THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Mariners, the Media, and Middle Class Morality: Criminality in Kingston upon Hull 1846-1886

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Contents.

List of Abbreviations.

Hull- Kingston upon Hull.

Hull Packet or Packet- The Hull Packet and East Riding Times.

SRO/SROs/SRO's- Seafaring Related Occupation/s/'s.

BPP - British Parliamentary Paper.

PP - Parliamentary Paper.

HMSO- His or Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

HC Deb – House of Commons Debate.

List of Tables.

Introduction.

The images of the seaman or 'Jack' ashore and his exploits, have overtime become something of much discussion and speculation.[1] The general portrayal of those in seafaring related occupations (SROs hereafter) as being somehow disproportionally involved in criminal activity has become quite well established, if not necessarily substantiated by detailed analysis. However, during the mid-nineteenth century many changes in areas of criminal justice and the recording of crime meant that statistics regarding offending became available for each borough. At the same time, the rise in the readership of newspapers and a growth in the interest in crime and criminal proceedings led to an increase in the reporting and commentating on criminal activity.[2] During the Victorian period, social reformers and theorists added an investigative and scholarly gloss to the debates on the causes of crime. Fuelled by this interest in crime and the rise of Victorian middle class morality, the newspapers began to stoke the fires indignation and moral panic amongst middle class England with ever increasing and exaggerated stories of the severity and incidence of crime. The issue therefore arises of how those in SROs in Kingston upon Hull, a port which saw most of its economic growth and expansion during the nineteenth century, were viewed or portrayed in

[1] See C. D. Howell & R. J. Twomey, (eds.), *Jack Tar in the history of maritime life and labour* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1991).
[2] J. Rowbotham, & K. Stevenson, (eds.) *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social Panic, and Moral Outrage,* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2005), xxvi.

terms of their criminal activity by the media, and contemporary and modern literature.

In addressing this issue the main historical source materials will be drawn from nineteenth century literature and media, but this evidence will be framed by modern views of criminal activities and behaviour of both the seafaring and general population of Kingston upon Hull , covering subject areas including the port of Hull and its population, the scope and definition of SROs, the development of the Hull Docks, the history of policing and crime in Hull, and the permeable notion of Victorian morality; including views on crime and the media and moral panic.

Context: Nineteenth century Hull

Kingston upon Hull in the mid-nineteenth century was a fishing and commercial port which was undergoing many economic and social changes. Hull saw the majority of its economic growth through the expansion of maritime and related activities during the nineteenth century, with the opening the Humber Dock in 1809, Junction Dock in 1829, then the Railway Dock in 1846. Over the next four decades a total of five more docks would be built to meet the growing demands placed onto the port.[3]

During the nineteenth century the economies of port cities like Hull functioned extensively on temporary manpower, meeting the fluctuations in trade and demand for labour in the docks. This casual system of employment, including low wages, was

[3] See M. Wilcox, 'Dock Development, 1778-1914', in D. J. Starkey et al, (eds.) *Hull: Culture, History Place* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 117-44.

considered essential in maintaining its workforce at a level to meet these demands.[4]

Industry overall in Hull for the period 1841 to 1881 grew dramatically in all sectors, including the fishing industry,[5] but most dramatically between 1861 and 1881, with most sectors having doubled in the number of people employed in them.[6] This dramatic increase during the forty-year period, which coincided with the development of Hull's docks, meant that by 1871 one third of Hull's labour force was tied to waterfront commerce and associated dependent industries.[7]

The prosperity of Hull during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century saw the population grow between 1841 and 1891 from 54,434 to 198,892;[8] including an influx of transient migrant workers.[9] Many of these foreign workers linked to seafaring were from the Baltic and Northern European states, but some migrant workers were from such places as Ireland,

[4] D. Ward, 'Environs and neighbours in the "Two Nations": residential differentiation in mid-nineteenth-century Leeds', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6, (1980) 133-62.
[5] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Kingston upon Hull UA/City through time | Industry Statistics | Simplified Industrial Structure (2011), *A Vision of Britain through Time.* Available online: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10168387/cube/IND_SECTOR_GEN [Accessed 16/07/2018].
[6]GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Kingston upon Hull UA/City through time | Industry Statistics | Total employed in all industries (2011), *A Vision of Britain through Time.* Available online: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10168387/cube/INDUSTRY_TOT [Accessed 16/07/2018].
[7] J. M. Bellamy, 'Occupations in Kingston upon Hull 1841 – 1948', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, 4, (1952) 33-50:38.
[8] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Kingston upon Hull UA/City through time | Population Statistics | Total Population (2011), *A Vision of Britain through Time.* Available online: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10168387/cube/TOT_POP [Accessed 16/07/2018].
[9] See Nicholas J. Evans, 'The Making of a Mosaic: Migration and the Port city of Kingston upon Hull', in Starkey et al, (eds.), *Hull: Culture, History Place* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 145-78.

seeking the higher wages on offer in the factories, cotton mills and dockyards of Hull.[10]

Hull police force was established in 1836, under the Municipal Corporation Act 1835,[11] which required every borough to appoint a Watch Committee to maintain a police force. The County Police Act 1839,[12] enabled Justices of the Peace in Hull to establish a police force, although this was not compulsory until the County and Borough Police Act 1856.[13] The Police Court in Hull was the most common place for the majority of cases to be heard, by local Magistrates. Prior to 1844 the Dock Company had its own constables and watchmen who protected their property. After this, the borough police took on the responsibility. The vast majority of criminal activity in Hull was either theft or violence, involving a broad cross-section of the population. The offences which specifically involved those from SROs, more specifically those who went to sea, involved smuggling and absconding by apprentices.

As Hull began to grow during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century the middle class began to move away from the areas surrounding the docks, towards the country, to avoid the overflow of workers. This represented part of a moral shift by middle class society in general, which began to identify an element within the working class which it termed as

[10] A. Avery, *The Story of Hull* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2008), 37.
[11] *Municipal Corporations Act 1835*. 5 & 6 William IV, Chapter 76 (London: HMSO).
[12] *County Police Act 1839*. 2 & 3 Victoria, Chapter 93 (London: HMSO).
[13] *County and Borough Police Act 1856*. 19 & 20 Victoria, Chapter 69 (London: HMSO).

'dangerous', engaging in deviant, criminal and immoral behaviour, which ran counter to 'respectable' views on how society should behave. [14]

The media and literature at the time both locally and nationally were engaged in feeding the demand for sex, violence, crime and 'thrilling events', which Berridge claimed accounted for nearly half of the coverage in some newspapers.[15] This 'new journalism' which appeared around 1855, also helped fuel the rise in social and moral panic through its over exaggeration of offence and use of sensationalising language. The media fuelled this public concern through reporting disapproval and moral outrage by respectable society, attempting to influence changes to the law.

A notion existed within Victorian society that certain groups were dangerous, posing a threat to what was considered to be 'normal' within society. However, many of these groups were actually just normal working members of society who were simply being marginalised. One such group who were portrayed in such a way, were those involved in occupations related to the sea and its associated industries, who have rightly or wrongly over the centuries been portrayed as engaging in varying aspects of criminal activity. However, as such, nothing exists which explores these criminal activities set against the changing context of nineteenth century Kingston upon Hull. This research aims to identify the range of criminal activities entered into during the nineteenth century by seafarers within

[14] C. L. Brace. *The dangerous classes of New York, and twenty years' work among them*. [eBook] (New York: Wynkoop,1872).
[15] V. Berridge quoted in R. Sindall, Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century (Leicester: Leicester University Press,1990), 31.

Hull, identifying the four main offences which were committed during the period and examining the relationships between SRO offending and the general male population of Hull. Males have been singled out specifically as they overwhelmingly constituted those in occupations related to seafaring.

Although scholarly literature on Victorian crime and policing is vast, and the data available extensive, on both crime and occupation, the opportunities for analysis are promising, although it should to pointed out that little if any research has been conducted on criminal activities among SROs in Hull.

Dissertation structure

The dissertation in structured into four chapters. The first chapter will focus on the history of crime history and criminology, exploring their background and relevance. Next a general outline of the research will be given. The Second chapter considers the history of the Port of Hull and its population, along with its growth and expansion over the mid-to -late-nineteenth century. This chapter will also incorporate some comments on policing and crime in Hull, along with Victorian criminality more generally. Chapter three will look at offending in Hull specifically in terms of absconding by fishing apprentices and smuggling by seafarers as significant examples of offending by those in SROs. In Chapter four, theft and assault will be assessed in terms of offending by the general male population of Hull and those in SROs, as a comparison. Finally, we will discuss the historical context of offending in Hull by SROs, and how this

was viewed or portrayed by the media, and contemporary and modern literature.

Chapter 1: Crime History and Criminology.

Crime history and criminology have until very recently been two distinct disciplines. Convergence of the two has been limited as their approaches are considered to be completely different. The joint use of crime history and criminology did not really begin to come into use until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Up until this point most historians did not see any value in the use of criminological theory, as it did not cover the subject areas with which they were mainly concerned, such as cultural, social and economic change. Likewise, criminology was more concerned with the construction of norms.[16] However, some overlap did exist from time to time and research from the disciplines of sociology and history did borrow from each other.[17] The idea of crime history is to utilise historical data in a way which explores, challenges and examines the past, rather than supporting modern research. This in essence would mean that works from both history and criminology which had not previously been considered as relevant, could be employed on an equal footing. Notwithstanding this, crime history and criminology itself is a distinct area of study that can be said to stand alone from criminological research.

Having briefly considered the origins of crime history and criminology it is necessary to decide how it would be best employed in

[16] D. Hay. 'Crime and justice in eighteenth and nineteenth century England', *Crime and Justice* 2 (1980), 45-84:45.
[17] See P. Lawrence, 'History criminology and the use of the past'. *Theoretical Criminology,* 16,3 (2012), 313-328.

order to further the present research. In *History and Crime,* Godfrey et al point out that previous historians of crime have,

> 'attempted to understand the process and interactions between how people perceived crime and its impact at particular moments in history; how it was represented in sources of information (such as newspapers, pamphlets, and popular songs); how the authorities reacted; and what changed over time.'[18]

This would appear to encompass some of the subject areas which we wish to address. If we were to split these into two sections, the first being to 'understand the process and interactions between how people perceived crime and its impact at particular moments in history', then we can view this, for the purposes of the research, as encompassing Victorian morality, including views on crime and moral panic. Secondly, in terms of 'how crime was represented in sources of information such as newspapers, how the authorities reacted, and what changed over time', this may encompass how the media reported on SROs, the presentation of statistics, responses to crime, and changes to the law.

If we take this premise as a starting point for the research, as previous historians have chosen to do so, then this may give some insight when examining the subject of the criminal activities of those engaged in SROs within the context of nineteenth century Hull, between the period

[18] B. S. Godfrey et al, *History & Crime* (London: SAGE, 2008), 16.

1846 to 1886, allowing us to examine and explore patterns of offending, their historical context, and their portrayal.

Research outline and methods

Studies using the local newspapers of Hull have been conducted before by such people as Steinberg.[19] In his work on *Law, Labour and the Industrial Revolution,* Steinberg examines Hull during the mid-nineteenth century, focusing on the fishing trade and master and servant relationships; specifically fishing apprentices and the criminal justice system. Steinberg's data combines both the *Hull and Eastern Counties Herald* reports and local police court minute books for Hull, in compiling data for the period 1864 to 1875, in order to examine master and servant prosecutions; although some of the records are only partial. The data gathered was on the prosecution of fishing apprentices by trawler owners, the outcomes, and length of sentence.[20] The highest prosecutor of apprentices according to Steinberg was not a trawler owner, but a basket maker.[21] A study over a longer period would have allowed for this peak in the prosecutions by a non-SRO. This research examined the situation of absconding apprentices over an extended period, smoothing out sudden peaks in prosecutions such as non-SRO apprentices, as well as considering the social and legislative changes which occurred. Although the time period of both studies included such changes as those made to

[19] M. W. Steinberg. *England's Great Transformation: Law Labour, and the Industrial Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 79-103.
[20] *ibid.*
[21] Steinberg, *England's Great Transformation*, 90.

the Mater and Servant Act in 1867,[22] the data for the period does not consider the impact that both the Payment of Wages Act 1880,[23] or the Report of The Sea Trade Fishing Committee into the treatment of apprentices in 1880,[24] had on the number of cases brought before the police court.

For the purposes of this research, the method chosen in order to identify the offending behaviour and offending groups of those in SROs is empirical in nature, that is to say it examines offences and offending by occupational group at certain points over a given period of time, using set criteria. In order to achieve a reasonable sample from the selected newspapers, it was necessary to utilise an online digital newspaper database which could search using self-selected parameters, in this case the commercial product *The British Library Newspapers* Series.[25] The local newspaper chosen for the period of time studied, January 1846 to February 1886, was the *Hull Packet and East Riding Mail*, as it contained the most complete set of issues for the duration of the study.

Searching digitised newspapers to obtain the required information is not as simple as it seems. The issue which arises when attempting to extrapolate the appropriate occupational and offence-based data is dependent upon the terminology that was used at the time to describe

[22] *Master and Servant Act 1867*. 30 &31 Victoria, Chapter 141 (London: HMSO).
[23] *Merchant Seamen (Payment of Wages And Rating) Act 1880*. 43 & 44 Victoria, Chapter 16. (London: HMSO).
[24] BPP 1882 XVII, Sea Fishing Trade Committee Minutes. Report of a Committee Appointed Under A Minute Of The Board Of Trade. (London: HMSO), x, qq32-26.
[25] *British Library Newspapers* Series. Available online: https://www.gale.com/intl/c/british-library-newspapers-part-i

both occupation and the offence committed. When searching the newspaper data base, the lists created were iterative.

Using an online database allowed for larger number of descriptors to be used when searching by occupation, (see appendix 1) for example, a fishing apprentice can also be described as a 'fisherlad, fisher-lad, or fisher lad, or fisherboy, fisher-boy or fisher boy'. Likewise, when searching by offences, theft is more likely to be described as 'stealing', or simply 'goods were missing'.

During the search the data gathered related to the types of offence committed, the occupation of the offender, and the location or place where the offence occurred. Combining occupational search terms with such words as the court which may be dealing with the case, for example 'Hull Police Court', to create a search term such as 'fisherman or fishermen and hull police court', would actually look for any individual who was reported as appearing in the petty sessions at Hull Police Court, whose occupation was fishing.

Searching by offence is a much more straightforward affair, although some terminology may be slightly different such as 'uttering coin' to describe passing fake money, to the use of polite terms as 'improper manner' to describe offences of a sexual nature. A list of offences which reflected those of the period was constructed for use in the research (see appendix 2). As with occupational descriptors, combing offence search terms with such words as the court which may be dealing with the case,

would actually look for offences reported as being dealt with in the petty sessions at Hull Police Court.

Digitised newspapers are an extremely valuable source of information, not only containing accounts of a subjective or qualitative nature but providing evidence from which to derive quantitative data for crime over an extended period. For the purposes of this study the initial newspaper search focused on all SROs, with the most common offences, occupations and places being identified. A further search of the four most common offences across the date range allows us to examine criminal activities among SRO's to the general population of Hull. Using the most common examples of offence allows us to identify any similarities and differences in patterns of offending. The first two offences, stealing and violence, are clearly better suited to this comparative analysis than the more occupational specific offence of smuggling and absconding by fishing apprentices. Employing broad search terms across the date period yielded an outline picture of the main occupational groups and most common offences which were taking place in Hull during the period.

Research integrity

In terms of research Integrity, the aim of the research was to utilse my subject knowledge of postgraduate criminology in order to explore the context of nineteenth century Hull and offending among seafarers. The approach was one of crime history and criminology in nature. The methods employed include the use of both quantitative and qualitative data obtained from primary source materials of the period, including

newspapers and literature. The reason for this was to extrapolate statistical and written data relating to criminality. Clarifying how the appropriate range of data was selected was important in establishing why certain data was included and other data was not, that is to say rhetoric verses fact, or who is controlling the discourse with regard to secondary literature and newspaper sources. The practical applications of the research mean that comparisons can be made between existing statistical data on crime for the period, which may be useful for research purpose in the future by others interested in both crime history and criminology. The seeking of permissions to reproduce third party materials from archival and secondary sources, including that which was online, is necessary in order to comply with statutory legislation. My research is of a low impact, due to the time period chosen. Confidentiality issues don't exist relating to my primary source data, as they are already in public domain, the data is over one hundred years old, therefore, legal restrictions do not exist.

Nineteenth-century literature

Literature published during the period allows us to see how those in SROs and the general populas was viewed or portrayed, in terms of their criminal activity, as well as allowing us to develop an understanding of the historical context of Hull during the period.

One of the more comprehensive publications covering the period up to 1864, is the '*General and concise history and description of the town*

and port of Kingston-upon-Hull' .[26] In it, Sheahan attempts to produce a concise work on the town and port of Hull, examining its history from the point of view of a chronicler, presenting only the facts and 'dry details' surrounding its origins and the position of the town and its public institutions, in the mid-nineteenth century. Sheahan does devote a chapter to the port, giving detailed dimensions of each dock during the period, the Dock company, and the general trade that was occurring. The origins of some streets are mentioned, with some descriptions as to their previous or current functions. The history of Hull newspapers is covered, and ownership and editors are named along with some reference to political leanings. Sheahan describes the *Hull Packet* as 'the only conservative and church paper between Hull and York'.[27] The paper went through many owner's, editors and variant titles including *the Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, and *Hull and East Riding Times*. In 1842 the paper was bought by a Mr Freebody, 'for the leading conservative gentlemen of Hull and its vicinity'.[28] The first editor appointed, Mr Ramsey, who was known as a 'high churchman', resigned as his beliefs ran counter to the paper's owners. The replacement editor was the paper's sub-editor Mr Hubbard, who was superseded by a Mr Wallis the chief reporter around 1847, who along with his brother purchased the paper in 1850, publishing it every Friday. Most of the industries operating at the time are covered along with principal shops and inns, and other businesses including ship

[26] J. J. Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull.* (Los Angeles, CA: Hardpress Publishing, 2012).
[27] Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull* ,34.
[28] Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull,* 34-5.

building. Although Sheahan does state that he only wishes to give a factual account of the details and not opinion, it would seem odd then, that references are made to Leadenhall-square as, ' that sink of iniquity' and that, 'several other narrow filthy Lanes in the old town, were, half a century ago, inhabited by very respectable people', [29] claiming past inhabitants had contributed greatly to the cases heard in the police court.

In terms of reports produced by government commissions and parliamentary papers, Edwin Chadwick's Royal Commission Report on the Rural Constabulary 1839,[30] has an obvious bearing on this project. In it he cited two main reasons for crime as 'indolence or the pursuit of easy excitement',[31] and the, 'temptation of the profit of a career of depredation, as compared with the profits of honest and even well-paid industry'.[32] Chadwick appears to be saying that they chose to commit crime because of the perceived benefits to them.

Parliamentary papers such as Hansard and reports of Select Committees, give a clear and personal viewpoint of the beliefs of politicians at the time. For example, the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis 1834,[33] refers to areas of criminal activity which were under their constant scrutiny. Reports like this give some insight into issues that

[29] Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull* ,323.
[30] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Best Means of Establishing an Efficient Constabulary Force in the Counties of England and Wales*, (London: W. Clowes & Sons for HMSO, 1839). Available online: https://archive.org/details/firstreportcomm00walegoog [accessed 16/07/18].
[31] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners*, 64.
[32] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners*, 128.
[33] PP. 1834 (600) XVI, Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis, (London: HMSO) q.166.

the police were having to deal with at the time, these include prostitution, deviant and delinquent behaviour and trends in crime.

Works of a more or less 'scientific' character were beginning to appear relating to the causes and consequences of crime. During the 1840's, in a penny dreadful, *the Mysteries of London*, well known Chartist G.W.M. Reynolds published a fictionalised portrayal of the poor in London depicting them as a 'dangerous class', a term which originates from the title of American social reformer Charles Loring Brace's work *The Dangerous Classes of New York,*[34] referring to predatory criminals, vagrants and prostitutes that emerged in the late nineteenth century from the poor and underclass of America.

The influence of such publications upon the middle class lead in part to the belief that the lower classes were of an inferior physical character and appearance. [35] Henry Mayhew in his four-volume fictionalised work, on the '*London Poor',*[36] chronicled in great detail the world of the criminal underclass in London. Also, Samuel Bracebridge Hemming, a Victorian writer of 'Penny Blood and Penny Dreadful' fiction, who wrote under the name of Bracebridge Hemyng, had initially researched on prostitution in the *London Poor* for Henry Mayhew*,* [37] entitled *Prostitution in London,* looking at *Sailors Women* in the Whitechapel area of London. [38] Hemyng accompanied a private

[34] Brace, *The dangerous classes of New York.*
[35] M. Anglo, *Penny Dreadful and other Victorian Horrors*, (London Jupiter, 1977), 80-81.
[36] H. Mayhew, *London labour and the London Poor, Volume 4* [eBook] (London: Griffin, Bohn & Company, 1862).
[37]B. Hemyng, 'Prostitution' in H. Mayhew (ed.), *London labour and the London Poor, Volume 4* [eBook] (London: Griffin, Bohn & Company, 1862), 210-272.
[38] Hemyng, 'Prostitution', 226-233.

policeman through the areas of Ratcliffe Highway and Bluegate Fields, frequented by prostitutes and sailors. Later in the century, Morrison's C*rime And Its Causes* was published in which it was argued that the problem of crime was not one of class, but rather one of degeneracy and disease, in which a diseased and degenerate population produced a, 'plentiful crop of criminals'.[39]

Modern literature

Previous research has examined such areas as local judiciary and government in the region, for example, Balchin,[40] looked at local and national governance during the nineteenth century and how it was experiencing a transition in terms of its administration and its objectives as it moved slowly towards centralisation. Local policing reform was examined by Welsh,[41] who more specifically researched the reform of urban policing in Kingston upon Hull from 1836 to 1866. Works carried out by Rawlings examining the court systems and punishment in terms of reform,[42] and crime and power,[43] offer us an insight into the changing world of criminal justice in the nineteenth century.

[39] W. D. Morrison, *Crime and its Causes*, [eBook] (London: Swan Sonnenshein, 1891), vii.
[40] A.T. Balchin, *The justice of the peace and county government in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1782-1836*. PhD thesis. (The University of Hull, September 1990).
[41] D. R. Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England: A study of Kingston Upon Hull from 1836 to 1866*. PhD thesis. (The University of Hull, January 1997).
[42] P. Rawlings, *The reform of punishment* and *the criminal justice system in* England and *Wales from the late seventeenth* century *to the early nineteenth century.* PhD thesis (The University of Hull, September 1988).
[43] P. Rawlings, *Crime and Power: a history of criminal justice 1688-1988* (London: Longman, 1999).

In terms of seafarers and seafaring in the nineteenth century, Gorski's article on *Seafarers, Seafaring, and Occupational Identity* between 1815 and 1914,[44] looks at past perceptions of maritime workers and how they were understood by society, their characteristics and how these were fashioned. More specific work relating to fishing apprentices in the mid and late nineteenth century has been carried out by Wilcox,[45] whose study on apprentice labour in the fishing industry between 1850 and 1914 examines the practice as a form of control, comparing the fishing and merchant shipping industry. Wilcox sees that apprentice labour was the main way in which the labour force was 'accumulated and controlled'. Similarly, the work of Rule on *The Smacksmen of the North Sea*,[46] examines the apprenticeship system, as does *Codbangers* by Benham,[47] which examines some of the issues from an oral perspective. The only work that examines apprenticeships in its entirety is that of *Sea Fishing Apprentices of Grimsby*, by Boswell,[48] which takes a quantitative approach to the issues of apprentices between 1879 and 1936. Only Burton's work on the decline of the apprenticeship system in the late nineteenth century in some way addresses the lack of study in the area of the apprenticeship systems and maritime labour.[49]

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[44] R. Gorski, *Seafarers, Seafaring and Occupational Identity: 'Jack Tar' and its Contemporary Uses in Britain c.1815-1914.* (The University of Hull,1990). Available online: https://Hull-repository.worktribe.com/OutputFile/439748 [Accessed 21/08/2018].
[45] M. H. Wilcox, *Apprenticed Labour in the English Fishing Industry, 1850-1914*. PhD. thesis. (The University of Hull, September 2005).
[46] J. Rule, 'The Smacksmen of the North Sea: Labour Recruitment and Exploitation in British Deep Sea Fishing', *International Review of Social History*, 21, 3 (1976) 383-411.
[47] H. Benham, *The Codbangers* (Colchester: Essex Count Newspapers ltd. 1979).
[48] D. Boswell, *Sea Fishing Apprentices of Grimsby* (Grimsby: Grimsby Public Libraries,1974).
[49] V.C. Burton, 'Apprenticeship Regulation and Maritime Labour in the Nineteenth Century British Merchant Marine,' *International Journal of Maritime History* 1, 1 (1989) 28-49.

In terms of occupations more generally, Bellamy's work attempted to examine the change in the employment structure in Hull for the period 1841 to 1931, by grouping trades in 23 Orders using Census definitions where possible.[50]

Using data collected from newspapers is an area looked at by Bates, [51] who examines the use of historical research using British newspapers. Steinberg,[52] superficially utilises the local Hull newspapers of the nineteenth century to examine the relationship between master and servant in the Hull fishing trade. Works examining crime and society in the nineteenth century, by such people as Emsley,[53] and by Rude,[54] consider the period in terms of both victim and offender, along with Godfrey et al,[55] who explore aspects of, C*riminal Lives: Family, Employment and Offending;* as well as his collaborations with others on history and crime.*[56]* Nineteenth century policing and its context, have been examined by Emsley,[57] along with Taylor,[58] who examines *Crime, Conflict and Control.*

[50] Bellamy, 'Occupations in Kingston upon Hull', 33-50.
[51] D. Bates, *Historical Research Using British Newspapers*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2016).
[52] Steinberg, *England's Great Transformation*,79-103.
[53] C. Emsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750 –1900,* 4th edition (Harlow: Longman, 2010).
[54] G. F. E. Rude, *Criminal and Victim: crime and society in early nineteenth century England*. (Oxford.: Clarendon Press,1985).
[55] B. Godfrey et al, *Criminal Lives: Family, Employment and Offending.* Clarendon Series in Criminology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[56] B. S. Godfrey et al, *Comparative histories of crime* (*Cullompton: Willan, 2003) ; also* B. S. Godfrey et al, *History & Crime* (London: SAGE, 2008).
[57] C. Emsley, *Policing and its context: Themes in comparative history 1750-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983).
[58] D. Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth-Century England: Crime, Conflict and Control: New Frontiers in History.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1997).

More specific research has been carried out by Welsh,[59] who examines the reform of urban policing in Kingston upon Hull from 1836 to 1866.

Rawling's work on the court system and punishment in terms of reform, [60] and crime and power,[61] offer us an insight into the changing world of criminal justice in the nineteenth century; alongside Johnston,[62] who offers us the experience of the individual in the criminal justice system.

The use of statistics and data are important and make up the basis for this research. Such areas as local occupational data,[63] and information on the local economy,[64] provided by Bellamy, are essential as comparators. Although much data and information are available, Walliss,[65] raises issues about both the reliability and validity of official statistics. The use of more quantitative methods for the study of social data is addressed by Wrigley.[66]

How the local government and administrative structures worked in an attempt to change the people of Hull's lives is considered by Welsh,[67] proposing that the middle class of Hull were worried by the threat posed from the working class, and adopted a series of structural, administrative

[59] Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England*.
[60] Rawlings, *The reform of punishment*.
[61] Rawlings, *Crime and Power:*
[62] H. Johnston, *Crime in England 1815-1880:* Experiencing the Criminal Justice System (London. Routledge, 2015).
[63] Bellamy, 'Occupations in Kingston upon Hull', 33-50.
[64] J. M. Bellamy, The trade and shipping of nineteenth-century Hull.. *East Yorkshire Local History Society Series.* Issue 27 (1971). East Yorkshire Local History Society.
[65] J. Walliss, Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics? Nineteenth Century Crime Statistics for England and Wales as a Historical Source. *History Compass*. 10, 8 (2012) 574-583.
[66] E. A. Wrigley, (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1972).
[67] Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England*.

and personnel reforms, in order to exercise control and authority over them.

In *The Decline of Theft and Violence,* Gatrell argues that between the mid-to-late-nineteenth century statistics showed the offending rates for theft and violence had fallen by almost half.[68] These statistics however only show the crimes that had been processed through the criminal justice system and not the actual amount of crime occurring. These national statistics only give an indication of the overall trends in crime and do not in many respects represent the behaviour of groups or occupations, which may vary dramatically according to locality and therefore would be better examined from a study of local statistical and historical source materials. This would in many respects give a better picture of the specific criminal behaviour relating to areas which are identified has having a specific historical identity or economic community, such as a port.

In *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth Century England,* [69] J. Carter Wood offers a mixture of theory and empirical analysis, examining nineteenth century violence in relation to middle class civilising and customary attitudes toward violence. Wood appears to believe that between 1820 and 1870 the middle classes redefined violence, focusing on violence as a social problem which required controlling. The premise of Wood's work is that the middle classes projected themselves as being of a more refined and civilising mentality, and the working classes as having

[68] V.A.C. Gatrell 'The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England' in V.A.C Gatrell, B. Lenman & G. Parker (eds.) *Crime and the law: the social history of crime in Europe since 1500*, (London: Europa Publications, 1980), 238-370.
[69] J. Carter Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth-Century England: the shadow of our refinement* (London: Routledge, 2004).

a customary violent mentality. The process according to Wood involves the middle class civilising ethos having an effect upon working class mentality, resulting in a culture of respectability, which leaves only a minority of the working class to engage in a culture of customary violence.

With regard to violence, in *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century,*[70] Sindall highlights the influence of the newspapers of the period in creating panic over such incidents as the garrotting panic, in order to increase crime control. Sindall concluded that it was Infact those in authority who were responsible for creating moral panic. Furthermore, perceptions that the media created were just as real as the violence that they reported on. Sindall also seems to put forward the argument that the use of criminal statistics was a mechanism for the shaping of public opinions about crime.

In *Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century*,[71] Tobias is mainly interested in the professional class of criminal during the period, examining criminal and judicial statistics. Tobias believes that the statistics tell us very little about crime and criminals in the nineteenth century. For Tobias, the majority of crime was committed for profit, by a class drawn from urban children, who lived a different lifestyle from the working class of the period.

[70] R. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990).
[71] J. J Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century* (Oxford: Holden Press, 1967).

King's work, [72] *Crime, Justice and Discretion in England,* examines the prosecution of property theft through the use of empirical study, looking at eighteenth century social order and the role of criminal law. King suggests that the law was not just a tool used by the propertied class to oppress others, suggesting that the working class were just as likely, if not more so, to be a victim of crime, especially in relation to violence.

Much work into the study of prostitution has been carried out over the years. Walkowitz's study of *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, [73] explores the relationship between the Contagious Diseases Acts and class and gender in the mid-nineteenth century. In terms of morality during the nineteenth century, Stubley's work on the development of Evangelical religion in Hull, looks at the religions' campaign to supress prostitution in Hull.[74]

The press and panic

The Victorians believed that the press played a vital role in the identification and punishment of those who broke the law. This usually took the form of reports in local newspapers of the daily appearances of transgressors, more than often these would be the summary cases which were heard before the magistrates at the local Police Courts. The role of the newspaper was not just to inform on local criminal activity, but also to seek to place offending in the context of the nation overall, as well as to

[72] P. King, Crime, *Justice and Discretion in England 1740-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[73] J. R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
[74] P. Stubley, *Serious religion and the improvement of public manners: the scope and limitations of Evangelism in Hull 1770-1914*. PhD Thesis (Durham University, 1991)

warn the rest of 'respectable society' of the outcomes of any transgressions.[75]

The increase in circulation of newspapers by the mid-nineteenth century was due to a number of factors, such as the removal of advertisement tax and stamp duty in 1853 and 1855 respectively; also as Larsen points out technological improvements in hourly production rates of printing presses between 1827 and 1870;[76] a fall in the price of printing paper along with the duty to be paid on it, by 1860; and distribution by railway to bookstalls. The result of this was a huge increase in the sales of newspapers during the mid-nineteenth century, as they became more commercially viable.[77] The demand for crime news was ever growing during the nineteenth century. Lower courts sat on a daily basis, with the public being involved in both the roles of witness and spectator in the proceedings. Rowbotham & Stevenson believe that it was this that helped fuel the demand for 'crime news'; along with the fact that literacy levels were rising.[78]

By 1855 a new form of reporting had emerged, 'new journalism', with a focus on topic areas such as crime, including sex and violence. In fact, Berridge points out that the amount of coverage given to subjects such as crime, and other 'thrilling events', amounted to nearly half of the coverage in some newspapers.[79] The adjectives which were used to

[75] Rowbotham & Stevenson, *Criminal Conversations*, xxiii-xxiv.
[76] E. Larsen quoted in R. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), 30.
[77] Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 30.
[78] Rowbotham & Stevenson, *Criminal Conversations*, xxvi.
[79] Berridge, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 31.

describe offences were in many ways moderated by the rules of Victorian society. The terms ‘horrible’, ‘outrage’ or ‘fearful’ were often used to as replacements to describe offences which were considered delicate, such as rape, or to increase the seriousness of more minor offences. This was done in order to familiarise the reader with the possible content of the news story before they had read it.[80] The amount of crime which was reported was probably more worrying to the public than the actual crimes themselves. Thus, the aggregate of petty crime therefore had a bigger impact upon the public than much more serious offences. The use of some of this language in newspapers at times was more or less ‘Dickensian’ in its nature, describing individuals as ‘dangerous’ or public houses as containing, prostitutes, thieves, or receivers of stolen goods.

Social panic as such does not necessarily mean that laws have been broken, it simply has to have an impact upon another group within society. The outcomes of such behaviour by individuals can reach epidemic proportions resulting in the disapproval of the whole of society, a ‘moral outrage’, that is considered to have an impact upon the rest of society. The resultant of such an episode is described by Stanley Cohen as a ‘Moral Panic’.[81] In the case of the Victorian media this took the form of publicising moral outrage at the crimes committed, while at the same time putting forward solutions to deal with such behaviour.

[80] Rowbotham & Stevenson, *Criminal Conversations*, xxvi.
[81] S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 2002), 1.

A notion existed that most criminals were set apart from what was considered to be normal within Victorian society. The problem with this notion was that most of the people who appeared in newspaper reports were in fact just ordinary members of Victorian society. Even more disturbing for Victorian society was the realisation that it was greed and self-indulgence, rather than poverty, which was driving this behaviour.[82] Despite this, the Victorian legal system aided by the newspapers was partly responsible for the way in which justice was dispensed. Although it was aware of what was happening and the impact it was having, it never the less continued to propagate the situation, ensuring its continuation. In terms of moral panic and morality, Stanley Cohen's *Folk Devil's and Moral Panics,* [83] examines the mods and rockers phenomenon of the 1960's, but is considered to be a useful tool in analysing other instances of historical street violence. Cohen focuses on the relationship between the police, the courts and the press. From an historical perspective the model is a useful tool for examining public fears created by social elites in order to control another social group by demonising it.

Cohens model of moral panic,[84] basically consists of five stages:

1. Something, someone or a group, are perceived as constituting a threat to the social norms of the rest of the community;

[82] Rowbotham & Stevenson, *Criminal Conversations*, xxx.
[83] Cohen*, Folk Devils and Moral Panics*.
[84] Cohen*, Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 160-161.

2. The media (newspapers) and the rest of the community then depict the threat in a simple but symbolic way that is recognisable by the general public;

3. The media portrayal of this symbol or representation then rouses public concern;

4. Authorities and policy makers then respond with new laws or policies whether the threat is real or just perceived;

5. The moral panic raised by the issue, results in social changes within the community.

The so called dangerous class constructed by the middle class Victorians was perceived as a threat. This perceived threat of physical danger or the overthrow of the respectable middle class society can be seen in its concerns over the criminal activity that it perceived centred around all working class individuals and the places which they inhabited. The Victorians in many ways began to build an image of the immorality of the working class, wishing to distance themselves from both it and them. The newspapers were only too happy to inform the respectable classes about criminal activities, making a regular feature of it in both the local and national press. As the middle class began to move out of the more overpopulated urban areas the only way that they could receive information as to the activities of the lower classes was through the news media. On the other hand, rural society was different, as It had been based around landowners, who were aware of the activities of the labouring class. But, urbanisation resulted in the workforce moving into

the cities, while the wealthy moved out towards the rural areas, in order to avoid the poor. The information that these outwardly moving Victorians were receiving was now based more or less around newspapers and the conversation and commentary that they stimulated.[85]

The resulting sensitisation provided increased awareness of deviant behaviour, including such incidents appearing in the *Hull Packet*,[86] regarding the behaviour of young men and boys at the Hull Fair in 1881. Any incident involving unwanted physical contact would be classified as an attack or assault, and this then led to an overestimation of deviant behaviour. For example, the number and behaviour of striking seafarers would be overstated,[87] perhaps involving trouble causers and intimidation from strikers. Such a case involving a worker in a timber yard owned by Messrs Barkworth & Spalding was reported in the *Packet* as the man being attacked by a crowd of between 200 and 300 persons, pelted with mud and stones, had deal thrown at him, was knocked down to the ground several times, and had his clothes torn.[88]

The newspapers began to distort and exaggerate their reporting of incidents, as Cohen points out.[89] The use of pluralising, that is to say one 'person' was involved, becomes 'people' were involved; or even printing the same story twice to appear that two incidents have occurred. Also, the

[85] Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 34.
[86] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'Ruffianly Conduct On The Hull Fairground', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 14 October 1881,8.
[87] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'The Sailors Strike: Serious Disturbances', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 14 February 1851, 4.
[88] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'The Strike In The Timber Trade', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times,* 11 November 1853, 6.
[89] Cohen*, Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 26-34.

use of key words is developed in order to make the reader make assumptions about a particular group, occupation, or location and was termed as 'symbolization' by Cohen.[90]

The *Hull Packet* uses words when relating to incidents involving violence in order to raise the awareness of the reader as to the perceived severity of the amount and levels of violence occurring. Words associated with violence are usually over emphasised, such examples of these can be seen in the use of descriptive words such as 'struck violently', or 'beaten', or by stating that several blows were struck.[91] Another common term that was utilised was 'threw him or her to the ground'.[92] This overexaggerating of incidents of violence would suggest that reporting by the media in the *Hull Packet* in many ways conforms with the notion of building a picture of the seriousness and level of an assault.

For Cohen, the mass media, in this case the newspapers, are the primary source of knowledge about social problems and deviance, and the labelling of these actions and people, is due to moral panic, creating folk devils out of them. Cohen,[93] believes that the media may occupy any of three roles in a moral panic drama:

1. The setting of an agenda- that is to say selecting which deviant, or social problem, or events, are newsworthy, then narrowing down which of these are suitable as moral panics;

[90] Cohen*, Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 36-41.
[91] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'AUDACIOUS ASSSAULT', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times,* 15 December 1871, 6.
[92] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'BRUTAL ASSSAULT', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times,* 11 July 1856, 6.
[93] Cohen*, Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, xxvii-xxx.

2. The transmission of images- transmitting certain claims by using their oratory skills regarding moral panics;
3. Making the public aware and making a claim about what is happening.

Conversely, the situation of the fishing apprentices was in many ways a beneficiary of a moral panic drama. The treatment of these young boys and men and the escalation of poor treatment and working conditions suffered by apprentices during the 1870's and 1880's, led to characterisations of tyranny, and violence and cruelty. Reactions to this are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

Overall the newspapers had a significant role to play in creating an atmosphere which enabled those in authority to control the working classes and to satisfy the moralising of the middle classes. The newspapers also created a platform from which issues which affected both the middle and working classes could be highlighted and thus change was made possible, whether or not the impact on the middle or working classes was positive or negative is matter for debate.

Chapter 2: The Port and Population of Hull.

In order to build up an image of Hull as a port during the period we shall examine those who are associated with it, its population, more specifically those in SROs. The port of Kingston upon Hull is situated on the north bank of the Humber Estuary. In the 1770's after much wrangling, the Dock Company of Kingston upon Hull was formed in 1773, proceeded by the building of Hull's first dock, using private finance.[94] The original Dock in Hull opened in September 1778 and up until 1854 was known as the Old Dock, when it was renamed The Queen's Dock in honour of a visit by the serving monarch, Victoria. Although the 'Old Dock' was sufficient to cope with the trade coming into the port, the warehousing was not, requiring goods to be moved by lighters and hand carts to warehousing away from the dock.[95] The result was the building of another dock, completed in 1809, the Humber Dock. Junction Dock opened in 1829, being renamed Prince's Dock in 1855. For the next seventeen years, no further expansion took place. Then the Railway Dock was opened in 1846, with a station facing the Humber Dock. Over the next four decades a total of five more docks would be built to meet the growing demands placed on the port. The demand for timber being fuelled by the railway boom of the 1840's resulted in the Victoria dock, which opened in 1850 and catered for the timber trade. The Albert Dock opened in 1869, originally known as the Western Dock. The William Wright Dock opened in 1880 and was named

[94] G. Jackson, *The Economic Development of Hull in the Eighteenth Century,* PhD thesis. (The University of Hull, December 1969), 387-389.
[95] Jackson, *The Economic Development of Hull* ,402.

after the chairman of the Hull Dock Company. St. Andrew's Dock opened in 1883 and was known more commonly as the Fish Dock, until the fishing industry moved to the refurbished Albert Dock. Finally, the Alexandra Dock, named after Princess Alexandra, was opened in 1885 by the Hull and Barnsley Railway, for the purposes of exporting coal from South Yorkshire and importing pit props from Scandinavia.

The majority of imports into Hull in the 1840's consisted of raw materials such as bar iron, timber, grain, flax, linseed and rape seed. From Holland, Belgium and North West Germany, vessels discharged bulk cargoes such as wheat, barley and beans; from the Baltic ports came timber, iron, linseed and oil-cake, as well as wheat. Hull's import trade with the Baltic helped develop the seed crushing, resulting in it operating approximately thirty-seven mills; as well as several flax and hemp manufacturers. [96] Furniture making also prospered, as did painting and coatings manufacturers. Last but by no means least was shipping and its ancillary industries. Hull's exports consisted mainly of manufactured goods such as textiles, as well as machinery produced in the Industrial north of England; along with coal and cattle.[97]

Knowing what the exact population of Hull during the period is important, in order to identify what percentage of the workforce was comprised of those in SROs in relation to the whole male population of Hull. However, certain vagaries do exist as to their numbers, due to how census data was gathered and categorised, making this task very difficult.

[96] Steinberg, *England's Great Transformation*, 79.
[97] *Ibid.*

During the nineteenth century the economies of port cities like Hull operated in a similar manner. Drawing from an extensive pool of temporary manpower to meet the fluctuations in trade and demand for labour in the docks, was considered to be the best most efficient way of operating. The idea of a casual system of employment, including low wages, was considered to be essential. Hull, like many other ports was prone to the vagaries in the fluctuations in trade, making employment more casual, thus maintaining its workforce at a level to meet demands in peaks and troughs.[98] According to Bellamy,[99] by 1871 one third of Hull's labour force was tied to waterfront commerce and local industries which were dependent upon them. Seagoing labour can also be considered casual in the sense that contracts were short term, either by the voyage or for six month periods in the Home Trades. Turnover of labour tended to be higher in the tramp trade than on the regular, scheduled liners. Steam tended to promote more regular patterns of labour in the scheduled cargo and passenger services. A significant, but irresolvable issue, is the overlap between waterfront and seagoing labour as dockers may well have served as seafarers as opportunity allowed.

The Census for 1841, 1861 and 1881 gives some indication of the growth of the fishing industry, as a proportion of SROs were included in the occupational group categorised as agriculture, forestry and fishing. Compared to other industries the Census statistics show that those men engaged in this group in Hull, were 673 in 1841, 1,254 in 1861, and 4,411

[98] Ward, 'Environs and neighbours in the "Two Nations",133-62.
[99] Bellamy, 'Occupations in Kingston upon Hull', 38.

in 1881.[100] In comparison all those engaged in all industries for the same years were 19,114, 25,987 and 55,486 respectively.[101]

In terms of meeting the needs of those being employed in Hull due to the expansion of industries such as the fishing trade, Census statistics for those engaged in the occupational group categorised as accommodation and catering in Hull, for the dates 1841,1861 and 1881 were 432 (273 male,159 female), 787 (361 male, 426 female), 1169 (699 male, 470 female) respectively. As the figures show the number of women increased between 1841 and 1881, eventually overtaking men by 1911.[102] This does raise questions as to the significance of this increase, although we could take accommodation as meaning lodging and boarding house keepers, meaning that women were fulfilling the role of providing a service to those who needed accommodation on a temporary basis, such as those men who went to sea. This overall increase in the number of those occupied in this group would appear to coincide with the increase in demand due to port activities and expansion.

Overall, Industry in Hull for the period 1841 to 1881 grew dramatically in all sectors. If for example, we take the sectors of agriculture, manufacturing, utilities and construction and transport, and consumer services, for the census dates 1841-81, table 1 below shows a

[100] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Kingston upon Hull UA/City through time | Industry Statistics | Standard Industrial Classification (2007), by sex, *A Vision of Britain through Time.* Available online: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10168387/cube/INDUSTRY_GEN_SEX [Accessed 16/07/2018].
[101] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Total employed in all industries.
[102] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Standard Industrial Classification.

dramatic increase during the forty-year period, which coincided with the development of Hull's docks, showing an economic prosperity across a range of sectors, but most dramatically between 1861 and 1881, with most sectors having doubled in the number of people employed in them.

Table 1 Industry statistics: Number of people working in traditional sectors in Hull.

Year	Agriculture (includes fishing)	Manufacturing	Utilities, Construction, Transport	Consumer Services
1841	718	6,861	3,444	1,114
1861	1,420	8,402	6,774	1,348
1881	2,483	18,662	13,867	3,049

Source: GB Historical GIS: A Vision of Britain through Time: University of Portsmouth.

Many seafaring transient workers were from the Baltic and Northern European states, plenty of these settling in Hull. During the mid-nineteenth century, Avery suggests that the influx of migrant workers from such places as Ireland was due to the 'relatively high wages on offer in the factories, cotton mills and dockyards'. Furthermore, 'that they were willing to accept lower wages than the local residents and lived in the housing conditions which were atrocious'. [103] Some evidence as to the numbers of foreign workers can be gleaned from the reports in the *Hull Packet*.[104] An article reporting on a presentation made to Dr Jacobson, an Interpreter used by the Hull Police Court, for his services, states that in 1863 ' there are above 2,000 resident foreigners in Hull, and there are at all times a number of foreign sailors in port'.[105] Also, churches such as the

[103] Avery, *The Story of Hull*, 37.
[104] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'Testimonial to DR Jacobsen', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 6 March 1863, 6.
[105] Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull,* 242.

Nile Street German and Lutheran, 'ascertained that several thousand Lutheran sailors, who could not understand the English language, entered the port of Hull every year'.[106] Simply searching *19th Century British Newspapers* database with the terms 'foreign seaman' and 'Hull Police Court' in the *Hull Packet* between 1846 and 1886 returned some 641 reports involving foreign seamen appearing at the Hull Police Court ,either as a victim or accused.

Policing, criminality and crime in Hull

Hull first set up a police force in 1836. Prior to this it had consisted of four different authorities each having their own constables; as well as watchmen employed by the Commissioners of Hull and Myton, and Sculcoates; along with employees of the Dock Company, who also fulfilled the role of constables. The 1835 Municipal Corporations Act,[107] allowed the setting up of a Watch Committee in Hull, in February 1836, which created a bigger police force funded by the Watch Rate and also the Borough.

Prior to 1844 the docks belonged to the Dock Company and therefore were their responsibility to police. The Dock Company had its own constables and watchmen who protected their property. After protracted discussions and government intervention between Hull Corporation and the Dock Company regarding responsibilities and payments for policing of the docks, an initial agreement was reached in

[106] Sheahan, *General and concise history and description of the town and port of Kingston-upon-Hull* ,439.
[107] *Municipal Corporations Act 1835*.

May 1844 regarding policing, although disagreements over the cost and levels of policing in the docks still continued for many years between both parties. Reductions in the number of police officers to 100 from 134 in the 1850's in the aftermath of a police strike in 1853,[108] resulted in the levels of police in the borough being lower, leading to complaints from the Dock Company.

The courts in Hull during the period consisted of the Quarter Sessions, which were held at the County Courts at Epiphany (January to March), Easter (April to June), Midsummer (July to September) and Michaelmas (October to September); and the Hull Police Court which sat daily Monday to Saturday. The Hull Police Court was the most common place for the majority of cases to be heard, summarily, as most of the crimes committed were considered to be of such a level that local stipendiary magistrates were the best people to deal with them.

When it came to crime, the problem the Victorians encountered was to explain its causes in an age of advancement and progress. A common solution for Victorian society was to blame the conditioning of bad parenting, alcohol, the glamorising of crime, and a of lack of morality. [109] In 1834, Colonel Charles Rowan, a Metropolitan Chief Commissioner, in a statement to the Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis, claimed areas existed that were, 'bad places', [110] referring to areas of

[108] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'Local Intelligence', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 29 July 1853, 4.

[109] J. Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1800-2000* (Hambledon: Continuum, 2007).

[110] PP. 1834 (600) XVI, *Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis*, q.166.

criminal activity which were under their constant scrutiny, namely the streets within London where the poorer working classes were engaging in behaviour which was counter to the Victorian sense of morality. According to Morrison, the problem of crime was not one of class, but rather that of degeneracy and disease, in which a diseased and degenerate population produce a 'plentiful crop of criminals. [111]

Frequent attempts were made by the Victorians to explain crime in England and Wales. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Rural Constabulary 1839,[112] mainly drafted by Edwin Chadwick, cited such reasons for crime as 'indolence or the pursuit of easy excitement',[113] and the 'temptation of the profit of a career of depredation, as compared with the profits of honest and even well-paid industry'.[114] In short, Chadwick was saying that they chose to commit crime because of the perceived benefits to them. This sub-group of society was known as the 'dangerous class' and was constructed by the Victorians to contain those who did not fit the norms and ideals of the respectable middle class. Godfrey et al contend that the criminal class was viewed as, 'a criminal conspiracy, a community of thieves, who resisted authority and banded together to commit crimes.'[115]

The perceived threat of physical danger as Sindall puts it, 'ranged from that of being insulted by a ruffian whilst taking an evening stroll to the

[111] Morrison, *Crime and its Causes*, vii.
[112] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners*.
[113] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners*, 64.
[114] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners*, 128.
[115] Godfrey et al, *Serious Offenders: A Historical Study of Habitual Criminals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 13.

overthrow of middle class society by revolution'.[116] Although, according to Colonel Charles Rowan, when questioned about the levels of policing in more 'respectable' districts, he asserted that less police were required as crime was lower, and it was easier to monitor activity.[117]

By the end of the nineteenth century works were beginning to appear relating to the cause of crime, such as Morrison's *The increase of crime,* which saw the problem of crime as not one of class, but rather that of degeneracy, meaning that criminals should 'be looked upon as a class of a separate and distinct character from the rest of the community'. [118]

Crime statistics in Hull for the period show the offending rates for theft and violence had fallen by almost half.[119] These statistics however only show the crimes that have been processed through the criminal justice system and not the actual amount of crime occurring. These national statistics only give an indication of the overall trends in crime and do not in many respects represent the behaviour of groups or occupations, which may vary dramatically according to locality and therefore would be better examined from a study of local statistical and historical source materials. This would in many respects give a better picture of the specific criminal behaviour relating to areas which are identified has having a specific historical identity or economic community, such as a port.

[116] Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 6.
[117] PP. 1834 (600) XVI, *Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis*, q.167.
[118] Morrison, *Crime and its Causes*, 141-2.
[119] Gatrell 'The Decline of Theft', 238-370.

In terms of investigating relationships between crime and occupation in Hull, the returns of statistics do give occupational information for those who were committed to Hull Prison (see table 2 below).

Table 2 occupational returns for incarcerated prisoners in Hull Prison 1856-1886; selected years.

	1856		1866		1876		1886	
Occupation	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No occupation	102	61	33	31	53	110	98	282
Domestic servant	5	201	0	143	4	12	30	46
Labourers/charwomen	207	34	864	66	867	49	1169	131
Factory Worker	28	52	24	16	27	35	23	63
Mechanics and Skilled workers	172	0	284	0	118	0	361	52
Foreman and Overlookers of labourers	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	0
Shop women/men and clerks	11	0	16	0	36	1	30	0
Shopkeepers and Dealers	6	0	14	0	46	25	125	69
Professional employment	0	0	0	0	7	1	13	0
Sailors or Marines and Soldiers	87	0	95	0	117	0	834	0
Sailors or Marines and Soldiers as % of all male prisoners	16.3		7.6		10.3		44.9	

Source: Judicial Statistics 1856,66,76,86 for England & Wales: HMSO.

As table 2 shows, there was a huge increase in the number of those men in the occupational category sailors or marines and soldiers incarcerated in Hull prison in 1886. This saw its biggest increase after 1876 when it rocketed from 117 to 834 incarcerated men, despite the virtual demise in the conviction rate of absconding fishing apprentices. If we compare the local and national incarceration figures for this occupational category, table 3 below shows that the yearly percentage difference between

incarceration in England Wales combined and Hull prison as 1856 (12.6%), 1866 (2.9%), 1876 (5.7%) and 1886 (42.2%). As table 3 below shows, the percentage of sailors, marines and soldiers incarcerated in England and Wales in 1856 stood at 3.7% of all male offenders; by 1886 and with the end of the Austro-Prussian War, it had risen to 4.7%; falling slightly in 1876 to 4.6%; and by 1886 it had dropped to 2.7%. Although there was an increase in their numbers between 1856 and 1866, by 1876 they had begun to fall, ending up lower than 1856.

Table 3. Comparison of local and national returns for incarcerated Sailors or Marines and Soldiers as a percentage of all male prisoners 1856-86; selected years.

	1856	1866	1876	1886
% Incarcerated in Hull	16.3	7.6	10.3	44.9
% Incarcerated in England and Wales	3.7	4.7	4.6	2.7
Yearly % Difference	12.6	2.9	5.7	42.2

Source: Judicial Statistics 1856,66,76,86 for England & Wales: HMSO.

Table 4 below shows that the percentage difference only varied between 0.1 % and 1.9% between 1856 and 1886 for England and Wales, whereas Hull prison varied between 2.6% and 34.6% between the same period. Initially incarceration of the occupational category in Hull was higher than the national average in 1856 at the end of the Crimean War. It then fell and was lower in 1866 during the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865, but began increasing in 1876, and by 1886 the occupational category accounted for nearly half of the incarcerated male population of Hull prison.

Table 4. Percentage difference between local and national returns for incarcerated Sailors or Marines and Soldiers for 1856-86; selected years.

	1856- 66	1866-76	1876-86
% Difference for Incarcerated in Hull	8.7	2.7	34.6
% Difference for Incarcerated in England and Wales	1	0.1	1.9

Source: Judicial Statistics 1856,66,76,86 for England & Wales: HMSO.

These figures suggest incarceration of the occupational category across England and Wales was fairly constant, whereas Hull being a port town had higher percentage rates of incarceration for the category and could fluctuate dramatically. However, we have to remember that the occupational category contains not only sailors and marines, but also soldiers, although all would all be transient in their nature, as well as being subject to the impact of economic fluctuations in employment and trade caused by war. Furthermore, the male population of Hull increased between 1861 and 1886 from 36,587 to 81,703, some 55.2 %.[120]

Location can sometimes be linked to the commission of an offence, even if there is no absolute justification for this, a particular locale may become synonymous with either a particular type of offence or offender. Similarly, those deemed to be in SROs have often been subjected to occupational typing; the smuggler of illicit goods from foreign ports; a man who frequents brothels and drinking establishments, in dubious streets of

[120] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Kingston upon Hull UA/City through time | Population Statistics | Males and Females (2011), *A Vision of Britain through Time.* Available online: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10168387/cube/GENDER [Accessed 16/07/2018].

the town; the dock worker who sells goods which have been stolen from his place of employment and fenced in notorious drinking establishments. Many criminal activities and vices were often associated with specific streets and locations with some connection to either seafaring activities of links to the docks. For example, Leadenhall Square in Hull was particularly notorious for the number of brothels found to be operating there. This was situated near the Queen's Dock, by the Old Town.[121] Welsh states that, 'street prostitution in Hull seems to have been concentrated in a particular area of the old town near to the docks, but the trade may have been conducted largely from private houses.'[122] Although, both brothels and prostitutes were not just confined to the docks area of Hull, they were in every part of the town, including areas around Anlaby Road.[123] Local press reports and even the Census confirms that most of the females resident in Cook's Buildings in Hull were in fact prostitutes or had been involved in prostitution at some point in their lives.[124] Walkowitz contends that commercial ports were places where greater concentrations of prostitutes could be found, as a result of uneven ratios of male to female population, the limited availability of work for women, and the transient male population. [125] Welsh also concurs that 'the conduct of prostitution in Hull appears to have conformed to many of the characteristics of the trade in a typical Victorian seaport'.[126]

[121] Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England,* 245-7.
[122] Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England*, 247.
[123] Stubley, *Serious religion and the improvement of public manners,* 264-5.
[124] Stubley, *Serious religion and the improvement of public manners*, 266.
[125] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 22.
[126] Welsh, *The Reform of Urban Policing in Victorian England,* 245-247.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Offences, Assault and Theft.

The first offences analysed are assault and theft. The two will be used to investigate how those belonging to SROs compare in terms of their offending to the rest of the male population of Hull and whether or not they are more or less likely to be a perpetrator or victim of these offences. Also, the location of the offences will be examined, in order to ascertain if any connection exists between areas surrounding the port area of Hull and these offences. In order to do this the newspapers were the preferred choice, as the Bench Books for Hull for the period vary greatly in the data they contain, often excluding occupation, age and location, more often than not simply listing name, offence and outcome. Also, the study aimed to include both victims and perpetrators of crime by occupational category and newspapers tend to include more detail about these, allowing examination of their use of language in the reporting of criminal cases and how they portrayed or represented certain groups in terms of their offending or victimology from the context of the nineteenth century media.

Background to assault

Violence during the Victorian period became a cause for concern. The original focus during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for crime was related to protection of property. This began to change between 1820 and 1870 when the middle classes redefined violence, focusing on violence towards the person as a social problem which required controlling. [127]

[127] Carter Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth-Century England.*

The notion existed that the working classes and indeed those in SROs were in many ways uncivilised and savage in their behaviour. This sentiment was echoed by W. C. Taylor, who stated that, 'no one can visit the streets in the vicinity of the [Liverpool] docks without feeling that he has something very like savage life in close contact with Civilisation'.[128] This appears to have been one of many commonly held beliefs about those who inhabited and worked around dock and port areas of major citifies such as Liverpool and Hull, reflecting the burgeoning middle class stance on the lower classes violent behaviour.

Alcohol and violence are probably two of the most intricately linked issues within the study of crime. The preconceived depiction of the drunken brawling 'Jack Tar' ashore, was part of the middle class notion of the behaviour of the seafarer during the period. However, violence and drunken behaviour have always gone hand in hand and still remain a problem today. The issue under consideration is how accurate is this depiction of the brawling drunk sailor, in terms of the life of the seafarer in the nineteenth century, and his everyday existence, compared to the rest of the population. [129]

Port cities and towns during the period were considered to be breeding grounds for drunken debauchery. Most of these ports and dock areas had within them both brothels and licensed premises, such terms as 'Dram Shops', 'Beer Shops' and of course 'Public Houses'. Hull had

[128] W.C. Taylor quoted in J. Carter Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth-Century England: the shadow of our refinement* (London: Routledge, 2004), 32.

[129] See Howell & Twomey, *Jack Tar in the history of maritime life and labour*.

approximately 309 gin shops and 287 beer houses in 1869,[130] some of these were more familiar for catering for the needs of those in SROs. Judicial Statistics for drunkenness, and drunk and disorderly for Hull, show the number of cases heard summarily were, 1861 (764), 1866 (834), 1871 (1,018), 1876 (1,264), 1881 (1442), and 1886 (790); some 6212 cases in total for the whole population of Hull. The brothels in Hull were well known to the courts and police, there being approximately 306 in 1869.[131] Although the common belief during the period was that violent crimes were taking a less violent form, when isolated incidents had occurred during the1850's and 60's, such as the garrotting attacks in London in 1862, the public became more alarmed as a result of becoming used to feeling safer while engaged in their everyday activities.[132]

Research findings

Over the whole period of the study, some 626 cases of assault appearing before the magistrates at the Police Court were identified (see table 5 below). Of these, 358 (57%) had no mention of their occupation. 162 counts of assault (26%) were committed by SROs. By far the largest of these was seamen, with 52 (8%) counts of assault, followed by fishermen with 23, Dock workers with 17 and Captains with 10 (see appendix 3).

[130] The East Counties' Herald, *The East Counties' Herald,* 21 October 1869
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society*, 124.

Table 5. Assaults reported in Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	Total
Total seafaring by Year	13	12	11	14	20	19	25	41	7	162
No occupation Given	49	39	24	25	47	73	46	47	8	358
Non-seafaring occupation	12	8	9	23	7	14	12	17	4	106
Total of all occupations	74	59	44	62	74	106	83	105	19	626

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

By far the biggest increase in assaults committed by SROs was between 1876 and 1881, when it rose from 25 to 41 counts of assault, an increase of 64%, compared with the total for the rest of the population which only rose by 6 cases (10%) for the same period. This coincides with the massive increase in incarceration for SROs in Hull prison (see table 4). The biggest increase in assaults committed by non-SROs was between 1866 and 1871, when it rose from 54 to 87 counts of assault, an increase of 61 %, compared with the total for SROs which fell by 1 case (5%) for the same period.

The highest overall totals of assaults brought before the Police Court for all groups of males occurred in 1871 and 1881, 106 and 105 counts respectively. Although, SROs only constituted approximately 18% in 1871, but 39% in 1881. Furthermore, while the overall counts fell to only 83 for all males in 1876, SROs had risen to approximately 30% of those reported for that year, meaning that they had steadily increased as a proportion of the whole between 1871 and 1881. This means that for 1871

,1876 and 1881, non-SROs fell from 82 % in 1871, to 70% in 1876, and finally 61% in 1881. The fact that no mention of occupation was given in more than half of the cases of assault does raise concerns around the reasons for its omission. Did the perpetrators simply not wish this to be known, maybe it was not a requirement or thought necessary to divulge this. More often than not it is mentioned when relevant to the case, as in theft or assault involving an employer.

These diverging trends between the two different groups lead us to question what was different about their circumstances or situation that lead to the increase in the reported number of reports of assault among SROs for the period of 1871 to 1881, and a fall in the reported number of counts of assault for the other group, over the same period of time.

Over the same period, some 53 cases of assault against those in SROs were identified. This would therefore represent approximately 8% of the total number of assaults reported by the newspaper over the period of the study. The largest occupational group were seamen with some 14 counts, followed by apprentices with 8, captains with 5 and Mate with 4 (see appendix 4). As with the highest overall counts for crime for all groups of males, the reports for assaults on SROs in 1871 and 1881, are the highest for the period, both being 11 counts, with a fall in 1876 back down to 4 counts. Surprisingly of these 53 assaults upon SROs, some 41 involved both parties being SROs, representing 77% of the total (see table 6 below).

Table 6. Assaults against men in seafaring related occupations reported in Hull Packet, in Hull; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	Total
Total assaults by Year	5	5	4	3	10	11	4	11	none	53
Victim and offender both of seafaring occupation	3	4	1	3	9	10	4	7	none	41
Public on seafaring occupation	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	4	none	12

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

More commonly assaults upon those who went to sea, such as apprentices and seamen, were perpetrated by captains, masters or mates upon the lower orders. In 1866 for example of the 9 assaults between SROs, the four on seamen were committed by two captains and two mates,[133] and the two assaults upon apprentices were by smack owners.[134] Furthermore, most of these assaults took place onboard the vessel. However, in 1871, of the 10 assaults between SROs, two assaults were by sailors on their captains and one by a fisherman on his skipper, although the assaults upon apprentices were still being committed by higher orders, a subject which is examined later on regarding absconding apprentices.

[133] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ill-using an apprentice', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 7 December 1866, 6.; also, The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assault on a fisherboy', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 7 December 1866, 6.
[134] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assaults', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 21 September 1866, 6.; The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assault as sea', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 11 May 1866, 6.; The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assault by captain', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 1 June 1866, 6.; The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assault as sea', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 16 November 1866, 6.

How do these figures relate to the notion of the vulnerability of the seafarer ashore, as a potential victim of crime? Does this simply mean that this is a myth, or could it be that the seafarers in Hull were different socially and culturally, that is to say more settled or stable in terms of family and community connections and therefore less likely to engage in what was viewed as the atypical behaviour of the seafarer ashore.

Location

Over the total period of the study, some 156 locations of a non-street or road nature were identified where assaults involving the male population of Hull were reported in the *Hull Packet* as having taken place (see table 7 below).

Table 7. Assaults in non-street location reported in Hull Packet; selected years.

Location	Total by Location	Position
Public/Beer House or Dram Shop	37	2
Docks, Port or Harbour	28	3
Onboard Vessel or at Sea	24	4
House or Home	39	1
Lodging House	8	6
Railway	5	7
Other	15	5
Total by Year	156	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

The two highest reports of assault took place in the house or home, 25% over the period of study; and in a public house, beer house of dram shop, 24%. These two figures would appear to represent two very different ends of the spectrum of Victorian morality, the sanctity and security of the home, and the evils and vices of the den of iniquity. Perhaps in many ways the reporting of these two different environments is designed to

highlight that the individual is a potential victim and not even safe in their own property from the criminal element; alongside portraying the establishment that serves alcohol as a breeding ground for criminal behaviour and immorality.

The third highest location for assaults to occur involves the docks and its associated areas. This in many ways would foster the notion that those who work within them have a tendency to violent behaviour, although out of the non-street locations it does represent only 18%. The Fourth highest placed location for assault was at sea or onboard a vessel, this represented approximately 15% out of the non-street locations identified. Considering the harsh life onboard ship in the nineteenth century, how accurate this figure actually is can be viewed with certain scepticism as the reporting of such incidents is dependent on what constitutes assault among both seafarers and the law, as well as their willingness to report such incidents.

The sixth highest place was that of the lodging house, representing only 5% of the non-street locations, which is surprising considering its strong associations with seafaring life ashore.

Over the whole period of the study specific street or road names were identified where assaults involving the male population of Hull were reported in the *Hull Packet* as having taken place (see appendix 5). The vast majority of all these assaults occurred in a waterfront context (see appendix 6).

Table 8. Nearest dock, river, harbour, to street where assault was reported as having occurred.

Location	number of occurrences	Position
Albert Dock	7	8
Drypool Dock Basin	4	9
Ferryboat Dock	2	10
Harbour	44	3
Humber Dock	30	4
Humber Dock Basin	12	5
New Timber Pond	1	11
Prince's Dock	62	1
Queen's Dock	60	2
Railway Dock	10	6
River Hull	12	5
Sir William Wright Dock	4	9
Victoria Dock	8	7

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

As table 8 shows, the most common locations for assault were the Prince's and Queen's Dock, followed by the Harbour and Humber Dock. Although this may be the case, it has to be remembered that most of central Hull in this period was within striking distance of the dock system. Furthermore, it is difficult to speculate whether or not these cases of assault which occurred were committed by the inhabitants of the area; or those coming into to it as part of their daily routine; or for recreational purposes, to purchase goods; or to specifically engage in criminal activity. In short, were they attracted to the area because of its notoriety or because it was where they worked?

The streets where assault was most common, ranked in order highest to lowest, were, Waterhouse Lane, Paragon Street, Dock Street, Lowgate, Mill Street, Osbourne Street, Queen Street, Whitefriargate, Brooke Street, Chariot Street, Leadenhall Square, Mytongate, Porter

Street, Waterworks Street (see appendix 5). Out of these streets, the highest ranked locations closest to them included the Railway Passenger Station, Prince's Dock and Queen's Dock (see appendix 7).

In regard to location, it appears that the streets surrounding the railway passenger station were the highest overall for reports of assault. On the whole it is not hard to see that the docks, the river, or the harbour areas and the streets branching off them were prominent places for incidences of assault as reported in the press. These places were also the three most prevalent for cases of theft during the period, although they were in a different order; Prince's Dock, Railway Passenger Station, and Queen's Dock (see appendix 13).

Assaults on police

Assaults upon police were common, but more often than not it occurred while an apprehension of a suspect was taking place, usually while attempting to evade or resist arrest. Violent assaults were less common, although not unheard of. The Judicial Statistics available between 1861 and 1886 provide us with an insight into the levels of assault, resisting arrest and obstruction encountered by Hull police during the period. What constitutes assault, resisting arrest and obstruction is very much open to interpretation, from a simple struggle or refusing to cooperate to much more serious actions. Such incidents range from as low as 14.2% up to 40.8%. The years 1861 (38.3%) and 1866 (40.8%) are the highest, but then a dramatic fall occurs in 1871 (30.3%), then in 1876(14.8%), levelling off in 1881 (20.2%) and 1886 (19.2%; see table 9 below).

Table 9. Assaults dealt with summarily for the whole population of Hull; selected years.

	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Assault Type							
Aggravated, on women and Children	7	13	2	9	7	14	52
On Peace Officers, resisting, obstructing	104 (38.3%)	140 (40.8%)	166 (30.3%)	96 (14.8%)	142 (20.1%)	126 (19.2%)	774
Common	160	190	379	540	556	514	2339
Total	271	343	547	645	705	654	3165

Source: Judicial Statistics 1861,66,76,71,81,86 for England & Wales: HMSO.

Defining assault is very difficult, although in the case of the police it appears that on the whole between 1861 and 1886 it halved, with 1876 being an anomaly as such in assaults committed by the whole population of Hull, including those on the police.

Background to theft

The second offence which will be examined is that of theft in Hull. Once again, this offence will be used to identify how those in SROs compare in terms of their offending to the rest of the male population of Hull and whether or not they are more or less likely to be a perpetrator or victim of these offences. As with assault, the location of the offences will be examined in order to ascertain if any connection exists between areas surrounding the port area of Hull and this offence.

Public prosecution in England didn't come about until the middle of the nineteenth century. The responsibility before this was on the victim to pursue their claim in the courts. Up until this point in time it was estimated

that only around 5% of thefts resulted in the offender being prosecuted.[135] Thereafter, the role of apprehending and arraigning the accused switched to the police.

Up until the 1840's there had been a steep increase in theft, especially just after the Napoleonic War, before decreasing again into the 1840s and 1850s. Rates of housebreaking and burglaries remained steady, however. Property offences in general made up the majority of crime committed throughout the nineteenth century, although after the 1850's crime in general fell, including larceny, by around 35% per 1000,000 head of population.[136] Still, by 1857 simple offences such as larceny made up 80% of all indictable offences. However, after 1857 they began to fall, but this could have been due to the fact that simple offences were dealt with summarily,[137] as a result of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855 which transferred some indictable offences into summary jurisdiction.

The Victorian views on theft or larceny as it was better known, mainly revolved around the poor and working class. Extreme examples of this can be seen in Binny's 1862 work on the thieves and swindlers of London, which characterised them by their 'mental imbecility and low

[135] King, Crime, *Justice and Discretion*.
[136] V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Crime, authority and the policeman-state', in F. M. L Thompson (ed.) *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950,* Vol iii, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 243-310: 290-291.
[137] V.A.C. Gatrell and T.B. Hadden, 'Criminal statistics and their interpretation*',* in E. A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 336-96.

cunning,' claiming that they were, 'lazy in disposition and lack energy of both body and mind',[138] although this is probably not atypical in terms of theorising on the causes of crime. Despite this, Binny's work does categorise offences including a range of different types of theft in some detail, regarding the character and methods employed by them.[139]

Research findings

Over the total period of the study, some 1,953 cases involving male offenders were reported in the *Hull Packet* as appearing before the magistrates at the Police Court (see appendix 8). In 1846 there were 104, rising to 389 by the year 1881. Of those identified the vast majority of cases, some 1,445 did not give the occupation of the offender. The remaining 508 cases were split into those which were seafaring related in their nature, (211) and non-related (297; see table 10 below).

Table 10. Theft cases for male population of Hull as reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Occupation										Total over Period
SRO	17	6	6	39	20	24	34	55	10	211
Non-SRO	10	6	42	44	38	25	32	86	14	297
No Occupation Given	77	117	154	180	235	200	197	248	37	1445
Overall Total	104	129	202	263	293	249	263	389	61	1953

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

[138] J. Binny, 'Thieves & Swindlers' in H. Mayhew, (ed.) *London labour and the London Poor, Volume 4* [eBook] (London: Griffin, Bohn & Company, 1862), 273-388:274.
[139] Binny, 'Thieves & Swindlers', 273-388.

Table 10 suggests that only 10.8% of theft prosecutions over the study period was committed by those in SROs, but we must acknowledge that a proportion of those with no occupation involved seafarers and related workers. This raises the possibility that seafarers appearing before the Court were more noteworthy, and thus more noted than those in other trades. If this could be proved, then it would have a marked effect on the data. The single occupation category with the highest number of offences was seamen, some 2.9% of thefts being recorded. Next, were apprentices with 2.5%, followed by dock workers,1.2% and fishermen, 0.8%. The peak years according to the newspaper reports were 1866 and 1881, which coincidently represent the two highest years for SROs (39 and 56 reported cases, respectively). The Judicial Statistics for England & Wales for the years 1866 to 1881, show that the indictments for theft for the whole population of Hull rose dramatically between 1876 and 1881, especially in offences related to simple larceny and larceny on rivers, canals, wharfs (see table 11 below).

Table 11. Indictments for all theft related offences in Hull for 1866-81; selected years.

Offence	1866	1871	1876	1881	Total
Burglary & housebreaking	6	12	3	8	29
Breaking into shops and warehouses	5	13	13	22	53
Larceny to the value of £5 in a dwelling	23	13	2	0	38
Larceny from person	19	38	28	52	137
Simple larceny	37	43	177	298	555
Larceny on rivers, canals, wharfs	15	38	80	109	242
Total	105	157	303	489	1054

Source: Adapted from the Judicial Statistics for England & Wales for 1866.71,76,81.

According to Tables 10 and 11, theft prosecutions rose dramatically after 1881, although those involving SROs had been reasonably flat up until then.

Over the total period of the study, some 141 (7.2%) cases reported by the *Hull Packet* involved cases of theft committed against victims identifiably belonging to SROs (see appendix 9). In 1846 only 8 such cases were identified, but by 1881 this had risen to 42(2.1%), the biggest increase being between 1878 and 1881. Within the context of crime generally, this is not a very significant figure. The three most common SRO categories of victim were seamen (36 counts), smack owners (20), and shipmasters (12 counts each for ‘master’ and ‘captain’). Taken together, 2.2% of owners and masters were arguably disproportionately subject to theft, but, as men of relative wealth this is not surprising. Binny’s work on river pirates, describes how London thieves would take a boat and go,

> ‘onboard a vessel disguised as watermen or seamen, their main objective being to secure wearing apparel and money. Watches are to be found hanging in the cabin, and clothes are also to be found there’.[140]

Out of these 141 cases, 65 (46%) involved both offender and victim being in a SROs, whereas 76 (54%) of them involved of non-SRO plaintiffs preying upon seafarers. This would indicate that offences involving stealing or theft against those in seafaring associated occupations are only slightly less likely to be committed by someone of a non-SRO (see table 12 below).

Table 12. Thefts against men in SROs reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	Total
Seafaring victims	8	7	9	17	16	14	26	42	2	141
Both seafaring	6			12	4	6	16	20	1	65
non-seafarer, on seafarer	2	7	9	5	12	8	10	22	1	76

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

Location

Over the whole period of the study, some 298 non-street locations were identified in connection with thefts reported in the *Hull Packet* (see table 13 below; and appendix 10).

[140] Binny, ‘Thieves & Swindlers’, 369.

Table 13. Thefts in non-street location reported in Hull Packet; selected years.

Location of Theft	Total	Ranking
Albert Dock	47	1
Humber Dock	39	2
Prince's Dock	37	3
Queen's Dock	26	5
Railway Dock	34	4
St. Andrew's Dock	1	10
Victoria Dock	18	6
Dockside	18	6
Under Dock Sheds	26	5
Harbour	10	8
Old Harbour	11	7
No. 3. Shipyard	1	10
Pier	4	9
Billingsgate	18	6
Boat on the Humber	4	9
From a vessel	4	9
Total over period of Study	298	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

As table 13 shows, Albert Dock, and Humber Dock, were apparent blackspots for theft, followed by Prince's Dock and Railway Dock. The obvious question arising, is who was committing these thefts in Hull's dockland, if it is not those who worked there? A similar exercise for street locations underlines the attraction of the docks for thieves (see table 14 below; and appendix 11). The vast majority of all these thefts captured in the data occurred adjacent to or nearby the docks, the river, or the harbour (see appendix 12).

Table 14. Nearest dock, river, harbour, to street where theft was reported as having occurred.

Location	number of occurrences	Ranking
Albert Dock	57	5
Drypool Dock Basin	8	11
Ferryboat Dock	6	12
Harbour	150	3
Humber Dock	110	4
Humber Dock Basin	35	8
New Timber Pond	8	11
Prince's Dock	189	1
Queen's Dock	197	2
Railway Dock	36	7
River Hull	43	6
Sir William Wright Dock	14	10
Victoria Dock	20	9

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

The ten streets where theft was most common, ranked in order highest to lowest, were, Lowgate, Anlaby Road, Market Place, Mytongate, Waterworks Street, High Street, Queen Street, Chariot Street, Osborne Street, Walker Street, Holderness Road, Whitefriargate, West Street, Blanket Row, Prospect Street, and Silver Street (see appendix 11). Out of these streets the highest ranked location which was closest to them, were the Prince's Dock, Railway Passenger Station, and Queen's Dock (see appendix 13).

In terms of the location of theft it is not hard to see that the docks, the river, or the harbour areas and the streets surrounding them were prominent places when it came to the reporting of theft in the *Hull Packet*. Also, it appears that the Railway Passenger Station was a prime location, as the number of people passing through would give ample opportunity to those wishing to commit theft from the unwary individual. These places

were the three highest for assault during the period also, although they were in a different order, Railway Passenger Station, Prince's Dock and Queen's Dock.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Offences, Absconding and Smuggling.

The third area to be examined is that of the apprentice in the Hull fishing industry. Absconding, absenting or deserting by young men or boys from their master, was a common offence often reported in the *Hull Packet* during the period. But why was this so common an offence, particularly for these fishing apprentices, who appeared to be over represented in this category of offence.

Background to absconding apprentices.

Absconding, absenting or deserting from a vessel or the employment of a master was an offence which carried with it the threat of imprisonment. Any 'disorderly' apprentice, that is to say an individual who disobeyed the orders of their master; failed or refused to do sufficient work; or deserted from their employer or employment, was liable to punishment. These laws were seen as a way to create and control a labour force, giving redress to both parties involved, albeit overwhelmingly balanced in favour of the employer.

During the mid-to-late-nineteenth century the plight of apprentices at the hands of their employers began to raise concerns. Cases of ill-treatment reported in the newspapers began to signal a political shift and some reluctant willingness on the part of Government to bring about change. By the late 1870's and early 1880's changes were made to the existing legislation that would indirectly bring about the decline of the

apprenticeship system for those young boys and men working in the fishing industry.

The Master and Servant Act 1823,[141] had been an attempt to both create and control the labour market in one fell swoop. Steinberg refers to the situation as a, 'form of bondage that defines their position as unfree.'[142] It's repeal therefore in 1867,[143] had an impact upon the ability of master's to use the courts as a way of enforcing control. Also, legislation such as The Payment of Wages Act 1880,[144] had an impact upon the ability of the smack owners in Hull to enforce the law, as neglecting to join the ship, even when articles had been signed, or absenting from duty without leave no longer carried the penalty of imprisonment.

The cause of these offences was often an underlying catalogue of abuse suffered by the boys at the hands of their employers, especially those apprenticed to smack owners. This was the case with a fisherlad named Henry Skeavington,[145] who appeared before the Hull Police court on Monday the 13th of February 1871 charged with being a disorderly apprentice by absenting himself from a smack owner. The press article stated in his defence that, 'The boy said his clothes were so "mucky," and in such a state he was not fit to go to sea.' A witness was called to refute the statement and he was duly sentenced to thirty days hard labour. The

[141] The Master and Servant Act 1823. George IV, Chapter 16 (London:HMSO).
[142] Steinberg, *England's Great Transformation*, 79.
[143] *Master and Servant Act 1867*.
[144] *Merchant Seamen (Payment of Wages And Rating) Act 1880*.
[145] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT: Disorderly', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 17 February 1871, 6.

day after Skeavington's appearance, the same court heard the case against a smack owner who had assaulted one of his apprentices named Henry Holder, who had refused to do certain work which was not his duty and as a result the smack owner was reported as having, 'struck him about the face three or four times, and afterwards on the stomach, and threatened to "rope's end" him.' Having been found guilty, the penalty for the smack owner was a fine of 10 shillings and costs, which was later commuted to 5 shillings. [146] A clear difference can be seen as to how apprentices and their masters were dealt with by the courts.

A campaign was launched in nearby Grimsby, following the high-profile murder of a Hull fisherlad named William Papper,[147] on 29th of December 1882 and the previous murder of Peter Hughes,[148] a boy, acting as cook, again from Hull, on the 24th February 1882 while at sea; as well as other cases of violence against apprentices. The Report of The Sea Trade Fishing Committee into the treatment of apprentices in 1882,[149] uncovered a litany of physical abuse against apprentices, especially those working on smacks, such as William Papper. Mr Webster, the governor of Hull Prison, stated to the committee, that he had seen the physical result of a beating with a knotted rope on the back of one such apprentice who was one of the inmates.[150] Further examples of the treatment of fishing

[146] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT: Assault at Sea', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 17 February 1871, 6.
[147] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ALLEGED HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF HULL FISHERLAD: CHARGE OF WILFUL MURDER', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 3 March 1882, 5.
[148] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ALLEGED MURDER OF HULL FISHERLAD', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 18 August 1882, 4.
[149] BPP 1882 XVII, Sea Fishing Trade Committee Minutes, qq. 32-26
[150] BPP 1882 XVII. Sea Fishing Trade Committee, Minutes, q. 701.

apprentices can be found in the reports of the *Hull Packet*, including the case of a fisherboy who was hung over the side of the vessel, with his leg and arm tied to a rope, by the captain of a fishing smack named William Baker.[151]

Anecdotally, at least, it would appear that it is not so much a case of the apprentice as an offender and perpetrator of crimes, but that of a victim of mistreatment at the hands of both their masters and the law. The issue therefore is less about the offending behaviour of the apprentice, but about the causes that surrounded and perpetuated it.

Research findings

The first issue raised by the research was that of the number of absconding apprentices in the fishing industry during the period (see table 15 below). Over the total period of the study, of the 280 SROs which were identified as appearing at the Police Court, some 202 were apprentices, overwhelmingly in the fishing trade.

[151] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT: Assault on a Fisherboy at Sea' ,*The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 7 December 1866, 6.

Table 15. Absconding, absenting and deserting for SRO's in Hull; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Occupation										Total over Period
Apprentice	7	5	4	2	47	47	90			202
Boilermaker			3							3
Engineer					1					1
Fireman							1			1
Fisherman				1			2			3
Foreman					1					1
Mariner				1						1
Navy					2			1		3
Sailor		1								1
Seaman	1	2		15	2	5	2	4		31
Ship-building			1	1	1					3
Works on vessel		2	2			21	5			30
Total	8	10	10	20	54	73	100	5	0	280

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

From 1866 the increase in reporting of the absconding and absenting among apprentices takes a dramatic turn. The sudden rise in cases between 1866 and 1876 from 47 to 90, was fuelled by the ill-treatment of apprentices as masters used the law in order to control them. In 1881 only 5 cases were reported, followed by zero in 1886, as the Payment of Wages Act 1880 afforded apprentices the opportunity to leave their employment as masters became reluctant to pursue cases against them.

The total amount of absconding, absenting and deserting by all SROs over the period does increase slowly between 1846 and 1861, but

from 1866 to 1876 it rose markedly from 54 cases to 100, but this could be accounted for by the sudden increase in apprentices during that period. This is reflected in the fact that by 1881 the number of cases in total reported in the local newspaper had dropped to only 5 for that year. Overall, it would appear that apprentice positions in SROs represented the vast majority of absconding related cases reported on, some 202 in total, and that the years 1866, 1871 and 1876 accounted for the majority of these, some 184 in total.

In terms of absconding by month of the year (see table 16 below), of the 280 cases heard before the Police Court, the top three months for apprentices in SROs, were December, (38 cases), March, (34), and November (30). The three highest number of cases reported occurred during the winter months of November and December. December 1871 and 1876 having 16 and 17 cases respectively; along with November 1876 having 16.

Table 16. Yearly & monthly absconding, absenting and deserting for SROs; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881		
Month									Total over Period	Position
January		1		1	9	2	2		15	10
February			1		7	7	6	1	22	8
March	1	1		8	6	11	6	1	34	2
April	1	3			1	9	9		23	6
May				7	2	3	12	3	27	4
June		2	1	2	5	2	1		13	11
July	2				2	4	2		10	12
August	1	1	5		3	4	12		26	5
September			2	2	3	6	10		23	6
October		2	1		4	5	7		19	9
November	1				9	4	16		30	3
December	2				3	16	17		38	1
Total by year	8	10	10	20	54	73	100	5	280	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

The combination of the reporting of abusive treatment and legislation such as the Payment of Wages Act 1880 and the Master and servant Act 1887, appear to have culminated in the demise of the willingness to pursue cases by vessel owners against their crews. The findings of the research show that prior to 1866 the number of reports of absconding in the *Hull Packet* had been minimal, but by 1866 the had increased dramatically to 47, until they peaked at 90 in 1876, before dropping off to zero in 1881 and 1886 (See table 15). This would appear to coincide with the growing awareness of the problem of apprentices absconding due to poor treatment and conditions, resulting in their master's willingness to use the law to control them.

The result of legislative changes was not very popular with Hull's smack owners. During the 1880's articles were printed in the *Hull Packet* on issues such as the employment of casual hands, who were recruited from all over the country, many of these having little or no experience of the skills that were gained by apprentices and taking advantage of the new Payment of Wages to Seamen Act. Concern was expressed by the Hull Trawl Fisherman's Protective Society which requested a Board of Trade Inquiry at St. Andrew's Hall, in Hull. A representative of the Smackowners' Association, Mr Edwards, stated that 'owners had nothing to bring before him except grievances cause by absconding casual hands.' This was followed by the manager of The Hull Trawl Fisherman's Protective Society, Mr Ashford, who contended that,

> 'Things had been going from bad to worse since the repeal Payment of Wages to Seamen Act, which gave

> power to the master (in the case of an absconding apprentice) to have him apprehended and dealt with summarily by the stipendiary magistrate.'[152]

In the *Local Gossip* column of the *Packet* an article appeared supporting the fishermen of Hull, claiming that the Payment of Wages to Seamen Act meant that, 'the trade had to depend on youths, who, to a very great extent, were the lowest order of society.' These youths were characterised as being irresponsible, resulting in 'the unmerited blame of their masters.' [153] Much emphasis was placed on the so called debauched behaviour of fishing apprentices, with claims that in matter of fact they were no different from the seamen with whom they worked and associated, due to the plentiful supply of drinking houses and brothels,[154] although this sort of behaviour was rarely reported in the *Hull Packet,* if at all. The movement to the Outdoor System left many young apprentices with no supervision in their local lodging houses, living mostly with other older seamen. This led to claims that these vulnerable boys and young men began to behave in a similar demeanour to their older peers. In Hull, the Borough Medical Officer, Mr James Mason, at the Board of Trade Enquiry into the treatment of apprentices in 1882, [155] described apprentices as living with prostitutes in lodging houses in Trundle Street and Union Court, in a state of drunkenness, with women in various states

[152] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL FISHERMEN AND CASUAL HANDS', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 29 January 1886, 6.
[153] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'LOCAL GOSSIP', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 29 January 1886, 8.
[154] Wilcox, *Apprenticed Labour in the English Fishing Industry,*7.
[155] BPP 1882 XVII, Sea Fishing Trade Committee Minutes, qq.246-66.

of undress, without any sort of supervision. The Committee in recommendation 54(d) took action, deciding that the responsibilities of masters towards the provisions of food and lodgings should apply both at sea and onshore, making the Outdoor System unworkable, leading to its demise.[156]

Background to smuggling

The final area analysed is one which has long been associated with those in SROs, namely smuggling. This offence more than any other was associated with those who went to sea. During the nineteenth century the only way to bring goods into the country was by sea, meaning that the physical act of smuggling was restricted more of less to this occupational group. The different occupational groups will be considered to ascertain which were most involved in the act of smuggling, the type of goods they smuggled, and some of the changes that occurred which may have impacted upon smuggling.

Smuggling has been a feature of everyday life in many ports throughout the world since countries established their economies both at home and in their colonies during the early modern period. As maritime trade expanded during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries it was essential for countries to be able to control their own commerce, specifically when it came to the importing of foreign goods. With growing trade came more opportunities for the smuggling of goods. As Binny

[156] BPP 1882 XVII, Sea Fishing Trade Committee. Report of a Committee Appointed Under A Minute Of The Board Of Trade. (London: HMSO) Recommendation 54.d p,xiv

states in 1862, ‘Numerous articles of contraband are smuggled by seamen on their arrival from foreign ports, such as tobacco, liquors, shawls, handkerchiefs &c.’[157]

Knowing the extent to smuggling has always been problematic by its very nature, and the mid-nineteenth century was no different form the issues which arise today. One of the main issues with smuggling lies in the fact that it is illicit and dependant on the interception of contraband, meaning accurate source material is therefore scarce. Very often smuggling is referred to in terms of an informal economy by historians. This leads to issues regarding the scope, size and significance of this activity.

As early as 1394 a merchant was caught smuggling a barrel of honey and 200 oranges into Hull.[158] Between the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Yorkshire on the whole lacked the market for contraband goods, with the exception of Hull whose large population made it the centre of a large distribution network via the Ouse and Trent rivers. [159] Cargoes of smuggled goods entered the town quay in the ballast of ships, which were usually transporting coal. [160] Although by the mid-nineteenth century the majority of smuggling was tobacco related, Platt claims that the prior to this, the reason given for the activity was that ‘merchants just didn’t want the aggravation of paying duty’.[161]

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[157] Binny, ‘Thieves & Swindlers’, 368.
[158] R. Platt, The Ordinance Survey Guide to Smuggler’s Britain (Cassell: London, 1991), 177.
[159] *ibid.*
[160] *ibid.*
[161] *ibid.*

The smuggling of tobacco into Hull during the mid-nineteenth century was considered to be commonplace. The landing of illegal tobacco in the Humber was thought to be mostly due to the lack of the adequate provision of customs control. According to the Customs Collector, 'in the five years up to 1846 nearly 15 tons of tobacco (33,600 pounds) had been seized in Hull and well over 250 persons convicted.'[162] Most of the tobacco remained in Hull, the rest going to places such as Leeds, Sheffield and York.[163] The *Packet* reported that the number of persons charged with, or committed to prison for adulterating, or having adulterated tobacco in their possession in Hull, was 35, in 1844; 47, in 1945; and 69, in 1846; the total for England for 1st January 1843 to 1st January 1846, being 2,157 persons.[164] This helps to place the scale of the problem in Hull into context.

Research findings

Over the whole period of the study, some 489 smuggling cases appeared before the Police Court (see appendix 14). The majority of these, 468, involved those in SROs (see table 17 below). This would appear to show that smuggling was exclusive to this group, as they had access to the goods, the means of transport, and therefore the opportunity to smuggle.

[162]. G. Smith, *Smuggling in Yorkshire 1700-1850* (Newbury: Countryside books, 1994),168-9
[163] Smith, *Smuggling in Yorkshire*,169
[164] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'TOBBACO SMUGGLING', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 5 June 1846, 6.

Table 17. Cases of smuggling by occupation reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Occupation										Total over period
Combined SRO	55	31	50	62	64	73	58	62	13	468
Non-SROs	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	3	1	10
Passenger	1	1	0	2	5	1	0	1	0	11
Total by year	59	32	50	65	71	74	58	66	14	489

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

The high duties which were placed onto tobacco made smuggling a profitable business. By 1881 the duty on tobacco had reached 3s and 6d a pound, being called the obnoxious 4d, after the rate increase three years earlier. The amount of goods reported in the *Hull Packet* as being smuggled peaked in the years between 1861 and 1871 (see table 18 below). Reductions in import duties on goods after 1860,[165] resulted in tobacco being the most common and profitable goods smuggled into Hull.

Over the study period, seamen were the largest group featured in the *Hull Packet* for smuggling, some 181 cases, accounting for approximately 37% of all the goods smuggled. The next group were firemen, with 61 cases, approximately 13%, followed by those who worked on a vessel in some other capacity, with 34 cases, approximately 7%. One group who need to be considered are those who it is inferred worked in SROs, this includes those whose occupation is not given, but inferences are made to an SRO, such as being referred to as ‘fellow crew

[165] HC Deb 02 March 1860 vol 156 cc2203-12.

member', or 'in his berth', along with other supporting contextual information; 81 such cases, representing some 17% of the total. Overall, only 19 cases, including 10 men from other occupations and 11 male passengers, made up the balance, meaning 96% of smuggling was conducted by those in SROs over the period of the study.

For the period as a whole, the count of smuggled goods reported in the *Hull Packet* was 595. The most smuggled goods were tobacco (406 counts or 68%) and cigars 148 counts or (25%). Tobacco products therefore represented 93% of the smuggled goods by instance, if not necessarily by volume (see table 18 below).

Table 18. Type and count of smuggled goods reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886		
Goods										Total	Ranking
Tobacco	47	26	36	49	59	69	43	64	13	406	1
Cigars	11	6	10	31	22	28	24	10	6	148	2
Spirits	5	5	8		4	4	8	3		37	3
Snuff					1	1				2	4
Gun-powder									1	1	5
Eau-de-cologne							1			1	5
Total	63	37	54	80	86	102	76	77	20	595	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

Although the site of apprehension was frequently unstated, it would appear that smuggled goods were most commonly found aboard vessels or during the attempt to bring them ashore (see table 19 below). This makes perfect sense, and may well reflect pragmatic, targeted inspection of moored vessels and the dockside by enforcement agencies. We can imagine the huge scale of the challenge facing police and customs

officers, not only as port traffic increased but also in view of the ingenuity of concealment. Smugglers found various hiding places in which to secrete goods, including boxes of oranges, hollowed out timber, and in tea chests.[166] Contraband tobacco recovered from aboard ship was often discovered in the berth or bedding of the offender. The engine rooms of steam vessels provided new possibilities for concealment. Some of the more original ruses included chests with false bottoms or baskets of mussels. More or less elaborate evasion must be discussed in tandem with official attitudes towards smuggling. On at least one occasion, policing was said to be capable of improvement. At a meeting of the Watch Committee in Hull in April 1880, following a notable arrest for tobacco smuggling, the chairman argued that, 'if there was little more energy displayed by the police and customs officers a great many more cases would be discovered.' He further added that,' smuggling tobacco was going on extensively, and many people now did not believe in smoking duty paid tobacco or cigars.'[167] The chairman it would appear believed that the attitude toward smuggling in general was somewhat lackadaisical and that turning a blind eye to its practice was becoming all too common.

[166] Smith, *Smuggling in Yorkshire*, 170.
[167] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL WATCH COMMITTE', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 29 April 1880, 3.

Table 19. Discovery location of smuggled goods reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886		
Where discovered										Total	Rank-ing
Onboard vessel	23	10	13	23	36	45	20	18	11	199	2
Leaving vessel dock or dockside	13	9		1	8	9	6	5		51	3
On Person	1			1	1			7		10	4
Not stated	22	13	37	40	26	20	32	36	3	229	1
Total	59	32	50	65	71	74	58	66	14	489	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

Table 20 below indicates that there was no marked seasonality in smuggling, insofar as we can judge by the prosecution of the offence. The three peak months over the study period were November, September and April, with 71 or 15%, 51 (11%) and 50 (11%) cases respectively. January (3%), February (5%) and July (5%), were comparatively slow months.

Table 20. Distribution of smuggling cases as reported in the Hull Packet; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886		
month										Total by month	Rank-ing
Jan		2	2				3	2	8	17	12
Feb		3	7	1	4			5	5	25	11
Mar		7	2	9	1	10	8	3		40	6
Apr	9	6	12	7	2	1	6	7		50	3
May	10	3	4	9		2	1	4		33	8
Jun	4	2	6	5	8	1	6	4		36	7
Jul	5	1	6	1	1	6	3	4		27	10
Aug	6	1	6		13	2	5	12		45	4
Sep	5	1	5	3	21	1	9	6		51	2
Oct	13	1		6		1	6	5		32	8
Nov	3			7	11	38	6	6		71	1
Dec		4		14	3	11	5	4		41	5
Total per Year	55	31	50	62	64	73	58	62	13	468	

Source: Newspaper Analysis of Police Court Reports.

The smuggling of small amounts of tobacco from just a few ounces to a few pounds were common enough to be considered endemic. Larger hauls were made, though, as in 1846 when a seaman named Peter Schroder appeared before the Hull Police Court in October of that year charged with concealing 223lbs of tobacco aboard a foreign vessel.[168] Similarly, Johan Kuster, another foreign seaman, was found liable for 382lbs of smuggled tobacco in the same month.[169] In October 1851, a foreign passenger on a steamer was discovered with a bag containing 374 lbs of tobacco, 1lb of cigars, 1 pint of spirit, 74lbs of tea and 1lb of Chicory; he initially claimed that he had found the goods, and then brought them ashore in ignorance of the law.[170]

Although 1876 saw a fall in the number of reported cases for smuggling, the volumes seized were increasing. In March of that year a chief engineer named George William Gray , a seaman named George Cook and a donkeyman named Henry Drury, appeared before the Hull Police Court jointly charged will smuggling 846lbs of tobacco, 22lbs of cavendish and 18lbs of cigars.[171] At the beginning of June 1880, Henry Nelson, a cook on a steamer and John Smithson, cab driver, were accused of being stopped with 349lbs of cavendish tobacco and 421lbs of cigars on the Holderness Road. The fine imposed for the offence was treble the value of the tobacco plus the duty, a total of £376 and 17s, or

[168] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 16 October 1846, 6.
[169] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 2 October 1846, 6.
[170] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 10 October 1846, 6.
[171] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'THE EXTENSIVE SMUGGLING CASE IN HULL', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 17 March 1876, 6.

six months imprisonment.[172] 1881 also saw some significant seizures with a donkeyman named William Barely concealing 252lbs of tobacco in the engine room of the vessel he was working on.[173] Three firemen appeared before the court jointly charged with smuggling 164lbs of tobacco which was found in a donkey boiler onboard their vessel.[174] The biggest seizure of tobacco was in Hessle, some 900lbs being discovered landed on the shore near Hodgson's Jetty. Two men of unstated occupation were taken into custody.[175] Surprisingly, only one tobacconist was reported as being involved in the smuggling of tobacco, when William H. Smith was charged with possessing 414lbs of uncustomed tobacco, in February 1886.[176] This perhaps speaks to the highly opportunistic black market character of tobacco smuggling and selling.

[172] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'THE EXTENSIVE SEIZURE OF SMUGGLED GOOD IN HULL', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 4 June 1880, 3.
[173] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'EXTENSIVE SMUGGLING', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 5 July 1881, 7.
[174] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'EXTENSIVE SMUGGLING IN HULL', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*.4 November 1881, 8.
[175] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'EXTENSIVE SEIZURE OF SMUGGLED GOODS AT HESSLE', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 16 December 1881, 8.
[176] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'A HULL TOBACCONIST CHARGED WITH SMUGGLING', The *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 12 February 1886, 8.
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Conclusion.

In Summary, this research sought to identify those in SROs and their offending behaviour in terms of the offence and their occupation, utilising an online digital newspaper database, employing set criteria and a broad range of search terms. The main offences identified as being of interest are absconding, assault, smuggling and theft, disaggregated by occupation and location where available. Also, the role of offender or victim was examined in regard to SROs. Identifying the SROs allows some comparison against the general population of Hull, enabling differentiation between the perceptions of offending and the reality of the figures.

Through a combination of crime history and criminology an attempt has been made to explain both behaviour and attitudes towards crime with a specific emphasis on those in SROs. These two disciplines provided an opportunity to conduct the research from a qualitative and quantitative perspective. The quantitative element examined the newspaper reports in terms of the number of reports of offending by occupation and overall population. The qualitative element considered the content of the newspaper reports. Also, the literature of the period and modern literature provides a frame for both perspectives. Recent interest in crime history has begun to define its boundaries of study. For example, between 1996 and 2004 Clive Emsley's work *Crime and Society in*

England 1750 – 1900,[177] was already in its third edition, along with contributions by Rawlings,[178] Taylor,[179] and Godfrey and Lawrence,[180] among others.

Port cities are best defined by their social and economic activities and by those who are associated with them. The port of Kingston upon Hull went through massive expansion and change during the nineteenth century, which supported many industries and ancillary services in the town, having a substantial influence on the employment situation. Along with the economic expansion of Hull, the population between 1841 and 1891 grew from 54,434 to 198,892;[181] including many transient workers from the Baltic and Northern European States.

Reporting by the *Hull Packet* of cases before the Police Court made up the majority of cases examined over the period of the study. Some of the reasons for crime given by Victorian society were bad parenting, alcohol, the glamorising of crime, and a of lack of morality. Along with this, degeneracy and indolence were reasons given by some theorists as causes of crime. A sense of middle class respectability and morality was prevalent during the Victorian period, along with an idea that respectable society needed protection from criminals in certain areas or streets. Being able to identify the location of offences allowed us to build up a picture of what was happening in the docks and the streets located

[177] Emsley, *Crime and Society in England*.
[178] Rawlings, *Crime and Power.*
[179] D. Taylor, *Crime Policing and Punishment in England, 1750-1914* (MacMillan: Basingstoke, 1998).
[180] Godfrey et al, *History & Crime.*
[181] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Total Population.

nearby. In examining the location of offences, the streets surrounding the ports of Hull where crime or deviant behaviour occurred were located, identified that they were where the port developed over the centuries.

The results of the research utilising the *Hull Packet* clearly showed that for the offence of assault those in SROs only accounted for 26% of prosecutions, and among them the largest group were described as seamen, constituting approximately 8%. Although estimating the number of those who were actually employed within SRO's is very difficult, it still leaves us with the fact that in 74% of the reports, no mention was made of a related occupation. The fact that the largest group identified in the *Packet* were seamen, does not justify the notion of those who go to sea as being more likely to engage in this criminal activity. Although in terms of being a victim of assault, SROs only accounted for around only 8% of the population of males appearing before the courts, it is however curious that of these, 77% involved both parties being in SROs.

For theft, those in SRO's only accounted for 10.8 % of the total sample. Out of these the largest group were seamen at only 2.9%. In terms of being a victim of theft SROs made up only 7.2% of the reports. Of these, again, seamen were the largest group at only 1.8%. Although, if smack owners, shipmasters and captains are treated as a single group they would be larger at 2.2%. This would imply that seamen were as a single group, the largest offenders and victims of the occupational groups.

Overall it would appear that young men and boys in apprenticed to the sea services were the vast majority of cases reported in this category

of offence, some 202 in total and that the years 1866, 1871 and 1876 accounted for the majority of cases, some 184 in total. The three highest number of cases reported as being dealt with by the local courts occurred during the winter months of November and December. December 1871 and 1876 having 16 and 17 cases respectively, along with November 1876 having 16 cases.

Smuggling during the nineteenth century was exclusively carried out by those who went to sea. Some 96% of the reports which appeared in the *Hull Packet* were for SROs. High duties made tobacco the most common and profitable goods smuggled into Hull. The amount of goods reported in the *Packe*t peaked in the years between 1861 and 1871, the three highest months being November, September and April, the three lowest being January, February and July. However, smuggling more or less was a year-round occurrence.

Overall, the places that non-street-based assaults were most likely to occur was in the home, an establishment serving alcohol, or the docks. Many of the assaults took place in the nearby streets, or dock, or harbour locations. The docks, the harbour and railway stations and the nearby streets were the most likely locations where the *Hull Packet* reported that theft occurred. Even though the largest location for smuggled goods was ‘not stated’, it would appear that the second largest location for smuggled goods to be reported as found, was onboard a vessel.

Examining the historical context of Hull during the period through contemporary and modern literature allowed some of the offending

behaviour to be placed within a larger context. Some contemporary literature put forward the notion that criminals chose to commit crime because of the perceived benefits to them. [182] Then, by the end of the nineteenth century, works began to see the problem of crime not as one of class, but rather that of degeneracy and disease, in a society which produces a 'plentiful crop of criminals'. [183] During the 1840's fictionalised portrayals depicting the poor as a 'dangerous class' appeared in Penny Dreadfuls', leading to the belief that the lower classes were of an inferior physical character and appearance. [184] Other works chronicled the world of the criminal underclass in London,[185] some specifically examined sailors and prostitutes.[186] There is no evidence to suggest that SROs were engaging in any more deviant, criminal or immoral behaviour than the rest of Hull. The only incidents that were considered to pose a threat to society related to strikes, where SROs were reported in the *Hull Packet* in terms of threatening behaviour, intimidation and violence against fellow workers.[187]

Modern scholarly literature surrounding the subject of criminal activity in the mid to late nineteenth century is vast, including such areas as crime and policing, court systems and punishment, local and national governance, and policy reform and change. Statistical data on crime, specifically the Judicial Returns, tend to rely on the data that is sent to

[182] HM Government, *First Report of the Commissioners.*
[183] Morrison, *Crime and its Causes*, vii.
[184] Anglo, *Penny Dreadful,* 80-81.
[185] Mayhew, *London labour and the London Poor.*
[186] Hemyng, 'Prostitution', 210-272.
[187] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'The Sailors Strike: Serious Disturbances', 4.

them by regional forces, which raises issues of reliability regarding how these are recorded at local level. Also, the fact exists that changes to classification and recording over the period create problems with comparisons. Moreover, specific research on SROs in Hull and offending is very scant.

The media fostered the notion of the criminal element among the working classes, as well as playing a role in identifying and publicising crimes as a warning to others. The media would over exaggerate the reporting of crimes through inflammatory language and publicising moral outrage, despite being aware of the impact and influence on lawmakers. The boom in newspaper sales along with 'new journalism', meant that topics such as crime, including sex and violence, amounted to nearly half of the coverage in some newspapers, creating a huge demand for in-depth reporting and literature around crime. The distortion of crime by the newspapers created moral panic among the middle classes, resulting in them moving out of urban areas, even though they were less likely to be a victim of crime.

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During the nineteenth century Hull went through a large expansion of both its port and ancillary services. One-third of Hull's labour force was tied to waterfront commerce and dependent industries by 1871.[188] The expansion of the port along with the growth in population between 1841

[188] Bellamy, 'Occupations in Kingston upon Hull', 38.

and 1891 from 54,434 to 198,892,[189] saw many transient workers from the Baltic and Northern European States passing through Hull. Like many other port cities during the nineteenth century, the economies of Hull port operated through the use of extensive temporary manpower, meeting the fluctuations in demand for labour in the docks. This casual labour kept wages low. Although Hull was expanding economically, criminal activities such as theft, primarily of clothing, food and coin, with an emphasis placed on young people as the perpetrators, leads us to question the social and economic conditions from which crime arose. As for those in SROs, it would appear that the only offences which they were most prevalent in, were those which related to their occupation, that is to say smuggling and absconding by fishing apprentices.

The data collected for assault suggests that those in SROs constituted only 26% of total assaults and even then, the biggest offenders were seamen, making up only 8% of these. The highest overall reports for assault for all groups of males occurred in 1871 and 1881. The biggest increases for both groups were in two different date ranges, between 1876 and 1881 for SROs and 1866 and 1871 for non-SRO's. While assaults rose between 1871 and 1881 for those in SROs, non-SROs fell. This would appear to show that those in SROs had a distinct period of time when they were reported as committing assaults, this being between 1871and 1881. Although reports of SROs being a victim of assault constituted only 8% of the male population of Hull, 77% of these involved both offender and victim being in SROs. This would imply that

[189] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Total Population.

assaults and disputes among SRO's were common. Apprentices without a shadow of a doubt were the most common victims of assault from fellow SROs, usually in the guise of punishment for an alleged breach of conduct or behaviour. [190] In general, a lot of assaults take place between SROs while onboard vessel or at sea. These can take the form of disputes between captains or mates and lower ranking crew members, ranging from disobeying orders or refusing to work, to disputes between lower ranking crew members over missing possessions or simple personality clashes[191]. The involvement of alcohol in assaults between SROs is sometimes reported as being relevant, although the perpetrator may simply be attempting to justify their actions, thus shifting the blame onto the victim.[192]

The fact that assaults were most common in the nearby streets, or dock, or harbour locations, may suggest that these areas contained places frequented by males who were more likely to engage in violent behaviour, not specifically just those in SROs. Furthermore, these areas were the origins of the port of Hull and were more densely populated by working people. On the whole the reporting of assaults would suggest that it was not occupational particularly, but more defined by locality to the nearby streets, or docks, or harbour.

[190] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ill-using an apprentice', 6.; also, The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'assault on a fisherboy', 6.
[191] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT: Assault at Sea', 6.
[192] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ASSAULT AT SEA. THE CAPTAIN OF A HULL STEAMER FINED', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 8 April 1881, (page number unavailable).

For cases of theft, the data reveals SROs constituted only 12% of the total; the biggest offenders were seamen, making up only 3%. In terms of being a victim, the figure was 7% of the total male population of Hull. Once again, as with assaults, seamen were the largest group at only 2%. This would imply that seamen were the largest offenders and victims of the occupational groups. The docks, the harbour and railway stations and the nearby streets were the most likely locations where the *Hull Packet* reported that theft occurred. Although, as has been mentioned before, much of the port of Hull evolved around the docks and its streets which made up the majority of the old town. As the majority of theft was not committed by those in SROs, the question is, who did? In terms of the age of offenders as reported in the *Hull Packet*, by far the most common descriptors used refer to 'youth' or 'young', in fact they constituted 66% of all the reports. (see appendix 1) This would imply that the *Packet* was well practiced at highlighting this group, even if they were not the clear majority of those committing offences. So, the *Packet* would have us believe that young people were the main offenders and the most common stolen items were clothing (see appendix 15). Perhaps here we can see the seeds of a moral panic regarding Hull's wayward working class youth.

Smuggling, perhaps self-evidently, overwhelmingly involved those who went to sea, as they had the means and opportunity to do it. Around 96% of the reports of smuggling involved this group. Being able to ascertain the extent to which smuggling took place is an impossible task, as only goods which were seized can be counted. The increases in duties made tobacco and cigars the most common and profitable goods

smuggled into Hull, representing 93% of all smuggled goods. The most common location which was identified and reported in the *Hull Packet* for the finding smuggled goods, was onboard a vessel. There was a peak in the reporting of smuggled goods between 1861 to 1871. It would appear that smuggling was a constant all year-round feature of seafaring and that the smuggling of small amounts of tobacco from just a few ounces to a few pounds were common place.

The issues that are raised by the research and the modern and contemporary literature imply that apprentices were essentially 'unfree' labour, not receiving a percentage of the catch, which enabled the fishing industry in Hull to operate during this period. Many of the apprentices were unwilling participants, who were not prepared for the life at sea and its harsh conditions. With the expansion of the fishing industry in the 1860's, smack owners relied heavily upon both the poor law union and the local courts to provide firstly the labour they required; and secondly the means by which they could discipline and therefore control this labour. The law was used to criminalise apprentices and control them, as absconding was a result of their poor treatment, meaning in reality they were victims of a cruel system, rather than perpetrators of a crime. Furthermore, masters no longer had room or wished to live with their apprentices, leading to the Outdoor System of lodging them out. This resulted in the apprentices being left unsupervised. The Board of Trade Enquiry into the treatment of apprentices in 1882, The Payment of Wages Act 1880 and the Master and servant Act 1887, appear to have all culminated in the demise of the apprentice system, or created a means for

apprentices to leave abusive masters. Up until this point in time the Master and Servant Act 1823,[193] because of the breath of its scope and potential consequences for the worker, was employed as a means of punishment for failure to comply with contractual obligations.[194] The combination of public concern over the treatment of apprentices in the fishing industry and changes to the legislation, all but stripped the employers of their ability to utilise the courts as a means of controlling apprentices. This resulted in the virtual demise of the apprentice system by the 1880's.

Identifying the location of offences allows us to build up a picture of what was happening in the docks and the streets located nearby. In examining the location of offences, it is easy to see that the number of streets surrounding the port of Hull by 1851 had grown immensely from its original fifteen streets of 1300, [195] and curiously enough most of these streets where crime or deviant behaviour occurred, were located where the port developed over the centuries.

The vast majority of all thefts reported in the study occurred nearby the area of the docks, the river, or the harbour. When we examine theft by location in Hull, the reports which appeared in the *Hull Packet* during the period imply that theft was most commonly associated with the areas

[193] The Master and Servant Act 1823.
[194] R. J. Steinfield, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 47-48.
[195] F. White & Co., *General Directory and Topography of Kingston-upon-Hull and The City of York 1851*, (Sheffield: F. White & Co, 1851), 17-28.

of the Prince's and Queens Dock, the Harbour, Humber Dock, and the Railway Passenger Station.

When we examine assault by location, in non-street locations it was more likely to take place in the home or in a public house, beer house, or dram shop. The docks and associated areas were next, followed by at sea or onboard vessel. In terms of assaults in named streets, even though they were not specifically in the docks themselves, their proximity to them meant that the vast majority of all the assaults reported in the study are located adjoining or nearby the area of the docks, the river, or the harbour areas of Hull.

The media fostered the notion of a criminal element among the working classes, as well as playing a role in identifying and publicising crimes and the proceedings of trials in courts. It also acted as a warning to those who would break the law.

Despite being aware of the impact and influence it was having on the making of laws the media would over exaggerate the reporting of minor infringements of the law, using inflammatory language and publicising moral outrage at the crimes being committed. The selection of certain words such as 'outrage' had many uses in press reports, generally it refers to an offence committed against an individual including anything from assault,[196] to rape,[197] and murder.[198] 'Respectable' was a term used

[196] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'OUTRAGE ON BOARD THE EDWIN REED', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 19 May 1876, 6.
[197] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'SHOCKING OUTRAGE ON A GIRL IN HULL', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 20 January 1882, 3.
[198] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'BRUTAL OUTAGE IN HULL', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 22 November 1878, 6.

to convey the physical appearance of a person, a 'respectable looking' or a 'respectable person'.[199] Those not considered as being respectable, such as a prostitute, may be described as 'disorderly'.[200] Being disorderly was something that the lower classes were expected to be, such behaviour by higher classes was viewed as more serious matter, as expectation of levels of conduct were much higher, along with the expectation to set an example to lower classes. Such a case involving a 'gentleman' who had committed a drunken offence was dealt with by Stipendiary Magistrate Travis, who on fining the defendant stated that,

> 'It was not right that when a poor man got drunk once a week, and was guilty of any little impropriety in the streets, in a state on inebriety, that he should impose upon him a fine that often he was unable to pay; and that an offence like this, committed by persons in a far higher station of society, should be met by the infliction of a similar fine.'[201]

Furthermore, pointing out the people in such a position had certain moral obligations regarding their behaviour, stating that,

> 'You knew you were guilty of breaking the law, and that, so well as you did, you proceeded to outrage law and decency, that is one offence; the second

[199] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'NARROW ESACPE', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 18 September 1846, 6.
[200] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT, SATURDAY', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 18 September 1846, 6.
[201] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'DISORDERLY GENTLEMAN', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 21 March 1856, 6.

> offence is that you are, by your example, inducing others to do wrong and leading those below you into mischief utterly incalculable.'[202]

Often when referring to incidents involving the lower classes, terms such as 'crowd', and 'mob' were associated with offences committed against the police, especially in resisting and assault cases,[203] where innocent bystanders would suddenly be reported as intervening in order to assist the accused in their escape from arrest.[204]

Sales of newspapers boomed during the mid-nineteenth century. A new journalism meant that topics such as crime, including sex and violence amounted to nearly half of the coverage in some newspapers. This created a huge demand for in-depth reporting and literature around crime, criminals and the detection of crime. Reporting in the *Hull Packet* was not immune from this as the demand for more in-depth reporting of cases increased criminal procedures and proceedings became more detailed, for example in 1882 an article involving the rape of a nine year old girl, included evidence from the surgeon.[205]

The distortion of crime by the newspapers created moral panic among the middle classes. A fear of crime resulted in the middle classes moving out of urban areas, although they were less likely to be a victim of

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[202] *ibid.*
[203] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'ASSAULT ON THE POLICE', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 24 April 1846, 8.
[204] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'HULL POLICE COURT, MONDAY', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 8 August 1856, 6.
[205] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'SHOCKING OUTRAGE ON A GIRL IN HULL', 3.

crime. The role the *Hull Packet* played was in reinforcing the ideas of criminality fostered during the period, putting emphasis on the notions of middle class morality by portraying the working class in terms of their behaviour. Those appearing before the courts would often be described as 'idle or lazy' in both appearance and attitude, being portrayed as expecting rewards without earning them, with references such as, 'a great lounging lazy fellow', 'considers his right he should be maintained in idleness',[206] being common. Inferences would be made to their irresponsible behaviour, such as drinking and its impact upon their families, for example, 'he appeared to have been a lazy good for nothing fellow, who spent whatever money he did earn in drink.'[207] In short, the inferences made about their appearance, attitude and behaviour, were used to infer an association with morality and criminal activity.

The literature of the period tends to focus on the working class as being prevalent in crime, although they were just as likely to be a victim. Attempts were made by the literature and the media to develop the idea of a sub-class of this group, the 'criminal class' and to identify the background of their offending in terms of behaviour, activities and location of offending. Along with this came the idea of identifying them both in the literature and media in an attempt to push forward the middle class values and morality of the 'respectable class.' The overall research would appear to indicate that reporting in the *Hull Packet*, was less about offences and

[206] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'robbing a till', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 31 July 1846, 6.
[207] The Hull Packet and East Riding Times, 'neglect of family', *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 15 November 1867, 7.

offenders and more about an agenda, including identification of groups and their behaviour; as well as reinforcing the moral middle class view of the Victorian period.

In terms of SROs being considered as part of the criminal underclass, their offending behaviour in terms of assault and theft compared to the whole population of Hull was not over represented. Regarding both absconding fishing apprentices and smuggling, involvement in this definitely relates to SROs. Apprentice offending was more to do with their treatment and the system used to control them. Smuggling is something which is not comparable with whole population of Hull, as access to goods and their transportation is necessary. Although a lot of the criminal activity in Hull was located around the dock areas, there is little evidence to substantiate that SROs had anymore involvement in assault and theft than the rest of the population of Hull. Also, what constituted immoral behaviour such as drunkenness and prostitution was an issue for the whole population, once again with little evidence that it was specific to SROs. Therefore, if engaging in criminal activity and immoral behaviour are regarded as belonging to the 'criminal underclass' or so called 'dangerous class' then little evidence exists that SROs belonged to it. On the whole every little evidence exists that SROs belonged to either and were actually just normal working members of society.

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Appendices.

Appendix 1: Occupational search terms list.

- Able seaman
- Apprentice
- Block, oar and mast maker
- Boat and barge builder
- Boat and bargeman
- Boiler maker
- Canal service
- Captain
- Chandler, ship builder
- Civil Service (messengers, etc)
- Civil Service (officers and clerks)
- Coal heaver
- Coal Porter
- Cook, Ships
- Coxwain
- Deckhand
- Deserter
- Dock labourer (dock-side labourer) Docker
- Donkey man
- Engine fitter
- Engineer, Engineer’s steward or marine engineer
- Fireman
- Fisherlad/boy, Fisher lad/boy Fisher-lad/boy

- Fisherman/men
- Fishing boat, smack owner, smackowner,
- Keelman
- Literman
- Marine store dealer
- Mariner
- Mast, Yard, Oar, Block Maker
- Master
- Mate
- Merchant navy
- Merchant seaman
- Messenger
- Navy Officer (effective or retired)
- Navy Pensioner
- Officials and others working in government depots
- Pilot
- Porter
- Royal Marines (officers and men)
- Sail Maker
- Sailor
- Sea navigation service
- Seaman, R.N.
- Seaman/men
- Seamen,
- Ship fitter

- Ship owner
- Ship Rigger, Chandler, Fitter
- Ship Surveyor
- Ship, Boat, Barge Builder
- Shipwright
- Shipwright, Ship’s Carpenter (ashore)
- Skipper
- Steam navigation service
- Steward
- Stoker
- Telegraph service
- Wharfinger

Appendix 2: Offence search term list.

- Acting Suspiciously
- Assault
- Bigamy
- Breech of Education Act
- Bye-laws
- Causing an obstruction
- Criminal damage
- Cruelty, ill-treatment, neglect
- Damage to property
- Decoying
- Disorderly
- Disorderly apprentice
- Disorderly conduct or behaviour
- Drunk and disorderly
- Embezzling
- Failing to pay wages, wages dispute
- Firearms offence
- Illegal pawning
- Inciting a mob
- Merchant shipping or pilot act breech
- Murder
- Neglecting to attend military training
- Neglecting, refusing, failing, to proceed to sea or join ship

- Obstruction
- Obtaining good under false pretences
- Privy council order
- Providing bad food
- Receiving stolen goods
- Rescuing a prisoner
- Runaway, deserter, straggler
- Selling bad food
- Smuggling or concealing goods
- Stragler straggler, straggling
- Suicide
- Suspect
- Theft or stealing
- Uttering coin
- Vagrancy or begging
- Violence, assault, resisting arrest, wounding
- Weights and measures.

Appendix 3: Table of offences reported in *Hull Packet*, as committed by SROs between Jan.1846- Feb.86; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Occupation										Total by occupation
Apprentice					1	1		1		3
Block-maker		1	1							2
Boatman							1			1
Boatswain						1				1
Carpenter						1	1			2
Captain			3		2	1	1	2	1	10
Caulker									1	1
Dock-master						1				1
Dock-worker	1		1		2		2	10	1	17
Dock Policeman								1		1
Engineer		1		4						5
Fireman					1					1
Fisherman		1		1	3	1	4	12	1	23
Fish Merchant				1						1
Keel man								1		1
Lighterman								1		1
Mate	2	2	1		4	1				10
Marine				1						1
Marine stores					1					1
Merchant/ Agent			1							1
Porter					1					1
Sailor	4	2				3	2			11
Seaman	4	3	3	7	2	8	11	12	2	52
Watchman					1					1
Waterman									1	1
Shipping Broker			1							1
Shipping line worker								1		1
Smack Owner					2	1				3
Steward		1								1
Tug boat worker							1			1
Works on Vessel	2	1					2			5
Total by Year	13	12	11	14	20	19	25	41	7	162

Appendix 4: SROs as victims of assault as reported in *Hull Packet* for Jan.1846-Feb.86; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	
Occupation										Total by occupation
Apprentice	2		1		2	2		1	none	8
Captain						2	2	1		5
Cook		1								1
Customs officer						1				1
Dock-worker	1		1					1		3
Engineer		1		1	1	1				4
Fireman						1				1
Fisherman					2			2		4
Mate							1			1
Marine stores			1							1
Porter					1					1
Sailor	1	1				1				3
Seaman	1			2	4	1		6		14
Skipper						1				1
Tug boat master						1				1
Waterman			1							1
Workman on Vessel		2					1			3
Total by Year	5	5	4	3	10	11	4	11	none	53
Both Victim and Offender of Seafaring Occupation	3	4	1	3	9	10	4	7		
Public on Seafaring Occupation	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	4		

Appendix 5: Assault offences where Street/road was reported in Newspaper article for Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.

Waterhouse Lane 13

Paragon Street 9

Dock Street 7

Lowgate 7

Mill Street 6

Osbourne Street 6

Queen Street 6

Brook Street 5

Chariot Street 5

Leadenhall Square 5

Mytongate 5

Whitefriargate 5

Adelaide Street 4

Humber Street 4

Porter Street 4

Waterworks Street 4

Beverley Road 3

Blackfriargate 3

Blanket Row 3

Bridge Street 3

Carr Lane 3

Cooks buildings 3

Drypool Square 3

East Cheap, North Street 3

Hessle Road3

High Street 3

Market Place 3

Silver Street 3

Trundle Street 3

West Street 3

Bellamy Square, Mill Street 2

Chapel Street 2

Church Street 2

Collier Street 2

Prospect Street 2

Russell Street 2

Salthouse Lane 2

Saville Street 2

Waterloo Lane 2

Waterloo Street 2

<u>All rest 1 report</u>

Albert Street, Drypool

Holderness Road

Mariner’s court, Sykes Street

Myton Street

Roper Street

St. Stephens Street

Air Street

Albion Street

Anlaby Road

Baker Street

Barmston Street

Carlisle Street

Carlton Place

Castle Street

Chapman Street

Charles Street

Cook’s Court, Hodgson Street

Cuthbert Street

Dagger Lane

Damson Lane

Drypool

Duke Street

English Street

Fern Street

Finkle Street

Flag Alley

Garrison -side (Samuelson’s Yard)

George Street

George Yard

Gibson Street, corner

Golden Cross, Porter Street

Great Passage Street

Great Thornton Street

Great Union Street

Hamilton’s Place

Holmes Court (known for brothels)

Humber Dock Street

King Street

Land of Green Ginger

Lees Close, Springhead

Lister Street

Little Queens Street

Lower union Street

Manor Alley. (In cook-shop)

Marine Row (corner of)

Midland Street

Moxon Square

Mytongate Bridge

Nelson Street (a refreshment room)

North Bridge

North Street

Oliver's Court, Trundle Street

Park Street

Pemberton Street

Sculcoates

Spencer Street

Spring Bank

St John Street

St Luke's Street

Storey Street

Sykes Street

Talbot terrace, Lockwood Street

Thornton Street

Trippet Street

Vincent Street

Wakefield Street

Walker Street (in a chapel)

Water works Street

Wellington Street

West Dock Avenue

Whitefriargate

Whitefriargate Bridge

Williamson Street

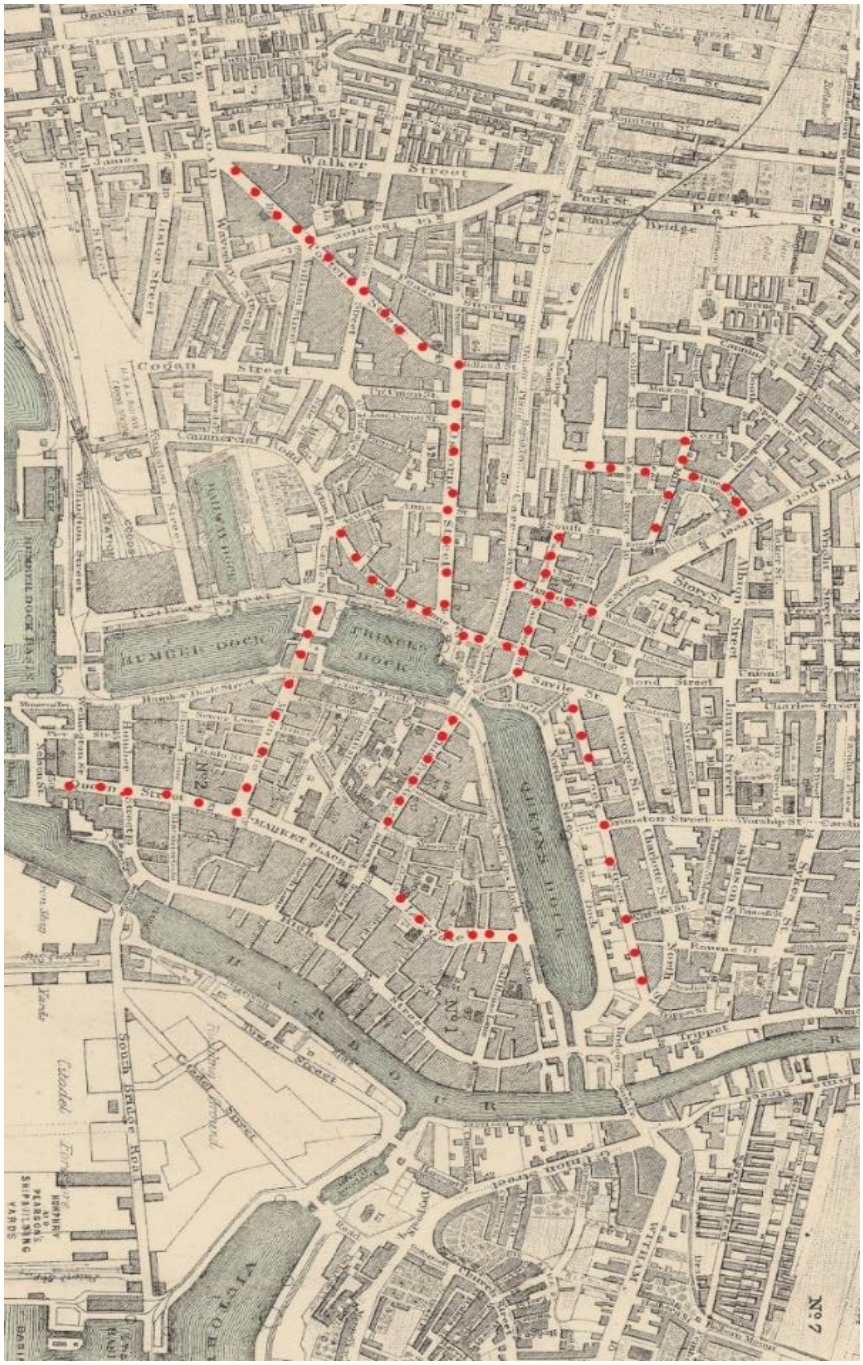
Wincolmlee

Wright Street

York Street

Yorke Parade

Appendix 6: Location of assaults involving the male population of Hull as reported in the *Hull Packet,* Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.



Source: *New Plan of Hull*. 1:3000 (Hull: M.C. Peck & Son, 1882).

Available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530209560

Key: Location of assaults ••••••

Appendix 7: Assaults occurring in streets in close proximity to a waterfront location:

Albert Dock 7

Hessle Road 3

Lister Street 1

Walker Street 1

English Street 1

West Dock Avenue1

Sir William Wright Dock 4

Hessle Road 3

West Dock Avenue 1

Queen's Dock area 60

Dock Street 7

Lowgate 7

Whitefriargate 6

Chariot Street 5

Waterworks Street 5

North Street 4

Bridge Street 3

Carr Lane, 3

High Street 3

Silver Street 3

Salthouse Lane 2

Saville Street 2

Albion Street 1

Baker Street 1

Charles Street 1

George Street 1

George Yard 1

Manor Alley 1

Trippet Street 1

Whitefriargate Bridge 1

Land of Green Ginger 1

North Bridge.1

Princes Dock area 62

Waterhouse Lane 13

Whitefriargate 6

Osbourne Street 6

Mytongate 5

Chariot Street 5

Waterworks Street 5

Carr Lane 3

Market Place 3

Silver Street 3

Trundle Street 3

Saville Street 2

Myton Street 1

Roper Street 1

Castle Street 1

King Street 1

Mytongate bridge 1

Land of Green Ginger1

Dagger Lane1

Trundle Street.1

Humber Dock 30

Queen Street 6

Mytongate 5

Humber Street 4

Blackfriargate 3

Blanket Row 3

Myton Street 1

Castle Street 1

Dagger Lane, 1

Finkle Street 1

Humber Dock Street 1

King Street 1

Mytongate bridge 1

Wellington Street 1

Whitefriargate Bridge 1

Harbour 44

Queen Street 6

Humber Street 4

Blackfriargate 3

Blanket Row 3

Bridge Street 3

Drypool square 3

High Street 3

Market Place 3

Silver Street 3

Church Street 2

Salthouse Lane 2

Drypool 1

Finkle Street 1

Garrison Side 1

George Yard 1

Cuthbert Street 1

North Bridge 1

Pemberton Street 1

Great Union Street 1

albert Street, Drypool 1

Ferryboat Dock 2

Nelson Street 1

Wellington Street 1

Humber Dock Basin 12

Queen Street 6

Humber Street 4

Nelson Street 1

Wellington Street 1

Victoria Dock 8

Drypool Square 3

Church Street 2

Albert Street, Drypool 1

Drypool 1

Williamson Street 1

Drypool Dock Basin 5

Drypool Square 3

Albert Street, Drypool 1

Cuthbert Street 1

New Timber Pond

Williamson Street 1

Railway Passenger Station 68

Paragon Street 9

Mill Street 6

Osbourne Street 6

Brook Street 5

Chariot Street 5

Porter Street 5

Adelaide Street 4

Waterworks Street 4

Carr Lane 3

West Street 3

Collier Street 2

Prospect Street 2

St. Stephens Street 1

Albion Street 1

Anlaby Road1

Baker Street 1

Great Thornton Street 1

Little Queens Street 1

Midland Street 1

Moxon Square 1

Park Street 1

Spencer Street 1

St. Luke’s Street 1

Storey Street 1

Thornton Street 1

Wright Street 1

Railway Dock 10

Porter Street 5

Myton Street 1

Castle Street 1

Great Passage Street 1

Great Thornton Street 1

Cuthbert Street. 1

River Hull 12

Hodgson Street 1

Sykes Street 1

Lockwood Street 1

Thornton Street 1

Trippet Street 1

Wincolmlee 1

York Street 1

Damson Lane 1

Mariner’s Court, Sykes Street 1

Air Street 1

Barmston Street 1

Chapman Street 1

Not in dock/port/river area or unable to locate 34

Leadenhall Square 5

Yorke Parade 1

Beverley Road 3

Cook’s Buildings 3

Russell Street 2

Waterloo Lane 2

Waterloo Street 2

Carlisle Street 1

Carlton Place 1

Duke Street 1

Fern Street 1

Flag Alley 1

Gibson Street, corner 1

Holderness Road 1

Hamilton’s Place 1

Holmes Court (known for brothels) 1

Marine Row (corner of) 1

Sculcoates 1

Spring Bank 1

St. John’s Street 1

Vincent Street 1

Wakefield Street 1

Lees Close, Springhead 1

Appendix 8: Occupational details of male offenders reported in the *Hull Packet* as appearing before the magistrates at the Police Court for theft, Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1976	1881	1886		
Occupation										Total over Period	Position
Apprentice	2	1	1	5	4	4	10	21	1	49	2
Blacksmith				1						1	
Coal Porter						1				1	
Cook				3	1					4	
Dockside worker				5	4	3	8	4		24	3
Engineer				1				1		2	
Fireman			1				1	2		4	
Fisherman		1		1	2	2		7	4	17	4
Foreman								1		1	
Keelman				1				1		2	
Lighterman				1				1	2	4	
Marine				1	1					2	
Marine Stores dealer						1		1		2	
Mate		1				1		1		3	
Navy					1			1		2	
Pantryman							1			1	
Porter				1		1				2	
Sailor	7	1	2	1		1	1			13	5
Sailmaker				1	1					2	
Seaman	7	1	2	13	5	8	9	10	3	58	1
Shipping agent's tallyman								1		1	
Shipping Clerk						1				1	
Shipbuilding				1						1	
Skipper						1				1	
Smack worker				1						1	
Steward							1	1		2	
Stoker	1									1	
Watchman				1			1			2	
Works on vessel		1		1	1		2	2		7	6
Seafarer total	17	6	6	39	20	24	34	55	10	211	
Non-seafarer	10	6	42	44	38	25	32	86	14	297	
No Occupation Given	77	117	154	180	235	200	197	248	37	1445	
Overall Total	104	129	202	263	293	249	263	389	61	1953	

Appendix 9: Theft cases committed against those in SROs as reported in the *Hull Packet for* Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886		
Occupation										Total over period	Position
Apprentice					1		2	1		4	
Boat builder								1		1	
Captain	2		4		2	3	1			12	3
Carpenter				1				3		4	
Chandler								4		4	
Chief officer								1		1	
Customs officer								1		1	
Dock Gate Man								1		1	
Dock worker				1						1	
Donkeyman									1	1	
Fisherman				1	1	1		3		6	4
Fish Merchant						2				2	
Fishmonger							1			1	
Keel Owner					1		1			2	
Lighterman					1					1	
Marine				1						1	
Marine store dealer					1		1			2	
Master of vessel				3			5	4		12	3
Mate				1		1	2	1	1	6	4
Navigator	1						1			2	
ropemaker								2		2	
Sailor	3		2	1						6	4
Seafarer	1									1	
Seaman	1	1	3	5	7	4	6	9		36	1
Skipper								1		1	
Sloopman				1						1	
Sloop Owner								1		1	
Steward						1	2			3	
Smack owner		6		1		1	4	8		20	2
Shipping agent								1		1	
Shipwright				1						1	
Stoker					1					1	
Works on Vessel					1	1				2	
Total by year	8	7	9	17	16	14	26	42	2	141	
Both Seafaring	6			12	4	6	16	20	1	65	
non-seafarer on seafarer	2	7	9	5	12	8	10	22	1	76	

Appendix 10: Non-street locations identified in connection with thefts reported in the *Hull Packet* for Jan. 1846- Feb.86; selected years.

Albert Dock 22

Albert Dockside 9

north side of the Albert Dock. 7

Albert Dock Promenade 3

under Albert Dock sheds 3

under Albert Dock 1

Albert Dock quay

Albert Dock sheds

Billingsgate 17

under Billingsgate sheds 1

Dock sheds 11

Docks, yard near 1

West Dock Works 1

South Dock 1

From a ship 2

Harbour 4

Harbourside 3

Hull Dock Company Warehouse 2

Humber Dock 17

Humber Dock sheds 11

Humber Dockside 6

under Humber Dock sheds 4

west side of Humber Dock 3

Humber Dock Basin. 1

Paragon Station. 14

Railway Dock 10

under the Railway Dock 8

Railway Dock sheds 6

Railway Dockside 6

Victoria Railway Station 3

Railway Company Station, Paragon Street 2

The Railway Goods Station 2

Paragon Station Yard

Railway Companies' premises at Hull.

Railway Company, Paragon Street station yard 1

Railway company's goods station 1

Railway Dockside, in a yard

Railway station 1

Railway Company's line, Humber bank 1

Railway Dock Quay 1

Railway Station, Midland Street 1

South Side of the Railway Dock 1

Prince's Dockside 15

Prince's Dock 12

under Prince's Dock sheds 3

Prince's Dock near, Osborne Street 2

West side of the Prince's Dock 2

East side of the Prince's Dock 3

Queen' s Dock 7

Queen's Dockside 7

Queens Dock 6

under the Queen's Dock sheds 3

The Horse Market 1

North side of Queen's dock 2

underneath the south side of the Queen's Dock.

St Andrews Dock. 1

The Dockside 18

The Old Harbour 11

Harbourside.3

The Pier 2

The West Pier 2

No. 3 Shipyard 1

under dock sheds 26

Victoria Dock 12

Victoria Dockside 5

east side of the Victoria Dock

boat out on the Humber 4

onboard ship/vessel 4

John Symonds Lodge of Oddfellow's 1

Jolly Sailor Public House 1

North Bridge Inn 1

Pelham Arms 1

Post Office in Hull 1

Queen's Theatre 1

Sailor's Home 1

Ship Glory dram shop 1

Telegraph Hotel Beverley 1

Appendix 11: Street locations identified in connection with thefts reported in the *Hull Packet* Jan. 1846- Feb.86; selected years.

Lowgate 30

Anlaby Road 28

Market Place 28

Mytongate 23

Waterworks Street 19

High Street 18

Queen Street 18

Chariot Street 15

Osborne Street 14

Walker Street 14

Whitefriargate 13

Holderness Road 12

West Street 12

Prospect Street 11

Silver Street 10

Spring Bank 10

Chapel Street 9

Dock Street 9

Hessle Road 9

Blackfriargate 8

Blanket Row 8

Charles Street 8

Humber Street 8

Waterhouse Lane 8

Bean Street 7

Beverley Road 7

Carr Lane 7

Castle Street 7

English Street 7

Moxton Street 7

Collier Street 6

Finsbury Street 6

Great Passage Street 6

Stepney Lane 6

The Asylum 6

Trippett 6

Church Street 5

Lime Street 5

Paragon Street 5

Portland Street 5

Trundle Street 5

Wellington Street 5

Wilde Street 5

Coltman Street 4

Cumberland Street 4

Dagger Lane 4

Drypool 4

Graham's Row 4

Jennings Street 4

Lincoln Street 4

Myton Street 4

Salthouse Lane 4

Scale Lane 4

Spring Head 4

St. Paul's Street 4

St. Luke's Street 4

Sykes Street 4

The Shambles 4

Wincolmlee 4

Ale house 3

Asylum Lane 3

Brooke Street 3

Campbell Street 3

Cottingham 3

Fish Street 3

Francis Street, East & West 3

Garden Street 3

Garrison Side 3

Green Lane 3

Hedon Road 3

Humber Iron Works Co. 3

Leadenhall Square 3

Newington 3

Paradise Place 3

Parliament Square 3

Parliament Street 3

Parrott Street 3

Porter Street 3

Saville Street 3

St. Marys Church 3

Bowling Green dram shop 3

Trinity House Lane 3

Williamson Street 3

Adelaide Street 2

Barmston Street 2

Blanket Row 2

Bridge Street 2

Broadley Street, Pell Mall Court 2

Carlisle Street 2

Castle Street. 2

Chapel Lane 2

Cottage Row, a house in 2

Daltry Street Boarding School 2

De Grey's Terrace, Lorne Street 2

Drypool Square 2

Durham Street 2

Earl de Grey Public House, Brooke or Passage Street 2

Edward's Place 2

Fountain Road 2

Great Union Street 2

Grimsby Lane 2

Grimston Street 2

Hedon 2

Lister Street 2

Machell Street 2

Marine Row 2

Merrick Terrace, Merrick Street 2

Mill Street 2

Myton Place 2

Nile Street 2

North Street 2

Old Harbour Tavern 2

Peathouse Lane 2

Sewer Lane 2

Spring Street, Giles Court, St. Stephens Square, 2

St. John's Street 2

The Mews 2

Victoria Hotel 2

Thomas Street 2

Union Street 2

Waltham Street 2

Waterloo Street 2

Waverley Street 2

West Parade, Anlaby Road 2

William Street 2

Cross Street 2

Vincent Street 2

Hodson Street 2

<u>All rest 1</u>

Blue Bell Public House

Broadley Street

Carr Lane

Cooke's Amphitheatre

Finkle Street

Fishwick Yard

George Street

Hanover Square

Hull Bank., from a barn on Jarrett Street, public rooms

Low Church Alley

Piercy Street

Piper Lane

Prospect Place

Sculcoates Lane

The Infirmary

Vicar Lane

Waite’s Auction Room

Walmsley Street

Wellington Lane

Alfred Street. (slaughterhouse in The Old Rifle Barracks)

Anlaby

Argyle Street, a house in

Aurora Street, a stable in

Belle-Vue siding at Albert Dock

Beverley Arms, Spencer Street

Blackfriargate

Blanket Row

Bolton Square

Bond Street

Bourne Street

Bridge Street

Broad Entry

Burstwick

Canning Street

Church Lane

Church Street

Clarendon Street

Cleveland Street

Cogan Street

Collier Street

Commercial Road

Constable Street

Day Street

De La Pole-place, in a beer house

Derringham Street

Gilbert Street

Golden Ball Tavern

Great Thornton Street

Holderness Road

Hull Church Institute, Albion Street

Humber dock Street

Jane Street

John Street

keel in Prince’s dock

King Street

Land of Green Ginger

Little Albion Street

Little Queen Street, Providence Court

Lower Union Street

Malt Shovel Public House

Marfleet Lane.

Middle Street

Midland Street

Nelson Street.

Neptune Street, in a house

New George Street

New Holland

Newland

North Church Side

Offices of the Hull Advertiser

Park Street Crescent

Railway Street

Regent Terrace

Selby Street.

Sidney Street

South Church Side

South Myton Arms.

South Street

Spencer Street

Springthorpe's concert

St. James Street

St. James Lodge of Ancient Order of Druids

St. John's Place

Stephen's Street

Gas Works

The Horse Market

John Symonds Lodge of Oddfellow's

Jolly Sailor Public House.

North Bridge Inn

Pelham Arms

Post Office in Hull

Queen's Theatre

The Sailor's Home

The Ship Glory dram shop

Telegraph Hotel Beverley

A train carriage

Upper Union Street

Vauxhall Grove

Victoria Hotel, Nelson

Walsham Street

Willmington

Witham

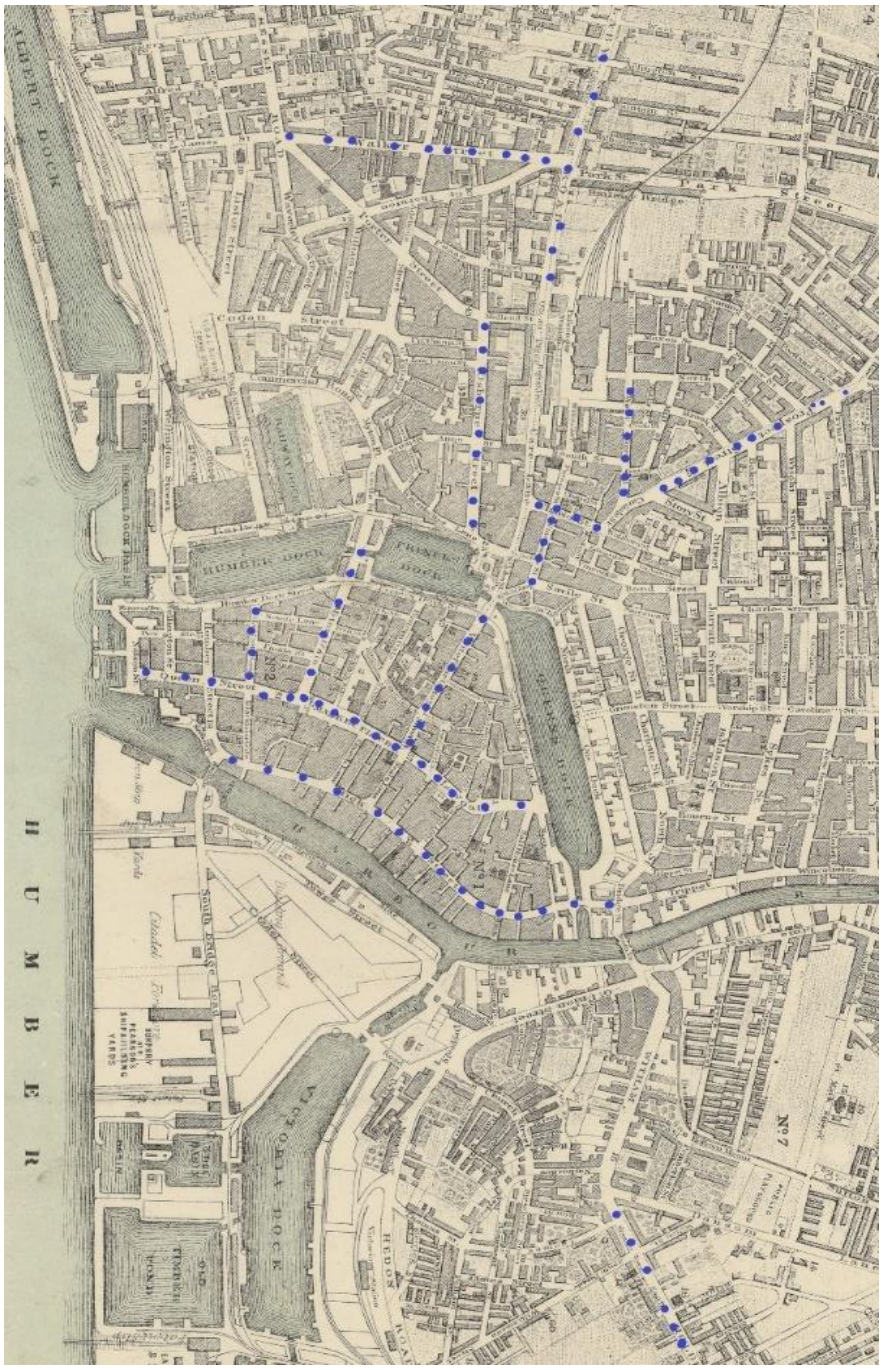
Withram.

Wold Carr Estate

Providence Place

York Street

Appendix 12: Location of thefts involving the male population of Hull as reported in the *Hull Packet,* Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.



Source: *New Plan of Hull*. 1:3000 (Hull: M.C. Peck & Son, 1882).

Available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530209560

Key: Location of thefts ••••••

Appendix 13: Highest ranked location nearest to streets where most thefts took place.

Place	Number of reported offences	Albert Dock	Harbour	Humber Dock	Humber Dock Basin	Railway Passen-ger Station	Princes Dock	Queens Dock	Not in Dock Area
Lowgate	30							✓	
Anlaby Road	28					✓			
Market Place	28		✓				✓		
Myton-gate	23			✓			✓		
Water-works Street	19					✓	✓	✓	
High Street	18		✓					✓	
Queen Street	18		✓	✓	✓				
Chariot Street	15					✓	✓	✓	
Osbourne Street	14					✓	✓		
Walker Street	14	✓							
Holder-ness Road	13								✓
Whitefriar-gate	13						✓	✓	
West Street	12					✓			
Blanket Row	11		✓	✓					
Prospect Street	11					✓			
Silver Street	10		✓				✓	✓	
Rank Total		**1**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**6**	**7**	**6**	**1**

Appendix 14: Smuggling counts by all male population of Hull, as reported in the Hull Packet between Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.

	1846	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886		
Occupation										Total over period	Position
Apprentice	3									3	
Boatman					1					1	
Boatswain							1	2		3	
Captain	3	1	3	2		1	1			11	7
Carpenter		1	1							2	
Coal Porter					1		3	3		7	
Commander	1									1	
Cook	1	1		5	1				1	9	
Dock worker						1				1	
Donkeyman							2	2	1	5	
Engineer				2	3	2	3			10	8
Fireman		3	2	8	3	8	20	15	2	61	2
fisherman					1					1	
Hand								1		1	
Keelman							1			1	
Labourer									2	2	
Lighterman	1									1	
Mate	8	1	2	2	3	3		2		21	4
Purser					1					1	
Sailor	2	2	6	2						12	6
Seaman	28	10	10	29	13	38	17	31	5	181	1
Steward		1		3	2	2	3	2		13	5
Stoker	1	1		1						3	
Watchman				1				1		2	
Works on Vessel				5	25		1	3		34	3
Total Seafaring	48	21	24	60	54	55	52	62	11	387	
Inferred works in seafaring occupation	7	10	26	2	10	18	6	0	2	81	
Overall Joint seafaring Total	55	31	50	62	64	73	58	62	13	468	
Non-Seafaring Occupation	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	3	1	10	
Passenger	1	1	0	2	5	1	0	1	0	11	
Total for all Counts of Smuggling	59	32	50	65	71	74	58	66	14	489	

Appendix 15: Reported number of thefts of goods, as reported in the *Hull Packet* Jan 1846- Feb. 86 Jan.1846 – Feb.86; selected years.

1: Clothing

Total- 377

Boots 94

Caps 4

Clothes 24

Coat 61

Coat/waistcoat 45

Cravats 2

Elastic stockings 1

Gown 2

Guernsey 7

Handkerchief 19

Jacket 17

Lady's Sleeves 4

Neckerchief 3

Shawl 1

Shirt 30

Shoes 13

Skirt 3

Trousers 38

Wearing apparel 37

Woollen muffler 2

2: Food

Apples 43

Bacon 15

Beans (locust) 14

Beans 10

Beef 13

Biscuits 15

Potatoes 1

Bread 8

Butter 4

Currants 3

Fish 28

Haddock 7

Sprats 4

Mussels 2

Fruit 1

Oranges 12

Other food 7 (3 beef)

Pork 1

Potatoes 4

Preserved Rabbit 2

Sugar 3

Sweetmeats 1

Gingerbread 1

Total -193

3: Money

£ 114

Copper/coins 4

Crown 7

Dollar 3

Franc notes 1

Francs 1

Half sovereign 1

Half-crown 1

Money 14

Pence 3

Prussian Bank notes 2

Shilling 4

Silver & copper 1

Silver 1

Sixpence 3

Sovereign 18

Sovereign/Half 3

Total-181

4: Metals

Copper 14

Copper nails 3

Lead 27

Yellow metal 2

Iron 49

Brass 41

Bell metal 2

Gas piping 2

Total-140

5: Watches/Guard chains

Guard 23

Watch 112

Watch chain 2

Total-137

6: Rope

Rope 79

Total-79

7: Livestock/Animals

Bird 1

Dog 3

Fowl 23

Mare (horse) 3

Pig 2

Pigeons 17

Pony 2

Rabbits 4

Sheep 1

Total-56

8: Purses/Wallets

Purse 10

Purse 11

Purse 2

Purse 4

Purse 6

Purse 7

Purse 9

Wallet 2

Total-51

9: Smoking

Cigars 17

Pipe 6

Snuff 1

Tobacco 18

Tobacco pouch 2

Total-44

10: Jewellery

Broach 5

Earrings 8

Gold ring 3

Gold studs 3

Ring 15

Shirt studs 2

Spectacles 4

Total-37

11: Household goods

Bucket 2

Candles 3

Floor cloth 1

Matches 1

Silver spoons 2

Soap 3

Sugar bowl 1

Sugar bows 1

Sugar crusher, 1

Table cloth 3

Tea cloth 2

Teaspoons 1

Wash leather 1

Birdcage 4

Books 2

Chair 1

Cradle 1

Tin box 1

Parrott cage 1

Pencils 2

Postage stamps 2

Total-36

12: Tools

Caulking tool 1

Chisel 2

Compass 6

Hammer 2

Plane 1

Punch 1

Quadrant 1

Saw 1

Chisel 1

Smoothing plane 1

Tools 18

Total-35

13: Timber

Wood 25

Laths 3

Total-28

14: Rags

Rags 20

Total-20

15: Cloth/Material

Blanket 2

Calico 2

Canvas 4

Cloth (sail) 1

Cloth 7

Shirting 2

Total-18

16: Bones

Bones 17

Total-17

17: Grain

Barley 6

Corn 1

Maize 3

Wheat 3

Wheat 3

Total-16

18: Leather

Animal skins 6

Leather 8

Leather bag 1

Total-15

19: Linseed

Linseed (cake) 9

Linseed 4

Total-13

20: Alcohol

Brandy 4

Porter 2

Whiskey 2

Whiskey 4

Total-12

21: Coal

Coal 11

Total-11

22: Toys

Toys 6

Total

6

23: Chains

Chain 4

Total-4

24: Precious metal

Gold plate 1

Silver plate 1

Total-2

24: Sacking

Coal bags 2

Total-2

Miscellaneous

Accordion 1

Ashes 3

Horse hair 1

Horse rug 1

Keys 1

Machinery 1

Merino 1

Russian mats 4

Sash line 1

Sausage machine 1

Stall board 1

Straw/Hey 2

Gas pendant 1

Total-19