scarborough>>
 [accessed 10 November 2024].

Photograph Book. Charles Fordy, for example, pled guilty to stealing £35 from his girlfriend's foster mother in Scarborough.³⁸⁸ Having left the town, the couple were arrested in Plymouth and were returned to Scarborough for trial. Fordy, with four previous convictions, was imprisoned for 21 days, and his girlfriend, May Heptonstall, was bound over 12 months. In a further case, Frank Roskell was found guilty of stealing five bicycles, cycling and selling them in turn between Scarborough, Selby and York. Seen back in Scarborough, Roskell was arrested by D.O. Nalton who according to a report judged 'by his appearance that he was the man wanted'.³⁸⁹

The comparatively greater number of men from outside Scarbrough who were imprisoned can be mainly attributed to their more frequent involvement in cases of False Pretences. As an indictable offence, this crime carried a penalty of penal servitude for three years, or imprisonment for up to two years, with or without hard labour. The recording of these in the Photograph Book is notable in almost always featuring a detective as the officer engaged with the case. In contrast, other types of offence more typically show the involvement of police constables, perhaps reflecting the growing degree of specialisation of different roles and the offences with which they were concerned. A number of these cases evoke present day 'scams' in their approach to extorting money from their victims. Daniel Jackson, for example, advertised positions as steward and stewardess at a working men's club in Filey, asking applicants to send £20 as surety.³⁹⁰ Eight people responded sending money, however another applicant, having made enquiries in Filey and finding that the club did not exist, alerted the police. Jackson received a sentence of six months imprisonment. In a further case, Lawrence Yardley was reported to have compiled lists of prominent Scarborough residents and 'notes as to their professions and a variety of personal information'.³⁹¹ He then approached likely victims and acquired money from them through various tales of distress. With several

³⁸⁸ 'The Girl he Wants', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 27 October 1927, < <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000250%2F19271027&page=4&article=126&stringtohighlight=charles+fordy+scarboroug> > [accessed 10 November 2024].

³⁸⁹ 'Arrested an hour before his wedding', *London Daily Chronicle*, 7 May 1921, <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000250%2F19271027&page=4&article=126&stringtohighlight=charles+fordy+scarboroug> [accessed 10 November 2024].

³⁹⁰ 'Thanked Police', *Leeds Mercury*, 24 April 1924, < <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000748%2F19240424&page=9&article=092&stringtohighlight=daniel+jackson> > [accessed 10 November 2024].

³⁹¹ 'Imposter's Vade Mecum', *London Daily Chronicle*, 8 July 1920,

previous convictions through England, Yardley was sentenced to six months with hard labour. Further cases used methods such as advertising offers of loans or offers of employment which never materialised having required applicants to send a deposit as security and acquiring good and services using false cheques.

In certain types of offence, only men born in Scarborough were involved – these included what might be considered ‘nuisance’-type offences such as disorder, footballing in the street and indecent language as well as ‘localised’ offences such as poaching and trespass, perhaps reflecting the intention to maintain the ‘civilised’ and tranquil image of the town.

5.4 Responses to Crime in the Police Court

Beyond the data, sources used in combination illustrate the day-to-day drama of the Police Court and indicate practices and perspectives of the setting and of the time. As noted by Auerbach:

Every charge began with an arrest and each one concluded with either the defendants release or the imposition of a penalty. In between the two existed a process that was fraught with contest, subject to public scrutiny, and rife with opportunities for negotiation.³⁹²

Over the period of recording, only one Scarborough-born woman was imprisoned, when in January 1921, a 41-year-old woman received three months hard labour for keeping a brothel. The newspaper report of the case notes that ‘she had caused the police continuous trouble by carrying on with men’ and details the woman’s circumstances: her husband had died following demobilization, three of her six children had died, she was entitled to a pension but it had been disallowed; her co-defendant was a 25-year-old South African woman who received a similar sentence.³⁹³ In another case relating to brothel-keeping in 1923, five women from Hull found guilty of ‘keeping a disorderly house’ received fines ranging from £5

³⁹² Sascha Auerbach, *Armed with Swords and Scales: Law, Culture, and Local Courtrooms in London, 1860-1913*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 282.

³⁹³ ‘Women’s Bad Record. Native of Pietermaritzburg sentenced at Scarborough’, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 17 January 1921 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000273%2F19210117&page=5&article=136&stringtohighlight=magistrate+scarborough>> [accessed 5 Mar 2024].

to £10.³⁹⁴ In a later case, in 1931, Alicia Sugden, a Bradford woman with two convictions for stealing in Scarborough was further bound over for a 'Breach of Recognizance', (non-adherence to the terms of previous sentencing), on condition that she entered a home.

505 Character No.

Name IRIS ALICIA SUGDEN

Aliases Miss Sugden

C.R.O. 6782-21 W.R.C. No. 1140-51

Born 6-1-1906 Nativity Bradford

Height 5' 5" Comp. Medium Hair Dark

Eyes Blue Build Slender Trade Prostitute

Peculiarities Good carriage. Frequent Police. Smoke rooms of Good Class Hotels for Prostitution. Vain.

Marks Scar above nose of automobile.

CONVICTIONS.					
Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.	Name.	Off. in case.
11-4-21	Scarborough P.S.	Steal a Silk Scarf	3 mths for 2 years & 6 months	Miss Alicia Sugden	21-4-21
21	do	Steal a Silk Scarf	3 mths for 2 years & 6 months	do	do
15-5-31	do	Breach of Recognizance	3 mths for 2 years & 6 months	do	do

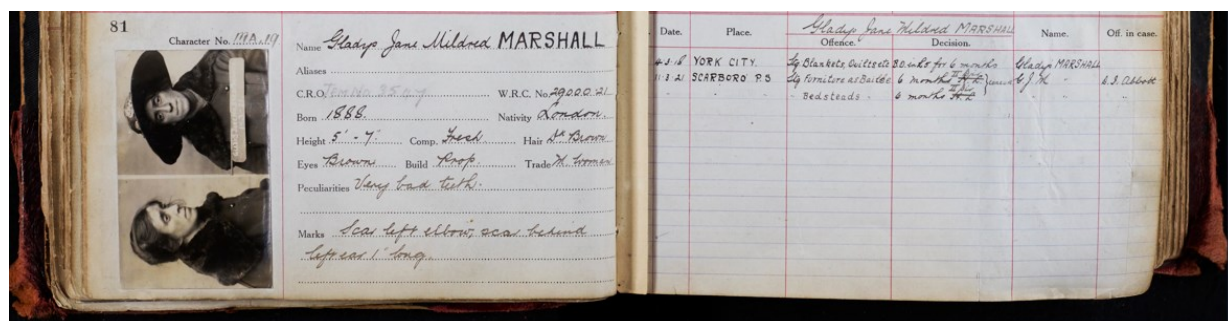
Her images within the Photograph Book are notable – wearing a coat with a fur collar, the left-hand image shows her short hair neatly waved, whilst in the right-hand image she wears a close-fitting turban-style hat. Unlike the women mentioned above, her record within the Photograph Book includes notes within the 'Peculiarities' column: 'Good carriage, frequents bars, smoke rooms of Good Class Hotels for Prostitution. Vain'. Although she was not charged with offences such as soliciting, her profession is recorded as 'General Prostitute' and the newspaper account of her court appearance notes Detective Inspector Webster reporting that she 'stayed at various good class hotels, sleeping at a different one each night', quoted as adding ' "I suggest she is not paying for herself at any of these hotels"' .³⁹⁵ These cases suggest a concern both with monitoring houses used as brothels as well as with individuals frequenting the more upmarket hotels.

Where an alleged offender was known to have left the area, communication between forces to obtain information is evident. In the case of Gladys Marshall, for example, charged with

³⁹⁴ 'Undesirables at Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post*, 11 September 1923 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19230911&page=5&article=166&stringtohighlight=lilian+flair+scarborough>> [accessed 5 Mar 2024].

³⁹⁵ 'Terrible History. Young Women's Theft at Scarborough', *Hull Daily Mail*, 11 April 1931 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000324%2F19310411&page=1&article=008&stringtohighlight=sugden+scarborough>> [accessed 01 March 2024].

stealing household effects to the value of £250 from a property in Scarborough, a newspaper report notes that, 'She was traced to London and there arrested'.³⁹⁶



Having rented a property, Marshall had cleared the house of its furniture and sold the items to second-hand dealers. In her defense, Marshall, 'who wept pitifully in the dock', stated that her husband had left her, she had no money, and had applied to the Poor Law Guardians for relief.³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, having had a previous conviction for a similar offence in York, she was sentenced to 6 months hard labour. In other cases, ability to pay a fine saved the offender from a prison sentence. In August 1920, mother and daughter Emily and Mabel Seed, described in a report as 'two-well dressed people' pleaded guilty to a number of shoplifting offences, and confessed to further thefts from shops in Leeds.³⁹⁸ Detailing that Emily was the wife of a Wakefield corn merchant (although separated from her husband), the defending solicitor in one report, 'begged the magistrates not to send them to prison', and in another, 'made a stirring appeal on behalf of the accused', this being the first time they had been in court, and that 'no punishment that they would inflict could be as great as the ignominy they would have to face on their return to Wakefield'.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ 'Alleged theft of household effects', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19210302&page=3&article=090&stringtohighlight=gladys+marshall+scarborough>> [accessed 01 March 2024].

³⁹⁷ 'Woman's Desperation. Stole Houseful of Furniture to get money', *Daily News*, 12 March 1921, <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0003212%2F19210312&page=5&article=084&stringtohighlight=gladys+marshall+scarborough>> [accessed 01 March 2024].

³⁹⁸ 'Mother and Daughter's raid on Scarborough', *Newcastle Daily Journal and Courant*, 24 August 1920, <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000569%2F19200824&page=3&article=050&stringtohighlight=mabel+seed+scarborough>> [accessed 01 March 2024].

³⁹⁹ 'Wakefield Women punished for shoplifting', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 24 August 1920, <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000569%2F19200824&page=3&article=050&stringtohighlight=mabel+seed+scarborough>> [accessed 01 March 2024].

41		Emily SEED.		Emily SEED.		Emily SEED.		Emily SEED.	
Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.	Name.	Off. in case.	Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.
12/20	SCARBOROUGH BOYS' STG.	Pair of Socks	FINED £10	EMILY SEED	D. O. NATHAN	12/20	SCARBOROUGH BOYS' STG.	Pair of Socks	FINED £10
		Robber Bag, gloves	£15					Robber Bag, gloves	£15
		Two Pounds of Butter	£5					Two Pounds of Butter	£5

42		Mabel Emily SEED.		Mabel Emily SEED.		Mabel Emily SEED.		Mabel Emily SEED.	
Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.	Name.	Off. in case.	Date.	Place.	Offence.	Decision.
12/20	SCARBOROUGH BOYS' STG.	Pair of Socks	FINED £10	MABEL EMILY SEED	D. O. NATHAN	12/20	SCARBOROUGH BOYS' STG.	Pair of Socks	FINED £10
		Robber Bag, gloves	£15					Robber Bag, gloves	£15
		Two Pounds of Butter	£5					Two Pounds of Butter	£5

The court imposed a fine of £30 each, equivalent to approximately £1800 in current values, or a sentence of four months' imprisonment in default. From a modern perspective, it is tempting to interpret cases of middle-class women such as the Seeds receiving favourable treatment in comparison to lower-class women, and there is no doubt that their advantages can be identified – they were able to engage a defense solicitor, the police and magistrates were willing to take a number of further offences into consideration, and the pair had the means to pay a substantial fine.

The most serious crimes such as murder and manslaughter were rare: over the period 1922-1938, one case of manslaughter and one of murder were recorded. The details of the offenders in both cases were entered in the Photograph Book, perhaps suggesting that those crimes not 'For Gain' but of a nature serious enough to be heard at the Assizes would be recorded. Both cases illustrate aspects of the Scarborough environment and responses to crime therein.

guilty and he was sentenced to death.⁴⁰⁴ At the time of the trial, the judge Mr Justice Humphries noted at the time, 'I would like the Director of Public Prosecutions to be informed that in my opinion Detective Inspector Webster has in this case displayed great care in the investigation of this murder, and has given his evidence in a way which must have commended itself to the jury as well as to myself'. An unsuccessful appeal followed, and a petition appealing for clemency was organised by the Methodist minister Reverend William Sangster of Queen Street Central Hall, despite the disturbing nature of the crime, that of the violent murder of a child. Typically for the period, letters to the Home Office seeking commutation of the death sentence commonly derived from family members and friends of the condemned or from figures of authority in the local community.⁴⁰⁵ Sangster was one such influential figure – on his transfer at the end of his ministry there, for example, some 5,000 people attended his final service in Scarborough.⁴⁰⁶ However, the petition was to be rejected by the Home Secretary, and Gregory was executed on 3rd January 1934 at Hull Prison.⁴⁰⁷

Some years previously, in 1928, two fishermen, George Scales and Thomas Kay, aged 33 and 26 respectively, were charged with the manslaughter of 24-year-old Frederick Thompson, a deck hand on the pleasure steamer S.S. Bilsdale.⁴⁰⁸ According to witnesses, the incident occurred when Scales and Kay became involved in a scuffle on the quayside and Scales allegedly struck Thompson who fell in the water. Scales then jumped into the sea and helped to rescue Thompson, who was taken to hospital but died later that day. Both Scales and Kay reportedly went willingly to the Police Station with Sergeant Barmby, as Scales stated, 'to clear myself'.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Murder of a child at Scarborough', *The Driffield Times and General Advertiser*, 25 November 1933 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴⁰⁵ Lizzie Seal, 'Imagined Communities and the Death Penalty in Britain, 1930-65', *British Journal of Criminology*, 54 (2014), 908-927 (p.913).

⁴⁰⁶ '5,000 People at last sermon. A Scarborough Farewell', *Bradford Observer*, 24 August 1936 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴⁰⁷ 'Execution at Hull Prison. Scarborough Murderer pays penalty', *Halifax Evening Courier*, 3 Jan 1934 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴⁰⁸ 'Sent for Trial. Charge against two fishermen reduced to manslaughter. Scarborough Pier Affray', *Hull Daily Mail*, 20 September 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

sentence, and perhaps making a resolution not to drink and so avoid such trouble in future'.⁴¹¹ Two weeks later, at Leeds Assizes, the men were bound over in £20 each for three years, 'on undertaking to be strictly temperate in the use of alcoholic liquors'.⁴¹² The widow of the victim was later awarded £600 compensation from the owners of the vessel, the Crosthwaite Steamship Company, under the Workmen's Compensation Act, the judge noting the risk of attacks on the vessel, 'by reason of the hostile feeling excited in the minds of the boatmen and fishermen of the town, because of the injury to their business and livelihood apprehended from the enterprise of the respondents'.⁴¹³ Although apparent that the men when drunk had sought out the Bilsdale crew with a view to a fight, the case demonstrates a willingness on the part of the Scarborough magistrates to show a degree of leniency to the offenders in reducing the charge from murder to manslaughter, and through the acceptance by the Assize judges of assurances of 'good character'. The headlines from newspaper reports were similarly tempered over the course of reporting from phrases such as 'Murder Charge at Scarboro. First for Over 35 Years' and 'Scarborough Quay Fatality' to 'Scarborough Pier Tragedy' and 'Fishermen's Grievances' as the reports took on the 'livelihood' trope and the 'tragic' nature of the incident.⁴¹⁴ George Rowntree, a Poor Law Guardian and the Chair of Magistrates in this case, as a member of a prominent Scarborough family involved in many aspects of local government and charitable work, would have been well aware both of the seasonal financial constraints faced by fishermen and the dangers of their occupation.⁴¹⁵ As a historic component of the town, the fishing community was recognised for the hazardous nature of their work, and the solidarity and co-operation which this brought.⁴¹⁶ In terms of responses to crime in Scarborough, the case perhaps reveals a tolerance by the local judiciary, appointed on the basis of their property qualifications, if not solely their class, of disorderly

⁴¹¹ 'Quayside Tragedy. Fishermen Guilty of Manslaughter. Judge hopes to bind them over.', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 28 November 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

⁴¹² 'Alleged Feud among boatmen. Scarborough Manslaughter Charge. Men Bound Over', 11 December 1928 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024]. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

⁴¹³ 'Scarborough Pier Tragedy', *Yorkshire Post*, 18 January 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

⁴¹⁴ 'Murder Charge at Scarboro. First for Over 35 Years', *Sheffield Independent*, 29 August 1928; 'Scarborough Quay Fatality', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 5 September 1928; 'Scarboro' Quayside. Affray. Fishermen's Grievance. Judge's Merciful View.', *Leeds Mercury*, 28 November 1928. <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

⁴¹⁵ *The Reminiscences of George Rowntree 1855-1940* (2019), <<https://www.guise.me.uk/rowntree/george/reminiscences/contents.htm>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴¹⁶ Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough North Yorkshire*, (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2001), p. 326.

behaviour by working fishermen of the town, and some sympathy with their grievances, regardless of the adverse publicity which might ensue.

As a draw for pleasure-seekers, and despite the many thousands of holiday-makers and day-trippers visiting the town over the course of the year, in practice, samples from the Petty Session Registers suggest that few cases of anti-social behaviour resulting from disorder or drunkenness reached the courts (Appendix 5.1). In addition, figures from the Police Returns suggest a decreasing trend in these types of offences over the course of the 1920s and 1930s (Appendix 5.2b). Whilst media reports and discussions within the Watch Committee, many of whose members were also magistrates, suggest that the incidence of crime was not viewed as a significant issue within the town, in line with the promotion of Scarborough as a more 'refined' destination, the authorities in Scarborough in certain respects demonstrated a concern with maintaining this image.

Perhaps viewing requests for money as a potential annoyance to visitors, applications for Street Collections and 'Flag Days' appear regularly in the minutes of the Watch Committee. Clearly, for charitable causes, the Scarborough crowds would represent an important source of potential income. As an example, the Scarborough 'Rose Day' Collection on August Bank Holiday 1923 in aid of the Scarborough Hospital and Dispensary was reported to have raised £440 4s 3d, a sum equivalent to some £20,000 in today's money.⁴¹⁷ Institutions such as the Church Army, National Sailor's Home, Sailor's Orphans Home and the British Legion were typical applicants for collections. The Watch Committee deferred to the Chief Constable's authority in these decisions. For example, in March 1922, applications for the British Legion's Poppy Day and for a brass band procession on behalf of the Sailors' Orphans Home was granted 'subject to approval of Chief Constable'. Henry Windsor was prepared to pursue contraventions in the court. In July 1922, 3 men appeared in the Police Court charged with 'Making Street Collection without the permission of the Watch Committee'. In addition, one of the men, Edward Kearsley, was charged with 'Failing to keep a register of aliens', and another, Zdenek Pauk, with being an 'Alien failing to report'. An article in the Sheffield Daily

⁴¹⁷ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 August 1923 [accessed 02 January 2024]; *Inflation Calculator* (2024) <<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

Telegraph records that the men were collecting on behalf of the Salvation Army.⁴¹⁸ The Chief Constable reported that Pauk had arrived in Harwich in 1921, and that the foreign branch of the Salvation Army had failed to register him. The report continues, 'He was probably quite a harmless man, but if one alien could get into the country, said the Chief Constable, then the worst Bolshevik in Europe could get in and roam about. The case was adjourned for the Chief Constable to make inquiries of the Home Office', under the Aliens Restriction Act 1919, foreign nationals being required to register with the police. When heard in court a week later, the charges concerning the unauthorised street collection were withdrawn; in the cases concerning registration of aliens, Edward Kearsley and Zdenek Pauk were discharged under the Probation of Offenders Act 1907 on payment of a fine of 4/- each. Further newspaper reports again find the Chief Constable prosecuting members of the Salvation Army for collecting money without a permit.⁴¹⁹ In 1927 a policy was adopted by the Council to limit its acceptance of applications for street collections, and to nominate two organisations for the years; in 1932, the Watch Committee cited this policy in refusing applications other than those from the nominated organisations - in that year, Scarborough District Nursing Association and the British Legion.

A significant portion of the Watch Committee's discussions also related to the granting of omnibus licences and the management of traffic within the town, and perhaps reflecting a concern to maintain Scarborough's image as a well-managed resort and to placate residents. In the June 1922 meeting of the Committee, the Chief Constable reported action taken in response complaints from residents with regard to motor buses; a petition from residents in the vicinity of West Street regarding the South Cliff Bus service was also minuted, this area traditionally being seen as the more 'exclusive' area of the town. Both Chief Constables in their respective periods were engaged with the minutiae of this subject. In November 1922, for example, Chief Constable Windsor produced guidelines for applicants for motor bus licences which included 14 conditions required for approval; in February 1932, Chief Constable Abbott submitted estimates for the cost of erecting stopping place & timetable boards, the costs to be shared with United Automobile Services. By 1932, the question of car

⁴¹⁸ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 1922 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

⁴¹⁹ *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 31 July 1923 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 02 January 2024].

parking was also discussed, reflecting the growth of the use of private cars. These discussions within the Watch Committee were recorded in far greater detail than any relating to crime, and are also evidenced within the Petty Session Registers - in July and August of 1922, for example, of the 143 cases heard, 20 involved Obstruction of the Highway, 20 involved Motor Offences and a further 21, Hackney Carriage offences.

In its pursuit of sobriety, the local authority made use of the regulation of licensed premises as a means of control: meetings of the Brewster Sessions would note comparisons with other towns and decreases in convictions for drunkenness were taken as an indication that the problem was in decline. In February 1925, for example, the Chief Constable reported that Scarborough appeared fifth out of twenty towns in terms of prosecutions for drunkenness in the previous year, with 1.34 prosecutions per 1,000 of the population, (this equates to sixty-two offences for drunkenness in total and tallies exactly with the figure reported in the District Reports for 1924).⁴²⁰ The four towns with higher rates than Scarborough were Blackpool with 1.64, Harrogate 2.38, Chester 2.6 and Tynemouth 2.63. According to the newspaper article reporting on the Session:

Sir Meredith Whittaker (chairman) said that it was pleasing to the justices that the Chief Constable was able to report that the houses of the town generally had been conducted in a satisfactory manner. The number of convictions was considerably less than in the days before the war. What was also satisfactory to find was that the number of convictions against women for drunkenness was gradually diminishing, and they hoped there would soon not be a case at all.⁴²¹

The number of cases of drunkenness within the Petty Session Registers also suggest this decline, corresponding to the trend nationally.⁴²² At the Police Court in January-February 1922, for example, eight cases of drunkenness were dealt with, eighteen (including Drunk & Disorderly) in July-August 1922, two in January-February 1932 and four in July-August 1932. The licensing bench was also concerned with the question of offending by residents and visitors: a 1929 report notes, for example, 'that of the 38 persons proceeded against for

⁴²⁰ 'Satisfaction at Scarborough', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 1925 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night. A Social History of Britain between the Wars*, (London: The Bodley Head, 2008), p. 226.

drunkenness during the year, 16 were non-residents, against 61 the year before, of which 25 were non-residents'.⁴²³

Transgressions, although few in number, were viewed seriously. In a report on four cases of drunkenness at the Police Court at Easter 1920, the Chair of the Bench, George Rowntree observed that the magistrates 'were sorry to see this increase in drunkenness' and the Chief Constable had, 'seen more drunkenness during the last weekend than I have ever since I have been in Scarborough'.⁴²⁴ Fifteen years later, in 1935, the then Chief Constable, Walter Abbott, was similarly reported to state that, 'I have never seen more drunkenness on the Foreshore than there was yesterday afternoon'.⁴²⁵ However, the perceived excess on this occasion resulted in only one Leeds man being brought to court for drunkenness, suggesting that allowances were made by the police where visitors were concerned.

Whilst holiday indulgence in alcohol might have been tolerated to a degree, a more pro-active approach is evident in the policing of less socially acceptable habits, including the consumption of methylated spirits. The interwar period brought a focus on the dangers of this intoxicant, although official figures suggested that its use was comparatively rare.⁴²⁶ William Black, for example, charged with being drunk and incapable, was detained when found sleeping on a park bench, and admitted to drinking nine bottles of the spirit.⁴²⁷ Although reported to regret that they 'could not place him under restraint for a sufficiently long time', the magistrates eventually dismissed the case under the Probation of Offenders Act, with Black reportedly promising to leave the town. In a further case, three men were

⁴²³ 'Brewster Sessions. Sixteen Scarborough Inns Objected to', *Yorkshire Post*, 12 February 1929 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴²⁴ 'Eastertide Drinking at Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 April 1920 <<https://findmypast.co.uk>> [accessed 5 March 2024].

⁴²⁵ 'Drunk on Foreshore. Leeds Man Fined as Sequel to Scarborough Incident', *The Leeds Mercury*, 3 September 1935 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000748%2F19350903&page=7&article=128&stringtohighlight=scarborough+drunk>> [accessed 5 March 2024].

⁴²⁶ Stella Moss, "An abnormal habit": Alcohol policy and the control of methylated spirit drinking in England in the 1920s and 1930s, *Drugs: education, prevention and policy*, 22:2, (2015), pp. 118-124, (p.120) <<https://doi.org/10.3109/09687637.2015.1015490>>.

⁴²⁷ 'Methylated Spirits', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 July 1929, <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19290725&page=7&article=125&stringtohighlight=william+black+scarboroug>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

arrested for being drunk and incapable 'seated across the footpath in Gladstone Road', having consumed methylated spirits mixed with lemonade and eggs.⁴²⁸ (Intended to reduce the offensive taste of the spirit, mixing other drinks in this way was common practice).⁴²⁹ Recorded in the Photograph Book as 'Tramps', and also wanted by North Riding Police on charges of breaking and entering, the men were handed over to the neighbouring force, with the Scarborough magistrate reported to comment, "We don't want men of your type in this town. Our licensees are trying to keep the town clean". In a case study exploring the perceptions of and responses to the consumption of methylated spirits, Moss notes that 'interwar representations of methylated spirit drinking included moralised and sometimes hyperbolic representations of depravity. Consumers' debased conduct was thought to both constitute and reflect a corrosive degeneracy'.⁴³⁰ That such cases occurred within Scarborough is itself of interest, this intoxicant being more commonly associated with the deprived areas of industrial cities. The occurrence here provides a glimpse into a facet of Scarborough which counters the 'refined' image of the resort. Further instances of the magistrates acting to 'move on' offenders from the town are found in a number of cases but also suggest differing responses to those who might be perceived as 'deserving' or 'undeserving'. William Kirkpatrick and his wife, Lily, for example, were detained for singing in the street, having collected sixteen shillings from the public.⁴³¹ The case was dismissed under the Probation of Offenders Act, with the couple reportedly promising to leave the town within the hour. However, in a case involving two men charged with being suspected persons and frequenting with intent to commit a felony, where the charge was again dismissed, the Chief Constable noted that one of the men, Arthur Perry, was a 'convicted thief', and 'ought to be separated from Kitson, against whom nothing was known'.⁴³² In effect, Perry's record in the Photograph Book shows that he had four previous convictions, also suggesting that the police

⁴²⁸ 'Accused Men's Drink', *Hull Daily Mail*, 14 March 1933, <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000324%2F19330314&page=1&article=020&stringtohighlight=john+pinkney+scarboroug> [accessed 12 March 2024].

⁴²⁹ Moss, "'An abnormal habit": Alcohol policy', p. 120.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴³¹ *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 5 June 1928, < <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000563%2F19280605&page=6&article=099&stringtohighlight=kirkpatrick+scarborough> > [accessed 12 March 2024].

⁴³² 'For his own good', *Sheffield Independent*, < <https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0001464%2F19241216&page=3&article=059&stringtohighlight=kitson+scarborough> > [accessed 12 March 2024].

made active use of the records in bringing cases to court. Kitson apparently had no previous convictions and was remanded for a day to allow the police to contact his relatives, with the magistrates offering to advance his train fare to Bradford if his uncle was able to find him work.

Degrees of toleration towards behaviour which might be seen as disturbing to the public are also evident in cases brought by the police and in the response by the magistrates. George Normandale, a 44-year-old labourer, a native of Scarborough, appeared at the Police Court in January 1922 charged with obstructing the highway, 'owing to his eccentric conduct in haranguing the public in the streets', evidently in relation to his religious beliefs.⁴³³ After medical examination, the case is recorded as 'withdrawn', with Normandale found to be of sound mind but, '“his zeal for religion is so great that he becomes a nuisance in his endeavour to get converts”...[the] defendant meant well, but he could not annoy people'.⁴³⁴ Normandale was to appear again in the Police Court in August 1922, having been arrested for a breach of the peace caused by his preaching on the sands. Newspaper reports point to some leniency in his treatment and the attitudes underlying this. A *Yorkshire Post* article describes how in this incident he was at first moved on by a policeman, but returned to the Foreshore, 'saying he was there to convert prostitutes and drunkards'; moved on again, he then went to see the Chief Constable who 'told him he was all right so long as he was preaching religion', however 'his utterances created another scene, and the police had to arrest him'.⁴³⁵ The *Penrith Observer* notes that Normandale was an 'ex-army sergeant with a fine record', 'was suffering from the complaint known as shell-shock' and 'was now certified to be suffering from the first

⁴³³ 'News of the North, Well-meant zeal restrained', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 03 February 1922 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19220203&page=9&article=251&stringtohighlight=normandale+scarborough>> [accessed 12 March 2024].

⁴³⁴ 'News of the North, Well-meant zeal restrained', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 03 February 1922 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19220203&page=9&article=251&stringtohighlight=normandale+scarborough>> [accessed 12 March 2024].

⁴³⁵ 'A Fanatical Preacher at Scarborough', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 09 August 1922 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000687%2F19220809&page=12&article=262&stringtohighlight=normandale+scarborough>> [accessed 12 March 2024].

stage of general paralysis and religious mania'.⁴³⁶ The case concluded with Normandale being sent to an asylum, and there is a sense here of toleration of a known local man, whose history in relation to his war experiences is also known.⁴³⁷

687 CARB. F-2

Character No. ✓

Name HEZEKIAH JOHNSON

Aliases 2 names used

C.R.O. 24541/34 W.R.C. No. 7549-14

Born 1916 Nativity Black

Height 5' 4 1/2" Comp. Fresh Hair Wavy Bald

Eyes Brown Build Slender Trade Unknown

Peculiarities

Date	Place	Offense	Disposition	Name	Off in case
10-1-16	San Diego, Pa.	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100	Hezekiah Johnson	
10-1-17	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-18	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-19	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-20	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-21	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-22	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-23	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-24	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-25	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-26	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-27	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-28	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-29	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-30	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-31	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-32	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-33	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-34	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-35	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-36	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-37	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-38	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-39	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-40	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-41	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-42	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-43	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-44	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-45	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-46	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-47	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-48	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-49	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		
10-1-50	"	Robbery with a Knife	Fined \$100		

Born in 1896, aged nineteen, Johnson at 5' 4¾" tall enlisted as a reservist in the West Yorkshire regiment in 1915, was stationed in France for nine months, returning home in July 1916, having received a gunshot wound in the shoulder.⁴³⁸ According to his army record, he was confined for three months during 1915, having been convicted of using obscene language to an N.C.O., his 'Military Character was noted as 'Indifferent (Insubordination)'. Johnson spent three weeks in hospital in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, Hampshire, where his 'Disease' is listed as 'Mental Deficiency', noting that he 'Is childish and feeble-minded. Judging

⁴³⁶ 'Religious Mania', *Penrith Observer*, 22 August 1922 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0002296%2F19220822&page=7&article=146&stringtohighlight=normandale+scarborough>> [accessed 12 March 2024].

⁴³⁸ 'UK, British Army World War I Pension Records 1914-1920 for Hezekiah Johnson', <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/1007268:1114?tid=&pid=&queryId=c1534ae1-26af-4241-a653-9414dedd99b5&_phsrc=UkY425&_phstart=succesSource> [accessed 12 March 2024]; Beyond the scope of this discussion, as an aside data from the Photograph Book shows that the women who were born in Scarborough were on average 2cm shorter than those born elsewhere, whilst men born in Scarborough were on average 3cm shorter than those born elsewhere.

from his history it is congenital in origin. He is quite unfit for service'.⁴³⁹ Johnson was discharged in August 1916 with the Medical Board noting 'Disability is congenital. Head badly shaped, palate flattened. Not result of and not aggravated by military service. Permanent capacity not materially diminished. Conditions existed before enlistment'.⁴⁴⁰ Despite this pronouncement, the record also demonstrates Johnson's agency, or possibly another's actions on his behalf, through a letter of January 1919 from him to the Ministry of Pensions enquiring whether he is entitled to a War Gratuity.⁴⁴¹ Formal in nature, although written in the first person, the neat handwriting clearly differs from that presumed to be Johnson's own as seen on his short will, (soldiers being encouraged to write these in their own hand in their paybook), a document which survives amongst the papers of his army record.⁴⁴² From 1914 onwards, Johnson appeared in court charged with offences such as being drunk and disorderly, for obscene language, assault and wilful damage. Frequently fined for such offences, he also on occasion received prison sentences for the assault and drunkenness charges, although the chronology of his record shows that he was more usually fined for his earlier offences whilst prison sentences became more frequent over time (Table 5.).

⁴³⁹ 'British Army Service Records', <<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f007299631%2f00112&parentid=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f7299631%2f7%2f110>> [accessed 10 March 2024].

⁴⁴⁰ 'British Army Service Records', <<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f007299631%2f00112&parentid=gbm%2fwo363-4%2f7299631%2f7%2f110>> [accessed 10 March 2024].

⁴⁴¹ 'UK, British Army World War I Service Records, 1914-1920', <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/1015369:1219>> [accessed 10 March 2024].

⁴⁴² 'British Armed Forces Soldiers' Wills', <<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-records/british-armed-forces-soldiers-wills-1850-198>> [accessed 10 March 2024].

Table 5.5 Hezekiah Johnson's Record			
Date	Offences	Sentence	Police Officer in Case
21/09/1914	Drunk & Disorderly	Fined 5/- & 1/- costs	
21/09/1914	Assault on Police	Fined 5/-	
14/06/1917	Game trespass	B.O. £10 12 mths	
31/10/1917	Threatening Language	Fined 20/-	
30/11/1917	Assault on Police	Fined 40/-	
20/10/1918	Common Assault	1 Month H.L.	
30/06/1919	Drunk & Dis.	Fined 20/-	
01/10/1919	Wilful Damage	Fined 10/- pay £	
07/04/1920	Assault on Police	Fined 10/-	P.C. 51 Marriott
07/04/1920	Wilful Damage to Police Uniform	Fined 5/- & 30/- Damages	P.C. 51 Marriott
12/05/1920	Unlawful Possession of Game	Fined 10/-	
03/06/1921	Army Absentee	Handed to Escort	P.C. 33 Found
09/07/1923	Drunk & Dis	B.O. £5 12 Mths. P.O. Made 4/- CTS	Sgt Tilburn
09/07/1923	Assault on Police	B.O. £5 12 Mths. P.O. Made 4/- CTS	Sgt Tilburn
22/07/1925	Obscene Language	Fined 5/-	
23/12/1925	Game Trespass	Fined 10/6 or 14 days	P.C. 20
14/06/1926	Drunk & Dis.	B.O. £5 2 yrs 4/- costs P.O. made	
14/06/1926	Damage to Police Uniform	B.O. £5 2 yrs 4/- costs P.O. made	
14/02/1927	Drunk & Dis	14 days	P.C. 27 Goode
14/02/1927	Assault	6 weeks Consec	
14/07/1927	Drunk & Dis	1 month H.L.	
12/07/1928	Assault on Police	Withdrawn 20.8.28	P.C. 43 Collins
20/08/1928	Drunk & Dis	1 Month H.L.	P.C. 11 Porter
03/04/1929	Malicious Damage	Pay costs & Damage 19/6	
27/07/1933	Assault	2 weeks H.L.	Sgt Lewsey
27/07/1933	Assault	6 Weeks H.L. consec	Sgt Lewsey
07/11/1934	Trespass on L.N.E.Ryl.	Dismissed Costs remitted P.O. Act	
30/11/1934	Larceny Gas Meter	B.O. £5 12 Mths P.O. made	D.S. Greenwood

Interestingly, Johnson's photograph and offences were not recorded in the Photograph Book until 1934, perhaps his notoriety with local officers, and his offending habits judged to make it unlikely that he would venture far from Scarborough.

5.5 Conclusions

As noted above, overall recorded crime in the form of Police Returns suggest modest rates of crime in the town in this period. Considering the type of offences which might be associated with the setting as a draw for crowds of pleasure seekers, such as drunkenness and assault, the figures reflect relatively low levels of cases coming to court, and show a general decrease over the course of the 1920s and into the 1930s – a pattern which is in line with national trends for the period. Similar patterns are apparent in other categories of offence, for example, cases related to vagrancy are in general decline over the period (with the exception of 1930). Recorded crime concerning larceny from vehicles and of bicycles increased from 1934 onwards – arguably, as nationally, due to the separate recording of these categories from this date. Again, whilst recorded numbers of other Highways Offences are highly variable over the period, the increase from 1934 onwards is likely to reflect the increase in car ownership and motor traffic in the period. Evidence from the Watch Committee Minutes suggest a particular focus on this aspect of resort management.

Principally considering ‘Crimes for Gain’, analysis of records in the Photograph Book highlighted differences in patterns of offending by men and by women, and by those born in Scarborough and those born elsewhere. Equally, such differences may reflect the priorities of the authorities in bringing offenders to court. Men were responsible for approximately 75% of offences and women for the remaining 25%. Of the offences committed by men, around 70% were by men born outside of Scarborough, whilst 85% of female offences were committed by women born outside of Scarborough. These figures might concur with expectations in view of the town’s draw for visitors and workers, however offences recorded in the Photograph Book and the Petty Session samples show only a modest increase in offending over the summer period in Scarborough. This tends to support the view that large influxes of visitor numbers did not lead *per se* to increased criminality, or at least did not lead to the police pursuing potential offenders in the courts.

Women were predominantly prosecuted for stealing, commonly involving small sums of money, rarely exceeding £10 in value, and goods such as jewellery, household items and clothing. In the majority of cases, women were fined or bound over; in the small number of

cases where women were imprisoned, the individuals concerned had previous convictions or were found guilty of multiple offences. Stealing also dominated the records for men (as might be expected given the purpose of the Photograph Book), however a wider range of objects were stolen compared to those recorded in offences by women, including food, tools, bikes, coal metal and plants; again, the picture here suggests low-level and opportunistic crime.

Comparing women born in Scarborough and elsewhere, some differences between the two groups are apparent: in effect, only a small number of Scarborough-born women are recorded, amounting to 23 over the fifteen-year timespan of the Photograph Book. Whilst employment as domestic servants predominated in both groups, women from outside of Scarborough had a wider range of employment types and a small number were prosecuted for more serious offences such as wounding, assault and being drunk and disorderly.

For offences other than stealing, men born outside Scarborough were more frequently recorded, with the disparity greatest in cases such as false pretences and embezzlement, connected perhaps to the transient nature of the visiting population. In contrast, men born in Scarborough were found in more prosecutions for drunkenness and assault.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

This case study has sought to establish the nature of offending in Scarborough during the interwar years, and to examine the proposition that town, as a distinctive example of a Northern seaside setting, could be considered 'criminogenic'. The research involved an element of discovery, through the transcription and analysis of a police Photograph Book, or so-called 'mugshot book', now forming part of the collection of Ripon Museums Trust. An important part of the project involved the transcription and coding of this material, and the resulting data is now available as a resource for further interpretation by museum volunteers or as a stimulus for public engagement in furthering understanding of the history of crime and policing in Yorkshire. The research also contributes to the historiography in revealing under-researched aspects of magistrates' courts and policing systems in the twentieth century.

Perceptions of seaside resorts as 'criminogenic' are associated with the particular combination of factors characteristic of such settings: pleasure-seeking holiday crowds and a local economy predominantly geared towards providing entertainment juxtaposed alongside manifest disparities between rich and poor, seasonality of employment and the potential for conflict between residents and visitors.⁴⁴³ The logistics of crowd and traffic management bring issues of control for the police, for example, also having the potential to lead to conflict with local residents. Those with money to spend offer targets for theft and for confidence tricks, whilst offences of public disorder such as drunkenness and assault might typically be anticipated. Further, a local economy dependent largely on entertainment perhaps inevitably encompasses an illicit milieu at its fringes bringing the potential for corruption and exploitation. The nature of offending in such settings, therefore, might be expected to relate to a number of these factors and their inter-relationships. In addressing the research question, the study drew together sources to complement the Photograph Book in order to gain a fuller understanding of the geographical and cultural context of the period under study.

⁴⁴³ John K. Walton and others, 'Crime, Migration and Social Change in North-West England and the Basque Country, C. 1870—1930', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999), pp. 90-112 (p. 92).

Scarborough's image has long been one of refinement, due in part to its origins as a Spa resort, accessible only with some difficulty to a more affluent clientele (Chapter 3). Despite its growth as a seaside destination over the 19th century, the coming of the railway and a broadening of the social base of its visitors, this image as 'Queen of Watering Places' continued to be promoted over the early decades of the 20th century. The local authority had been proactive since the late nineteenth century in developing the town as a resort, with initiatives to provide amenities for visitors. The interwar years saw a growing possibility for time away from work across society and although not on the scale of larger resorts such as Blackpool and Brighton, visitor numbers to Scarborough were significant – half- to three-quarters of a million over the season, and perhaps 20,000 day trippers on a Bank Holiday, against a resident population of around 40,000. Scarborough's particular geography resulted in enduring spatial and social divides, for both residents and visitors, and the sheen of respectability overlay the marginality of lives dependent on low-paid and seasonal employment. The question of balancing visitor needs and resident demands, promoting the local economy and maintaining its 'refined' image was a continued subject of debate for the local authority throughout the period.

Given this background and acknowledging the debates surrounding the interpretation of criminal statistics, in overview, official publication of crime figures for Scarborough present a picture comparable to towns of a similar size, including other coastal resorts and neighbouring Yorkshire towns (Chapter 4). The figures are in contrast to the higher crime rates seen in the larger resorts such as Blackpool and Brighton. Both these resorts received significantly higher visitor numbers – Blackpool being the destination for the Wakes Weeks of the North-West industrial centres, and Brighton being easily accessible from London. Beyond the figures, an awareness of the 'tone' of the resort and its image of refinement impacted the nature of permitted developments: the members of the Town Council were acutely aware that Scarborough was 'not Blackpool'.

Considering sources such as those of the Watch Committee, there is a sense that the level of crime *per se* was not a concern to the authorities in Scarborough. The minutes of this

committee involved very limited discussion of crime whereas concerns with traffic management and with issues such as street collections were far more frequently in evidence. These concerns suggest priorities associated with reducing annoyances and the maintenance of a sedate atmosphere, perhaps linked to guarding the refinement of areas favoured by the more affluent residents and visitors. These priorities translated to the Police Courts, partly as a consequence of the significant overlap between membership of the Magistrates Bench and the Watch Committee. The frequency with which the Police Court was held – three times a week or more – perhaps also contributed to a sense of control of offending, with offenders being efficiently ‘dealt with’ and cases swiftly resolved.

As detailed in Chapter 5, the picture of offending in Scarborough as evidenced by the Photograph Book is one primarily of low-level and opportunistic crime, and on balance, it is apparent that the presence of holiday crowds did not translate noticeably into increases in offending. Stealing primarily involved small sums of money, food and household items, however direct theft from an individual (such as pickpocketing) was infrequent. Inevitably, it is not possible to know how many of such crimes evaded detection. Contrasting patterns of offending by men and women were evident, as were those between individuals born in the town and those born elsewhere. Scarborough-born women, for example, appeared infrequently in court and rarely received prison sentences whilst women born elsewhere were involved in a wider range of offences, in many cases linked to their employment in domestic and other service sectors. Similarly, where ‘crimes of gain’ were concerned, men’s offending often related to stealing or embezzlement from their place of employment. The records also suggest that, in comparison to men, women were less likely to be recorded as offending in both Scarborough and elsewhere, suggesting differences in mobility in this era.

Perhaps reflecting its nature as a small, local yet independent force, policing in the town suggests an idiosyncratic mix of isolation and connectedness, toleration and severity, tradition and modernity. The police made use of local knowledge, several cases indicating their familiarity with known individuals, but were also clearly making use of resources such as the Photograph Book to pro-actively seek and identify offenders from elsewhere. The role of the detective, distinct from that of the regular officer, comes to the fore in particular categories of case such as those of False Pretences, and communication with other forces is

often evident here. Convictions for drunkenness were relatively low, and over time showed decreases in line with the national trend. However, newspaper reports of court hearings also reference scenes of drunkenness on the Foreshore, suggesting that police action against these was in practice limited. In contrast, where cases were pursued, the accused were frequently local men who became violent towards the police on arrest, or sometimes vagrants arrested for being drunk in the street. These instances signal differing approaches to the control of public spaces: 'casual' drinking by holidaymakers was to some extent accepted, visible intoxication by those on the margins of society was not. Similarly, court outcomes for such cases, and for those such as begging, often resulted in the offender being acquitted or bound over on condition of leaving the town. In contrast, a degree of toleration is also evident in dealing with cases with extenuating circumstances. These cases typically involved local men, such as that of George Normandale, known to be suffering due to his war experiences, or Scales and Bilsdale, fishermen convicted of manslaughter during a drunken brawl but viewed as being of 'good character'.

On balance, the conclusion from this case study must be that Scarborough in the period under study was not an overtly 'criminogenic' setting, with the caveat that the full picture of criminal behaviour is inevitably incomplete. A number of factors were at play here. Scarborough's refined image in practice translated into relatively sedate forms of entertainment, in comparison with those in Blackpool and Brighton, for example. Whilst outings from the industrial centres took place, the concentration of visitors during holiday periods was not as prevalent as the custom in the North-West. In addition, Scarborough's natural geography and the consequent 'zoning' of its social spaces reduced the potential for conflicts, and Scarborough police were able to exercise a degree of toleration of excesses on the part of holidaymakers. Importantly, the interwar period saw a change in the nature of mass entertainment with cinemas, dance halls and lidos providing opportunities for men and women to socialise together. At the same time, alcohol consumption and prosecutions for assault continued to decrease from pre-World War One levels. Certainly in Scarborough, the figures recorded for cases of drunkenness and violent offences do not reflect a picture of the uncontrolled indulgence often associated with seaside resorts. Whilst holidaying is seen as freeing individuals from the constraints of behavioural norms, the preference for healthy

pursuits and the simple appreciation of the seaside remained significant influences during this period. Further cultural and economic factors may contribute to this law-abiding picture, perhaps with workmates on company excursions policing each other's behaviour, and with a reluctance to risk the loss of employment through overt misdemeanours. The opportunity to take a holiday of even a few days was no doubt valued as an experience by the majority of working people, for whom paid leave did not become a right until 1938.

Individual case studies from the Photograph Book have revealed some facets of the experience of those experiencing the criminal justice system as offenders and it is fitting that the final word should go to Hezekiah Johnson, who appears again in 1948 in a number of newspapers, (notably including *The Tatler*), in reports such as the one in the *Yorkshire Post*:

At the end of January, residents in the Northstead area of Scarborough were claiming to have heard the first cuckoo. But yesterday, Mr Hezekiah Johnson, a corporation road cleaner, said – "I wait until a crowd gathers at the Northstead bus stop and then I go into the park nearby and do the cuckoo. They all take it in." He added- "I used to do the nightingale when I had my teeth in".⁴⁴⁴

Happily, despite his history with the authorities, Johnson was employed by the Corporation, clearly enjoying being one of Sitwell's 'inexhaustible supply' of Scarborough characters.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ 'Giving 'Em the Bird', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 06 February 1948 <<https://www.findmypast.co.uk/image-viewer?issue=BL%2F0000563%2F19480206&page=5&article=065&stringtohighlight=hezekiah+johnson+scarborough>> [accessed 31 December 2023].

⁴⁴⁵ Osbert Sitwell, *Left Hand, Right Hand*, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1952), p. 82.

Appendix 2.1 Categories of Offences summarised from Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1922, Appendix A (Classified List of Indictable Offences) and Appendix B (List of Offences tried Summarily). Indictable Offences tried summarily are marked *.⁴⁴⁶

Indictable Offences			Non-Indictable Offence akin to Indictable Offences Tried Summarily		Persons Prosecuted for other non-indictable offences - Tried Summarily	
Class I Offences against the person	1	Murder	85 to 87	Assaults	88	Betting and Gaming
	2 and 3	Attempt, conspiracy or threats to murder	89 and 177	Brothel-keeping and living on prostitute's earnings	90	Cruelty to Animals
	4	Manslaughter	91	Cruelty to children	94	Education Acts, offences against
	5 and 8	Wounding	109	Indecent Exposure	97 to 101	Game Laws, offences against
	6	Endangering railway passengers*				
	7 and 9 to 15	Other offences of violence	129 to 133	Malicious damage	102 to 106	Highway Acts, Offences against
	16 to 18	Unnatural offences & attempts	151 to 153A	Prevention of Crimes Act, offences against	110 and 111	Intoxicating liquor laws, offences against - Drunkenness

⁴⁴⁶ House of Commons, Judicial statistics: England and Wales, 1922: Criminal statistics: Statistics relating to criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, and criminal lunatics, for the year 1922, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Appendix 1 and 2, in *U.K. Parliamentary Papers*. <<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1924-026851?accountid=12507>> [accessed 6 December 2023]

	19 to 25	Rape and other offences against females	162 to 166 and 170	Stealing, unlawful possession etc	134	Merchant Shipping Acts, offences against
	26	Bigamy	175 and 176	Frequenting, found in enclosed premises etc	135 to 137	Naval, Military and Air-Force Offences
Class II Offences against Property with violence	27 to 33	Burglary, housebreaking etc			142 to 146	Police regulations, offences against
	34 to 36	Robbery and Extortion			147 to 150	Poor Laws, offences against
Class III Offences against Property without Violence	37 to 43	Aggravated Larcenies			154 and 154A	Prostitution
	44	Simple and minor larcenies*			155	Railways, offences against
	45	Obtaining by false pretences*			168	Sunday Trading etc
	46 to 48	Other frauds			172	Begging
	49	Receiving*			173	Sleeping out
	50	Offences in connection with Bankruptcy*				

Class IV Malicious Injury to Property	51	Arson			174	Gaming &c
	52	Arson - Setting Fire to crops, plantations etc*				
	53 to 55	Other offences against property			178	Other Vagrance Offences
	56	Destroying railways*				
	57,5 8	Other offences against property				
Class V Forgery and Offences against the Curren- cy	59 and 60	Forgery			84, 84A, 92, 93, 95 to 96A, 107, 108, 112 to 126, 138 to 141A, 157 to 161, 167, 169, 171, 179 to 181	Other offences
	61 and 62	Coining				
Class VI Other Offences Not included in the	70	Perjury				

above classes	76	Libel*				
	81	Habitual Drunkenness*				
	82	Suicide, attempting to commit				
	63 to 69, 71 to 80 and 83	Other Indictable Offences				

Appendix 2.2 OFFENCES FOR GAIN ⁴⁴⁷								
DEPARTMENT 1 OFF1	WITH VIOLENCE				WITHOUT VIOLENCE			
	DEPARTMENT 2				DEPARTMENT 3			
Offences by Persons in positions of Trust	CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3	CLASS 4	CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3	CLASS 4
	FROM THE PERSON OFF2V1	FROM THE HOUSE OFF2V2	FROM THE CHURCH OFF2V3	FROM LAND OFF2V4	FROM THE PERSON OFF3N1	FROM THE HOUSE OFF3N2	FROM THE CHURCH OFF3N3	FROM LAND OFF4N4
As Agent Banker Butler Clerk Commercial Traveller Lawyer Servant Trustee	By Assault (Violent) Cayenne Chloroform Garrotting Sandbag Wounding etc	Burglary Garage breaking Housebreaking Office Breaking Shopbreaking Warehouse breaking etc. NB Class of property attacked to be clearly defined	Sacrilege	Coach-house Harness Room Outhouse Sheds Stable Tents and similar other unoccupied premises	Children Child messengers Crowds (members of etc.) Railway Passengers Society Audiences As Pickpockets Snatchers etc	Bank Boarding House Cabin (signal) Canal Boat Club Garage Hotel Hall Lodgings Office Pavilion Post Office Public House Railway Offices Ships	Books Curios Missionary Boxes Plate etc	Automatic Slot Machines Book Stall Conveyance Clothes Line Dock Side Market Stall Motor Car Pillar Box Tram Car Such as Bicycle Thieves Cattle “ Dog “ Fowl “ Horse “ Luggage “ From Railway Platforms, Tram Cars, Motor Cars, etc

⁴⁴⁷ Extracted from: West Yorkshire Archive, 'M.O. In Crime Investigation and Detection', WYP/BR/A366/14/8, (1922).

						Slot Meters in Houses etc Shops Shop Doors Theatres etc		Metal Thieves Motor Car Thieves
DEPARTMENT 4	DEPARTMENT 5							
	FALSE PRETENCES							
TRICK & IMPOSTERS OFF4	CLASS 1 OFF5C1			CLASS 2 OFF5C2				

Appendix 2.3 England & Wales - Criminal Statistics - Police Returns for 1922, 1932 & 1938

Offence Code	Type of Offence	1922	1932	1938	% change 1922-1932	% change 1932 - 1938
Indictable Offences						
1	Murder	145	125	116	-14	-7
2 and 3	Attempt, conspiracy or threats to murder	131	96	94	-27	-2
4	Manslaughter	98	164	190	67	16
5 and 8	Wounding	596	1240	1990	108	60
6, 7 and 9 to 15	Endangering railway passengers*,Other offences of violence	281	285	331	1	16
16 to 18	Unnatural offences & attempts	450	791	1276	76	61
19 to 25	Rape and other offences against females	2062	2141	3369	4	57
26	Bigamy	525	338	373	-36	10
27 to 33	Burglary, housebreaking etc	17841	40057	49184	125	23
34 to 36	Robbery and Extortion	199	452	381	127	-16
37 to 43	Aggravated Larcenies	8820	14691	19206	67	31
44	Larceny of Pedal Cycles			30463		
45 to 47	Larceny from Vehicles, Shops, Meters etc			56838		
44	Simple and minor larcenies*	62103	123289	91114	99	-26
45	Obtaining by false pretences*	8581	12423	12594	45	1
46 to 48, 50	Other frauds, Offences in connection with Bankruptcy*	932	3625	3503	289	-3
49	Receiving*	1765	2611	3433	48	31
51, 52	Arson, Arson - Setting Fire to crops, plantations etc*	197	197		0	-100
53 to 58	Other offences against property, Destroying railways*(56)	125	211	572	69	171
59 and 60	Forgery	666	1201	1809	80	51
61 and 62	Coining	107	324		203	-100
70	Perjury	69	124		80	
82	Suicide, attempting to commit	1461	3299	3303	126	0.1
63 to 69, 71 to 81 and 83	Other Indictable Offences, Libel*(76), Habitual Drunkenness*(81)	166	491	751	196	53
Other offences know to Police						
48 & 138	Unauthorised taking and theft of motor vehicles			20051		
176 to 180	Stealing of dogs, trees, fruit, etc			2347		
	Total	107320	208175	303288	94	46
Non-Indictable Offence akin to Indictable Offences Tried Summarily						
85 to 87	Assaults	33869	19481	19000	-42	-2
89 and 177	Brothel-keeping and living on prostitute's earnings	563	424	452	-25	7
91	Cruelty to children	1913	735	1084	-62	47
109	Indecent Exposure	1875	1558	1954	-17	25
129 to 133	Malicious damage	16271	10817	11048	-34	2
151 to 153A	Prevention of Crimes Act, offences against	176	181	118	3	-35
162 to 166 and 170	Stealing, unlawful possession etc	4190	3042	477	-27	-84
175 and 176	Frequenting, found in enclosed premises etc	3448	5448	3310	58	-39
	Total	62305	41686	37443	-33	-10

Appendix 3 Summary Census Data for Scarborough⁴⁴⁸

	Appendix 3.1 Scarborough M.B. Population - 1911, 1921 & 1931 Censuses								
	Numbers of Persons								
	1911			1921			1931		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Total Popn.	15583	21618	37201	19060	27119	46179	17762	24026	41788
Under 14 yrs (1931) Under 12 yrs (1921)	3073	3023	6096	3864	3632	7496	3952	3863	7815
14yrs & over (1931) 12 yrs & over (1921)	12510	18595	31105	15196	23487	38683	13810	20163	33973
I-XXXI Occupied, 14 yrs & over (1931) Occupied, 12 yrs & over (1921)	9776	6871	16647	12592	8378	20970	11851	7480	19331
XXXII Unoccupied & retired, 14yrs & over	2734	11724	14458	2604	15109	20970	1959	12683	12995

⁴⁴⁸ GB Historical GIS, University of Portsmouth, Scarborough Ap/CP through Time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*, 2017 <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10466970>> [accessed 20 May 2023].

Appendix 3.2 Place of Birth of residents recorded in Census of Scarborough M.B. 1851-1911

Country of Birth												
	1851		1861		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England	11687	96	16253	93	24926	95	32042	93	36767	96	35787	96
Ireland	199	2	351	2	278	1	288	1	248	1	238	1
Scotland	136	1	188	1	226	1	369	1	436	1	375	1
Wales	19	<1	39	<1	79	<1	112	<1	105	<1	116	<1
Unknown	69	1	553	3	466	2	1506	4	223	1	367	1
Other	59	<1	62	<1	232	<1	281	1	392	1	306	1
Total												
Number of non-UK & Ireland birth countries recorded	22		23		37		40		47		37	
County of Birth of England-born residents												
	1851		1861		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England	11687	100	16253	100	24926	100	32041	100	36767	100	35787	100
Non-Yorkshire	1357	12	2541	16	4191	17	5678	18	6576	18	6207	17
Yorkshire	10330	88	13712	84	20735	83	26363	82	30191	82	29580	83

Appendix 3.3 County of Birth of England-born residents recorded in census of Scarborough 1851-1911 – 10 most-frequent counties at each census (excluding Yorkshire).

1851		1861		1881		1891		1901		1911	
County	No.	County	No.	County	No.	County	No.	County	No.	County	No.
Durham	174	Lincs	314	Lincs	575	Lincs	734	Lincs	750	Durham	715
Middx	146	Lancs	243	Lancs	421	Middx	616	Lancs	714	Lancs	667
Lincs	123	Durham	234	Middx	419	Lancs	549	Middx	706	Lincs	638
Lancs	97	Middx	213	Durham	416	Durham	497	Durham	662	Middx	638
N'berland	85	Norfolk	167	Norfolk	361	Norfolk	295	N'berland	290	N'berland	281
Kent	80	N'berland	104	Notts	208	N'berland	230	Norfolk	265	Notts	277
Norfolk	67	Kent	82	N'berland	147	Notts	206	Notts	250	Norfolk	204
Cheshire	54	Cheshire	81	Kent	133	Leics	161	Derbys.	217	Derbys	193
Staffs	43	Derbys.	81	Derbys.	95	Kent	155	Cheshire	187	Warwks	191
Cornwall	41	Sussex	76	Suffolk	92	Derbys.	147	Staffs	184	Staffs	186

Appendix 3. Census Occupation Codes, Male & Female Occupation in Scarborough⁴⁴⁹

Appendix 3.4 Occupation Codes in the 1911, 1921 & 1931 Censuses			
1911		1921 & 1931	
I	General or Local Government	I	Fishermen
II	Defence of the Country	II	Agricultural Occupations
III	Professional Occupations and their Subordinate Services	III	Mining & Quarrying Occupations
IV	Domestic and other allied Services	IV	Makers of Coke, Lime & Cement
V	Commercial Occupations	V	Makers of Brick, Pottery, Glass
VI	Conveyance of Men, Goods and Messages	VI	Workers in Chemicals, Paints
VII	Agriculture	VII	Metal Workers
VIII	Fishing	VIII	Workers in Precious Metals
IX	Mines & Quarries	IX	Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters
X	Metals, Machines, Mines & Conveyances	X	Makers of Watches etc.
XI	Precious Metals, Jewels, Watches, Instruments & Game Apparatus	XI	Workers in Skins; Leather Goods Makers
XII	Building & Works of Constructions	XII	Textile Workers
XIII	Wood, Furniture, Fittings and Decoration	XIII	Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress
XIV	Brick, Cement, Pottery & Glass	XIV	Makers of Food, Drinks & Tobacco
XV	Chemicals, Oil, Grease, Soap, Resin	XV	Workers in Wood etc
XVI	Skins, Leather, Hair, Feathers	XVI	Paper Workers, Printers
XVII	Paper, Prints, Books, Stationery	XVII	Builders, Bricklayers
XVIII	Textile Fabrics	XVIII	Painters & Decorators
XIX	Dress	XIX	Workers in other materials
XX	Food, Tobacco, Drink & Lodging	XX	Workers in Mixed & Undefined Materials
XXI	Gas, Water, Electricity Supply, Sanitary Service	XXI	Persons in Gas, Water & Electricity Supply
XXII	Other, General & Undefined Workers & Dealers	XXII	Transport Workers
XXIII	Without specified occupations or unoccupied	XXIII	Commerce & Financial Occupations
		XXIV	Public Administration & Defence
		XXV	Professional Occupations
		XXVI	Persons Employed in Entertainments
		XXVII	Persons Employed in Personal Service

⁴⁴⁹ [1911 Census of England and Wales, General Report with Appendices \(1917-18 xxxv \(Cd.8491\) 483\),](https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1911GEN/5#)
<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1911GEN/5#>; [1921 Census of England and Wales, General Report with Appendices \(\),](https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1921GEN/8) <<https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1921GEN/8>> [accessed 30th July 2023]

		XXVIII	Clerks, Draughtsmen, Typists
		XXIX	Warehousemen
		XX	Stationary Engine Drivers
		XXXI	All Other Occupations
		XXXII	Unoccupied and Retired

Appendix 3.5a Male Occupations in Scarborough from Census -- 1911, 1921, 1931				
1911			1921	1931
Occupation	%	Occupation	%	%
XX. Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	12.4	XXIII. Commerce and Financial Occupations	15.0	16.0
VI. Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages	11.3	XXII. Transport Workers	11.5	11.4
XII. Building, and Works of Construction.	10.6	VII. Metal Workers	5.9	5.0
All Other Occupations.	6.6	XXXI. All other Occupations	5.4	9.7
III. Professional Occupations and their Subordinate Services.	4.8	XXVIII. Clerks , Draughtsmen, Typists, etc.	5.3	4.3
XXII. 5. General Labourers; Factory Labourers (undefined).	4.4	XXVII. Persons Employed in Personal Service	4.8	7.1
V. Merchants, Agents, Accountants; Banking, etc.; Insurance. Commercial or Business Clerks.	4.2	XV. Workers in Wood, etc.	4.2	4.9
XIX. 1. Tailors.	3.6	XVII. Builders, Bricklayers, etc.	3.7	4.7
X. 3. General Engineering, and Machine Making.	3.0	XXV. Professional Occupations	3.5	3.1
IV. 1, 3. Domestic Indoor and Other Service.	2.9	II. Agricultural Occupations	3.1	2.8
VII. Agriculture - On Farms, Woods, and Gardens.	2.9	I. Fishermen	2.8	2.2
XVIII. 7. Drapers, Linen Drapers, Mercers. XIX. 1. Dealers in Dress.	2.3	XXIV. Public Administration and Defence	2.7	1.2
I. General or Local Government.	2.2	XIII. Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	1.9	1.5
XIII. Wood, Furniture, Fittings, and Decorations.	2.1	XIV. Makers of Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	1.9	1.5
XVII. 2. Printers and Lithographers.	1.4	XVIII. Painters and Decorators	1.6	3.0
6 other categories each employing less than 1% working males	2.7	XVI. Paper Workers; Printers, etc.	1.5	1.3

TOTAL OCCUPIED	78.1	XXVI. Persons Employed in Entertainments, etc.	1.3	1.4
XXIII. Unoccupied and Retired	21.9	XXIX. Warehousemen, etc.	1.2	1.1
		IX. Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters, etc.	1.0	1.3
		12 other categories each employing less than 1% working males	3.8	2.5
		TOTAL OCCUPIED	82.9	83.4
		XXXII. Unoccupied and Retired	17.1	14.2

Appendix 3.5b Female Occupations in Scarborough from Census – 1911, 1921, 1931				
1911			1921	1931
Occupation	%	Occupation	%	%
IV. 1. Domestic Indoor Service: Other Domestic Indoor Servants.	11.8	XXVII. Persons Employed in Personal Service	19.5	22.2
XX. 4. Board, Lodging, and Dealing in Spirituous Drinks: Coffee, Eating, Lodging - House Keepers.	4.5	XXIII. Commerce and Financial Occupations	5.0	6.3
XIX. 1. Dressmakers.	3.6	XIII. Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	2.7	1.7
IV. 1. Domestic Indoor Service: In Hotels, Lodging, and Eating Houses.	2.1	XXV. Professional Occupations	2.6	2.3
XX. 1. Food - Dealers. XXII. 4. General Shopkeepers, Dealers.	2.1	XXVIII. Clerks, Draughtsmen, Typists, etc.	2.5	2.3
IV. 3. Laundry and Washing Service.	1.6	XVI. Paper Workers; Printers, etc.	0.6	0.4
IV. 3. Charwomen, Day Girls, Day Servants.	1.6	XXII. Transport Workers	0.5	0.2
III. 4. Teaching.	1.4	XXVI. Persons Employed in Entertainments, etc.	0.5	0.2
XVIII. 7. Drapers, Linen Drapers, Mercers. XIX. 1. Dealers in Dress.	1.3	XIV. Makers of Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	0.4	0.4
XX. 4. Board, Lodging, and Dealing in Spirituous Drinks: Others.	1.0	XII. Textile Workers	0.4	0.2
13 other categories employing in total:	4.5	15 other categories employing in total:	1.1	0.9
Total Occupied	37.0	Total Occupied	35.7	37.1
Retired or Unoccupied	63.0	XXXII Unoccupied and retired	64.3	62.9

Appendix 3.5a Male Occupations from Census -- 1911, 1921, 1931

1911			1921	1931
XX. Food, Tobacco, Drink, and Lodging.	12.4	XXIII. Commerce and Financial Occupations	15.0	16.0
VI. Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages	11.3	XXII. Transport Workers	11.5	11.4
XII. Building, and Works of Construction.	10.6	VII. Metal Workers	5.9	5.0
All Other Occupations.	6.6	XXXI. All other Occupations	5.4	9.7
III. Professional Occupations and their Subordinate Services.	4.8	XXVIII. Clerks , Draughtsmen, Typists, etc.	5.3	4.3
XXII. 5. General Labourers; Factory Labourers (undefined).	4.4	XXVII. Persons Employed in Personal Service	4.8	7.1
V. Merchants, Agents, Accountants; Banking, etc.; Insurance. Commercial or Business Clerks.	4.2	XV. Workers in Wood, etc.	4.2	4.9
XIX. 1. Tailors.	3.6	XVII. Builders, Bricklayers, etc.	3.7	4.7
X. 3. General Engineering, and Machine Making.	3.0	XXV. Professional Occupations	3.5	3.1
IV. 1, 3. Domestic Indoor and Other Service.	2.9	II. Agricultural Occupations	3.1	2.8
VII. Agriculture - On Farms, Woods, and Gardens.	2.9	I. Fishermen	2.8	2.2
XVIII. 7. Drapers, Linen Drapers, Mercers. XIX. 1. Dealers in Dress.	2.3	XXIV. Public Administration and Defence	2.7	1.2
I. General or Local Government.	2.2	XIII. Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	1.9	1.5
XIII. Wood, Furniture, Fittings, and Decorations.	2.1	XIV. Makers of Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	1.9	1.5
XVII. 2. Printers and Lithographers.	1.4	XVIII. Painters and Decorators	1.6	3.0
6 other categories each employing less than 1% working males	2.7	XVI. Paper Workers; Printers, etc.	1.5	1.3
TOTAL OCCUPIED	78.1	XXVI. Persons Employed in Entertainments, etc.	1.3	1.4
XXIII. Unoccupied and Retired	21.9	XXIX. Warehousemen, etc.	1.2	1.1
		IX. Electrical Apparatus Makers, Fitters, etc.	1.0	1.3

		12 other categories each employing less than 1% working males	3.8	2.5
		TOTAL OCCUPIED	82.9	83.4
		XXXII. Unoccupied and Retired	17.1	14.2

Appendix 3.5b Female Occupations from Census -- 1911, 1921, 1931

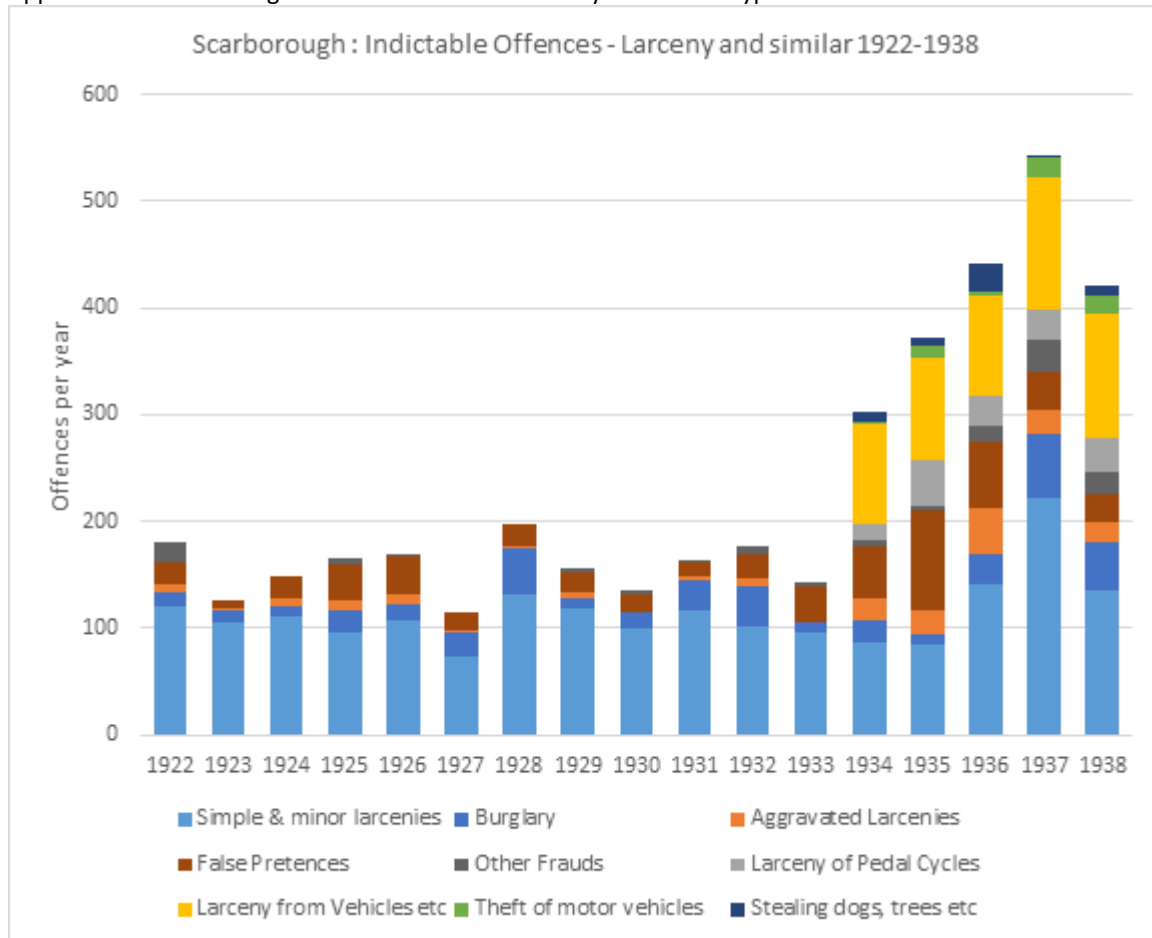
1911			1921	1931
IV. 1. Domestic Indoor Service: Other Domestic Indoor Servants.	11.8	XXVII. Persons Employed in Personal Service	19.5	22.2
XX. 4. Board, Lodging, and Dealing in Spirituous Drinks: Coffee, Eating, Lodging - House Keepers.	4.5	XXIII. Commerce and Financial Occupations	5.0	6.3
XIX. 1. Dressmakers.	3.6	XIII. Makers of Textile Goods and Articles of Dress	2.7	1.7
IV. 1. Domestic Indoor Service: In Hotels, Lodging, and Eating Houses.	2.1	XXV. Professional Occupations	2.6	2.3
XX. 1. Food - Dealers. XXII. 4. General Shopkeepers, Dealers.	2.1	XXVIII. Clerks, Draughtsmen, Typists, etc.	2.5	2.3
IV. 3. Laundry and Washing Service.	1.6	XVI. Paper Workers; Printers, etc.	0.6	0.4
IV. 3. Charwomen, Day Girls, Day Servants.	1.6	XXII. Transport Workers	0.5	0.2
III. 4. Teaching.	1.4	XXVI. Persons Employed in Entertainments, etc.	0.5	0.2
XVIII. 7. Drapers, Linen Drapers, Mercers. XIX. 1. Dealers in Dress.	1.3	XIV. Makers of Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco	0.4	0.4
XX. 4. Board, Lodging, and Dealing in Spirituous Drinks: Others.	1.0	XII. Textile Workers	0.4	0.2
13 other categories employing in total:	4.5	15 other categories employing in total:	1.1	0.9
Total Occupied	37.0	Total Occupied	35.7	37.1
Retired or Unoccupied	63.0	XXXII Unoccupied and retired	64.3	62.9

Appendix 5.1 Sampled extracts from Scarborough Petty Session Registers and Photograph Book									
Scarborough Petty Session Registers									
Offence Type	Offence Code	Number of cases							
		Jan-Feb 1922		Jul-Aug 1922		Jan-Feb 1932		Jul-Aug 1932	
		Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB
Total - Offences 'for gain'		13	11	28	10	17	16	10	3
Total - Other offences		34	0	115	1	26	1	36	1
Indecent assault on female under 16	20							1	1
Bigamy	26			1	1				
Burglary	28			4	2				
Housebreaking	29					2	2		

Breaking into shops etc.	30					5	5		
Entering with intent to commit felony	32					3	3		
Robbery with Violence	34			1	0				
Simple Larceny	44	5	4	22	7	2	2	10	3
False Pretences	45	5	5	1	0	4	4		
Receiving stolen goods	49					1	0		
Offences related to Bankruptcy	50	1	1						
Firearms Offence	83			2	0				
Assault on Police	86			3	0			1	0
Dangerous Dog	93			1	0				
Cart Offences	102			1	0				
Obstructing Highway	103	1	0	20	0	1	0	3	0
Motor Offences	105	12	0	20	0	15	1	9	0
Bicycle Offences	106	1	0	1	0				
Drunkenness	110	8	0	6	0	1	0		
Drunk & Disorderly	111			12	0	1	0	4	0
Merchant Shipping Act	134					3	0		
Desertion	135	1	0						
Town & Police Act	143			2	0				
Local Byelaws	146					3	0	1	0
Prevention of Crimes Act	153			1	0				
Prostitution	154	1	0	1	0				
Hackney Carriage offences	161	1	0	21	0				
Possessing stolen trees etc.	166	2	1						
Begging	172			7	0			1	0
Wandering Abroad	173			1	0				
Street Collection	178			5	0				

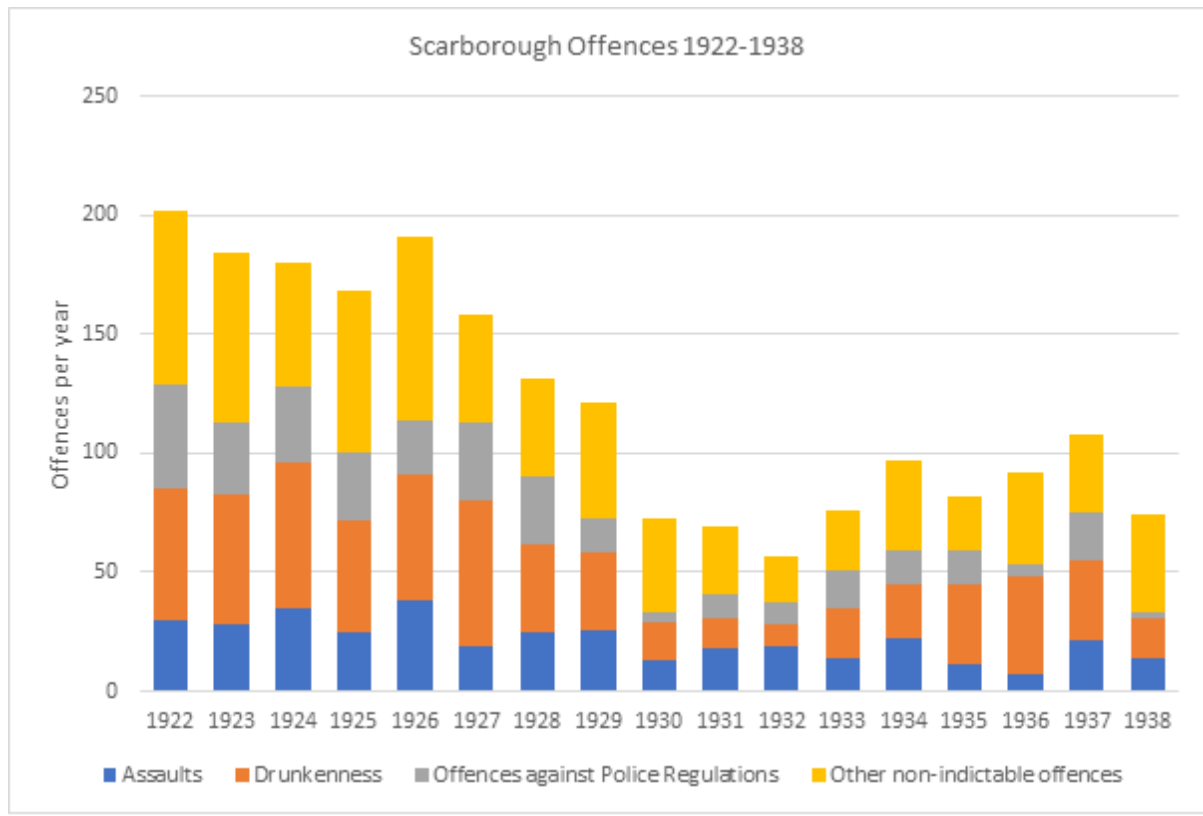
Weights & Measures	179	2	0						
Sleeping Out	173	1	0						
Pretending to tell fortune	178	1	0					4	0
Miscellaneous	181	5	0	8	0	2	0	12	0
Total		47	11	143	10	43	17	46	4
		Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB	Total	In PB
Offences 'for gain'		13	11	28	10	17	16	10	3
Other offences		34	0	115	1	26	1	36	1
		Jan-Feb 1922		Jul-Aug 1922		Jan-Feb 1932		Jul-Aug 1932	

Appendix 5.2 Scarborough – Police Returns – Summary of Offence Types 1922-1938

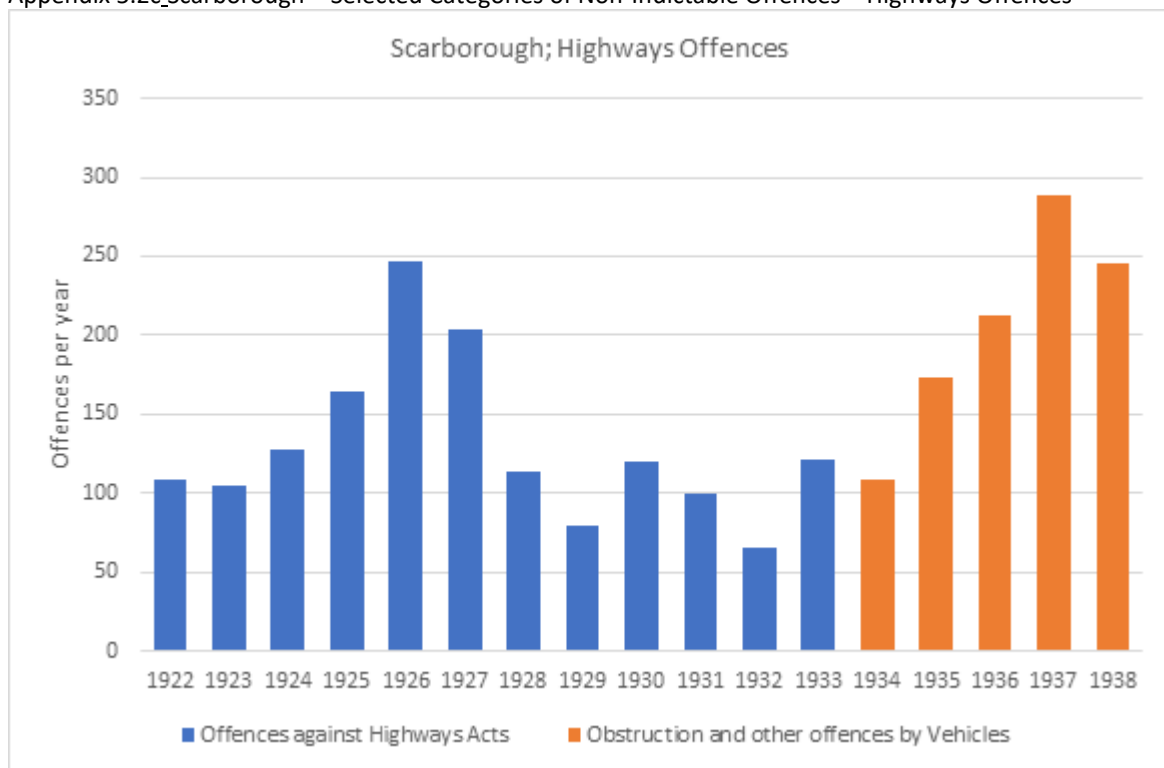


Appendix_5.2a Scarborough: Police Returns: Indictable Offences – Larceny and similar 1922-1938

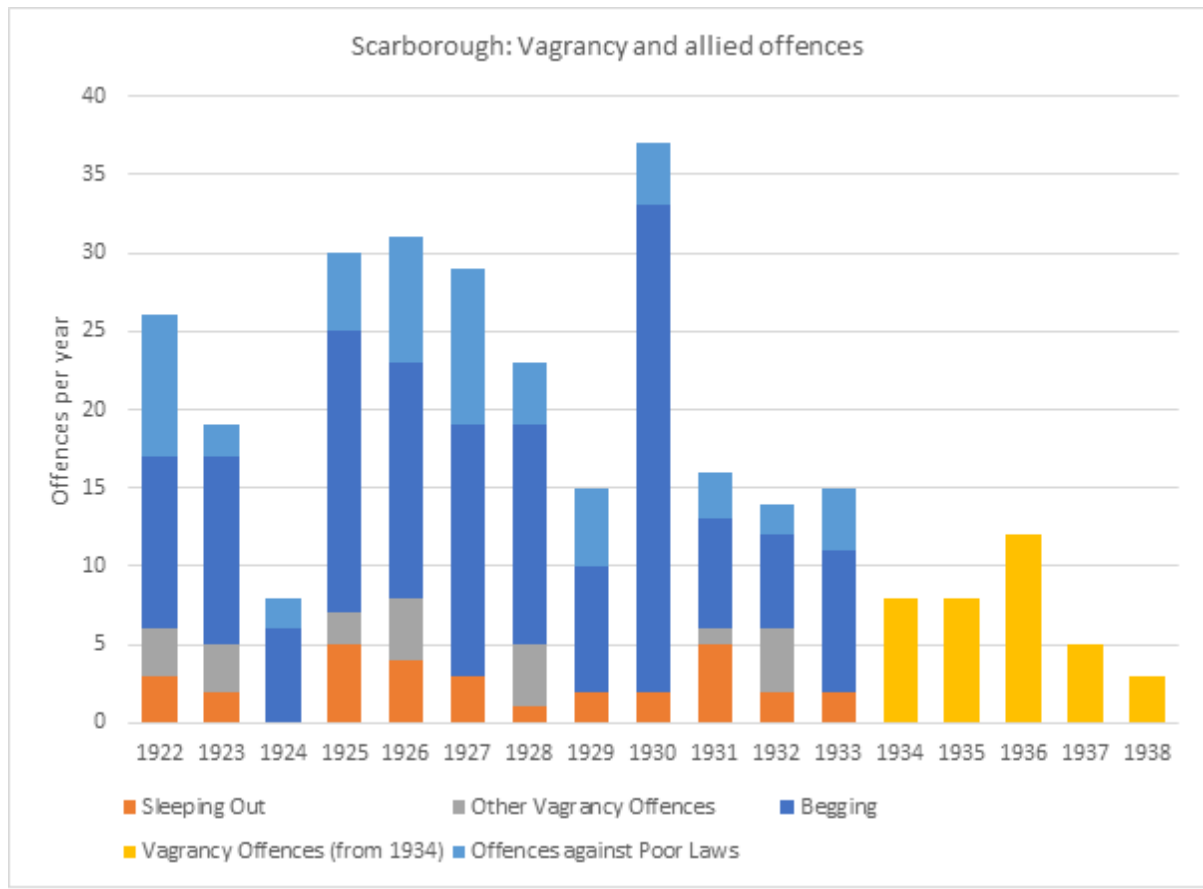
Appendix_5.2b_Scarborough – Selected Categories of Non-Indictable Offences including Assault and Drunkenness



Appendix 5.2c_Scarborough – Selected Categories of Non-Indictable Offences – Highways Offences



Appendix 5.2d_Scarborough – Selected Categories of Non-Indictable Offences – Vagrancy and Allied Offences



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