

University of Strathclyde

Department of History

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Development of the City of Glasgow Police c. 1800 - c. 1939

Presented by

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For
S.L.S
&
C.A.F.

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Introduction

This thesis sets out to examine the development of the police function in Glasgow over a period of approximately one hundred and forty years. It looks at the appropriate enabling legislation; the organisational structure; the recruitment sources; the conditions of employment, and the changing operational responsibilities. In the past, external influences, such as the requirements of the delegated responsibilities for the control of crime, prostitution, drunkenness and environmental maintenance generally determined a Chief Constable's priorities. Nevertheless, chief constables and their advisors had their own agendas for strategic planning including funding, recruiting, training and operational precedence.

Glasgow was chosen because of the availability of records on the police. Clearly, as Scotland's most populous and industrialised conurbation it would be different from many other Scottish towns and cities. Unfortunately, little academic work has been done on the development of policing in Scotland to allow for comparison to be made of its constabularies, their organisation and operation. As a result, where contrasts are drawn, it is often with the Metropolitan Police and other English forces. Regrettably, many of these studies tend to focus on specific areas of police activity over short periods or relatively long periods of time concerning to a particular geographic area.

This approach is different. It is a longitudinal study that is less about the politics of public order, and more about internal developments within the police as it adjusted to the changing needs of urban society. What comes out from such an approach is the cyclical nature of police development as internal enquiry led to periods of reform followed by a phase of stagnation which in turn required further enquiry. For example,

recurring problems of recruitment, levels of earnings, the interaction between political parameters, economic and social conditions and internal police requirements had a direct effect on the efficiency of the organisation and the standing of the police in the community at any given time.

This thesis seeks to offer an in-depth study of the workings of one of the key institutions of any modern society looking at internal and external pressures and the problems of adjusting to them.

CHAPTER ONE

The Nature of Policing

The reading of the term 'police' is not universal. This chapter examines the variety of interpretations and the eclectic format adopted in Glasgow with the installation of formal policing.

The word 'Police' has two meanings. According to the first, it is the science of regulating whatever belongs to the internal economy of a state; according to the second, or limited meaning, it is merely a system of preventative justice. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1859)

Stead concurs, commenting that the administration of the state, and public behaviour, familiar in ancient classical history to Aristotle and Plato and to republican Rome, would be well-known concepts to Dr. Johnson and his eighteenth century contemporaries. This idea of central control remained in continental Europe, particularly in France, whereas, by the 1830's in England, the educated perception associated 'police' with the latter definition¹. Emsley, while identifying a graeco-latin route *via πολιτεία (politeia)*, for the etymology of 'police' encapsulating the state's prescription both of public and private administration and of behaviour, limits his research to considering public order and combating crime as the principles behind English policing². Adam Smith confused the issue by developing a French etymology founded on the classical Greek³.

¹ Stead, J. P. 'Pioneers in Policing : an Overview', in Pioneers in Policing, Maidenhead, 1977, p.1.

² Emsley, C. Policing and its Context, 1750 - 1870, London, 1983, p.2.

³ Smith, A. Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms delivered in the University of Glasgow, reported by a Student in 1793, and edited with an introduction and notes by Edwin Cannan, Oxford, 1896, p.154.

This thesis aims to examine the origins and development of policing and how its function changed over time using historical material on the development of the City of Glasgow Police as the basis of the research. The inter-relationship of this early, urban police system in Scotland is set beside the developing systems in the context of and acknowledging the difference between it and that in England, and on Continental Europe, acknowledging the similarities, differences and mutual influences.

The role of central government changed from the granting of municipal permission to establish a police force in Glasgow in 1800 to a greater degree of direct involvement of the control of the police as a result of changes in the law and the resultant increased responsibilities bestowed on the constabulary by the middle of the nineteenth century. These developments are examined in the context of the legislation concerning emergent English forces, and traces the growth of a degree of national homogeneity in policing, although a fierce independence remained, particularly in the towns and cities.

The passing in 1800, of the Glasgow Police Act, is the beginning of the period considered in this work. Thereafter an examination will be made of the significant acts of parliament affecting the evolution of the police service until the outbreak of war in 1939. On this background are set changes in structure and procedure that were dictated by legislation and by political and operational pressures. Furthermore, the involvement of the police in the maintenance of local infrastructure, the control of public behaviour, and the 'medical' policing of public health and hygiene is a vital part of police responsibility from its inception and forms a stratum in its own right.

The development of police systems in England and Wales, and in Scotland since 1800 are seen as parallel rather than complementary experiences. In 1829 the Metropolitan Police Act was seen as a desperate reaction to the deteriorating situation in London where the control of crime, drunkenness and rioting were beyond the competence of the system of watchmen available. Taylor offers a cogent and well-informed argument as to the reasons for this, contesting the accusation of an incompetent 'Dogberry' style of watchkeeping. The reform of the system in 1829 focused on four elements that Taylor considers critical.

A growing preoccupation with crime as a manifestation of problems associated with socio-economic change; changing standards of behaviour, which included a growing intolerance of violence, disorder and crime and a corresponding belief in the need for greater 'discipline' in society; a new perception of protection and punishment; and new expectations of the magistracy⁴.

The 1829 act addressed these problems and, by definition, limited itself to the control of public and political (dis)order. This stricture of discipline and control was not popular with the general public. Ascoli remarks, 'Hostility to the New Police was immediate and universal'⁵.

Whereas in England the installation of a system of preventative policing was the priority, a wider ranging notion was accepted in Scotland. Carson and Idzikowska, in examining the early concept of policing in Scotland, underline this point.

Time and again, the notion refers to a much broader concept of policing for the public good, the public interest, or public happiness as opposed to concern to avert the ills to come or the maintenance of order⁶.

This view they reinforced by referring to Erskine's late eighteenth century comment.

[The] laws of police are calculated for providing all the members of the community with a sufficient quantity of the necessaries of life at reasonable rates, and for the preventing of dearth⁷.

The fundamental point is that policing in Scotland was seen as a proactive deterrent to criminal activity rather than a reaction to problems after the event as suggested by the advent of the Metropolitan Police. As early as 1795, when Patrick Colquhoun, LL.D, published his Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, the 'Scottish' idea of policing is evident in his writings. Recognising the many and varied evils of crime, fraud and depravity in London, and having already suggested measures for the adoption of a river police on the Thames, he extols the benefits of policing. The purpose was

to pave the way for the adoption of those practical remedies which he [Colquhoun] has suggested, in conformity with the spirit of the laws, and the constitution of the country, for the purpose of bettering the state of society, and improving the condition of human life⁸.

⁴ Taylor, David The New Police in Nineteenth Century England, Crime Conflict & Control, Manchester, 1997, p.16.

⁵ Ascoli, D. The Queen's Peace, London, 1979, p.93.

⁶ Erskine, J., An Institute of the Law of Scotland Edinburgh 1773 in Carson, W. and Idzikowska, H., 'The Social Production of Scottish Policing, 1795 - 1900', in Hay, D. and Snyder, F. (Eds.), Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750 - 1850, Oxford, 1989, pp.270/1.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Colquhoun, P. A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, seventh edition, London, 1806, Preface.

Colquhoun considered an 'energetic plan of police' complementary to the Constitution and the Law, opining that 'purity, activity, vigilance and discretion' were the key factors central to its successful operation⁹. Emsley postulates that Colquhoun's suggestions for a strong police in the Metropolis would be based on the then current French model¹⁰. Stead qualifies this by acknowledging Colquhoun's considerable experience as Chief Magistrate in Glasgow from 1782 and the substantial knowledge he had of civil problems and their solutions at that time. This expertise he took with him to London in 1789 at a time when Glasgow was attempting (albeit vainly) to introduce a police patrol system. His eclectic ideas, strongly influenced by those of social reformers, including Montesquieu and Beccaria on the Continent and Bentham in England, were distilled into the thesis of a proactive policing system working in conjunction with the law, courts and houses of correction as interdependent parts¹¹. Colquhoun's earlier work on the policing of the river Thames, concentrated his energies on commercial activity in the dockland and on the river itself. Recognising the high levels of criminal activity, he explored the concept of 'Preventative Policing', whereby

the various classes of Offenders perceiving that every vulnerable point was guarded, felt for once the power of the law, when exercised under the influence of a well-regulated police¹².

⁹ *ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁰ Emsley, C. Policing and its Context 1750 - 1870, p.51.

¹¹ Stead, J. P. 'Patrick Colquhoun, Preventative Justice', in Pioneers in Policing, Maidenhead, 1977, p.53.

¹² Colquhoun, P. A Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames, London 1800 (Montclair, N.J., 1969 reprint), p.211.

His treatise advocated the deterrent effect of a professional police, specifically recruited and trained for the purpose. He concluded that this form of policing was intended 'more to counteract the designs of evil-disposed persons by embarrassing them at all points, than to punish'¹³.

In 1857 the City of Glasgow Police General Regulations were passed and accepted as the definitive *modus operandi* of policing in the city. In instructions as to the comportment of Assistant Superintendents it is stated

the great object of their appointment is the protection of life and property - the safety, peace and comfort of the inhabitants - that their business is to PREVENT [sic] crime¹⁴.

This was to be achieved by a system of watching and warding with officers knowledgeable about their geographic areas of responsibility and the inhabitants therein. 'Norms' in local activity, domestic and mercantile were to be used as benchmarks against which the 'abnormal' aroused interest and/or suspicion. Thereafter, deterrent action could be taken before criminal infringement took place.

While accepting the differences in the judicial systems between the two countries and in their mutually exclusive definitions and categorisation of 'crime' and 'offence', Crowther maintains that a comparison of English and Scottish systems of policing and prosecution would do much to shed light on the perceived differences between English and Scottish crime¹⁵.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.281

¹⁴ City of Glasgow Police, Regulations, Orders and Instructions, Glasgow, 1857, p.11.

¹⁵ Crowther, M. A., 'Scotland, a Country with no Criminal Record' in Scottish Economic and Social History, Vol. 12, 1992 p.82.

Early formalised policing was described by Rait, who assessed the embryonic system from 1617, which had established Justices of the Peace (JP) in Scotland and a modest arrangement of attendant constables. An unsuccessful bill of 1701 proposed that JP's 'contribute to the peace, quiet and good government of all the shires'¹⁶.

Carson, working with Hignett and Idzikowska, makes a comprehensive, examination of early policing, recognising the fact that Scotland began to develop locally funded police systems relatively early, establishing constabularies by act of parliament in 1800 in Glasgow and Greenock, 1805 in Edinburgh, 1811 in Perth, and 1824 in Dundee, while in London not until 1829¹⁷. The work focuses on the emergence of a rural policing system at an early date and the development of the system of police commissioners in the conurbations and the resultant friction with the established city councils. In addition to this the observation is made that the remit of 'policing' in Scotland extended well beyond the boundaries of the maintenance of law and order into realms that today would be called social work and environmental health.

The confusion of policing in England as described by Swift lasted until well into the middle of the nineteenth century¹⁸. Experiences varied according to locale (urban/rural, industrial/agrarian), and organising authority (magistrates, parish vestries, improvement commissioners, corporations). Swift suggests that there was little co-operation at local, let alone national level and that degrees of efficiency varied widely as a function of the demands on whatever system had been installed.

¹⁶ Rait, R.S. 'Scottish Police in Early Times' in Police Review Vol. III, 1930 p.79/80.

¹⁷ Carson, W. G. 'Policing the Periphery: The Development of Scottish Policing 1795-1900, Part I' in The Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, December, 1984, pp.210-211.

The development of the so-called 'New Police' as a result of the County Police Act 1839 was seen, in part at any rate, as a reaction to the growing concern in England which, according to many authors, including Emsley, Hay, Gatrell, and Storch, had been growing since the late eighteenth century, to the increase in crime and civil unrest. Swift cites a good example of this anxiety when discussing the experience of the Staffordshire magistrates who were quick to adopt the 1839 act against a backdrop of local political and industrial unrest in Offlow South. Three years later, as Chartist activity, including strikes and popular disorders took place in the Potteries and the Black Country, the magistrates decided to apply the act to the whole county.¹⁹

Clearly, the concept behind and the operation of early police forces in England is at variance with Carson and Idzikowska's findings related to the Scottish genesis. Furthermore, the reforms of the English police service, initiated in 1829 and continuing until the mid 1850's as described by Miller²⁰ outlines the concept of the so-called 'New Police' as a response to a growing crime rate. Citing various commentators, including Critchley, Hart, Mather, and Radzinowicz, he charts the stormy passage of legislation at the time. The style of policing that emerged was more vigorous, with an orientation toward the crushing of the criminal element, thought to be sweeping the country, with no little attention being paid to the politically inappropriate elements active at the time, be they Chartists in the cities or

¹⁸ Swift, R. 'Urban Policing in Early Victorian England, 1835 - 56 : A Re-appraisal', in History, Vol. 73, No 238, June, 1988, p.216.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ Miller, W. 'Party Politics, Class Interest and Reform of the Police 1829-56' in International Review of Police Development, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring, 1989, p.42.

rickburners in the country. 'It signalled a decisive shift in the basis of the social order away from consent towards force'²¹.

Swift, in his studies of the 'New Police' in York, Wolverhampton and Exeter finds evidence of antipathy at all levels of society to the semi-military organisations established to fight crime as well as the patchy and haphazard implementation of the new regulations. 'Nevertheless, the reformed forces were gradually, if grudgingly, accepted by the populace at large'²².

The Scottish experience of legislated policing, apart from predating the reforms of the English system, were founded on vastly different concepts of the responsibilities inherent in a police function. Far from being a 'New Police' in the English sense, early Scottish forces were seen as developments, formalising established systems. Certainly, the responsibility of 'watching and warding' was included in legislation, but

most of these Acts can be broadly characterised as generic, having more to do with issues such as paving, lighting and cleanliness than with the problem of order associated with modern police²³.

Carson reinforces this view with Pasquino's observation that by giving the police authorities responsibility in previously unregulated domains, a power base was established on a practical basis²⁴, and this established a fundamental difference between Scottish and English policing in the first half of the nineteenth century.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.48.

²² Swift, 'Urban Policing in Early Victorian England, 1835 - 56', p.236.

²³ Carson, 'Policing the Periphery Part I', p.211.

²⁴ Pasquino, P. 'Theatrum Politicum. The Genealogy of Capital, Police and the State of Prosperity' in Ideology and Conciousness, No. 4., 1978, cited in Carson, 'Policing the Periphery Part I'.

There was no dramatic divide which separates the old from the new, and indeed, residues of "the old" carried over far into the era of more contemporary police arrangements.²⁵

Police structures on the continent of Europe had been developing concurrently to those in the United Kingdom, and exhibited a sophistication of organisation and operation some years in advance of those of the British Isles.

Liang's examination of European police systems in the early years of the nineteenth century recognises the strong influence of central government on the organisation and deployment of police. The use of police forces in Austria, Prussia, Switzerland, France and Russia as political agents of the state is examined in detail, stressing the pervasive nature of the police in the political as well as the criminal activity of the populace²⁶. This form of policing was not adopted in Scotland. In France, the appointment of a Lieutenant of Police had been created by Louis XIV in 1667 and civic control became centrally managed, which had significant political implications. However, the responsibilities of the organisation, in all its complexity, indicate similarities with the Scottish rubric. Patrolling the streets and the suppression of crime were part of a remit that included dealing with drunkenness and illegal assembly. Responsibility was also placed on the Lieutenant for the supervision of markets, vagrancy, prostitution, and the prosecution of those who had failed to lock their premises at night or left rubbish blocking the streets²⁷.

²⁵ Carson, 'Policing the Periphery Part I', p.211.

²⁶ Liang, H.H., The rise of modern police and the European state system from Metternich to the Second World War, Cambridge, 1992, p.18, et. seq.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.9.

Concurrent to the appearance of legislation in Scotland, the passing of the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829 was followed by further acts to expand and deepen the English system. Philips and Storch itemise the early 'milestone' acts, including the Municipal Corporations Act 1835 which required corporate burghs to establish police forces under watch committees and the County Police Act 1839, a permissive measure, that allowed counties to set up their own forces. An earlier move in 1832 to set up a National Police failed under sustained opposition, and the general mêlée of the Reform Act²⁸. In the County and Borough Police Act 1856 countered the enabling 1839 act and made the formation of a police force a requirement. It also established an Inspectorate to ensure its efficient deployment. Taylor considers the issues raised by the formation of this 'New Police', identifying three major points: the novelty of the system itself; the arguments about policing that influenced the legislation; and the role of the police and its impact on Victorian society. These elements were all thrown into the fierce debate that surrounded the 'New Police' from its inception²⁹. Although the 1856 act compelled the establishment of police forces, its ultimate success was due, in part to the parameters established in the 1839 act. Davey observes that rural policing was much more widespread and effective than supposed on the eve of the 1856 act. Furthermore, because forces in some areas had been established since 1839, by 1856 they were much more widely accepted by the populace than in others³⁰. Nevertheless, the reforms of the English police system between 1839 and 1856 must be set in a context of growing government concern.

²⁸ Philips, D. and Storch, R. 'Whigs and Coppers: the Grey Ministry's National Police Scheme, 1832', in Historical Research, the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. LXVII, 1994, p.76.

²⁹ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750 - 1914, London, 1998, p.71.

³⁰ Davey, B.J., Lawless and Immoral: Policing a County Town 1838 - 1857, Leicester, 1983, p.7.

Weiss, while accepting the growth of lawlessness in London as a major contributing fact to the establishment of a police force in 1829, qualifies this by adding that the force 'took to the streets' during the constitutional crisis over unsatisfactory parliamentary representation that was only partially assuaged by the 1832 Reform Act. The growth of Chartism and its perceived threat to the Establishment, increased these anxieties and pressured central government to establish widespread policing. Weiss remarks that recurring political crises had a fundamental effect on the strategic decision-making of police forces responsible for controlling a riotous citizenry. In addition, since the police role was 'fundamentally political', this could be seen as an incentive to dissent by the populace³¹. Taylor accepts this view, and concurs that the police were seen as 'agents of the ruling elite, acting on their behalf, enforcing their codes of behaviour and responsible to them'³². On the other hand while accepting this theory, Philips, and also Steedman, recognise the fact that, as criminal activity in the country grew, the ancient parochial systems were no longer fit for the job in hand and there was a pressing need for an established, stable, paid, police force³³.

Hostility to the 'New Police' in England can be summarised by Lowe's observation.

The idea of a professional police force was repellent to many British people of all classes because it smacked of the

³¹ Weiss, R. 'Police Authority in London and New York City, 1830 - 1870' in Weiss, R. (Ed.) Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment, Aldershot, 1999, p.336.

³² Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, p.73.

³³ Philips, D. Crime and Authority in Victorian England, The Black Country, 1835-1860, London, 1977, p.53/55., Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, The formation of English provincial police forces, 1856-80. London, 1984, pp.25-6.

interference, surveillance and repression associated with continental despotism³⁴.

Alison, commenting in 1844 on the problems of policing, bitterly rebukes his fellow countrymen in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for their 'aversion to assessment' in this, the 'tax-hating age'. He quotes instances in South Wales where lack of police had failed to control local unrest, and in Lanarkshire where unrest on the coalfields caused considerable distress. Police forces did not exist in either area at the time. In both cases he maintains that the hostility to the establishment of a police force, funded by a local assessment was a principal contributory factor to the advent of these disturbances³⁵.

European Police systems, many of which pre-dated the Metropolitan system, were founded on centralised, government-inspired concepts of public control, which last covered many aspects of daily life and comportment. Emsley, makes the traditional generalisation that they were 'military, arbitrary, political and secretive'³⁶. He acknowledges Reith, writing in 1952, and his differentiation of two kinds of police.

The kin police or Anglo-Saxon police system, the ruler appointed gendarmerie or despotic totalitarian police system. The first represents, basically, force exercised indirectly by the

³⁴ Lowe, W. 'The Lancashire Constabulary, 1845-1870: The Social and Occupational Function of a Victorian Police Force' in Criminal Justice History, 1983, pt. 4, p.41.

³⁵ Alison, A. 'Imprisonment and Transportation' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine May 1844 Vol. 55, p.536.

³⁶ Emsley, C., 'A Typology of nineteenth-century police', in Crime, Histoire & Societes, Switzerland, Vol. III, pt. I, 1999, p.30.

people from below, upwards. The other represents force exercised by authority, from above, downwards³⁷.

Comparing England with France, Italy and Prussia, he revises this observation, and tries to identify distinct models. Metropolitan police systems were commanded by central government and were seen as agents of state control. Provincial police, while modelled on the Metropolitan, and ultimately controlled centrally, enjoyed a degree of local government dominion. Emsley identified a paramilitary police type whose function, as an armed authority encompassed control of populations hostile to the authority of the state. With some variations on the themes, Emsley contends that examples of each type operated in France, Italy and Prussia³⁸, he observes that each European country operated a police network that was ultimately centrally controlled and pervasive in its dominion over the citizenry.

Liang compares five European police styles: Austria, Switzerland, France, Germany and Russia. Each had its distinct personality and code of operation, however, each was founded on a centralised authoritarian basis, the police having extensive authority over the activities of the populace³⁹.

This model, no matter how diluted, when applied to the English police, evoked a hostility that took years to assuage. Emsley notes that the hostility to a police controlled from Westminster, that apparently resembled a French-style Gendarmerie, did not automatically mean that there was concern over growing crime rates in the 1830's. In the counties at least, there was not a total opposition to some

³⁷ Reith, C. The Blind Eye of History, London, 1952 p. 20 cited in Emsley, C., 'A Typology of nineteenth-century police', in Crime, Histoire & Societes Switzerland Vol. III, part I, 1999, p.30.

³⁸ Emsley, C., 'A Typology of nineteenth-century police', p.30.

kind of improvement in the methods of policing at that time⁴⁰. The City of Glasgow Police, founded on the locally inspired act, operated on the principle that 'force exercised indirectly by the people, from below, upwards'

The foregoing sketches some of the complexities in the origins of 'modern' policing in Scotland, England and Europe. It is proposed to use the example of the City of Glasgow and its policing from the standpoint of a uniformed organisation, established by Act of Parliament, funded by local taxation to examine the development of policing in Scotland's urban areas. The Police Act of 1800 is the starting point, but this piece of legislation was part of a gentle transition. A combination of the expansion, upgrading, confirmation, and re-delineation of an extant but obsolete system of civic regulation was addressed by the act. Carson compares opinions on the singular nature of Scottish policing, instancing writers concurring with the broader view, including Smith and Erskine. Pasquino is used to cohere the argument:

The notion of policing [in Scotland] refers to a much broader conception of policing for the public good, the public interest, or public happiness, what one writer [Pasquino], drawing on European sources, dubs '*cura promovendi salutem*' - concern to promote happiness or the public good - as opposed to concern to avert the ills to come or the maintenance of order (*cura advertendi mala futura*)⁴¹.

³⁹ Liang, H.H., The rise of modern police and the European state, p.18 et seq..

⁴⁰ Emsley, C. The English Police, A Political and Social History, London 1996, p.32.

⁴¹ Carson, 'Policing the Periphery' Pt.I, p.210.

CHAPTER TWO

The Local and National Context

The Institution of Police was founded on and developed via a succession of Acts of Parliament that had been influenced by the styles of other police institutions. These acts formed the basis for the structure and influence of the police as it evolved. From 1800, police legislation reflected the changing needs of Glasgow, as well as encompassing issues of national application.

In 1763, Adam Smith, lecturing at Glasgow University felt that there was a direct relationship between convection of populace in cities, the ratio of masters to servants, and the amount of crime. Where there were a large number of retainers under the feudal control of 'the nobility' a certain stability existed. However, when the large numbers became deposed and were turned out, they had no other means of subsistence than committing robberies and living on the proceeds. Such was the case in large conurbations including Paris and London. Nevertheless

in Glasgow, where almost nobody has more than one servant, there are fewer capital crimes than in Edinburgh. In Glasgow, there is not one in several years; but not a year passes in Edinburgh without some such disorders. Upon this principle, therefore, it is not so much the police that prevents the commission of crimes as the having as few persons as possible to live upon others¹.

A contributory factor to the growth of modern policing was the expansion in urbanisation as a result of the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The First Statistical Account alluded to the fact that the

increased industrialisation of the city 'occasioned a greater dissoluteness of manners and more crimes' and the consequent establishment of a bridewell in 1789 'for the punishment and correction of lesser offenders' in a converted granary².

As population centres expanded in the emergent industrial areas, anxieties over the condition of the environment, and public behaviour grew. For example, Smout cites Simon Tremenheere, Ministering Commissioner, as late as 1844 discussing the problems in Lanarkshire where 'the low animal habits of the uneducated or demoralised receive little check or rebuke from a superior presence'³. Devine concurs, adding that the decision to form a police in Glasgow was 'an attempt to improve the city's response to the growing problems of public order and deterioration in urban amenity'⁴. The establishment of early police forces was sanctioned by act of Parliament specific to the area concerned. Often the initiative was taken by the local authority, but by the middle of the nineteenth century, central government was taking an increasing role in requiring boroughs and counties to establish police forces that were liable to inspection by a government-appointed inspectorate. Over time, as the national legislation on police matters increased, responsibilities of individual constabularies became largely homogenous. Nevertheless, individuality became established and the amalgamation of forces, whether on the recommendation of the Inspectorate or take-over of one force by another, often was fiercely resisted.

¹ Smith, A. Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms delivered in the University of Glasgow, reported by a Student in 1793, and edited with an introduction and notes by Edwin Cannan, Oxford, 1896, p.155.

² Sinclair, J., The Statistical Account of Scotland [1791-1799] drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes Vol. V. (Statistical Account of Glasgow), Edinburgh 1793, p.513-4.

³ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People 1830 - 1950, London, 1986, p.9.

⁴ Devine, T. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response: Glasgow 1800-30' in Cummings, A.J.G. and Devine, T.M. Industry Business and Society in Scotland since 1700, Edinburgh, 1994, p.185.

Policing in Glasgow before 1800

At the time of the battle of Bannockburn, the population of Glasgow was estimated at 1,500; four centuries later (1712) this had increased to 13,800; by 1791 it had more than quadrupled to c.66,000. Table I charts the population explosion thereafter.

Table I Population of the City of Glasgow 1801-1951

<u>Year</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Density per/acre</u>
1801	Approx. Parl.Bur.ctd.1832	77,058		c.5,063 15
1811	- Do. -	103,224		c.5,063 20
1821	- Do. -	140,432		c.5,063 28
1831	- Do. -	193,030		c.5,063 38
1841	Parliamentary Burgh	255,650		5,063 50
1851	Parl. Burgh (Mun Area)	329,097		5,063 65
1861	- Do. -	395,503		5,063 78
1871	- Do. -	477,732		5,063 94
1881	Municipal Burgh	511,415		6,111 84
1891	- Do. -	565,839		6,111 93
1901	- Do. -	761,709		12,688 60
1911	- Do. -	784,496		12,975 60
1921	- Do. -	1,034,174		19,183 54
1931	- Do. -	1,088,461		29,509 36
1951	- Do. -	1,089,767		39,725 27

Source:- Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S., Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. V The City of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1958, p. 54.

The enormous rise in population towards the end of the eighteenth century fostered the concern of the city fathers over the problems of large groups of people flooding a city with modest infrastructure and limited facilities for the regulation of the populace. Changes in policing were added to the agenda as traditional systems become redundant.

The duty of watching and preserving order in burghs was imposed on burgesses from very early times. The Laws of the Four Burghs (1124 - 1153)⁵

⁵ Stevenson, J. V. in Municipal Glasgow, its Evolution and Enterprises, Glasgow, 1914, p.284 *et seq.*

confirmed that by common consent and usage from time immemorial the responsibility for watching and warding fell on the burgesses. 'One watchman was to come forth of each house with two weapons at the ringing of the curfew and to watch till dawn, under a penalty of 4d. Scots'⁶.

This was re-confirmed by the *Articuli Inquirendi* and the Mode of Procedure of the Chamberlain Ayre about this time⁷. Later, acts of Parliament in 1592 and 1597, again firmly place this duty on the inhabitants of burghs, recognising the right of magistrates to levy rates locally for the purpose. In Glasgow, as early as March 1549, regulations were made for a night watch, the purpose of which was the 'stainching' [arresting] of night walkers. Records state that eight persons were to be on duty each night, with an officer in attendance, viz.: two at the Wyndhead, two at the Blackfriars, two at the Cross and two at the Barrasyett. Watchers were armed with a hagbut [halberd] and/or sword. An act of 28 September, 1608 colourfully defined night-walkers as certain insolent and profane persons who walk in the night time 'upone the calsie, abusing thameselfis and the nychtbouris of the toun'⁸. Ten at night was curfew, and those transgressing the *dictum* could be fined (or imprisoned if they were penniless). Regulations permitted the putting of women in the brankis (chained to the talbooth in public by a bridle). In December 1612 the night watch was increased to twenty-four, six in each of the quarters of the town. However, only three were on duty at a time, leaving a relief trio in each area. This arrangement covered only the hours between ten p.m. and four a.m. in the summer, and nine p.m. and six a.m. in the winter. There was no arrangement for daytime patrol. By 1631 the number in the group had been increased to thirty-seven. On 26 April, 1656 this was

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*

reduced to fifteen and the patrol arrangement seems to have become defunct soon after⁹. Nevertheless a paid police force, of sorts, had operated in Glasgow for about half a century.

In 1617 James IV introduced a statute defining the duties of Justices and Constables. Furthermore, Constables were to be remunerated from the income generated in fines¹⁰. Sadly the scheme was doomed to failure. A section of the legislation protected the then extant hereditary rights of landlords in the administration of justice in their private courts. Rait commented.

The number and distribution of these private courts were such as to render the parliamentary scheme unworkable, and in point of fact neither justices nor constables came into permanent existence¹¹.

Attempts were made to reintroduce the system in 1649. The advent of the Commonwealth following the English conquest of Scotland, however, put the matter into abeyance once again. In 1655, Parliament acted on the advice of Lord Broghill. Responsible for the administration of Scotland, he had reported that the hereditary landlords had, in effect, blocked the working of the 1617/49 legislation, and the legislature abolished the hereditary jurisdictions in the Lord Protector's Ordinance for the Union of Scotland with England¹². Thereafter, burgh magistrates appointed constables in boroughs, and justices in the country. Much of the 1617 regulation was retained and it was added to in 1656 when powers given to the authorities to ensure the 'better observance of the Lord's Day' included the seizure of goods exposed for sale, and demanding entrance to houses suspected of profaning the Sabbath.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Rait, R.S. 'Scottish Police in Early Times, in The Police Journal, Vol. III, 1930, p.80.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

Furthermore, the names of those with papist sympathies were to be noted and passed on¹³. With the Restoration, the system became null and void then the old 1617 act was reintroduced in 1661. It was forty years before a further attempt was made to regulate a system when a feeble attempt to control the old system was made. Justices found incompetent would be punished directly by the Privy Council. However, Parliament was prorogued in 1701 before its enactment. The system of hereditary justices and the lack of provision for remuneration of constables were obstacles. Furthermore, the Privy Council punished defaulters. The central institution often acted without the involvement of the justices, particularly in areas of political subversion. Justices retained responsibilities for the upkeep of infrastructure - where constables were not required. It was not until after the Union, with the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council that the need was seen to establish a system of constables on the model of the 1661 act. This took place in 1708. The hereditary system of justices was eventually abolished in 1746¹⁴. Gordon observes that in the rural areas funding for the apprehension and prosecuting of criminals was raised through 'rogue money', a levy allowed by freeholders on their tenants, permitted by act of parliament in 1724 as part of the measures for disarming the highlands after the 1715 rebellion¹⁵.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century rivalry, that had been building up for some time between the emergent business middle class and the merchant class, came to a head as the inadequacies of the ancient system of policing became increasingly apparent. This was compounded by the growth of centres of population and concomitant civil unrest. This was manifest in 1779 during the anti-poperity riots and again in 1787 in Calton during a strike of weavers. An attempt in 1788, to

¹³ *ibid.*, p.81.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.84.

establish a regular police force in Glasgow failed due to a refusal by the city fathers to fund it¹⁶. In 1795 a private 'police' act had established a police board to administer street lighting provision in Aberdeen, although formal policing was not sanctioned by Parliament until 1818¹⁷. Glasgow was soon to follow suit.

On 28 February 1779, a paper was laid before the magistrates and council recommending that an appointment of an inspector of police be made, and his duties and responsibilities considered. Three days later, the committee appointed to consider the matter made its recommendations. These included the relieving of the magistracy of the solution of the increasing number of pleas and disputes among the citizenry 'occasioned by the increase of the inhabitants of the city'. Similarly, the hard-pressed magistrates were finding it difficult to devote enough time and effort 'to the police of the city, or the detection of persons guilty of crimes and offences'. The appointment of one James Buchanan as inspector of police was recommended¹⁸. The municipal inference is clear. The council decide to investigate the delegation of 'police' duties to an inspector as a response to a local problem, which had been growing over a period of time. The council however, had no power to levy a rate to fund the force, and by 1781 the project failed.

On 10 December, 1788 a committee of the council presented a report on the duties and responsibilities of an 'Intendent' of Police. The 'opinion' of the committee was that the duties of this person should include the keeping of information and records appropriate to searching for stolen goods, gathering information in public houses frequented by criminals, detecting house and shop

¹⁵ Gordon, P., *Policing Scotland*, Glasgow, 1980, pp.14-15.

¹⁶ Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response', p.185.

¹⁷ Carson, W. G. 'Policing the Periphery: The Development of Scottish Policing 1795 - 1900' in *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, December, 1984, pp.210-211.

breaking, patrolling to detect and prevent crimes, detecting reseters of stolen goods, apprehending vagabonds and vagrants, and suppressing riots and 'squabbles'¹⁹. In addition, the duties included the control of carts and carriages, porters and carters; the control of street nuisance, building regulation and street cleanliness; notification of damaged street paving and lighting; enforcing regulations regarding livestock and its slaughter; attending fires, assisting at their extinguishing; and reporting on the price of wheat²⁰. This organisation was to be under the control of the magistrates and council. Improvements and alterations to the scheme were made in 1790. To fund the proposed developments to the city's infrastructure, and the expansion of the police responsibility and a bill proposed to pay for this project²¹. Opposition to this imposition was such that the idea was dropped²².

The Glasgow Police Act 1800

On 20 January, 1800, a petition was subscribed to the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill in the current session for extending the city boundary, and for paving, lighting and cleansing the streets, for regulating the police and markets of the said city, for dividing the said city into wards, for appointing a superintendent of police, watchmen and superintendents of wards²³.

The petition 'for themselves [the lord provost, magistrates and town council] and on behalf of the community' was motivated by the rapidly increasing numbers of inhabitants of the city. It was concluded that the comfort of these people and visitors

¹⁸ Renwick, R. (Ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents Vol. VII 1760 - 1780 Glasgow, 1912, p.545.

¹⁹ Glasgow City Archives (GCA) C2/1/76 City of Glasgow Magistrates Committee Minutes, 10 December, 1788, p.142.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ GCA C2/1/1-2 City of Glasgow Magistrates Committee Minutes 19 February, 1790, p.182.

²² Stevenson, J. V. in Municipal Glasgow, p.287.

would be increased if proper regulation of infrastructure (including lighting, paving cleansing) and police and watchmen was sanctioned by Parliament²⁴. This is a clear example of local initiative on matters of local import, not a government imposed regulation of civic control.

The passage of the bill through parliament was no easy run. Considerable lobbying was required to facilitate its progression. The Lord Provost himself went to London, and after lengthy negotiation with, *inter alia*, the Speaker, Lord Walsingham (the chairman of the committee responsible for the bill, and the peer who would introduce the measure to the Lords) the proposal was presented. With a certain amount of persuasion of peers to attend the debate in order to secure the necessary majority, the bill was passed at a cost of £259.7.8d. Such was the gratitude of the city fathers that they presented their emissary with a piece of engraved plate to celebrate the event²⁵.

The remit of the newly created Board of Police was wide. Apart from extending the area of royalty of the burgh in a geographic sense and the dividing of the total area into wards for policing purposes, 'police' responsibilities included the paving, lighting and cleansing of the streets, and the regulation of markets²⁶. The installation of a police rate to fund these exercises was coupled with the premise that those paying had some say in the appointment of those who would spend the resultant income. Commissioners of Police for each ward of the city were to be elected by those who qualified to pay the police rate. The assessment of rates was based on the

²³ Renwick, R. (Ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents Vol. X, 1796 - 1808, Glasgow, 1912, p.182.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Eyre-Todd, G. History of Glasgow, Vol. III, From the Revolution to the passing of the Reform Acts 1832-33, Glasgow, 1934, p.409.

²⁶ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, Glasgow, 1896, p.111 et seq.

amount of rent paid by the tenant. The minimum rent of £4.00 - £6.00 *per annum* qualified for a charge of 4d. in the pound. A maximum of 1/- in the pound was levied on rents of £15.00 and above. In addition to moneys raised by the levying of rates, the Town Council was required to contribute not less than £800 p.a. from its Common Good Fund²⁷. The Board of Police consisted of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Dean of Guild, and Deacon Convenor. Complementing these persons twenty-four commissioners were to complete the group. Each commissioner was responsible for the police activities in a ward in the city. He was appointed by a ballot of the ratepayers. The 1800 Police Act laid down the foundation for municipal developments to come, but this piece of legislation was designed for a limited period only, certain elements requiring renewal and/or expansion after seven years. After this initial period, and over the next six decades, major changes occurred that would transform this modest group of police into a complex and ubiquitous organisation. Devine recognises the importance of the act in the context of the development of local government with increased urbanisation. He observes that

the Police Commission [Commissioners of Police] was an innovative body whose initiatives did much to create a new range of public services. Its policies point forward to the post 1833 period of municipal reform and later systematic action on sanitary regulation²⁸.

Although forming the basis for many of the City's police services, the act was not intended to run in perpetuity. In 1807 certain of its powers expired, or were due for renewal or updating. Under the Police Act of 1807, new spheres of influence were added to the operation of the Board of Police and adjustments were made to the

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.113.

rating assessments then current. The new act was to be in force for a further fourteen years. Included in this new legislation was a modification to Commissioners' qualification criteria and an increase in the maximum graduated rate *viz.* tenants paying £15 and over had the rate raised to 1/3d. in the pound.

In 1821 the Police Act was again due for renewal. The new act included continuing the functions of the board, but a new level of authority was created by the introduction in each district or ward of two resident Commissioners of Police with constabulary powers and authority for the superintendence of their areas. They were operational appointments with no executive managerial authority and no seat on the Board of Police itself. As in the case of the Police Commissioners, these area commissioners were elected *via* the franchise system employed for their superiors. The 1821 act was terminable in fourteen years in certain of its provisions. However, due to further areas coming under the control of the city, an Extension Act was necessary in 1830, extending the police authority of the city to the lands of Blythswood, and Easter and Wester Craigs. This entailed the addition of nine new wards, each enjoying the election of one commissioner to the Board of Police, and the two resident commissioners. Further fine-tuning occurred in 1837 with another Extension Act, which, apart from continuing the police function, modified the qualifications for enfranchisement of electors, making it possible for each elector to stand for the position of commissioner. By the 1840's, although there had been the amendments and extensions to the original act of 1800, such was the rate of growth of the city and the level of influx of people, coupled with the civil, administrative and potential criminal problems, it was clear that fundamental reorganisation was necessary, rather than further extension and adjustment of an act now bordering on the

²⁸ Devine, T. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response', p.188.

half century since its inception. As a result, a new act was passed in 1843. It contained 287 clauses, a considerable document by any standards. Whilst it reaffirmed the basic *ethos* of the police force in the city, the act contained several fundamental changes. A Statute Labour Act had been passed in 1807, giving power to the Town Council to levy rates for the maintenance of public roads. Under the terms of the 1843 act, this function was transferred to the Board of Police, as was the power to levy rates, previously vested in the Statute Labour Trustees (3d. in the pound on rent). The annual payment of £800 per annum from the Common Good Fund to the Police Board was discontinued at this time²⁹.

Political awareness among the growing numbers of skilled artisans and the 'endless stream of newcomers from all parts of Scotland and Ireland' who came to Glasgow in the first quarter of the century developed as the city expanded and matured. McCaffrey describes how the 1832 Reform Act overnight enfranchised 7,024 voters. *De facto* this gave the vote to the merchant classes, the rent barrier of ten pounds per year being too high for the working classes to qualify. In light of the fact that many of the artisans and small business owners had been enfranchised since 1800 in the election of Commissioners of Police, this was a disappointment difficult to reconcile³⁰.

In the meantime, the 1843 act extended and refined the powers of the Board of Police in the areas of activity conferred on it by the 1800 legislation. Further control in the domain of city cleansing was established by the appointment of an Inspector. Although he had powers to initiate the cleaning of the streets, at this time the removal of the accumulation of personal filth on private property was outside his remit. In the

²⁹ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, pp.114-115.

meantime, the contractual arrangement for the removal of accumulated detritus was continued, albeit in a haphazard way. By the mid-1840's the breadth and depth of responsibility covered by the Police Act was considerable. Table II indicates the diversity of the police organisation's interests.

Table II Standing Committees, August, 1846

FINANCE	STATUTE LABOUR	SCAVENGING(Cleansing)
LAMPS	FIRE ENGINES	OFFICERS & WATCHMEN
CRIMINAL OFFICERS	WEIGHING MACHINES	REPAIRS
HEALTH & VAGRANCY	POWDER MAGAZINE	NEW STATION HOUSES

Source: City of Glasgow Police Minutes, 6 August, 1846.

The doctrinal influence of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, offering an escape from post-Napoleonic disaffection through religious rectitude and education had no small effect, particularly on the *petite bourgeoisie* content of the board³¹. Appendix I shows the constitution of the board in 1846. The group was composed of craftsmen and the owners of modest business enterprises. Devine illustrates this adherence to 'Chalmersian' values by citing the board's extreme reluctance in 1842 to consider contriving a Board of Health at public expense, arguing that it would discourage the system of voluntary contribution and charitable subscription to the then current provision³². The benefits to the more affluent elements of the populace were recognised, but it was felt that the expense should not be defrayed by the community at large³³. Several Commissioners had strong political leanings, particularly towards

³⁰ McCaffrey, J. 'Political Issues and Developments' in Fraser, W. H. & Maver, I., (eds.), Glasgow Volume II 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996, p. 200.

³¹ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, pp.114-115.

³² Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response: Glasgow 1800-30', in Cummings, A.J.G. and Devine, T.M. Industry Business and Society in Scotland since 1700, Edinburgh, 1994, p.191.

³³ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration p.191.

the Chartist cause and enmity with the more conservative elements of the parent body was potentially explosive as the dual systems vied with each other. The New Statistical Account of 1845 extolled the excellence of the police since the act of 1800, now in its fifth decade. It described the 'very extensive' police buildings in Albion street were purpose-built - the first of their kind in Scotland. The compilers of the Account thought it fit to record that in 1834 disbursements of £15,033/13/6½d. included the remuneration of

the superintendent, collector, clerk, surveyor, and surgeon, there are 8 heads of departments, 3 lieutenants, 58 officers, 135 night-watchmen, 8 coal weighers, 21 lamp-lighters, 50 firemen and 20 supernumeraries; in all 308 persons on the establishment³⁴.

This confirms the wide range of responsibilities undertaken by the police at the time. Devine comments that the 'Police Commission was an innovative body whose initiatives did much to create a new range of public services in the expanding city'³⁵. Maver remarks that 'in accordance with the broad definition of 'policing' in Scotland, a range of environmental services was assumed including lighting, street-paving, cleansing and refuse collection'³⁶.

Meanwhile, the Fire Brigade, transferred to the Police Board in 1807 by special act, was having a somewhat chequered experience. Wrangles with the insurance companies as to the equipping and funding of the service came to a head in 1837. Such was the state of acrimony that the police commissioners contrived to reduce the cover to two engines and four butts, and to discontinue the service

³⁴ The New Statistical Account of Scotland by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, Vol. VI (Lanarkshire), Edinburgh, 1845, p.218.

altogether from June, 1838. Indeed, in May of that year wages were not paid to the serving firemen. A last minute intervention by the Town Council stopped this disbandment. The West of England Insurance Company funded the re-equipping of the unit with men and materials in 1840. In 1843 the Police Act confirmed the uncertain arrangement of paying for the services of the brigade. Half the total cost of fighting the fire in question up to a maximum of £15 within the city and the whole expense plus twenty five per cent for services outside the city bounds. It would not be until 1873 that a permanent standing force of firemen was engaged³⁷.

After the enactment of the 1843 legislation, it became clear that further action was necessary. The 1843 Police Act was renewable in 18 years but as early as 1845 speculative negotiations were started, not without considerable debate, as to the possibility of amalgamating several of the peripheral forces with the Glasgow organisation. Those involved were Calton (founded 1819), Gorbals (founded 1808) and Anderston (founded 1824)³⁸. Although each force was fiercely independent, a joint committee of representatives of the four Police Boards was set up in 1845 to promote the idea of a Municipal and Police Extension Bill. Agreement on the concept of the bill was reached eventually. However interested parties on Gorbals and Glasgow Boards, as well as the Trades House and the Lord Advocate expressed dissent. Despite this, on 27 July, 1846 the Bill became law³⁹. Appendix II illustrates the progression of amalgamations from 1800.

The 1845/46 police legislation resulted in major organisational changes. Since the passing of the Burgh Reform Act in 1833, when the election of councillors

³⁵ Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response', p.188.

³⁶ Maver, I. Glasgow (Town and City Histories Series, Constantine, S. (Ed.), Edinburgh, 2000, p.31.

³⁷ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation, p.149.

³⁸ Chief Constables' (Scotland) Association Centenary, 1870 - 1970, Inverness, 1970, pp.32-33.

³⁹ GCA, S.R.A./E1/1 Minutes of Police Commissioners 1800-1846.

had been transferred from an oligarchy to a more universal franchise of ratepayers, the need for duplication of elections of commissioners of police disappeared. As a result a Police and Statute Labour Committee of the council was created, consisting of Magistrates, Dean of Guild, Deacon Convenor, and eighteen other councillors of the city. This new committee was deliberately kept separate from the main activities of the Corporation, and it was ordained that neither the Town Clerk nor Chamberlain could hold office on the committee. Rivalries between the two bodies continued and, as the power and influence of the police authority on many aspects of the daily life of the citizens increased, an uneasy co-existence was maintained.

Decentralisation of functions took place. The old ward system disappeared and the new, extended, city was delineated by divisions. The City of Glasgow Police became Central or 'A' Division; Anderston became Western or 'B' Division; Calton Borough became Eastern or 'C' Division; and Barony of Gorbals became Southern or 'D' Division. 'E' Division and the 'North' became synonymous. Further divisions were added and reorganised as the geography and circumstances demanded. In addition, the act required that each division established and maintained its own police offices and police courts. This necessitated the installation of these facilities in Gorbals, Calton and Anderson. Police courts were presided over by the magistrates and court assessors were appointed⁴⁰.

The 1846 Police Act had established the City of Glasgow as the central point of local government of a considerably enlarged area with the amalgamations it involved. Although the 1846 act was terminable in eighteen years, it was renewed

⁴⁰ Ord, J. 'Origins and History of the Glasgow Police', Old Glasgow Club Transactions, Vol. 1, No. 3 Session 1905/06, 20 March, 1906, p.97.

with a few amendments in 1862. It was not until 1866 that the next major piece of police legislation in the city was passed - the Police Act 1866.

Comparative Police Development

Debate as to the impetus behind the establishment of Scottish, as opposed to English policing, continues. Rait considered the installation of a locally funded police function as the inevitable result of local pressures to remove the responsibilities of watching and warding and statute labour from the relatively few wealthy who were less than enthusiastic, to the many not so wealthy who would pay a little. This was to be facilitated by a formalising of the system with paid employees⁴¹.

Comparison of the origins of Scottish with early attempts at formalised policing in England, before Peel re-enforces the principles of a predisposition to the control of the criminal activities of an increasingly dissolute population. Dinsmor's chronological examination of events credits Patrick Colquhoun with formative planning on police organisation, funding, responsibilities and a philosophy of 'preventative policing'. The abortive attempts to establish a police force in Glasgow in 1779 and 1788 indicate an indisputable precursor to the 1829 Metropolitan legislation. Dinsmor notes that in 1788, the 'committee of council' was established in Glasgow to report on the appointment, duties and responsibilities of an intendent of police⁴².

Dinsmor points out that Colquhoun was not a member of the Committee of Council. Nevertheless, as a Baillie and a member of the Merchant Council, he would have had full access to the deliberations of the group irrespective of any informal

⁴¹ Rait, R.S. 'Scottish Police in Early Times', p.80.

⁴² Dinsmor, A. 'Glasgow Police Pioneers' in Police History Society Journal, No. 15, 2000, p.10.

advice he might have offered. In his discourses on the founding of police systems in London, similarities can be identified. He concludes that

there are ample grounds for believing that Patrick Colquhoun used his knowledge of the regulations governing the duties and responsibilities of the Glasgow Police as a reference when he suggested the 'disciplined, preventative and proactive police force' in his Treatise on the Policing of the Metropolis (1796)⁴³.

Ascoli confirms Colquhoun's pedigree and the estimation in which he was held in Glasgow mentioning that he, at the young age of forty-four, had been designated 'Father of the City of Glasgow'. By this time (1789) he had made a fortune in the cloth trade, and had gone to London to further the commercial interests of Glasgow. Nominated as a Stipendiary Magistrate because of his genuine interest in the extant policing and criminal justice systems, he was in an ideal position to observe at firsthand the growing perception and reality of increased lawlessness and disorder in London. The Treatise on London, which ran through seven editions in ten years, was the result of his researches. While propounding the benefits of a preventative system of policing, he warned against the danger of not forming a cohesive and comprehensive police. He maintained that if the French, with their para-military police system, could not prevent a revolution, what chance in England with its variable provision⁴⁴ ?

Controversially, Paley is dismissive of Colquhoun's many-editioned Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, suggesting that his influence at government level was minor.

⁴³ Dinsmor, A. 'Glasgow Police Pioneers', p.10.

Indeed, the Home Office seems to have regarded him in much the same way as that interminable succession of cranks whose mission in life was to draw up fantastical schemes to eliminate the national debt⁴⁵.

Having thus dismissed the efforts of Colquhoun and his contemporary, Henry Fielding in the area of preventative policing, she concentrates on central government attempts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to address the control of crime and maintenance of public order. She challenges, with some justification, the 'popular legend' of an inefficient watch system in London. Pointing out that it was fragmented, she comments that there were 'more than eighty' local watches that by 1829, had been formalised by means of local acts⁴⁶. She recognised that there were several reform initiatives in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, notably the Westminster Police Bill of 1785 which was born out of the concerns raised by a succession of incidents of civil unrest that she traces to the Gordon Riots and the rising crime rate 'signalled by the end of the American War of Independence'. The Bill recommended that London be divided into nine divisions under two commissioners, policed by a body of salaried constables. However, it did not abolish the watch system. Its failure to become law was due not only to enormous opposition on the grounds of its draconian nature but also the expense of its operation. In addition, those merchants with vested interests in the City of London saw it as an

⁴⁴ Ascoli, D. The Queen's Peace, the origins and development of the metropolitan police, 1829-1979, London 1979, pp.52-53.

⁴⁵ Paley, R. "An Imperfect, Inadequate and Wretched System?" Policing London Before Peel', in Criminal Justice History, 1989, pt.10, p.98.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.102.

invasion of their rights. Surrey Magistrates considered the current system adequate, as did the Middlesex justices who pronounced that the legislation was unnecessary⁴⁷.

Benjamin recognises the inherent problem of comparison being made with the 'only paid police force', the 'Gendarmerie of France'. This he maintains was associated in the mind of the Englishman 'with the suppression of personal liberty and the ubiquity of spies'⁴⁸. An attempt to install the system in Dublin failed as a result of political manoeuvring, and the fact that it was expensive and unpopular⁴⁹. By 1811, further pressure for police reform in London resulted in the Nightly Watch Regulation Bill. This measure was intended to set minimum standards of watching and patrol for the myriad of local watch provisions. Delegation of responsibility by government to extant trustees, or new appointments where necessary, to appoint patrols and watchmen was seen as a cheap solution causing the minimum of political fuss. It left day-to-day obligations with the parishes, but overall control with the Home Office. The vestries were not enthusiastic at the idea of giving up their autonomy to stipendiary magistrates, appointed at government level. The increased expense of the recruitment and operation of a reformed watch added to the debate. The bill was dropped. Select Committees reporting in 1818 and 1822 reported very strongly against the forming of paid police forces. Abstract arguments overwhelmed the debate. Benjamin quotes the 1822 group.

It would be difficult to reconcile an effective system of police with that freedom of action and exemption from interference which are the great blessings of society in this country; and your committee think that the forfeiture or

⁴⁷ Benjamin, H. 'The Internal Police Administration of England, Part II. The Police Bill of 1785 and Subsequent Reform in the Metropolis to 1829.' in *The Police Journal*, 1931 Vol. IV p.602.

⁴⁸ Benjamin, H. 'The Internal Police Administration of England, Part II. p.598.

⁴⁹ Paley, R. 'An Imperfect, Inadequate and Wretched System?', p.109.

curtailment of such advantages would be too great a sacrifice for improvements in police, or facilities in the detection of crime, however desirable in themselves if abstractly considered⁵⁰.

Seven years later the debate on the establishment of a police in the Metropolis, incorporating at least some of the ideas suggested three decades before, became incontestable. The rise in crime levels alone effected a change in opinion. Agreeing with Paley, Taylor argues a complex case reasoning that 'pre Peel' policing was not all bad, but lacked co-ordination, structural homogeneity, and adequate funding. In addition, evidence that levels of crime were rising is open to question. He postulates that society changed, as did attitudes to crime levels, the control of the populace, and behaviour that had been acceptable previously. There was greater intolerance of criminal activity as a function of wider social problems including violence and disorder. As the climate of opinion changed the idea of police reform, which had been postulated in various forms for three decades, was received with increasing enthusiasm. The resultant 1829 legislation was born out of the combination of a seachange in public opinion, changes in criminal and civil behaviour, real or perceived, a reluctance to rely on military 'expertise' in times of crisis, and a genuine need for the reform⁵¹.

Apprehension over the state of policing towards the end of the eighteenth century was not unique to London, and the attempts in Glasgow to establish a police function at approximately the same time testifies to this concurrent circumstance. However, government initiatives to reform the parochial bodies under a centralised

⁵⁰ Report of Select Committee on the Police of the Metropolis, 1822, p.11, cited in Benjamin, H. 'The Internal Police Administration of England, Part II. The Police Bill of 1785 and Subsequent Reform in the Metropolis to 1829.' in The Police Journal, 1931 Vol. IV p.598.

system were seen both as threats to the autonomy of parish committees and as a vehicle for increased government control. Furthermore, the expense of increasing watch provision was considered unacceptable. Despite this chronological congruence, distinction can be made. The attempts of central government in the south and the locally inspired initiatives in Glasgow to establish police systems addressed different observations of similar, but not identical, problems. Also, while the primary Metropolitan concerns were with the control of civil unrest, and apparent rising crime rates, additional responsibilities were seen as valid 'police' activities in Glasgow.

County policing had its origins in Anglo-Saxon times, parish constables chosen by the parish vestry⁵². In addition, the householder's duty of watching and warding was commonplace in England. However, Emsley maintains that this had largely disappeared by the early seventeenth century and, in London at least, had been replaced by an assessment that was levied to pay substitutes. This patrol was limited in its effectiveness when confronted with serious civil unrest. If magisterial persuasion failed, military assistance could be sought to quell riots⁵³.

Many English counties and boroughs had forces of sorts before the County Police Acts of 1839/40 and the County and Borough Police Act of 1856. For example, night watches had been established in Walsall, Wolverhampton and Dudley from 1811, 1814 and 1816 respectively⁵⁴. Steedman qualifies this, commenting on the limited authority enjoyed by local Parish Constables, whose powers of sanction derived from common law, and whose actions were directed by the magistrates.

⁵¹ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750-1914, London, 1998, pp.74-75.

⁵² e.g., Emsley, C. The English Police, A Political and Social History, London 1996, p. 8, & 16-18. and Philips, D. Crime and Authority in Victorian England, London, 1977 p.54.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.13

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.55.

Some boroughs, under local acts, appointed constables with prescribed duties 'for the good ordering of a certain place'. Under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 powers were given to appoint constables and devise rules for their operation⁵⁵.

The somewhat muddied waters of pre-Revolutionary French policing towards the end of the eighteenth century had its origins in a system of royal patronage and control. Emsley, while accepting that the venal position of *lieutenant général de police de la ville*, who controlled the administration of Paris with a wide gamut of responsibilities, working in conjunction with the *maréchaussée*, a militarily-sourced group responsible for the mounted patrol on provincial roads, worked reasonably well. In reality, state control was pervasive⁵⁶. Post Revolution, the structure was re-organised. In 1800 the government undertook radical restructuring. The *Lieutenant Général* was replaced by a Prefect of Police in Paris, with colleagues of the same designation in each of the French geographic and political subdivisions or *départments*. From 1829, *sergents de ville* were established as a civilian patrol with responsibilities established along a paternalistic line. Officer's duties included control of traffic, cleaning of thoroughfares, and accident prevention as well as control of public order and pursuit of perpetrators of offences. The *maréchaussée* was reformed and re-organised as the *Gendarmerie nationale*. Still recruited from the military, the responsibility of the safety and protection of those on the open highways was continued⁵⁷. For local policing, in towns of 5000 inhabitants or more, *commissaires de police* had been appointed as a result of legislation in 1791. These officials were government elected on the recommendation of the local departmental

⁵⁵ Steedman, C., Policing the Victorian Community, The formation of English provincial police forces, 1856 - 80, London, 1984, p.14.

⁵⁶ Emsley, C., Policing and its Context 1750-1870, p.9.

⁵⁷ Emsley, C., 'A typology of nineteenth-century police', pp.33-34.

prefect. By the middle of the nineteenth century these functionaries had become professional policemen, who saw a career progression through appointments in districts of increasing size, possibly becoming a *commissaire central* in a large town with several assistant *commissaires*. Despite central control, local French organisations had considerable autonomy although friction with the government could occur when political strategies diverged⁵⁸. Local municipal government worked closely with the parochial police. The concept of a locally appointed chief of police, as was the case in Glasgow, would have been anathema to a French government, but duties not too dissimilar from the beat constable in Glasgow were performed by the *sergents de ville*. The equivalent of the *Gendarmerie nationale* was not attempted. Most interesting is that the timing of the French reforms from 1790 - 1810 are at a time when Glasgow was formulating its own plans for a professional police. An organisation headed by a politically appointed, albeit locally, executive, in charge of a body of men with a wide range of responsibilities.

Emsley relates the French experience to similar models in other European countries. Generally three types of police; state civilian, municipal civilian, and state military were created, with appropriate variations in, for example, the Netherlands, Belgium, and pre and post unification Germany and Italy⁵⁹.

Carson and Idzikowska see a metamorphosis in civic control as a function of the social conditions of the time whereby Scottish policing

emphasises how that institution served to facilitate the development of the new social order which was taking shape in

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.34.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp.35-36.

Scotland during the nineteenth century and how policing was itself shaped by the totality of that emergent order⁶⁰.

They claim that this was a result of the growth of a capitalist system north of the border. Formal policing not only complemented that but also was seen as an essential component in the structure of society as it changed. Furthermore, the contribution made by early police forces to post-industrial revolution society must be recognised and accepted as seminal to 'a society moving rapidly into the phase of industrial capitalism'⁶¹.

There are similarities in the two theses, albeit Carson *et al* adopt a deeper and wider view of the situation. A common factor is apparent, that is the confirming and centralisation of an already extant system founded on legislation of some age. This legislation was based on a preservation of the environment and the behaviour of those therein. It must be considered the foundation on which Scottish policing was built, and a clear distinction drawn between this and the founding of the English concept of a 'New Police' three decades later as a response to the fear of a potentially uncontrollable crime wave and political anarchy.

Mid Nineteenth Century Scottish Developments

In the meantime, a major national review and reform of the Police had taken place in Scotland. The new Police (Scotland) Act of 1857 compelled the counties and boroughs, which had not, to establish police forces. Carson and Izdikowska suggest that this legislation was 'largely unnecessary' since the natural processes of consolidation, administrative rationalisation and clarification of function were in themselves sufficient to motivate all local burghers. However they comment that the

⁶⁰ Carson, K. and Izdikowska, H., 'The Social Production of Scottish Policing, 1795-1900', in Hay, D. and Snyder, F. (Eds.), Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750-1850, Oxford, 1989, p.267.

act was accepted with no good grace in some areas, and indifference in others. This is evident from the first reports, compiled by John Kinloch, HM Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland (HMI). Two years after the passing of the 1857 act he made his first assessment of the police in Scotland. A 'Curate's Egg' was revealed.

Kinloch was pressing for efficiency through amalgamation. By 1859, 32 counties and 57 burghs maintained separate police forces. Many organisations had risen to the challenge of the act and the resultant accountability by inspection. They had taken the opportunity to upgrade, expand, amalgamate and mature as a result of the powers vested in them. Greenock and Paisley were singled out as 'completely re-organising their whole police establishments'⁶². Other places were seeking to be model employers.

[The] cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Elgin, and the boroughs of Arbroath, Leith &c., by increasing their former rates of pay, so as to place them on an equality with the best paid county constabularies; thus inducing highly respectable men to enter the police service⁶³.

Nevertheless, the converse was also in evidence. For example, in Maybole (County of Ayr) 'The Police consists of a superintendent and one constable, and is inefficient in numbers and discipline'⁶⁴. In Ardrossan, Kinloch had heard informally that there was a policeman, but on inspection, this person could not be found!

The middle ground was occupied by organisations of varying size and degrees of enthusiasm. In many cases HMI was impressed. In others he recommended

⁶¹ *ibid.* p.268.

⁶² Kinloch, J. Report of the Inspector of Constabulary for the year ended 15 March, 1859, made to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, under the Provisions of the Statute 20 & 21 Vict.c.72. House of Commons, 1859, Introduction.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.52.

amalgamation into larger units on the grounds of economy and efficiency. The City of Glasgow Police, at 704 officers in 1859, was the largest in Scotland. Kinloch was rapturous. He reported that

a police force was established in Glasgow many years before the Metropolitan Police was formed in London in 1830 by Sir Robert Peel; and has ever been found a useful and efficient force⁶⁵.

The Glasgow Police Act 1866

In 1862 renewal of the police legislation was carried out with minor adjustments to the *status quo* save the reinstatement of the term 'Board of Police' for that of the 'Police Committee'. Although terminable in five years, by 1865 the committee specially constituted for the purpose was reporting deliberations on a new Bill to the Board. The resultant act would set the standard for policing in the City until well into the twentieth century. The scope of the act was wide. Early references to an intended Bill appear in Board of Police Committee meeting minutes on 2 October 1865 when the special committee appointed to deal with all parliamentary matters, recommended to the Board that a bill should be applied for in the next session of Parliament⁶⁶. The committee, with the invaluable help of John Lang, Clerk to the Board were ready to recommend that parliamentary notice be given on 16 October, 1865, scarcely a fortnight after the go-ahead was given. Clearly much preliminary spadework had been done in terms of the 'additions and alterations as deemed expedient' mentioned in the minute of 2 October. The meeting of 16 October not only appointed solicitors to act for the board, but also instructed Mr. Lang to formulate for submission to the full board additional provisions and

alterations that should be made to the existing act. This appears to confirm that the spirit of the new act was one of consolidation and fine-tuning, rather than major changes to the foundation of police in the city.

It took only until 13 November, 1865 when the draft of the new bill was submitted for 'revision and approval' to the board and instruction was given that the required publication of the matter in the press was to go ahead. Final vetting by the Board of Police took place on 7 December, 1865 and then they went to the town council and parliamentary solicitors for their approval.

By May of the New Year the bill was under discussion at parliamentary level, but reports of problems during its passage are few. On 16 April a conflict of interests between the town council's plans and the Lands Valuation Bill, initiated the sending of a deputation headed by the Lord Provost to London to attend to the matter. At the meeting on 16 May the delicate problem of the re-amalgamation of the Clyde Police into the City of Glasgow organisation was discussed - mainly from the point of view of the financial implications⁶⁷.

No further discussion is reported until the brief entry in the minutes of 6 August 1866, announcing that the Bill was enacted and that Royal Assent had been obtained. The act came into effect on 15 May 1867. The content of the legislation was a restatement of the extensive 1862 measure which reintroduced the term Board of Police to the governing body - this still a separate entity from the Town Council itself. Nevertheless, the act was a vast piece of legislation covering wide-ranging responsibilities.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.43.

⁶⁶ GCA 1/3/ Minutes of Board of Police 1862 - 1867.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

The first four sections account for the constitution of the policing function and the funding thereof. Sections V to XII deal with the installation and operation of a police force, including the powers and responsibilities of its officers, the operation and remit of courts of law; the relationship between the police and the magistrates; and a categorisation of offences in various circumstances within the geographic area relevant to the Police Act.

Section XII details the amalgamation into the system of the, at that time, independent Clyde Police. Responsible for 'the security and protection of the trade and shipping on the river, with jurisdiction between the easternmost point of the harbour of Glasgow and the southernmost point of the island of Little Cumbrae', it was established by the Clyde Navigation Consolidation Act of 1858. In 1862, the Clyde Trustees took over the full control of the group. The act of 1866 returned it to the fold as the so-called 'Marine' Division, a name still in use today. This increased the establishment of the City of Glasgow Police by '1 Superintendent, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Detective, 2 Inspector, 2 Sergeants, and 39 Constables'. A certain amount of property came with the amalgamation in the form of premises.

Further sections covered: the administration and regulation of the fire service in the City. Although autonomous, the service was under the overall heading of Police; the standardisation of weights and measures, their inspection and control in businesses, and the use of public weighing facilities; the control of pawnbrokers and brokers; and regulations relating to explosives, including fireworks; stage and hackney carriages, porters, public carters and chimney sweeps.

Section XX, covered 'Nuisances, diseases, lodging houses and food'. In 1857, as a result of the chronic problems of diseases and detritus in the city and the Nuisances Removal (Scotland) Act 1856 an embryonic Public Health department had

been set up. The Police Act of 1862 confirmed its establishment and furthermore, confirmed the appointment of medical officers for each district, and an Inspector of Nuisances. His powers were limited, but it was clear very quickly that a need had been met, and a furthering and expansion of the agency was necessary. In 1864 three 'non medical officers selected from the police force for special sanitary duties' joined the staff. The 1866 act extended the powers and increased the establishment numbers. As time went by a laboratory for analysis of food to detect adulteration was established to act in concert with the powers of inspection and sampling vested in the servants of the department. Also included in the powers of the Sanitary Department was jurisdiction over the control of fever cases and their compulsory removal to hospital, and the resultant monitoring of potential epidemics in the city. Sanitary responsibilities and public health remained part of the police remit, controlled and ordered by the Police Committee on Health, sub-divided into satellite committees on Hospitals and Cleansing⁶⁸. This introduction of a specialised authority concerned with aspects of public health on a broad base shows a measure of far-sightedness.

Although the 1866 act formed the core of police legislation for the city, evidence of major teething problems is not apparent in the Committee meeting minutes or the Chief Constable's Criminal Returns, the official annual report. The re-admission of the Clyde Police as the Marine Division left a certain amount of political smarting, particularly on the part of senior officers who were now subordinate to a higher authority, but it did not last.

The 1866 act set a benchmark for policing in the City of Glasgow, but further legislation by act of parliament was necessary by 1872 to extend the geographic area covered by the act, due to the sprawl of the city. As a result The Glasgow Municipal

⁶⁸ Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, pp.186-187.

Act, 1872 was passed, coming into effect on 15 May 1873. Three distinct areas were added to the city. In the north and west this included lands in Springburn, Port Dundas, Keppoch Hill, Cowlares, Maryhill and Broomhill. In the north and east, more of Springburn, Alexandra Park and Cumbernauld Road. Finally, moving ever closer to Partick, the University area at Gilmorehill and Kelvingrove was 'added to the City'⁶⁹.

The new act increased the area of the city by 149 Acres, and added about 3000 to the population⁷⁰. In The General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act 1862 a provision was made

to unite the municipal and police government and jurisdiction of any such royal or parliamentary burgh and the magistrates and council thereof, [where they were separate] to transfer to them all the powers and jurisdictions of police, paving, lighting, watching and others, granted to the commissioners of police by any Local Acts, and to extend such jurisdictions over the whole limits of such burgh⁷¹.

The 1862 measure gave to municipal authorities the right to apply for parliamentary sanction to dispense with the dual authorities of police and council. An application to this effect was contained in The General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, Order Confirmation (Glasgow) Act, 1877.

Under the terms of the act the separate Board of Police and attendant subcommittees disappeared, and became as one with the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow on 23 July 1877. This provision transferred all police responsibilities under

⁶⁹ 'The Glasgow Municipal Act, 1872, Section 5 [35 & 36 VICT., Cap.41] in Acts of Parliament Relating to the Glasgow Police, Third Edition, 1912.

⁷⁰ McCall, A., in City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1873, Glasgow, 1874.

⁷¹ The General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862, Order Confirmation (Glasgow) Act, 1877, [40 & 41 VICT., CAP.128], Schedule. in Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

the 1866 act and subsequent lesser acts to the magistrates and council. The Certificate of Termination of Minutes was included in the report of the last meeting of the Board of Police on 23 July 1877. On 26 July 1877 the Magistrates and Council of the City of Glasgow met to appoint the new committees under the provision of the act⁷².

A simple comparison of the *sederunt* at the last meeting of the old board and the *sederunt* at the first meeting of the combined function shows many common denominators between the two bodies. Many committee members remained in post and in function. On 27 July 1877 the first meetings of the specialist committees were held in the form of a meeting of the Statute Labour Committee and the Committee on Streets Improvement Acts and Purchase of Property. The Committee on Health and the Subcommittees on Cleansing and Hospitals met on 30 July, the Magistrates Committee on 2 August. On 3 August the meetings of the Committees on Finance, Watching and Lighting, Baths and Washhouses completed the first run of gatherings under the new scheme⁷³.

The 1877 act had recognised finally the inefficiency of the dual system of administration in the city. The situation of persons serving in both establishments indicated a pressing need for reorganisation. The amalgamation of the two bodies removed this duplication. Similarly, the increased responsibilities on the city fathers in terms of social welfare, much of which was under 'Police' direction became part of a greater whole, governed by a more comprehensive legislature. Not least of the reasons for this was the scale at which the council now operated, not only in terms of maintaining and upgrading infrastructure and quality of life, but also as the acreage of

⁷² GCA E1/4 Minutes of Magistrates and Council's Police Commissioners 1877.

⁷³ *ibid.*

the city increased disproportionately to the density of the population. Appendix III gives details of this change.

Subsequent to the passing of the act in 1877, a Municipal Act, extending the boundary of the city was instituted the following year, involving modest additions to the city limits on the south side of the parliamentary area. No major upheaval is evident in conventional policing requirements for this area. The Criminal Returns noted the increase in manpower: 'The force has been augmented during the year by 6 constables for duty in the ground on the South side added to the City by the Municipal Act of 1878'⁷⁴. In 1890 the Glasgow Police, (Amendment) Act came into being. It was concerned with extending the powers of inspection and condemnation of food, the control of those suffering from infectious diseases before, during and after cure or demise, inspection of the habitability of buildings, collection of refuse, the provision of water closets, and the control of lodging houses. The areas covered were enforceable by regulation under the byelaws by inspectors and the police.

In 1891 there was another expansion of the city's boundaries, and a major re-organisation of the administration of the City. Called simply, 'The City of Glasgow Act, 1891' it came into force on 1 November. Under its provisions the following areas became part of Glasgow. The Burghs of Hillhead, Maryhill, Govanhill, Crosshill, Pollokshields West and Pollokshields East. Also the Districts of Kelvinside, Possilpark, North Springburn, Bellahouston, Strathbungo, Crossmyloof, Shawlands, Langside, Mount Florida, and Polmadie⁷⁵. John Boyd, Chief Constable at the time, considered the implications of this increase not only in geographic area,

⁷⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1879, Glasgow, 1880, p.5.

⁷⁵ The City of Glasgow Act, 1891 [54& 55 VICT., CAP.130] Section 4 in Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

but also in terms of extra manpower absorbed from neighbouring forces that had hitherto been responsible for the localities involved.

The Strength of the Force amounts to 1,299. Owing to the enlargement of the City on 1st November, two additional Police divisions (G and H) were created, and the force was augmented by 2 Superintendents, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Detectives, 5 Inspectors, 12 Sergeants, and 150 Constables - total, 175. 1 Constable was also added to the B Division⁷⁶.

The effect of the act was to double the size of the city overnight. As in 1845, this was not achieved without considerable acrimony on the part of the administrators of areas being swallowed by the conurbation. 'Amalgamation' was the *mot juste* employed by the city fathers, rather than the more brutal 'take-over'. Nevertheless, these peripheral burgh authorities had ideas of their own, concurrent with those of Glasgow. The General Police (Scotland) Act 1850, and the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862 had sanctioned burghs of 1,200 persons and 700 persons respectively to become independent police burghs, after satisfying the appropriate conditions. With the development of the Clyde valley as a place of industry, several suburban areas availed themselves of this facility, including Partick, Maryhill, Govan, Hillhead, Kinning Park and Crosshill, West Pollokshields, Govanhill, and East Pollokshields. In many cases the Glasgow authorities objected strongly to the creation of police burghs, not only in terms of the establishment of an autonomous area, but also regarding the geographic boundaries decided. Further dispute occurred when Kelvinside decided on burghal status in 1881. Enthusiasm cooled, but within a few weeks both Hillhead and Partick applied to the Sheriff of

⁷⁶ Extract from City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1891, Glasgow 1892, p.4.

Lanarkshire to annex Kelvinside. The attempts failed. In 1881 there was an attempt by the East Pollokshields authority to annex Titwood. This was unsuccessful at the time, but succeeded in 1884. The act of 1891 finally settled these disputes, not without a few open burghal sores, and allowed the 'amalgamation' of most of the areas mentioned above with Glasgow.

The extension of the city boundaries can be identified by two distinct phases. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this involved assimilating built-up neighbourhoods already bounded by city lands or in such near proximity that the provision of separate lighting, cleansing, paving and police services became technically difficult or logically absurd. Latterly, the development of the river as an industrial base, with its attendant services made cogent reasoning for amalgamation⁷⁷.

In 1892 a Further Powers Act was passed in favour of the police in the city. This act conferred upon the authorities powers of sanction over places of entertainment and public shows. This involved the granting of licenses by the police for the aforementioned and their inspection when open. The power to prosecute those found gaming was included in the act. The authority to apprehend known criminals loitering with intent, or in possession of the 'tools of the trade' (Section XXV) gave wide-ranging powers to the policeman on the street.

This general act contained in somewhat illogical sequence, sections relating to traffic matters. For example, 'Playing football &c., on streets, rules for persons using bicycles (Section XXI), penalties on drivers not obeying constables regulating street

⁷⁷ Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S., The Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. V The City of Glasgow p.421 et seq.

traffic (Section XXX)⁷⁸. Minor sections on the regulation of street signs, overhead wires and advertising material completed the main substance of the act.

In 1893, further parliamentary action made complete the establishment of the City of Glasgow (The County of the City of Glasgow Act, 1893) as an entity in itself, divorced from the legal and administrative jurisdiction of other areas. The County of the City was established. 'Connexion' with the counties of Lanark and Renfrew were severed, although administrative overlaps continued, for example with regard to the sheriff's department (Section VII).

The new conurbation could appoint a Lieutenant of the County of the City of Glasgow (Section I), negating the authority of the Lord Lieutenant of Lanark and his Deputies (Section IV). Other sections delineated shrieval [sheriffs'] powers and obligations, the influence of the Secretary of State for Scotland in enabling the act, and the right of the County Council of Lanark to continue to hold its meetings in the County of the City of Glasgow (Section X)⁷⁹.

With the creation of the County of the City of Glasgow in 1893, it was only a matter of time before radical restructuring of the city administration became paramount. It had been clear for some time that the dual authorities of corporation and police, serving the same master had become increasingly cumbersome. The terms of the 1893 act included 'the transfer to Corporation of powers of Police Commissioners and Municipal Trusts'⁸⁰. 'Trusts' covering 'Parks' and 'Improvements' disappeared, as did the organisation of 'Markets Trustees'. The responsibilities of the Water Commissioners and Gas Commissioners also merged

⁷⁸ The Glasgow Police (Further Powers) Act, 1892 [55 & 56 VICT., CAP 165] Sections 17.25.& 30 in Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

⁷⁹ The County of the City of Glasgow Act, 1893 [56 & 57 VICT., CAP. 188] in Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

with the greater organisation. In real terms, the reform was not quite as radical as it looks. Many Commissioners of Police were also members of the Corporation.

The act comprised 34 pages with only 43 sections. Nevertheless its importance as a watershed in the development of the city's bureaucracy is undisputed. By combining in the Corporation as a whole the hitherto autonomous police function and municipal trusts the foundation of an integrated unit was laid. The success of this was yet to be proved in the year of its enactment, however the removal of the dual administration gave potential for broadening and deepening specialisms within a larger civic establishment.

A modest Glasgow Corporation (General Powers) Act 1896 was an early show of strength by the new organisation when new boundary limits were set after the annexation of lands in Govan. Similarly, in 1899 a 'Tramways and Libraries Act' gave powers to the Corporation accordingly - and extended the tendrils of take-over into hinterlands in Rutherglen. Further acts in 1907 and 1909 sanctioned the development of public utilities including gas, electricity, sewage and the ever-expanding tramway network.

In 1905 the Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Act extended the influence and powers of the new corporation. Furthermore the boundary of the city was extended yet again by the inclusion of Kinning Park. The act was clear in the inference of initiative. 'The Police Burgh of Kinning Park and the Town Council of the Burgh of Kinning Park have applied to the Corporation of the City for the incorporation of that burgh with the city'⁸¹. The implication was one of a volunteer

⁸⁰The Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1905 [5EDW. 7 CAP, 127] in Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

⁸¹The Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1905 [5 EDW. 7, CAP.127].

rather than the pressed men of the 1891 act which dragged in the affected areas kicking and screaming, if reports are to be believed⁸².

Police-related legislation of a more general nature up to the outbreak of war in 1914 included the Police (Scotland) Act 1890 that incorporated new pension provisions for officers. This legislation was further modified to include provision for widows of officers losing their lives on duty as defined by the Police Act 1909. Further fine-tuning of the pension system was incorporated in an Amendment Act in 1910.

The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892 regulated the Police and Sanitary Administration of towns and populous places, and facilitated the union of Police and Municipal Administration in burghs in Scotland. This was amended by The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act. A 'Police' act covered minor regulations regarding places of 'public refreshment' of a non-alcoholic nature, namely The Burgh Police (Scotland) Amendment Act, 1911. Finally, a review of criminal procedure was encompassed by The Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act, 1908⁸³.

With the ever-growing metropolitan area, by the end of the first decade of the new century geographic neighbours

had become so closely linked with Glasgow in their interests, needs and aspirations, that the affairs of the community as a whole were likely to be better directed by a unified authority, than by six or seven different councils whose individual interests and policies might conflict or overlap⁸⁴.

⁸² Cunnison and Gilfillan, Third Statistical Account, Vol. V p.442.

⁸³ Glasgow Police Acts, 1912 pp.987-1053.

⁸⁴ Cunnison and Gilfillan, Third Statistical Account, Vol. V p.45.

The result was The Glasgow Boundaries Act, 1912⁸⁵. The amalgamations included, the burghs of Govan, Partick, Pollokshaws and certain parts of Renfrew, Dunbarton and Lanark. New suburban areas included; Shettleston, Tollcross, Cathcart, Newlands, Scotstoun, Jordanhill and Temple⁸⁶. On 5 November 1912 the enlargement was effected and the police was expanded by 383 officers from 1,613 to 1,996 as a consequence of absorbing forces or parts of forces. In addition to this, a considerable amount of property in the form of buildings came to the Glasgow constabulary. The new configuration took in areas served by offices at Partick, Whiteinch, Temple, Govan, Fairfield, Plantation, Tollcross, Shettleston, Cathcart and Pollokshaws. Fourteen extra signal points were added to facilitate communication. The office at Kinning Park was closed. Overnight, the number of offices rose from 16 to 26⁸⁷. The function of policing expanded, but diversification of procedure, structure and even the finer points of uniform, as well as a duplication of senior ranks led to initial assimilation problems. The advent of the Great War heralded the invoking of powers at national level to cover the emergency including the Police Constables (Military and Naval Service) Act, 1914 which accorded privileges to policemen serving in the forces for the duration in light of their specialist training, not available from ordinary recruits in other areas of civilian life⁸⁸.

The Police Acts as a vehicle for national change

Huge responsibilities were placed upon the police authorities over the years, generated by enormous quantities of legislation under the 'police' heading but not immediately identifiable as orientated towards the operational police role.

⁸⁵ The Glasgow Boundaries Act, 1912 [2& 3 Geo. 5, CAP.95], Glasgow Police Acts, 1912.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns 1912, Glasgow, 1913, p.7.

⁸⁸ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns 1914, Glasgow, 1915, p.9.

Furthermore, acts of parliament contrived with national application in mind affected the City of Glasgow Police as much as any of her sister organisations.

The 1857 legislation is a splendid example. The police act of that year required the installation of a system of policing in the towns and boroughs not already served. Clearly Glasgow was not affected, however, the act included a regulation requiring annual inspections of police forces - from which Glasgow was not exempt.

A snapshot of the legislation gives some idea of its complexity. In 1871 the Prevention of Crime Act redefined police authority at a national level, strengthening and deepening powers of registration, arrest and conviction of criminals. The Immoral Traffic Act of 1902 attempted to curb the activities of those living off the immoral earnings of others. The Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act of 1908 reviewed the court system for the trying of offenders. In 1912, the Criminal Law Amendment Act reconciled the legislation encompassed by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, the Vagrancy Act 1898 and the Immoral Traffic (Scotland) Act 1902.

New ground was broken in 1901 with the Youthful Offenders Act, consolidating legislation from 1866 (The Industrial Schools Act), certain sections of the Summary Jurisdiction Act 1879 and the Probation of First Offenders Act 1887. Nevertheless, the concept of releasing young offenders with all its supervisory implications was instituted with the Probation of Offenders Act 1907. In 1903, the Motor Car Act amended the Locomotives on Highways Act 1896, the precursor of the road traffic legislation of later years.

The above barely scrapes the surface of parliamentary transactions affecting the police. It can only serve as an indication of the amount and complexity in the

material⁸⁹. Compounding the problem, blurring occurred as delegated operational 'police' responsibilities were increasingly taken on by specialist 'civilian' functionaries. Early examples can be cited in the information of a mutually exclusive 'scavenging' function, and, on a more prosaic level, the institution of the embryonic public health function in the mid eighties. Care must be taken not to assume that as separate departments of cleansing, or street repair, or public health emerged, the police withdrew from all involvement. Operational officers continued to have responsibilities of inspection of markets, lighting of stairs, granting of licenses to sell liquor or run a taxi and so on. In the Criminal Returns for 1907 statistics are included covering: 'the number of complaints made to the Water Commissioners by the Police of water running to waste; the Number of reports made to the Gas Committee relative to gas escaping; and the Number of Reports made to the Master of Works, of streets, pavements, &c. being out of repair'⁹⁰. Clearly this is further evidence of the police responsibility with regards to the maintenance of 'the quality of life'. The overlap continued.

The acts of parliament covering the development of the City of Glasgow Police from its inception in 1800 follow a cycle, governed by the 'life' of the legislation, and circumstances. Police acts involving large extensions of the city boundary took place in 1830, 1845, 1872, 1891, 1912, 1925 and 1937 with 'tinkering' in 1905, 1930, and 1935. No arithmetical pattern can be established, however, the exigencies of population growth and the need to supply their needs, not only in terms of crime control, but also controlling the environment by the upgrading of public

⁸⁹ William Green & Sons (Law Publishers) Scots Statutes Revised Vol. IV, Edinburgh, 1900, Vol. VI, Edinburgh, 1900), Scots Statutes 1901 to 1907, Edinburgh, bound by year Scots law Statutes 1908 to 1912, Edinburgh, bound by year.

⁹⁰ Chief Constable's Criminal Returns, 1907, Glasgow 1908, p.63.

utilities as exemplified by the other 'police' acts indicates a progression and expansion of legislated police authority. The merging of the police and municipal functions as a single administrative entity was a natural progression as the system responded to the changing tenor of local and national sentiment.

Throughout the period one continuing theme is identified. The intrinsic welfare of the inhabitants and the maintaining of a 'common good' be it the building of a tramline, regulating carpet beating on Sundays, examination of contaminated foodstuffs or inspecting ashpits is seen as part of the police remit, the containment of crime and control of offenders being part of this greater whole. As the twentieth century progressed, national Scottish or United Kingdom legislation became more dominant and changes to the police system became matters of universal application and the need for 'local' acts of parliament became less.

Fraser and Maver argue that as the civic authorities extended and deepened their powers by the proliferation of Police Acts these pieces of legislation were of increasing significance to the population. However, their effectiveness in terms of implementation difficulties at the practical level, due to the availability of scarce resources, combined with the mercurial attitudes of the Police Commissioners is questionable⁹¹. Devine skilfully opines on the practicalities of operational policing, in all its forms in relationship to the more abstract values adopted by the Police Board. Difficulties in the early years of the 1800 Act with inefficient, aged, inexperienced and even corrupt officers had to be overcome before the responsibilities of the Board; criminal, environmental and pastoral could be addressed⁹². Over time the Board, in its various forms became more adept at understanding the problems

⁹¹ Fraser, H. and Maver, I. (Eds) Glasgow, Volume II, 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996, p.395.

⁹² Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response', p.192.

particular to Glasgow. The huge amount of parliamentary legislation not only specific to Glasgow but also enacted with national application in mind gave police authorities considerable power to control and regulate public behaviour and the environment in which this public lived.

The Police Statistics

Ostensibly, the wealth of figures available on police activity suggests a valuable asset to research. Nevertheless, care should be exercised when collating information. Carr-Hill and Stern recognise the vital importance of the collated results of years of observation. For example, although recorded crime figures will give an indication of certain types and levels of reported criminal activity, the 'phenomenon of deterrence is inherently unobservable'⁹³. However, they concede that the degree of 'social control' exercised by the police, and the success of the detecting officers work in conjunction, does influence the recorded offence rate⁹⁴.

Statistical contextualising of the Scottish experience of policing has been an area of neglect by researchers. Crowther, in her study of Scottish criminal records, refers to the superb work carried out by Gatrell and Hadden on the collation and interpretation of English judicial statistics and comments on the absence of any Scottish investigation due to the fact that the Scottish system of recording the information, based on its own policing and justice system, offered no easy compatibility with that south of Hadrian's Wall⁹⁵. None-the-less, Gatrell and Hadden's model is valuable when evaluating the information available on the City of

⁹³ Carr-Hill, R.A. and Stern, N.H., Crime, the Police and Criminal Statistics, An Analysis of Official Statistics for England and Wales using Econometric Methods, London, 1979, p.21.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 311.

⁹⁵ Crowther, M. A., 'Scotland, a Country with no Criminal Record', p.82.

Glasgow experience. From 1857, with the introduction of a uniform system of collating elements of police activity in the form of Criminal Returns, standards of recording information on crimes and offences related to defined constabulary areas and indeed the subdivisions therein established many common characteristics that have continued to this day. Over the years the depth and breath of the Returns changed and expanded to include a wide variety of functions and responsibilities. For example, the inspection of markets, the assessment of foodstuffs, and the unenviable duties involved with the containment of dungsteads and ashpits.

The statistical tables are a rich source of information, ready collated, on the force itself. Annual returns on the strength of the force; age distribution related to length of service; geographic origin of members of the constabulary and turnover of officers (broken down into reasons for leaving) can be analysed as a means of establishing trends.

Gatrell and Hadden in their examination of English figures establish several criteria that cannot be ignored when considering the Scottish experience. Firstly, the quantity and regularity of the production of Criminal Returns, if consistent in recording over time, covering roughly the same geography, can be used to establish trends within demographic and social structures. Furthermore, they contend that relationships between criminal activity and contemporary socio-economic activity can be used to establish indices of political and civic tensions⁹⁶.

Many City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns are prefaced by comments from the incumbent chief of police. Although contemporaneous they are often moral or judgmental in tone and biased by personal experience and prejudice.

Nevertheless, the factual indisputability of the tables themselves, combined with a broad time scale of analysis, offers potential for a more academic study of police activity.

Crowther bemoans the lack of statistical research in Scotland, citing Clive Emsley's admission: 'my failure to say anything about Scotland is not deliberate myopia; there has been very little work done on Scotland'⁹⁷. Warming to this theme, Crowther contends that this lack of research stems from awe of the intimidating quantity of research carried out south of the border, particularly as regards the Metropolitan Police, and an anxiety concerning differences between the two systems and their degree of compatibility. Hierarchical structures, legal terminology and judicial remits are not identical. However, she maintains that scholars should not be put off by this. 'In the matter of serious crimes, which are the easiest to quantify, both south and north of the Border, the differences are not great'⁹⁸.

The statistics collated from 1857 are a major source of information from which to draw conclusions about the development of the police system in the City of Glasgow. Nevertheless, exhaustive as they may appear *prima facie*, care must be taken not to become overconfident with this source. The work done by Gattrell and Hadden identify a number of areas where heed should be taken when examining available statistics.

The obvious accusation that has been levelled at statistical tables is their accuracy. Gattrell and Hadden maintain that published statistics 'do not always

⁹⁶ Gattrell, V.A.C. and Hadden, T.B., '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, 1972 p.337.

⁹⁷ Crowther, M. A., 'Scotland, a Country with no Criminal Record', p.82.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* p.83.

accurately represent the data from which they are derived'⁹⁹. They contest that the detail available was considerably greater than that produced. While accepting that this could be the case - but unverifiable due to lack of corroborative material in Glasgow - the regulated Returns from 1857 onward were designed as a uniform extraction at national level for comparison purposes. Some chiefs of police, and Glasgow was no exception, chose to expand the required tables offering, on an *ad hoc* basis, supplementary information. Whatever omission there could be of detail, there is certainly no hint of deceit.

A problem which is common to all statistics is the discrepancy between the recorded information and the 'actual'. This is immensely difficult to quantify, or justify in anything but the vaguest terms. Similarly, although figures will give an indication of 'number of crimes reported' and 'number of persons taken into custody' the degree of multiple offence by individuals is not indicated. Finally, apparent 'crime waves' can be the result of an increase in reports of crime or police concentration on the prosecution of certain offences. Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, indices of crime over a period of time can be established to indicate trends.

In a more practical vein, a number of legal, chronological and administrative changes over the years accounted for variations in the statistics. For example, from 1857 to 1868, the administrative 'year' was from 1 October to 29 September. Thereafter, the 'year' ran from 1 January to 31 December, thus the figures dated '1869' are, in point of fact, for fifteen months, rather than twelve. Similarly, in 1896 a change in classification of certain types of assault from being an 'offence' to being a 'crime' caused a fluctuation. In 1931, Percy Sillitoe compulsorily retired officers who

⁹⁹ Gatrell, V.A.C. and Hadden, T.B., 'Criminal Statistics and Their Interpretation', p.348.

had fulfilled pension requirements - an uncharacteristic fluctuation in establishment figures resulted.

Finally, the danger of trying, even subconsciously, to make statistics fit general belief or supposition must be recognised. For example, the work carried out by Withers on the contention that the City of Glasgow Police was populated by officers from the Hebrides indicates that, for the 65 years he examined, while not exploding the myth, he put the concept into the proportion it deserved¹⁰⁰. However, taking these valuable *caveats* into consideration, there is still much to be gained from the available material and comparison to be made with historically parallel situations. Despite these deficiencies, which are as applicable to Scotland as England, Gatrell and Hadden concluded that

none [of these problems], in our view, seriously impedes the sensitive exploitation of the returns, or invalidates the examination of the more important hypotheses relevant to the historian, though they undoubtedly complicate the work of analysis immensely¹⁰¹.

With these views in mind, the bread and depth of statistical information will be used as an invaluable indicator of the character of certain elements of Glasgow city life and the behaviour of its inhabitants over the period under examination.

¹⁰⁰ Withers, C. W.J., 'The long arm of the law': Migration of Highland-born policemen to Glasgow 1826-1891' in *The Local Historian*, August, 1988, p.127 *et seq.*.

¹⁰¹ Gatrell, and Hadden, 'Criminal Statistics and Their Interpretation', p.340.

CHAPTER THREE

The Growth of the Force

As Glasgow grew in size and the circumstances of its population changed, the police as an institution reflected these changes. The size and hierarchical structure of the constabulary reflected the cyclical changes of the environment in which it operated.

After the failure in the first half of the seventeenth century to fund a police service in Glasgow, the old system of watching and warding by the citizenry, supplemented by a few of the town's officers continued. By 1778, when the population of the City was c.40,000 and troubles in society were increasing, the magistrates and council decided that it was becoming essential to provide some properly organised protection for the area on a more permanent basis. In March the following year, a body of police was organised under the control of a paid Inspector, the bankrupt James Buchanan, *quondam* Provost of the City and Laird of Drumpellier; he was paid £100 p.a.¹. Impetus had been provided by the escalating problems associated with civil disobedience. In January 1779, anti-poperity riots had spread from Edinburgh to Glasgow². But the council had no authority to levy a rate to fund this force, and as a result by 1781, due to lack of finance, this exercise also failed and the old system was re-adopted³.

Later, in 1789, a bill was promoted in Parliament for the purpose of establishing a funded organisation for the policing the area of Glasgow. However, such was the opposition to this measure, not least of which to the levying of a rate that the scheme

¹ Eyre-Todd, G. History of Glasgow Vol. III, from the Revolution to the Reform Act, Glasgow, 1934, p.293.

² *ibid.*, pp.293-4

³ Stevenson, J.V., Chief Constable in Municipal Glasgow, Its Evolution and Enterprises, Glasgow, 1914, p.286.

came to nought. Nevertheless, in 1788/9 another attempt was made to introduce an organised police force to the city. This time the magistrates decided that an Inspector or Intendent of Police was necessary, and appointed an ex-bailie, Richard Marshall, to the post and gave him a staff of one clerk and eight men, specifically for the purpose of preventing crime and arresting criminals.

He was provided with a gold chain and was directed to carry a white rod when on duty while his men were to wear a red uniform with badges numbered and inscribed 'Police'. The men had to take an oath and find caution to the amount of £50 each for their good behaviour, and their remuneration was to be not more than 1/6d. per day⁴.

At this time those qualified to serve were paying £3 or more rental per annum and aged between eighteen and sixty⁵. The force totalled thirty persons, patrolling the four wards of the city in groups of eight from 10.00 p.m. It was possible to avoid this duty by the payment of 2/6d. for a substitute, 'and it may be presumed that a large part of the guard very soon came to consist of these substitutes, permanently employed'⁶. Further selection of those required to undertake the patrol, were defined by the magistrates on 20 October 1791.

All the householders, masters of ships or warehouses, citizens and inhabitants of Glasgow and the Ram's Horn grounds whose yearly rents are forty shillings or above and not exceeding the age of sixty or under eighteen⁷.

⁴ Eyre-Todd, History of Glasgow Vol. III, Glasgow, 1934, pp.338-9.

⁵ Stevenson, Municipal Glasgow, Glasgow, 1914, pp.286-7.

⁶ Eyre-Todd, History of Glasgow Vol. III, Glasgow, 1934, p.339.

Each evening those on duty appointed their Captain for the night. The Laigh Kirk Session House was used as Guardhouse. This location was temporary as the building was totally destroyed by fire on 8 February 1793 as a result of a drunken frolic by the Hell-fire Club⁸. Exceptions, including ministers, university staff, and doctors were excused patrol duty. Absentees were not suffered gladly. Certified sickness or absence from town were permitted, otherwise a fine of five shillings had to be paid to the sitting magistrate the next day. Many people began to see the merit in employing a substitute for their duty, and almost by accident a sort of rate of is paid by those qualified. Those eligible for statute labour also freely exploited this practice. This responsibility involved maintaining the areas of pavement and street abutting property by the owner or tenant. The regulations for the patrol were definite as to the duties, area of jurisdiction, and comportment of the guard. For example, rules were laid down curbing excess of imbibement (no more than fourpence to be during each shift per person); and persons on duty being invited into a house, public or private, for free refreshment⁹.

The captain of the guard was responsible to the sitting magistrates. However, a town officer had to attend the guardroom each night and be under the direction of the captain. The captain in turn had to complete a report of the happenings of the night giving details, not only of those apprehended and charged, but also of those who had failed to turn in for work. This document was given to the town officer on duty for delivery to the sitting magistrate by 10 a.m. the following morning. It was also the

⁷ MacKenzie, P. Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, Glasgow, 1890, p.466.

⁸ Pagan, J. (Ed.) Glasgow Past and Present : illustrated in Dean of Guild Court reports and in the reminiscences and communications of Senex, Aliquis, J.B. [et al.], David Robertson, Vol. 1. Glasgow 1884, pp.248-9.

⁹ *ibid.*

captain's charge to update with additions to and deletions from the roll of those eligible for guard responsibility. Precisely how this was done is unclear, but appears to have been a spur of the moment arrangement. Liaison with the military guard was close; control of any serious civil unrest being the latter's responsibility. Security was established by means of a password, singular to the evening. This was delivered 'in a sealed letter'¹⁰ by a delegated member of the group to the officer of the military guard in the Candleriggs. 'and the word pretty often was 'orange', 'liberty', 'peace', 'quietness', or 'rest', changed as the case might be, every alternate night'¹¹.

The reports submitted by the nightly appointed captain of police were spontaneous, containing that which was thought important at the time, often being no more than a few lines. For example

A. McKay, tailor, apprehended a man who would not tell his name; a son of one Wright, a porter; and Jean Semple, who was found with the sentry on the Tollbooth giving them whisky. - Signed William Watson, captain of the guard.

Less dramatically: 'all quiet, except a little disturbance in Yorkston's tap-room. Signed, John Fergusson'¹². Once more however, due to lack of funding, and to strenuous opposition on the part of the populace to a parliamentary sanction to levy a police rate, the venture failed and the traditional patriarchal system was re-instated.

By the end of the eighteenth century, it was obvious that the system of night patrol by seconded men was not the way forward. Continuity of control could not be obtained by a rotation system of civilians, who had varying degrees of commitment to the function.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

Also there was no provision made for daytime coverage. The growth in the population brought problems from overcrowding and squalor of drunkenness and vice. The maintenance of standards of discipline were seen to be beyond the scope of the system of watching. Devine sums up the situation recognising 'the limitations of the traditional arrangements with the increasing incidence of public disorder'¹³.

Devine alludes to no little controversy with regard to the potential conflict arising from a separately elected police board absorbing some of the powers of the town council. Couple this with the natural reluctance of the ratepayers to fund an unelected police board and obvious differences present themselves. By 1799 the council had responded positively to these dual pressures, increasing need for a professional police run by an elected board. The 1800 act was the result. On the night of 15 November, 1800 the City of Glasgow Police mustered for the first time in the session house of the Laigh Kirk. Dr. John Aitken, one of the original Commissioners wrote an oft-quoted account of this meeting.

Our first start with a police force took place in the Laigh Kirk Session House, which was the first office. We had 68 watchmen and 9 day officers, and our impression was that this force was so large and overwhelming that it would drive iniquity out of the City as though by a hurricane. On this first night greatcoats and staves were served out to each watchman painted of a chocolate - brown colour, and the running number painted on each. Each man's number was also painted on the back of the greatcoat, between the shoulders, in white coloured figures about

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response', p.185.

six inches long and of a proportionate breadth. A lantern and two candles were also served to each man¹⁴.

Aitken underlined the importance of the event commenting on the enthusiasm of the men and their determination to practice calling the hours (announcing each night hour in a loud voice), as was required by their function. Initially, before beats were assigned, squads of twelve watchmen were led by one of the nine officers through the streets in a militaristic fashion. Later, the men were divided into three groups each of two officers supervised by a sergeant. Aitken referred to these crews as 'divisions', claiming that the 'sergeant', as the person in charge of a 'division', performed the duties that would become the responsibility of a lieutenant in the fullness of time.

One sergeant and two officers were on duty in the office for twenty-four hours; one division on patrol duty - which was, however, very imperfectly done as the men could take a rest for an hour or two in their own houses and none be wiser for it - while the third division was entitled to rest for twenty-four hours.

Clothing was rudimentary, consisting of blue cloth coats, vests and knee breeches in the style of the time, with seams welted with red stripes. Sergeants were distinguished by wearing shoulder knots of red and blue mixed worsted thread¹⁵. Once beats had been established, it was not uncommon for watchmen, each of whom was provided with a sentry box to spend some, if not all of his duty time therein if the weather proved inclement - or for some other reason!

Street maintenance and lighting

¹⁴ Stevenson, J.V., Municipal Glasgow, pp.287-288.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

The cleaning of the streets and the removal of detritus was a responsibility thrust upon the Board. Before 1800 the removal of filth had been a haphazard affair at the best of times. An order issued by the magistrates in 1696, prohibiting the casting out of windows by day or night filth upon the 'calsie' - or any luckless member of the populace. The 1800 act recognised that individual responsibility for the disposal of filth would not work and it should be a public service defined by statute. Overall responsibility for this noxious task was vested in John Stenhouse, the first Master of Police, who in turn delegated certain duties to the night watchmen. They were thus required to perform the double function of guarding the streets and keeping them clean. Cleaning was carried out in a dilatory way for two hours twice per week. In summer the hours between four to six a.m. were allotted to this work, but in winter, when the nights were long, the watchmen remained on duty until six, went home for some rest and returned to work at noon to carry out the two hours street cleaning duties. By 1804, 14 scavengers had been appointed by the board for the express purpose of street cleaning because the pressures on the police were such that they were soon required solely for policing purposes. By 1815 there were 16 scavengers, including a foreman. In 1862, the work of cleaning the streets was put out to contract and remained so until 1868, although the responsibility of administering the function still remained with the Board of Police.

Further control in the operation of city cleansing was established by the appointment of an inspector. Although he had powers to initiate the cleaning of the streets, the accumulation of personal filth on private property was outside his remit. The 'contracting in' of the removal (sic) of accumulated detritus from the streets continued in its haphazard way for the time being. From the outset, the board was determined to

develop a professional 'police' in the image it saw as apposite. The delegation of street cleansing, lighting, maintenance of streets to 'civilian' operatives within the 'Police' jurisdiction indicates the policy of the authority to establish a clear distinction between the responsibilities of a 'policeman' and a 'police [board] responsibility.'

The task of constructing and maintaining the streets and pavements of the city fell to the Board of Police under the terms of the 1800 act. However, the route to this end was somewhat circuitous, the act allowing for the board to have the walkways (pavements) paved in a uniform way and maintained at the expense of the owners of the facing property. The act continued the obligation of the town council to metal and maintain the traffic highway at the expense of the Common Good Fund.

The universal nature of the Police Act did not rest at the cleansing of the street of all manner of 'excrementitious material'. It gave the board enabling powers to construct at its discretion common sewers, drains, and watercourses. Expenses incurred were to be met from the Common Good Fund. Strangely, the lighting of these newly cleaned, paved and drained thoroughfares, under the Police Act 1800 was left in something of an anomalous condition. The act allowed for the erection of brackets and the installation of lamps. It allowed for the punishment of those who did damage to the equipment. However, it did not make any provision for the lighting of the lamps or the instigation of a Lighting Department *per se*. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that the spirit of the law was observed, even if the letter was not and, of a post meridian, 'leeries' converted the gloom from total to stygian¹⁶.

Markets and their control

Since mediaeval times, much of the commercial activity of the city had been conducted in markets, established as a result of common use, tradition, and chartered rights for trade in goods including meat, fish, salt, fruit, cheese and even dogs and birds. Regulation of the activities of these markets was put under the control of the Board of Police in 1800. The area of responsibility included the cattle market and affiliated slaughterhouse. With the transference of the operation and regulation of markets to the board, duties and levies hitherto charged would now accrue to the newly empowered authority. New charges could be devised as the Board saw fit, location of markets could be altered, and standards of operation set. Now the Board had powers of inspection of goods and prosecution of those who contravened the regulations. The sale of livestock in the street was prohibited except during the local fairs - at that time Whitmonday, Glasgow Fair, St. Mungo's Day and Skyer's Thursday¹⁷.

The Growing Force

Rapidly the new police organisation generated income. Table I illustrates an early return.

Table I Police Revenue for the year ended August, 1801 (£)

Sum contributed by the City of Glasgow	800.00.00
Amount of Assessments	3770.19.06
Dung of the Streets Sold	576.05.00
Amount of fines	126.19.03
Interest of money lodged with Bank of Scotland	<u>22.00.03</u>
Total	<u>5296.04.00</u>

Source: Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, (1894)

¹⁶ Bell, J. & Paton, J., Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, Glasgow, 1894, pp.111-6.
¹⁷ *ibid.* p.278.

Expenditure at this time averaged £2554 over the first four years of operation. The difference in moneys was used to fund the other responsibilities including cleansing, paving, lighting and markets. From an income of £5296 in 1801, revenues steadily increased. By 1815 this has risen to 'nearly £10,000' and by 1833 'the whole income amounted to £14,747'¹⁸.

As the responsibilities of the force expanded, an increase in numbers was required to fulfil these duties. Table II gives a comparison of the numbers employed by the constabulary in 1815 and 1833.

Table II Force Strength in 1815 and 1833

	1815	1833
Master of Police	1	1
Surgeon	-	1
Clerk	1	1
Collector	1	1
Surveyor	1	3
Lieutenants	-	3
Sgt. Major	-	1
Constables	-	3
Criminal Officers	-	6
Day Officers	19	64
Watchmen	78	129
Patrolmen	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>
Total	<u>121</u>	<u>233</u>

Source: Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, 1894.

In the early days around 68 watchmen did night duty only, leaving the daytime work to the three sergeants and nine officers. The watchmen were mostly older people, equipped with a baton, a lantern and the wooden sentry box for shelter or passing the long hours of the night. By 1815, the numbers had risen somewhat (Table II). Under the

¹⁸ *ibid.* p.117.

direction of the Master of Police were a clerk, a collector and treasurer, and a surveyor. The day officers had been increased to nineteen. There were seventy-eight watchmen with twenty additional men for night patrols. While this was an increase in numbers, there was little change in the organisation of the group. However, the force of 1833 was showing a marked change in its professionalism. The hierarchy included a further two surveyors and a surgeon. Ranks of lieutenant and constable were established with three men in each position. A sergeant major was in post, and the number of day officers had increased to forty-five with one hundred and twenty-nine on 'nights'. In 1819 the first detective officer had been appointed. By 1833, six criminal officers were in post.

The Force of 1848, reorganised and expanded, presented a different picture to that of its progenitor. Table III illustrates the point. The 'unamalgamated' force in 1845 of 258 men, comprised 178 night constables, 68 day officers and 12 in the criminal or detective department'¹⁹. The comparison with the strength in 1848, excluding 'civilian' staff (surgeon staff and clerks) suggests a considerable investment in manpower in policing the City. Strategically the emphasis had shifted to day patrol, supported by about half the number of night officers. Similarly, a hierarchy of middle and senior management has been installed. This revised structure of the organisation recognised the need for individual divisional commanders.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p.118.

Table III Force Strength 1848

Chief Superintendent	1
Assistant Superintendents (In charge of a Division)	5
Lieutenants	9
Inspectors	13
Sergeants	37
Criminal Officers (Detectives)	16
Turnkeys	12
Day Constables	135
Night Constables	<u>295</u>
Total Strength	<u>523</u>

Source:- Ord, J. 'Origins and History of the Glasgow Police', in Old Glasgow Club Transactions, Vol. 1, No. 3 Session 1905/06, 20 March 1906.

In 1857, the Police (Scotland) Act, compelled local authorities in the counties and boroughs to establish police forces, and it became mandatory to submit homogenous statistical Criminal Returns by chiefs of police, to the Scottish Office, were instituted as mandatory. *A propo* officers, the requirement included submissions on their size, broad geographic source, hierarchical division, age distribution, turnover, and, briefly (from 1872 to 1874 inclusive), the state of health of the members of the force. The sheer scale of the responsibilities and a certain amount of political manoeuvring soon hampered the initial successes of the innovative and comprehensive nature of the early police acts.

Devine considered several reasons for shortcomings. Firstly, although the legislation restricted the Board's powers, such power was enforced at the discretion of the Board - which was not always exercised on a day-to-day basis. The application of power was at the dictate of circumstances, for example during civil unrest. Secondly, the enthusiasm and commitment of those responsible for the noxious cleansing duties, the watchmen, was brought into question and their less-than-savoury comportment sowed seeds of doubt in the minds of the police commissioners. More fundamentally, the inherent and continuing animosity towards a compulsory taxation system with resultant

pressures to keep costs down in the face of an increasing demand for services made an unhappy combination²⁰.

Police Office Accommodation

John Stenhouse, the first Master of Police in 1800, was in charge of a very modest operation. Headquarters was the session house of the Laigh or Tron Kirk. Reasons for this are uncertain, but economy has been suggested, since the building was municipal property and hence no rent would be required. This *locus* had been used by the previous forces its colourful career including destruction by fire (*q.v.*). Another reason put forward indicates a certain attitude to the concept of 'police'.

The session houses being at that time the distinctly recognised property of the municipality were at least cheap if not quite suitable and appropriate offices for the police and let it not be forgotten the functions of the elder and the constable were much more intimately related. The power of the police officer was a mere amplification of the rule over the life and conversation, the manners and the morals of the citizens claimed, and sometimes exercised by the elder.²¹.

The problem of accommodation had to be solved. The session house of the Tron Kirk was obviously unsuitable in terms of size and fitness for purpose. Other premises were acquired in the Herald Close in Bell Street on a first floor, but these proved to be too small. A third home was found in Candleriggs Street. However, this was also inadequate on the grounds of size, and in 1822 a site was purchased in South Albion Street for the erection of a purpose-built office. It was not until 1831 that the new

²⁰ Devine, T.M., Industry, Business and Society, Edinburgh, 1994, pp.189-190.

building was ready, housing police offices and police court. Sufficient room was left for expansion, and as needs demanded and exchequer permitted, extensions were built.

The euphemistic 'amalgamation' initiated by the 1845 act necessitated the creation of divisions within an extended police force from the now defunct borough forces in Calton, Anderston and Gorbals. This increased the size of the new City of Glasgow Constabulary from 291 when the act came into force, adding 28, 21 and 48 from Anderston, Calton and Gorbals respectively, each with its own district office with police court. The Marine, or Clyde Police contributed 34 to the total of 422 men. It was housed in its own offices²². A superintendent administered each division.

Force Strength from 1857

By 1857, with the extension of the city boundary two extra divisions had been added to the force. 'E' Division, also known as 'Northern, and 'Clyde' or 'Harbour and Dock Division'. This latter, which covered the dock area of the city, passed into the orb of influence of the harbour trustees in 1862, not without some acrimony. Returned to the control of the chief constable in 1867, as a result of the 1866 act and renamed 'Marine', the establishment of '1 Superintendent, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Detective, 2 Inspectors, 2 Sergeants, and 39 Constables'²³ rejoined the City of Glasgow Police.

From 1870 to 1890 the strength of the force increased steadily over the period from a total of 897 in 1871 to 1118 in 1890. Considering the population of the city had increased by c.90,000 souls and over 1,000 acres the increase of just over 200 appears modest, despite the replacement of some police duties by civilian functionaries, e.g. in the

²¹ Bell, J. & Paton J., Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation, p.116.

²² *ibid.* p.118.

²³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1867, Glasgow, 1868, p.4.

field of sanitary control (*q.v.*). Clearly, this sheds a most favourable light on the results of efforts illustrated above. The approximate comparison of c.25% increase in population is matched by roughly the same proportional increase in the force. The ratio of employees to population ranges from 506 in 1871 to 532 in 1890. Appendix IV illustrates the changing situation between 1857 and the City of Glasgow Act 1891. As the conurbation grew, the strength of the police force was increased. The figures suggest a 'fits and starts' policy of increase, rather than one of steady growth. Small increases in establishment in the early 1860's came to a head as the ratio of population to police peaked at 571 in 1866²⁴. The re-organisations of that year are evident in the increase of 50 officers by 1867 that reduced the proportion by 38. This easing continued into the 1870's, and the figure hovered around the 480 mark between 1877 and 1882. By 1890, just before the next extension of the city boundary in 1891, this average had crept back up to nearly 500.

A sample comparison of establishment structures is given in Table IV.

²⁴ A comparison with current standards can be drawn. In 1992, the figure was 377 population to each officer of police. *Vide* Rosie, G., 'Law and Order, The Police' in Linklater, M. and Denniston, R. Anatomy of Scotland, how Scotland Works, Edinburgh, 1992, p.23.

Table IV Breakdown of Police Establishment 1866 and 1894

**Members of the Glasgow Police Force on
the 29th September, 1866**

1	Chief Constable	£600	per an.
1	Physician to the Force, and Srgn. to the Cntrl. District	£360	“ “
5	District Surgeons	£20 - 25	“ “
6	Superintendents	£160 - 240	“ “
19	Lieutenants	£ 70 - 110	“ “
1	Inspector, Detective Dept.	£110	“ “
7	Sub-Inspectors	30/- - 37/-	per wk.
15	Detective Officers	25/- - 30/-	“ “
24	Inspectors	26/- - 30/-	“ “
48	Sergeants	23/- - 25/-	“ “
631	Constables	16/- - 22/-	“ “
2	Powder Magazine Keepers(with Houses & Gardens)	21/- & 27/-	“ “
3	Store Keepers & Tailors	16/- & 24/-	“ “
4	Lamp Trimmers	8/- - 18/-	“ “
11	Waiters	10/6d.	“ “
6	Female Turnkeys*	12/-	“ “

784 Total

Source:- City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1866, Corporation of Glasgow, 1867, p. 22.

**Members of the Glasgow Police Force on
the 31st December, 1894**

1	Chief Constable	£900	per an.
1	Physician to the Force	£450	“ “
9	District Surgeons	£20 - 120	“ “
10	Superintendents	£232 - 352	“ “
28	Lieutenants	£122 - 202	“ “
2	Inspectors, Detective Dept.	£180 - 182	“ “
7	Sub-Inspectors	41/6 - 47/6	per wk.
33	Detective Officers	36/6 - 38/6	“ “
51	Inspectors	32/6 - 42/6	“ “
74	Sergeants	32/6 - 34/6	“ “
1,105	Constables	3/10 - 29/8	“ “
2	Powder Magazine Keepers	20/- - 26/-	“ “
4	Storekeeper & Tailors	23/- - 30/-	“ “
9	Lamptrimmers	5/- - 29/9	“ “
12	Waiters	21/-	“ “
7	Female Turnkeys*	14/-	“ “

1,355 Total

* Civilian female functionaries who performed security and searching duties of female prisoners in the police cellblocks.

20/-(shillings) = £1.00. 1/- (12 pennies) = 5p.

Source:- City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1894, Glasgow, 1895, p.32.

One *caveat* must be attached to the figures published by the chief of police. Census returns give accurate accounts of the population. The ten years between each census contain estimated figures whose inaccuracy can be seen particularly in 1911, 1921, and 1931, when the 'true' figure is somewhat at variance with the previous year's 'estimate'. In addition to this, there are retrospective estimates of population roughly every twenty years after 1904. This can be assumed to give a certain proportional accuracy resulting in a minimum of distortion.

By 1901 the nine divisions were serviced by a force 1,426 strong. At the end of the first decade of the new century the establishment figure had risen to 1,613. There was only one 'amalgamation' between 1900 and 1910 that is the annexation of Kinning Park in 1905. This produced, in itself, the transfer of the force of that burgh to Glasgow *en bloc*. J.V. Stevenson, the Chief Constable, informed his readers in the 1905 Criminal Returns that this had resulted in an addition to the constabulary of '1 Superintendent, 2 Sergeants and 12 Constables'²⁵.

From time to time, sanction was given by the Secretary for Scotland to augment the force without recourse to territorial invasion, that is, some expansion of the city boundary. For example, in 1904 he authorised the addition to the force of '1 Inspector, 2 Sergeants, 3 Detective Constables, and 19 uniform Constables'. In 1905 a supplement of 1 Inspector, 2 Sergeants, 4 Detective Constables and 18 Uniform Constables was approved²⁶.

A force of 1299 in 1891 had grown to 1426 in 1901, peaked at 1659 in 1908, and fallen to 1613 by the end of the decade. Apart from the authorised augmentation

illustrated above, in 1907, as anxieties grew as a result of increasing industrial unrest, and a sustained increase in the crime figures, 25 were added to the establishment in the form of '1 Detective Sergeant, 2 Uniform Sergeants, 1 Detective Constable and 21 Uniform Constables.' 1908 saw a further approval by the Secretary of State for increasing the numbers; twenty-five officers in the form of '3 Uniform Sergeants, 3 Detective Constables and 19 Uniform Constables' were added to the force²⁷.

Despite this expansion, police cover of the city reduced. Appendix IV shows that there was deterioration. In 1891 there was a ratio of one officer per 497 head of population. Ten years later, as the population grew, this had changed to one officer to 551. This improved to 493 by 1911. Other factors account for this variation in establishment including financial pressures to keep costs low. Constantly under pressure to keep costs to a minimum, in a period of economic turmoil, the Superintendents/Chief Constables, viz. James Smart, Alexander McCall, and latterly, John Boyd adjusted their organisations to meet the changing circumstances. Table V Compares distribution of officers in 1860, '71, '80' and '90.

²⁵ Stevenson, J.V., in City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1905, Glasgow, 1906.

²⁶ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1904 and 1905, Glasgow, 1905 and 1906.

²⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1907, Glasgow, 1908, p.9 and City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1908, Glasgow, 1909, p.9.

Table V Force Strength 1860,1871,1880,1890

RANK	1860	1871	1880	1890
Chief Supt./Ch. Const.	1	1	1	1
Physician	1	1	1	1
Surgeons	6	7	7	7
(Asst.) Superintendents	6	7	7	8
Lieutenants	14	21	25	24
Insp., Detective Dept.	1	1	1	2
Sub Inspectors	-	5	7	7
Pay Clerk	1	-		
Detective Officers	21	25	28	31
Superintendent's Clerk	2	-		
Orderly Officer	1	-		
Court Officer	1			
Bar Officer	2			
Inspectors	21	24	41	46
Sergeants	37	51	60	62
Constables	584	728	862	900
Gate Officer	2			
Gunpdr Magazine Kpr.	1	1	2	2
Tailor/Storekeeper	3	3	3	3
Lamp Trimmer	4	5	5	5
Waiters	12	11	12	12
Vagrant Officers	2			
Female Turnkeys	2	6	7	7
TOTAL	725	897	1069	1118

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1860, (Glasgow, 1861), p.22, 1871 (Glasgow, 1872), p.32, 1880 (Glasgow, 1881), p.32, 189, (Glasgow, 1891), p.32.

The change in organisational structure over time is noteworthy. Minor administrative posts disappeared from the establishment figure and there was a concentration on constables and middle management - sergeants and inspectors - as the backbone of the organisation. The Detective Department remained relatively static in numbers throughout the period. The emphasis was on visible policing and its inherent deterrent effects.

The twenty five years since the passing of the 1866 Police Act had been a period of maintained and momentous change, not only in terms of the growth of the force, and its obligations, but also the geographic sphere of influence in terms of new divisions being formed, the hiccup of the 'Marine' force leaving and rejoining Glasgow, the 'amalgamations' with other forces and the increased area of the city. At the time of the passing of the City of Glasgow Act 1891, the city's population had increased by 91,232. This huge influx of population with resultant increased criminal, watching, public order, health and other responsibilities necessitated in 1866 a force totalling 784 in 5 divisions; in 1894 there were 1355 in 9 divisions²⁸. Table VI compares the dynamic growth of the organisation in the decades spanning the turn of the century.

²⁸ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1866, Glasgow, 1867, p.16 and City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1894, Glasgow, 1895, p.26.

Table VI Force Strength 1890,1900,1908

RANK	1890	1900	1908
Chief Supt./Ch. Const	1	1	1
Physician	1	1	1
District Surgeons	7	9	9
(Asst.) Superintendents	8	9	9
Lieutenants	24	29	25
Chief Clerk	1		
Superintendent - Detective Dept	-	-	1
Lieutenant	-	-	1
Insp., Detective Dept.	2	2	7
Sub Inspectors		7	7
Pay Clerk	-	-	1
Detective Officers	31	37	30
Detective Sergeants	-	-	8
Detective Constables	-	-	28
Superintendent's Clerk	-	-	
Orderly Officer	-	-	
Court Officer	-	-	
Bar Officer	-	-	
Inspectors	46	50	57
Sergeants	62	77	92
Constables	900	1150	1351
Gate Officer	-	-	
Gunpowder Magazine Keeper	2	2	2
Tailor/Storekeeper	3	5	4
Lamp Trimmer	5	8	8
Waiters	12	14	14
Vagrant Officers	-	-	
Female Turnkeys	7	8	8
TOTAL	1118	1409	1659

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1890,(Glasgow, 1891, p. 32, 1900 Glasgow, 1901, p.61, 1908 Glasgow, 1909,p. 65.

Hierarchically, the proportion of inspectors and sergeants to constables dropped.

The rank of 'Sub-Inspector' disappeared after 1905.

The outstanding feature of the first decade of the twentieth century is the blossoming of the detective department as an entity in itself. Starting in 1903 with the introduction of a handful of detective constables, by 1908, when the tabulated return was

discontinued until 1914, a full rank structure is in place. This large investment in men and expertise was a response to the growing amount of crime at the time. Housebreaking, in particular, was on the increase. The growing detective department still boasted a group of 'detective officers' who were paid more than sergeants but less than inspectors.

With the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914, all leave was cancelled and cash eliminated. Officers who had been reservists, 68 in number, were immediately called up for military service. In addition, 280 men resigned soon after the outbreak to join the army for the duration of hostilities; 19 went to the army as drill instructors, and 19 for 'other purposes'; 386 in total left the police soon after war was declared²⁹. This drain continued over the next eighteen months. The effects of the war on police recruitment were marked. No recruitment of regular officers was permitted in 1915, 1916 and 1917.

Shortages due to the demands of the armed forces were partially assuaged in two ways. Firstly, by the attempted employment of temporary (paid) constables. The Secretary of State authorised the appointment of temporary constables (men under 45 years of age). The corporation sanctioned a maximum of 400, paid 5/- per hour and carrying out the normal police duties. Recruitment was slow and by February 1915, the chief constable could only report that the number 'has never exceeded 200'. The 1915 Criminal Returns recorded, 156; in 1916, 122; and in 1917, 107. In 1918 this group was referred to as 'a number' that was unspecified. The Chief Constable was concerned that police cover was inadequate and his reliance on these temporary appointments is evident

²⁹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1914, Glasgow, 1915, p.9.

when he reported that 'all were required to perform extra duty daily'. Numbers never reached beyond 50% of establishment of 400³⁰.

Further augmenting of the seriously war-depleted force was occasioned by the creation of a pool of unpaid special constables. 3000 were enrolled. This figure had fallen to 2,200 by 1916, and was an unquantified entry in the Returns the following year. Originally employed as guardians of perceived 'vulnerable points such as waterworks, gasworks, tramway depots, power stations, important bridges &c.', the demands of the organisations' responsibilities soon had them on patrol duties. The recruitment of special (volunteer) constables was continued throughout the period of hostilities.

The establishment figure at this time was 1996/1997. Table VII shows the number of vacancies for regular officers as the war progressed.

Table VII Vacancies 1914 - 1918

Year	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Vacancies	418	538	634	723	705

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1914, Glasgow, 1915, p.64, 1915 Glasgow, 1916, p.64, 1916 Glasgow, 1917, p.64, 1917 Glasgow, 1918, p.66, 1918 (Glasgow, (1919), p.66.

Table VIII indicates the structure of the Police Force in 1914 and compares it with the organisation at the end of the war. Actual numbers in post per department give an idea of the logistical difficulties faced at the end of hostilities.

³⁰ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1915, Glasgow, 1916, p.9.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1916, Glasgow, 1917, p.9.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1917, Glasgow, 1918, p.11.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1918, Glasgow, 1919, p.10.

Table VIII Force Strength 1914 (authorised), 1918 (authorised/actual)

RANK	1914(authorised)	1918(authorised)	1918 (actual)
<u>General</u>			
Chief Constable	1	1	1
Asst. C.C.	1	1	1
Superintendents	11	11	11
Lieutenants	35	35	33
Inspectors	72	72	70
Sergeants	123	123	125
Constables	1649	1638	943
<u>Detective Staff</u>			
Asst. C.C.	N/A	-	1
Chief Insp.	9	9	10
Inspectors	18	18	18
Sergeants	26	37	35
Constables	36	36	29
<u>Clerical Staff</u>			
Superint. Clerk	1	1	
Lieutenant	N/A	-	1
Cust./Registrar	1	1	1
Chief Det. Insp.	2	2	
Inspector	1	1	2
Det. Sergeant	1	1	1
Det. Const	2	2	2
Sergeants	3	3	2
Constables	4	4	5
Vacancies			705
Total	1996	1997	1997

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1914, (Glasgow, 1915), p.8, 1918 (Glasgow, 1919), p.10.

Operational resources were now stretched to the limit. For example, responsibilities placed on the detective department, as a result of war legislation, regarding aliens and their potential for subversive activities in addition to normal duties

was recognised by the fact that the group was not only maintained at its pre-war strength - even being slightly increased in numbers, but augmented by an Assistant Chief Constable (ACC). The administrative oligarchy was not required to do without, acquiring a lieutenant.

By 1915 a normal shift of duty had been extended from eight to ten hours duration. Remuneration was low. In 1915 'pay is granted for the additional time at the rate of Inspectors 1/-; Sergeants, 10d; and Constables, 8d per hour.' By 1916 this had been generously increased by ha'penny across the board. In 1917 this stipend had reached a zenith of 1/5d, 1/2d, and 1/- respectively. Despite the Police (Weekly Rest Day) (Scotland) Act of 1914 that eventually came into force in August 1918, granting 52 days leave per annum plus ten days holiday for Constables, it was not possible to allow weekly rest days in many cases, let alone an annual leave in the *interim*. During the period of hostilities a war bonus was paid to officers which, to some extent, salved the sore. However, on 14 November 1918 all war bonus payment was stopped³¹.

During the war increases in wages had been small. The usual annual pay rise had not taken place in 1914. There was a modest increase in 1916. In June, September, and November 1918 progress was made with an increase in wages in each of these months. An example of a register entry covering the period is given in Appendix V. The temporary constables were stood down soon after the armistice, but the 'specials' although relieved of their immediate (unpaid) responsibilities at the end of the war, were not disbanded and remained 'available for aiding the regular police force in time of emergency'. The evidence of the Criminal Returns suggests that the year 1918/19 saw a

critical shortage of experienced men, which resulted in rest days being cancelled, and compulsory overtime being worked. This caused additional strain on the force. In late 1918, after disbanding of the temporary constables and the semi-mothballing of the Special Constabulary, there were 705 unfilled regular vacancies at the end of the year. The force establishment was 1997. This calculates at a deficit of 35%, albeit 127 men had returned from military service for re-appointment³². The force had lost many to the services (748 joined up), but when those that survived (112 were killed, 33 reported 'missing') returned, recruiting of people was difficult. Demobilisation took time, some men not being released until after 1919. Furthermore, ordinary wastage during the war from retiral, sick discharge etc., had further depleted the force of many long-serving, experienced, officers whose expertise was not easy to replace.

Nevertheless, there was one important innovation at this time. In September 1915 a female officer, Miss Emily Miller³³ was appointed on an experimental basis. Her duties were directed, primarily, to the interviewing of women and girls who had been involved in being victims of criminal assault by men. Such was the success of this exercise that the position was confirmed in October 1916 and her attachment to the Detective Department was continued and later confirmed as permanent. The praises of this officer, were loudly sung. Such was the success of this appointment that by 1920 Chief Constable Stevenson was reporting

³¹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1918, Glasgow, 1919, p.10

³² *ibid.*

³³ Grant, D., The Thin Blue Line, London, 1973 p.100.

10 policewomen have been appointed. They are employed in patrolling the streets, making inquiries, and generally in matters in which women and children are concerned³⁴.

They continued in post, often attached to the Criminal Investigation Department. They did not wear a uniform

Pay and conditions in the force had been a bone of contention for some time before the Great War broke out. They deteriorated considerably during the war, and with the return of peace, parity with skilled workers had been badly eroded. The Committee on the Police Service, instituted by the government, under Lord Desborough was given the responsibility of investigating police pay and conditions nationally. He produced preliminary recommendations for immediate action in 1919, which were confirmed by a Police Act of the same year. The committee's recommendations included improvements in pay, hours of work, holidays, pensions and force structure as well as the formation of a Police Federation to represent the interests of officers in matters regarding conditions of work and individual grievances.

This however, was too late to prevent the National Union of Police and Prison Officers (N.U.P.P.O.), an illegal union formed in 1913, from calling a United Kingdom wide strike in July 1919 that lasted two days. Technically 45,000 of the country's 60,000 police were eligible to strike, but in reality only 2,482 (including 72 prison officers) came out. Striking men were concentrated in the Metropolitan Police, where 994 of the 19,004 officers struck. Proportionately higher numbers came out in Liverpool, where about 50% of the constabulary obeyed the call. In Birkenhead the response was 90% support for the

³⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1920, Glasgow, 1921, p.11.

action. In Manchester and Birmingham 10% of policemen withdrew their labour. The call was ignored in the county forces and in Scotland and a Scottish Police Union, formed in 1919, folded within months with the establishment of the legislated organisation³⁵.

The tiny numbers involved in the strike indicate clearly that, despite the discontent felt nationally, the ultimate sanction of striking was not supported. Grant takes this view, qualifying the discussion by stating that the Desborough Report was 'favourably received by a vast majority of police officers in Glasgow'³⁶. An alternative view is offered by chroniclers of the Scottish Police Federation. Morrison, a founder member in 1919 recalls a draconian by senior officers and in Scottish forces to those considering membership of the independent Scottish Police Union, formed in 1919. Ultimata were issued to members that they would be required to resign the police service or face dismissal if they insisted on joining or maintaining their membership. there was a 'determined purge of union activity'³⁷. The establishing of the Police Federation gave the police representation, but those who had campaigned were conspicuous to all. In 1967 C. H. Rolph wrote:-

I can remember when police Federation representatives were marked men. To the senior officers they were crypto-commies, agitators and mikers. To the rank and file they were harmless asses elected as Federation representatives unopposed because everyone thought the whole thing a farce anyway³⁸.

The police strike of 1919 caused considerable discomfort in the higher echelons of government, however, the numbers involved were not significant as an overall percentage

³⁵ Scottish Police Federation Golden Anniversary Brochure, Edinburgh, 1969, pp.15-16.

³⁶ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, p. 70.

³⁷ Scottish Police Federation Golden Anniversary Brochure, Edinburgh, 1969, p.17.

and support was limited to small groups in few forces. Gordon observes that 'only weeks before the forty hours strike' the Secretary of State for Scotland had agreed to the demand of a minimum £3.00 per week for constables, and a pension after 26 years. This was increased to £3.10.00 (£3.50) by Desborough. Gordon suggests, without substantiation, that this 'no doubt helped to ensure the loyalty of the police'³⁹. This assertion is applied to a 'Glasgow' context and makes no comment on the total lack of support for a strike in Scotland.

It took time for the effects of the legislation to be fully implemented but gradually the police service became a more attractive option, not only for those in post, but also as a career choice for potential recruits. The corollary was the greater discretion that could be exercised in the employment of officers of 'suitable' calibre to the force. After this critical period an improvement in recruiting was manifest. The number of police vacancies in 1918 was 705. This shrank to 22 in 1919 and 20 in 1920⁴⁰.

Post-war Developments

The difficulties of the post-war world set new difficulties for the police. These challenges had to be met in an atmosphere of deepening financial gloom. Recruitment problems had to be balanced against the changing nature of crime and the finite resources available to fight it. Chief Constable Andrew Donnan Smith, who had taken over from Stevenson in 1922 addressed the problem in 1930.

Reorganisation:- In common with other large forces throughout the country, the shortage of man power (*sic*) in Glasgow has been

³⁸ *ibid*, cited on p. 23.

³⁹ Gordon, P., Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p. 26.

⁴⁰ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1918 Glasgow, 1919, p.66.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1919 Glasgow, 1920, p.60.

very acute in recent years, and particularly in what may be termed the outer Divisions, due mainly to the erection of vast housing schemes in the suburban areas, the increasing number of Acts of Parliament saddling the Police with greater responsibilities, and the enormous increase in the volume of mechanical transport.

An increase in numbers was out of the question, however Smith had to maintain the efficiency of the force with the existing manpower at his disposal. Demands on the police were governed by the needs of the population, the size of the area under police control, valuation of property, character of the inhabitants, and traffic problems which all had to be considered in strategic planning. The restructuring of the constabulary's operation included the changing the divisional boundaries by increasing the size of the inner divisions by about one sixth, with proportionate decreases to the outer ones. Manpower numbers were left unchanged in each division. The result was that the outer divisions, which were becoming more populated with new housing schemes being built, had more officers available than before. To improve further the use of officers, new beats were organised, and hours of duty restructured. In addition, police on pedal cycles would become commonplace in semi-rural areas 'to facilitate the surveillance of the outlying districts' covering an equivalent of four or even five traditional beats. Smith reported that this last innovation showed early signs of promise with a noticeable reduction in housebreaking incidents and vandalism in gardens⁴¹.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1920 Glasgow, 1921, p.60.

⁴¹ Smith, A.D. in City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1930, Glasgow, 1931, p.12.

Perhaps the most well known of the pre-war chief constables, Percy Joseph Sillitoe, took up his post on 1 December 1931⁴². What can only be described as a revolution in the City of Glasgow Police followed his appointment. Major restructuring of the service at the most senior levels of command, streamlining the effectiveness of the policeman in the front line with the use of new technology including; wireless, teleprinter, and innovative photographic techniques, the improved training at all levels in diverse skills; the foundation of specialist units, for example the Traffic Department, and the improvement of the police box system helped to combat an alarming crime wave. The Police Committee made the decision in 1932 that 'after many years' each policeman was to be equipped with a pair of handcuffs on the recommendation of the Chief Constable. The Evening News reported on 23 June that 2,500 pairs would be purchased at a cost of 5/5½ d. each⁴³.

The continued success of the use of female police officers was consolidated in 1932 when the Police (Women) (Scotland) regulations came into force in November. The regulations formalised the entry qualifications for appointment; rank structure; rates of pay; duties and career progression. Until that time women were appointed as constables without possibility of promotion. Henceforth the ranks of sergeant and inspector were to apply when appropriate. On 13 December 1932, The Glasgow Herald commented that these revisions would encourage women to apply. It remarked that 'the

⁴²Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment with Tabulated Returns for the Year ended 31st December, 1932, Glasgow, 1933, p.5.

⁴³The Glasgow Evening News, 23 June, 1932.

policewomen in Berlin, who are attached to the Criminal Investigation Department are mainly University women and are doing excellent work'⁴⁴.

Although the regulations specified patrol duties as part of the policewomen's work, they were seen as most valuable in relation to criminal investigations particularly when dealing with children and incidents involving women who had been attacked. The calibre of female had to combine 'trained observation, intelligence and acute reasoning'⁴⁵. There were less than twenty policewomen in Scotland in 1932, eleven of whom were in the City of Glasgow Police. The constabularies in Edinburgh and Ayr each boasted two policewomen in their number. Hamilton force included one policewoman in its ranks. They did not wear uniform, however a modest clothing allowance was made. On marriage or re-marriage they were required to resign their appointment⁴⁶.

In the early nineteen thirties, major reorganisation of the force was underway. By the eve of Percy Joseph Sillitoe's appointment, in December 1931, a start had been made to restructure and reorganise the City of Glasgow Police Force. The demands of spreading geographic responsibilities as a result of annexations to the city, coupled with severe financial constraints of the time put a considerable strain on recruitment. Increases in manpower were a result of absorption of extant police facilities at time of annexation, or *ad hoc* permission being granted. Total numbers over the decade varied between 2,290 at 30 December 1930 and 2,347 in 1939.

The economically difficult years of the mid-thirties involved not only cuts in wages being imposed upon the force, but also reductions in establishment. In 1931, the

⁴⁴ The Glasgow Herald, 13 December, 1932.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

National Committee under Sir George May, recommended a 12.5% cut in wages. In addition, there was a loss of about 60 posts between 1931 and 1935. Several factors accounted for this, not all of which were economic. The reorganisation of the force, including massive restructuring of the hierarchy, introduction of modern technology and increased mobility of officers through motorised units also contributed. After the expansion of the city limits in 1935, the force strength rose by nine constables! Despite these negative influences, a more stable force was emerging and there is evidence of officers remaining in post longer.

Apart from the financial pressures imposed upon the organisation, by the start of the decade before the Second World War, the organisation itself was becoming too cumbersome. Too many divisions, too top heavy controlled by management with many years service. This caused promotional bottlenecks. New thinking on operational matters incompatible with a fragmented organisation, increasing crime levels and cumbersome communications all contributed to a need for considerable revamping.

Sillitoe considered problems with the service lay in these areas primarily. The Police Review intimated in January 1932 that a competition was to be run in which all officers of whatever rank or status were invited to make his own suggestions as to the improvement of the police service in the city. No small interest was shown.

1,300 men, i.e. more than half the force, have already applied to headquarters for the requisite city maps to be used in conjunction with the competitive plans of reorganisation.

This appeal to the grass roots for advice was also seen as a morale boosting exercise

where there is genuine co-operation between the higher and lower ranks there will be found the best possible kind of discipline⁴⁷.

A certain Constable William Radcliffe of the Central Division had won the coveted £5.5.0 prize with [unspecified] suggestions for the reorganisation of the force. Sillitoe commented that the several hundred schemes submitted by the members of the Force showed

a very healthy feeling throughout the whole force, showing the keen interest there is, coupled with the desire to help in reorganising this police force to the best advantage of the community.

New opportunities for enthusiastic personnel were indicated by the statement. Referring to those who had submitted suggestions, Sillitoe remarked that they 'have every reason to hope and expect by their initiative and merit the chance of well-earned promotion'⁴⁸.

By the end of the summer Sillitoe was in a position to report and make recommendations to the corporation. His examination had been meticulous and his findings far-reaching, not only in implication for the City of Glasgow Police, but also as a model to be studied by other, similar-sized, forces.

Paramount, especially in light of the 1931 May Report, had to be the introduction of stringent economies 'so far as is compatible with the highest standard of police efficiency'. Administrative inefficiency was evident in the number of police divisions in Glasgow at the time. Sillitoe made a comparison with Liverpool, roughly the same size

⁴⁷ Police Review and Parade Gossip, 22 January, 1932, p.51.

and character, which had only seven divisions, to Glasgow's eleven. Furthermore, the eponymous 'Marine' division, responsible for the docks area, was seen as cumbersome with its inconvenient geographic distribution and administrative headquarters some distance from its farthest points. The duplication of administration in the relatively small divisions, carried out in an inordinate number of offices was not satisfactory. Realigning the divisions and reducing the number by four was decided upon. As a result thirteen police buildings became extraneous. 'Marine' would remain as a name, but its area of responsibility would change to a more local demography⁴⁹. In the future, divisions abutting the river would be responsible for the area in question. Other divisions to disappear were Partick, Queen's Park, St. Rollox and Western. The new divisions of the city were: -

'A'	or	Central
'B'	or	Marine
'C'	or	Eastern
'D'	or	Southern
'E'	or	Northern
'F'	or	Maryhill
'G'	or	Govan ⁵⁰

The *quid pro quo* for this reduction in premises had to be increased mobility of officers. The reasons for this were two-fold. Not only would there have to be further distances to travel from the office to an incident, but also the trends in crime involving motor vehicles were emerging and an obvious need to considerably augment the pitifully small number of vehicles (5 vans and 4 motor cars) was seen as essential. More than doubling the existing fleet to have a patrol van and a fast motorcar 'of the touring type'

⁴⁸ Police Review and Parade Gossip, 28 October, 1932, p.304.

⁴⁹ Police Review and Parade Gossip, 9 September, 1932, p.170.

allocated to each division, plus two small cars for dispatch purposes was recommended.

The expense must be - 'not exceeding £6,000'⁵¹.

Sillitoe did not introduce police boxes to the city. His predecessor, Andrew Donnan Smith, in 1930 referred to them as 'an outstanding feature of in police administration for over forty years'⁵². However, he did see their usefulness, and saw the benefit of expanding and deepening the system as an adjunct to the envisaged improved communication procedure. Investment would be required over the next five years at the rate of £7,200 per annum⁵³.

Such reorganisation of the operation of the force included fundamental changes in the personnel structure. Most keenly felt among the hierarchy, the whole officer configuration was closely examined. The English custom of inspectors of police being duty officer at a division was adopted. In Scotland, lieutenants did the job at this time. The reduction in the number of divisions made less of a need for Superintendents (in charge of a division) and lieutenants and inspectors. The number of constables was not inviolate either. Redundant to requirements were 4 Superintendents, 28 Lieutenants, 20 Inspectors and 25 Constables from the uniform establishment. C.I.D. lost 3 Detective-Lieutenants, 1 Detective-Inspector, and 11 Detective-Sergeants. 6 Detective-Sergeants were to be transferred to uniform duties. The need to strengthen the department was seen, and an increase of 36 detective-constables was recommended. The number of

⁵⁰ Grant, D., The Thin Blue Line, p.99.

⁵¹ Police Review and Parade Gossip 9 September, 1932, p.170.

⁵² City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1931, Glasgow, 1932, p.13.

⁵³ Police Review and Parade Gossip 9 September, 1932, p.170

women on the force, then 11, was to be increased to 15. A total net reduction of 49 personnel was the outcome of the review⁵⁴.

Civilianisation of posts, the employment of non-police personnel in offices such as waiters, cleaners, messengers and other ancillaries at divisional level, came under the potential axe. Furthermore, the new chief constable felt that certain duties, for example, police personnel should only carry out the transporting of dispatches containing confidential information. The result was that the 48 waiters or messengers were reduced by 34 and the 87 cleaning staff lost 12 of its number⁵⁵.

Senior officers had been paid *ex gratia* allowances for various duties, detailed in Table IX. Sillitoe intimated that he could find no sanction for these in Police Regulations. They were to be discontinued.

Table IX 'Police Allowances'

SUM	RANK	'REASON'
£52 p.a.	Asst. Ch. Const Det. Dept.	Extra Duty Allowance
£50 "	Div. Superintendents	Asst. Procurators Fiscal
£25 "	Chief Clerk	Key Office Factor & Billet Master

Source: Sillitoe Report in Police Review and Parade Gossip 9.9.32.

Further savings could be made, he declared, 'by another £300 per annum if the allowance for acting as Assistant Procurator Fiscal be discontinued altogether' ⁵⁶. Compulsory retirement of senior officers who had stayed on after completing 30 years service, was allowed by

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

Section 1(2) of the Police Pensions Act, 1921, which provides that 'in the interests of efficiency' retirement shall be compulsory for any member of a police force after he has become qualified by length of service (i.e. 30 years) to receive on retirement, without medical certificate a pension at the rate of two thirds of his annual pay and which therefore must be brought into effect forthwith⁵⁷.

Six weeks were to be allowed from the publication of the report to its implementation on 1 November 1932. In his report to the Corporation at the end of 1932, the reorganisation of the Force was well progressed. Sillitoe reported accordingly.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

Table X Authorised Strength of the Force, 1932

	C.C.	A.C.C.	Spt.	Lts.	Insp.	Sgt.	Const.	Total
Uniform Branch	1	1	9	11	70	166	1,844	2,102
C.I. Department,	-	1	1	8	18	29	82	139
Total	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>195</u>	<u>1,926</u>	<u>2,241</u>

The Actual Strength as at 31st December, 1932 was:-

	C.C.	A.C.C.	Spt.	Lts.	Insp.	Sgt.	Const.	Total
Uniform Branch	1	1	9	15	69	165	1,822	2,082
C.I. Department	-	-	1	7	18	28	82	136
Total	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>*22</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>193</u>	<u>1,904</u>	<u>2,218</u>

*Several officers were still to complete 30 years' service before qualifying for compulsory retirement.

Source: Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment with Tabulated Returns for the year ended 31 December 1932, Corporation of Glasgow (1933), p5.

Sillitoe had adopted a different format for his report than his predecessors; however, comparison can be made with the 1930 returns, comparing the old with the new.

Table XI Authorised Force Strength in 1930

	C.C.	A.C.C.	Spt.	Lts.	Insp.	Sgt.	Const.	Total
Uniform Branch	1	2	14	38	90	160	1869	2174
C.I. Department	-	-	-	11	19	40	46	116
Total	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>2290</u>

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1930 Corporation of Glasgow, (1931), p.12.

The change in emphasis was marked and immediate. The hierarchy had been vigorously pruned. By the end of 1932 the majority of changes were in place with only a handful still in post of those who were waiting to become eligible to retire. Emphasis was put on the officer on the street as the mainstay of the City of Glasgow Constabulary, supported by a smaller group of senior officers in command of larger units.

Van Lingelandt and Macdonald suggest that the changes Sillitoe inaugurated were not the instant, universal success they were intended to be. For example, the replacement of lieutenants with sergeants at Division resulted in considerable discipline problems, since sergeants could not instruct those of higher rank on day-to-day matters, and constables felt that this intermediate rank did not have the authority required to perform the duties previously carried out by the more senior officers. Similarly, the loss of so many members of the force with long service at one time resulted in the loss of a *corpus* of experience and street wisdom which it would take some time to replace. Finally, one hundred and one hundred and fifty men were drafted from street duty into the Traffic and Criminal Investigation Departments respectively. This loss of patrol officers was keenly felt⁵⁸.

The quality of training of officers had been under review for some time. Several locations were used for this purpose, including barracks at Clyde Street and a unit at Camphill. The reorganisation of the Divisional Headquarters had made the erstwhile Southern Police Office in Oxford Street and attendant barracks round the corner in Nicholson Street redundant. Plans were submitted to the Dean of Guild in July 1933 for

⁵⁸ Van Slingelandt, N. And Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, Elgin, 2000, pp.66-67.

their conversion for training purposes⁵⁹. When opened officially in March 1938, at a cost of £28,000, the unit was seen, not only as a venue for Glasgow police training, but also a central point for training of officers from other forces. A 'University for the Police' was a description appended to the new premises by the Lord Provost, Sir John Stewart at the opening celebratory luncheon in the City Chambers. The unit offered courses to Scottish police forces in general, as well as local training facilities. A twelve week training course for new recruits in their probationary year was the core course⁶⁰.

On the civilian side, circumstances had changed, in that the corporation had approved the employment of clerkesses and female telephonists in April 1932. A total of fifteen clerkesses in three grades, were engaged and 50 telephonists (these employed over a five year period), thus releasing manpower for other duties. The move to the new police headquarters at 21 St. Andrew's Street, around the corner from the previous HQ in Turnbull Street was made on 14 March 1932⁶¹.

The decade before the outbreak of the Second World War was one of major technological advancement, and its application to police activities was considerable in communications, and transport crime detection. Areas of innovation included wireless telegraphy and teleprinting. New departments were developed, for example, in recognition of the ever-increasing number of motor vehicles on the streets and the resultant problems of traffic control, a specialist 'Traffic' department was formed in 1932. Automatic traffic signals were placed at the intersection of Buchanan Street and Cathedral Street in January 1933. Improved fingerprint cataloguing was installed; an

⁵⁹ Police Review and Parade Gossip 14 July, 1933, p.30.

⁶⁰ The Police Review, 1 April, 1938, p.296.

improved intelligence communication system in the form of the Scottish Police Gazette was inaugurated, on 1 August 1934⁶². This work was carried out despite rigorous financial restrictions being imposed by central and local government at the time. However, one casualty of the economies was the police military band, wound up in 1932⁶³.

As war approached, it became obvious that a policing responsibility in expanded and adjusted form was necessary. Legislation in 1937 instigated training in anti-gas measures. This training was expanded over the next two years and made compulsory for all officers. On 30 May 1938, Sillitoe was made chief executive officer for air raid precautions in the city. The co-ordination of the various organisations including wardens, report centres, and emergency messengers as well as the distribution of 960,000 civilian respirators fell to his office. The city was divided for these purposes into two areas and air raid warning signals were installed in many places about the city to supplement factory sirens. Sillitoe commented

I have had erected 20 4 h.p.[this was increased to 38 by '39] sirens in the various Police Office Buildings in the City and I intend to cover, by the erection of any additional sirens all parts of the city⁶⁴.

By the outbreak of the war the air raid precautions facility within the force had one superintendent, one inspector, seven sergeants and eight constables as the hard core

⁶¹ Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment with Tabulated Returns for the Year Ended 31st December, 1932, Glasgow, 1933, p.6.

⁶² Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police for the Year Ended 31st December, 1934, Glasgow, 1935, p.19.

⁶³ Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment with Tabulated Returns for the Year Ended 31st December, 1932, Glasgow, 1933, p.6.

⁶⁴ Report of the Chief Constable of the City of Glasgow for the year 1938, Glasgow, 1939, p.26.

of the organisation. An authorised establishment of 9,130 plus 25% reserve was authorised as wardens and by December 1939, 9,018 were recruited. The two areas for administrative purposes were further divided into two divisions and an organisation of wardens, emergency messengers and control and report centres set up under police control. 393 wardens' posts were established⁶⁵.

The decade before the Second World War was dominated by the personality of Percy Sillitoe, a man who took over a cumbersome, top-heavy system under urgent need of reform. This was due to the financial pressures of the time being imposed from local and national government; the rapidly changing nature of technology and its availability for Police purposes; the increase in violent crime in the city; and the adapting of the resources at his disposal to combat it. Work had started on this reform process before Sillitoe's appointment at the end of 1931, however, under the auspices of the new incumbent, difficult and not always popular decisions were made. Nevertheless the streamlining of the force was achieved, waste of manpower and materials was reduced. The upgrading of old, and the introduction of new equipment including transportation and communications systems, Police Box augmentation and improvement and criminal detection procedures were among the improvements.

Clearly, such major change was not going to happen overnight and without rancour. Furthermore, although considerable amounts of money were saved by the restructuring exercise, considerable expenditure was involved on investment in new equipment, motor vehicles, wireless installations, police boxes, teleprinter communications, etc..

⁶⁵ Report of the Chief Constable of the City of Glasgow for the year 1939, Glasgow, 1940, p.59.

Two issues arise from the above. Firstly, Sillitoe took on a job when the writing was firmly on the wall that major change was required in Glasgow - as with many other police forces in the UK. As a result, to what extent Sillitoe was the administrator of change, already decreed, or the source of original thought could be disputed. In light of Stevenson's last report, the admitted comparison with Liverpool as a model, and whatever was gleaned from the competition, it is clear that many possible avenues were explored and an eclectic view adopted. Secondly, in light of the problems for the police in Glasgow at the time in terms of rising crime rates and the particular problem of violence in certain quarters, the success of the City of Glasgow Police in legendary terms is well documented and supported when the control of gang warfare is discussed - this being an area of success for Sillitoe in Sheffield as well as in Glasgow. This excellent work cannot be decried. However, the crime figures for the time as will be discussed, do not suggest an overall improvement. External circumstance - the poor economic climate - in both the industrial and governmental context had a marked effect, and it is impossible to say whether, had there been no change to the system, the figures would not have got progressively worse instead of being stabilised or slightly improved.

The origins of the City of Glasgow Police, while traceable to ancient practice and legislation applied countrywide, owes its inception to impetus provided locally. The establishment of a police board of elected members instituted a tier of government in the city comprising members of the emergent bourgeoisie rather than the established 'ruling' class (Appendix I). Board members, noted for their own political awareness and radical views provided a fresh, if not altogether unselfish, outlook to the administration of the expanding city.

The 1800 act formalised and funded elements of public responsibility that could no longer be left to the commitment of individuals. For example, the statute labour regulations became inoperable as the city grew. Furthermore, the enfranchisement (albeit limited) of a section of the populace afforded a degree of control of local affairs previously unheard of in Glasgow.

This element of democracy was missing when English systems of policing were being devised thirty years later. European police forces had been developed as instruments of the state for the containment of the populace. True, many functions of the wider concepts of 'police' were undertaken by police forces. Similarly, much delegated responsibility was apportioned at the equivalent of 'county' or 'borough' level. Whatever the degree of responsibility, the ultimate control by a central, government, authority was maintained.

CHAPTER FOUR

Recruitment and Maintenance of the Force

Finding the right type of police recruit in the quantity required was a chronic problem for Chief Constables. The attraction of the police as a career choice in itself changed over time. Conditions of employment including remuneration and hours of work influenced members of the force in their decision as to whether or not to remain in the service. This was directly affected by the comparative appeal of other employment opportunities, in turn at the mercy of the prevailing national economic situation.

In the eyes of many Chief Constables and Recruiting Sergeants the ideal recruit was an agricultural labourer. He was seen to have both the necessary physical strength and the appropriate mental qualities of stoicism and deference to become a loyal servant, upholding the law and maintaining social order and stability. The image of ploughman turned policeman, which was the central order of policing that triumphed in 1856, also became well established in popular culture in the nineteenth century. The reality was somewhat different¹.

Butt summarises the condition of the labour market in nineteenth century Glasgow, suggesting the circumstances in which the Police Authorities competed for recruits.

Glasgow was a low-wage city for most of the nineteenth century. The labour supply was constantly augmented by immigration from the Highlands and Islands and, most frequently, from the immediate surrounding areas of lowland

Scotland. The labour force was adaptable and skilled enough to respond quickly to changes in the industrial structure².

An area studiously avoided by writers on police matters is that of how initial recruitment was undertaken, and from where the embryonic officers of the law emanated in a geographic sense. Robertson makes a few informed deductions, alluding to the fact that the original responsibility of watching and warding was placed on householders³. Thereafter, he is somewhat vague, remarking that

no record is available of the sources of recruitment of the early paid Police Force but the officers appointed would no doubt be principally local men or, particularly in the central industrial belt, immigrants from the highlands and Ireland. It will be remembered, of course, that the Edinburgh Town Guard was composed of ex-soldiers⁴.

These sweeping generalities are supported by the studies made by Withers⁵ and Sloan⁶, although both consider more rigorously researched theses.

Recruitment problems were universal. Taylor declares that 'there was not a force in England that did not face considerable problems of recruitment and retention'⁷. He quickly dismisses the 'mythology' of 'ploughman turned policeman' much favoured by chief constables and suggests that far more complex factors came

¹Taylor, D. The New Police in Nineteenth Century England, Crime Conflict & Control, Manchester, 1997, p.47.

²Fraser, W. H. & Maver, I. (Eds.), Glasgow Volume II 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996, p.97.

³Robertson, Sir James, M/S History of the Scottish Police (unpublished) from personal papers held at Scottish Police College, Tullieallan, p.226.

⁴ibid..

⁵Withers, Charles, 'The Long Arm of the Law: migration of Highland-born policemen to Glasgow 1826 - 1891' in The Local Historian, August, 1988 pp.127 -135.

⁶W. Sloan, Aspects of Assimilation of Highland and Irish Migrants into Glasgow. University of Strathclyde M. Phil thesis, 1987, Ch. 3.

⁷Taylor, David, Crime, Policing and Punishment in England 1750-1914, London, 1998, p.89.

into play⁸. Certainly, the nineteenth century agricultural labour force was vast and poorly paid, consequently, the police service with its requirement of men noted for a physical presence, stoicism in the face of stress, and deference to authority seemed the ideal match. In reality, when examining recruits from 1840 to 1910, of a sample of 7000 police recruits, he notes that 40 per cent were classified as 'labourers', but only 11 per cent intimated an agricultural background. The remainder came from a wide range of trades, often with close geographical associations to the force they joined. For example, in Buckinghamshire: grooms, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, thatchers and carpenters, in Staffordshire: miners, moulders, puddlers, brickmakers and potters joined the police. Lancashire recruited from boot and shoemakers, carpenters, joiners and several styles of textile workers all chose the police service as alternative employment⁹. Taylor suggests that a direct correlation can be made between economic activity and the attraction of the police as an employer at times when trade slumps put artisans out of work. This economic decision was equally valid for semi or unskilled workers whose wages were less than those offered to officers of police, albeit the perspective was different. Exception could be found in ex-military personnel who chose the police as a career after their army or navy service. Although not large in number, they brought tenets of discipline and conduct often lacking in other applicants.

Examinations of the origins of police recruits have been carried out by Paley on London before Peel¹⁰; Philips and Storch on the provincial police in England¹¹;

⁸ *ibid.*, p.90.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁰ Payley, R. "An imperfect, inadequate and wretched system?" Policing London before Peel', in' Criminal Justice History 10, 1989, pp.95-130.

¹¹ Philips, D. and Storch, R. Policing Provincial England, 1829-1856, The Politics of Reform, London, 1999, p.219 *et seq.*.

Taylor concentrating on Middlesbrough and its environs¹²; and Lowe on the Lancashire experience¹³. Steedman offers comparative work on the source of Staffordshire and Buckinghamshire officers¹⁴ and Emsley and Clapson¹⁵ consider a national overview of the issue.

Emsley and Clapson develop the traditional view that agricultural labourers, thought to be fitter than townsmen and more amenable to discipline. To this end, they quote a number of correspondents on police history who accepted this thesis from the middle of the nineteenth century, with supporting commentaries as late as 1984. Closer examination of available figures over a broad range of constabularies indicates that from the century starting in 1840, those giving their previous employment as 'agricultural labourer', 'farmer' or 'gardener', 'rarely rose above ten percent'¹⁶. The recruitment of ex-military men was seen as beneficial to the constabulary with the innate training and ability to 'carry a uniform'. For example, instructions sent to divisional commanders in 1882 by the Chief of Glasgow, Alexander McCall, pending the imminent annual force inspection were quite clear as to what was expected.

No man will be on leave for that day. Every man will be perfectly clean. The best looking men will be sent at 3 o'clock inspection, men who have medals to wear them. The men will be cautioned against chewing tobacco and spitting on the floor of the Drill Hall while they are there¹⁷.

¹² Taylor, D., 'The standard of living of career policeman in Victorian England: the evidence of a provincial borough force,' in Criminal Justice History 12, 1991, pp.107-118.

¹³ Lowe, W. J., 'The Lancashire Constabulary, 1845-70: the social and occupational function of a Victorian Police Force,' in Criminal Justice History 4, 1983, pp.47-48.

¹⁴ Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, The formation of English provincial police forces, 1856-80. London, 1984, pp.72-90.

¹⁵ Emsley, C. and Clapson, M., 'Recruiting the English Policeman c. 1840-1940' in Policing and Society, Vol 3, 1994, pp.269-286.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp.271-272.

¹⁷ GCA /SR 22/63/4 Camlachie Police Station Minute Book, p.10.

This military precedent was considered, cosmetically at least, of benefit come the annual inspection of the force by an Inspectorate, many of whom were recruited from the Military.

Emsley and Clapson record that between 1850 and 1909 less than one percent of recruits in the Metropolitan police were 'soldiers' before enrolling. In Leeds the figure was 1.8 percent. Obvious peaks came about after 1919 with large numbers of de-mobbed personnel leaving the armed forces¹⁸. Nevertheless, they observe that there was a direct correlation between local economic and industrial activity and the previous employment of policemen. For example, the textile trades of Leeds and recruits to these respective forces often quoted the metal trades of Birmingham as previous employment¹⁹. In essence, they concur with the work conducted by Steedman, supporting her thesis that many recruits were drawn from the local labour supply. They conclude also that police forces did not rely as heavily as was thought hitherto on agricultural labourers as a source of recruits. The kind of entrant was most likely to be from the unskilled and semi-skilled section of the working population. Furthermore, former military personnel played a more valuable role than previously thought, albeit this was a function of *post bellum* demobilisation. The important observation was made that those who applied for police appointment, while fulfilling the required specifications of their employers, often saw the police as a means of social improvement which was difficult to achieve elsewhere²⁰.

Steedman's exhaustive study of the recruitment patterns in Buckinghamshire and Staffordshire, extrapolated by Emsley and Clapson, indicate patterns strongly

¹⁸ Emsley, C. and Clapson, M., 'Recruiting the English Policeman' p.273.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.274.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.283.

influenced by local political and economic circumstances²¹. Steedman observed that, while the small county forces of the 1840's and before used a proportion of parish constables who were previously land workers, by mid-century this was changing drastically with many craftsmen and semi-skilled workers joining the ranks of the police as economic pressures caused employment fluctuation and workers could not find a job in their particular callings. She relegates the 'myth' of the farm labourer turned policeman to the folk memory of a generation influenced by the 'memories of the hungry forties'. In 1875, she discovers Superintendent Cockeridge of the Hertfordshire Constabulary enumerating farm bailiffs, shoemakers, soldier pensioners, in fact 'all sorts' as previous jobs. She contends that soldiers were not popular, owing to their innate predisposition to drink, to which they had been institutionalised while in the military²². Nevertheless, former rural workers formed the largest group in county constabularies until the end of her period of study (1880) as far as can be ascertained from the available records. Strong associations were drawn with local and national circumstances. For example, in 1856, with the end of the Crimean War, large numbers of soldiers became available on the labour market - an incident of national involvement. However, garrison towns, e.g. in Kent and Hampshire had higher concentrations of discharged soldiers available. Steedman observed that no single source of recruitment predominated, rather local conditions including population density, economic activity, mobility of manpower, national circumstance, and the influx of Irish, 'most police forces employed Irishmen' from

²¹ Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, p.69.

²² *ibid.*, p.70.

the second quarter of the century, contributed to the spectrum of recruitment patterns²³.

While Steedman concentrated on the experience of county forces in the Midlands, Taylor examined an emergent industrial town further north. Middlesbrough grew with the railways. A town of just under 5,500 people in 1841 had grown to 20,000 in 1861 and about 40,000 by 1871. This rapid growth and increased demand for industrial workers limited the availability of potential recruits.

Although very little is known about the occupational backgrounds of recruits, the bulk of men would have been drawn from the ranks of the rural and urban unskilled with a minority from the skilled trades²⁴.

Finally, Lowe, in considering the Lancashire Constabulary between 1845 and 1870 observed that

fifty-eight per cent of the police had been born in Lancashire or Cheshire, 25% came from other English counties that were usually adjacent or nearby, usually Yorkshire²⁵.

The growth of the Irish contingent over the period is noted from between 4 - 7% in the first ten years to 18%, reflecting the large Irish community in the Liverpool area and their gradual assimilation into the working class population. With considerable detail Lowe indicates major occupational groupings. The 'labourer' category, unspecified in terms of geography (town or country) predominates at 37% of the total recruits over the period, but significant numbers were drawn from textile or

²³ *ibid.*, pp.74-78.

²⁴ Taylor, D., 'The standard of living of career policeman in Victorian England', p.120.

²⁵ Lowe, W. J., 'The Lancashire Constabulary, 1845-70' p.46.

allied trades. For example, 10.8% were weavers, 11.3% had worked as operatives in cotton or textile factories. An important 13.8% were 'skilled trade' in origin²⁶.

Each example underlines the importance of local conditions in the recruitment of police personnel in the nineteenth century. Local industry provided manpower to the police in times of recession and the agricultural worker, as a major source of officers must be put in perspective. The influx of Irish played an important part in the areas where the communities grew very rapidly, Liverpool being the ideal example. Lastly, the demographics changed over time, not only as a result of economic activity, but also as perceptions of the police as a long-term career became more attractive with the improvements in training, and hence professionalism, wages in comparison with other employment, and the career security available to the longer-serving officer.

The Source of Recruits to the City of Glasgow Police

In 1922, Cameron Macdonald travelled up from Argyll to join the City of Glasgow Police. At the time he was newly engaged, and, realising that wages of a farm worker would not support a wife and, in due course, a family, his thoughts turned towards joining the police. A colleague in the Lovatt Scouts encouraged this. He applied to twenty-seven forces. Recruitment at that time had all but stopped; Glasgow's force had a waiting list of a thousand. However, as a consequence of sponsorship by a serving Chief Inspector, he was admitted. His motivation was a combination of economic necessity, recommendation of others, and the previous experience of others from his area²⁷.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.47.

²⁷ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, The Life Story of Charles Cameron Macdonald 1903 1990, Elgin, 2000, p. 38.

The employment of erstwhile agricultural labourers in Glasgow and/or those from the more remote areas was not seen always as the universal panacea. While accepting their physical superiority, in some cases, and their unimpeachable character in most, some had major disadvantages in that they

have never been in a large city before, ignorant of localities in Glasgow, and without knowledge of the duties of a constable or the manner in which these duties are performed²⁸.

As a result, it took some time to train recruits to the minimum standard acceptable for duty.

In Glasgow, from 1857, when chief constables were required to produce uniform Returns into the activities of their constabularies, general indications as to the geographic origins of the members of the force were calculated. Sadly, the delineation was limited to the four categories of 'Scotchmen', 'Irish', 'English', and 'Foreigners/Colonials'. Dutifully the return was made until 1935 when it was discontinued. Appendix VI collates the available information from 1857 to 1935. Due to the acute shortage of officers during the Great War, a 'vacancies' entry was made from 1914 and continued to the end of hostilities. The presence of significant numbers of 'Irish' recruits is a feature of the table. Nevertheless a closer examination reveals that numbers fluctuate. Using the first available year, 1858, there were 171 from Ireland in the City of Glasgow Police. This was 24%, just under a quarter of the establishment. This figure had reduced to 20% by 1860. 'Snapshots' every five years in '65, '71 (1870 not available), '75, and '80 show 21%, 18%, 19% and 20% respectively. From the early 'eighties, activities by the supporters of Irish Home Rule

²⁸ GCA, D-TC 14/2/1 McCall, A. Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting as to Police Matters, 10 February 1871, p.4.

became an increasing problem. Thirteen bombings in London alone between March 1883 and January 1885 caused havoc and much anti-Irish feeling²⁹. A bombing in Glasgow in 1883 was part of the campaign³⁰. The fundamental confidence in the Irish contingent in the police was unshaken. 1884 17% of the police in Glasgow was of Irish origin. As the organisation grew over the next decade, there was a fall in numbers *pro rata* and by 1898 the proportion of Irish officers was down to just over 12.5%, half of the figure four decades before. Several reasons can be advanced for this including the increasingly attractive alternative of emigration to the New World as opposed to Scotland at the end of the century. The recovery was swift, and by 1905 the Irish core had risen to over 21.5%. At 329 officers, this was the largest the group was in the period under examination. This figure was not maintained and by the outbreak of the Great War 13.5% of police were Irishmen. This was slightly distorted by the increase in the force after the amalgamations of 1912, when the percentage was 16. The decline continued. By the time of the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921, a rot had set in. Increases in 1918, 1919 and 1920 were soon reversed. In the ten years to 1929 the figure fell by 43% with a further depletion of 41% on that figure by the time records end in 1935 when Ireland's contribution to the force had become a mere 4% of the whole.

Collins identifies particular groups as forming the majority of the emigrant group in Glasgow. In the 1840's and '50's 'the data suggests that it was particularly the young adults, those in their teens and twenties, and slightly older with young families who left Ireland'³¹. Similarly, in the pre-famine period, seasonal migration

²⁹ Allason, Rupert, The Branch, A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883 - 1983, Secker & Warburg, London, 1983. p.7.

³⁰ Oakley, Charles, The Second City, Glasgow, 1975, p.119.

³¹ Collins, Brenda, 'The Origins of Irish Immigration to Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in Devine, T.M. (Ed.), Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and

to help with harvesting on mainland Britain attracted enormous numbers of workers. Latterly, towards the middle of the century, engineering projects on railways, canals, dockyards and the like enticed a nomadic, 'casual' work force over the Irish Sea. In the sixty years between 1851 and 1911 the population of Ireland more than halved³². Despite the estimated two million emigrants in the twenty years from 1850, census information reports that the Irish proportion of the Scottish population remained at about 207,000. Collins contends also that this indicates an average of 8,000 new Irish immigrants arriving in Scotland annually at the time, with a definite skew in favour of the early years of the period. The half century from 1876 until partition in 1921 produced 94,000 immigrants to Scotland, a significant decrease³³. Although the movement of Irish to the United Kingdom continued due to the effects of the inter-war depression, Scotland ceased to be an attractive destination. This coincides with the decline in the Irish proportion in the police. However, the importance of the increase in Irish political activity on mainland Britain between the wars as a negative influence on recruiting officers cannot be discounted as a contributing factor.

Popular legend has held that Irish and Highlanders policed Glasgow. In light of the above the former is demonstrably only partly true and for only part of the time. The latter contention is more firmly established in the folklore and it is only recently that real attempts have been made to tease truth from myth. The Criminal Returns, sadly, only specify an ungrammatical 'Scotchmen' without further geographic expansion.

Twentieth Centuries, Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, University of Strathclyde, 1989-90, Edinburgh, 1991, p.6.

³² *ibid.*, p.10.

³³ *ibid.*, p.12.

Sloan examined the contribution of Irish and Highland migrants to the Glasgow Police Force in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1846 he intimates that almost half the 173 recruits to the force were Irish. Ten years later, he reports, 32% of the total establishment were Highlanders, and 21.9 % were Irish in origin³⁴. Sloan's work on the highland constituent offers illumination by examining in some depth the available information in the police registers of all recruits joining in 1856/7, *in toto* 486³⁵. This adequately replaced the number of departures from the force of 467³⁶. The distribution of origin is paraphrased in Table I

Table I Origin of City of Glasgow Police Recruits, 1856/57
Origin Total Recruits

Highland	114
Ireland	130
Lowland	139
Glasgow	29
Other	<u>74</u>
Total	<u>486</u>

Source: Sloan, W. 'Aspects of Assimilation of Highland and Irish migrants into Glasgow', Strathclyde University M. Phil thesis, 1987, Chapter 3.

Sloan makes a distinction between the calibre of Irish and Highland recruit. Whereas the highlanders tended to be young and single, often arriving in Glasgow as raw uncultured lads, the Irishman was, more likely than not, slightly older, married, and with some industrial or commercial experience³⁷. Furthermore, the research indicates that the highland recruit was most likely to be between the ages of 21 and 30 (with a tendency to the former) from an unskilled or semiskilled background who saw

³⁴ Sloan, W. 'Employment Opportunities and Migrant Group Assimilation: the Highlanders and Irish in Glasgow 1840 -1860' in Cummings, A.J.G. and Devine. T.M. Industry Business and Society in Scotland since 1700, Edinburgh, 1994, p.210.

³⁵ Sloan, W., 'Aspects of Highland and Irish Migrants into Glasgow', Strathclyde University M. Phil thesis, 1987, p.81.

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.98.

the police force as a lesser alternative to the better paid jobs in industry where there were less exacting responsibilities and shorter hours of work³⁸. Sloan remarked that at times of peak demand for labour, the attractions of the police service waned, and turnover increased. Nevertheless, he contends that those of Irish origin tended to stay longer. The reasons for this are complex, but it cannot be discounted completely that many Irish, who possessed considerable skill in the areas where demand for labour was high (e.g. the building, manufacturing and heavy engineering industries) found it difficult to obtain these jobs owing to preference being given to more 'local' recruits. When successful, they tended to gain employment with lower pay and status. As a result, the comparative security and increasing respectability of the police service were strong incentives to stay with the constabulary. In contrast, the Highland recruit generally did not possess the trade skills offered by the Irish and consequently his occupational choices were limited³⁹.

Withers' fulsome study of the Highlands as a source of policemen establishes some fascinating trends. Using 1826 as his benchmark, and continuing the study to 1891, significant periods of highland migration are encompassed. He identifies a total of 2,214 recruits over the period in question as having 'Highland' origins. His findings, divided into three time periods are reproduced in Table II

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Sloan, W. 'Employment Opportunities and Migrant Group Assimilation', pp.211-2.

**Table II Number of Highland-born Glasgow Policemen born in indicated county
and as a percentage of total Highland-born Police**

	<u>1826-51</u>		<u>1852-71</u>		<u>1872-91</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Argyll	108	59.36	364	40.4	192	16.96
Bute	4	2.19	3	0.33	10	0.88
Inverness	38	20.87	263	29.2	396	39.98
Ross & Crom.	16	8.79	167	18.3	322	28.48
Sutherland	9	4.96	54	6.0	146	12.89
High. Caith.	1	0.54	30	3.33	18	1.59
" Moray	-	-	-	-	10	0.88
" Perth	6	3.29	19	2.0	31	2.73
" Nairn	-	-	4	0.44	7	0.61
TOTAL	182	100	904	100	1132	100.00

Source:- Withers, C.W. 'The Long Arm of the Law: migration of Highland-born Policemen to Glasgow 1826 -1891, in The Local Historian, August 1988.

As the force grew over the period, so the recruitment trend changed from the more 'local' Argyll to the more distant northern areas as a source of potential agents of the law. Many were from semiskilled or unskilled occupational backgrounds and it is difficult to assess why the police *per se* was chosen as an occupation. Clearly industrial uncertainties would influence applications to the perceived security of the police service even as a staging post. Wages were not always a primary consideration. Withers suggests physical suitability in terms of stature, fitness and comportment. More importantly, certain other factors are identified.

The reasons for this out-movement lie, in broad terms, in a combination of 'pull' factors - the particular employment opportunities offered by Glasgow [in ALL areas of employment], the supportive recommendations of earlier migrants - and, more directly, in the 'push' factors of agricultural transformation within the Highlands which, in the North and West particularly, involved considerable

demographic upheaval and out migration, both overseas and within Scotland⁴⁰.

Perspective must not be lost when considering the influx of Irish and Highlanders to Glasgow. The 'push' and 'pull' influences described above influenced population movements. Collins mentions discrete groupings, for example when discussing seasonal Irish harvest workers in 1841; 'of the 57,000 people enumerated, almost all were men and the majority were aged between 16 - 35, the group likely to be most physically fit'⁴¹. Obvious correlation with Sloan's findings can be made.

Highland recruits as a percentage of the Force from 1826 are examined in Table III.

Table III Percentage Highlanders to Total Recruits

	1826-51	1852-71	1872-91
	No.	No.	No.
TOTAL HIGHLANDERS	182	904	1132
TOTAL RECRUITS		n/a	3603* 3312**
%AGE OF TOTAL		25.09	34.17

* Figure based on average 1858 (when figures start) to 1871 x 20.

** Figures based on 1872 - 1890 (1891 n/a) and averaged up

Source: Criminal Returns and Withers.

The forty years covered by the period suggest a significant increase in 'Highland' recruits to the City of Glasgow Police. However, tracing the length of service of recruits of all geographies illustrates the quality of employee in the police service and how the service changed over the years. Closely related to the length of time officers remained in post are factors including conditions of service, pension rights, rates of pay, conditions of service in other industries, stability of employment

⁴⁰ Withers, 'The Long Arm of the Law', p.134.

in the police compared to the economic climate as a whole and its influence on employment in industry as well as the migratory influences. The individual's performance as a police officer was directly related to length of service. Poor performance and indiscipline could lead to dismissal.

Training

Taylor observed the inadequacy of early police training when he commented

The amount of training that a recruit could expect to receive was minimal until late into the nineteenth century. Policing skills were acquired on the job and a recruit could expect to be pitched straight into beat work, albeit accompanied by a more experienced colleague⁴²

Such was the case in Glasgow that in 1871, following a major overhaul of many aspects of police activity, Chief Constable Alexander M'Call considered the whole system of conditions of employment. At this time there was significant dissatisfaction in the police nationally over occupational circumstance in general. Of this, he was fully aware. For example, the next year there were strikes in Manchester over pay and conditions, petitions in Plymouth and Devonport and a threatened strike in Oxford. Dundee police came out on strike in 1873, as did the Dublin force⁴³. He was not convinced that the bucolic police recruit, 'the principal source(s) from which the Force is recruited', was the answer to the vacancy problem - indeed the 'employment of men unacquainted with the city', he found 'faulty and objectionable'⁴⁴. While they may have had exceptional character references and be

⁴¹ Collins, Brenda, 'The Origins of Irish Immigration to Scotland', p.7.

⁴² Taylor, D. The New Police in Nineteenth Century England, p.92.

⁴³ Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, pp.132-136.

⁴⁴ GCA,D-TC 14/2/1, M'Call, A. Report to the Board of Police of Glasgow. By the Committee on Watching and Lighting; in reference to the Report addressed to the Board by Mr. Alexander M'Call,

physically suitable, he was horrified by the fact that ‘immediately on admission [to the force] they may be, and often are, sent to the streets to do police duty without drill and training, or instruction of any description whatever’⁴⁵.

Furthermore, irrespective of the source, the new recruit was not guaranteed continuous employment. He continued, stating that

comparatively, a small number of the Recruits (sic) thus taken on are fortunate enough to be placed on immediate duty. It frequently happens that, for several days at a time, the services of the Recruit are not required and he is thus left without wages⁴⁶.

M’Call was determined to improve standards of recruitment, training and professionalism within the force, and he felt that guaranteed employment from the moment of being appointed constable was essential, followed by a structured training regime. He recommended that

a probationary grade be instituted who should remain in that grade for one month, or for such shorter period as the Chief Constable considers necessary, to qualify them for duty, and be drilled, instructed in the duty of constables, and attend the Police Courts, and get a knowledge of the city generally and of those portions of it specially where police supervizance (sic) is most needed⁴⁷.

Maintaining standards of proficiency, clearly a function of discipline in the operational environment, was founded on training.

Chief Constable on the condition of the Glasgow Police Force on 6th June, 1870, 10 February, 1871,
p.4.

⁴⁵ ibid.

⁴⁶ ibid.

⁴⁷ ibid.

In 1892, the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) considered the proposal that a central training depot be inaugurated. The group was horrified at the prospect of an estimated investment of £9,000, and the matter was not pursued. In 1905 the idea was mooted once more, this time with H.M. Inspector of Constabulary. Reaction was less than lukewarm. A concurrent suggestion that all new recruits be trained for their first month at a central police depot, while viewed more favourably, never left the planning stage⁴⁸. It would be another half century before any form of centralised training became a reality. Nevertheless, training at individual force level was recognised as an important adjunct to the development of professional competence.

Hunter, writing in the Police Journal in 1931⁴⁹ suggested that training was part of the job from its inception. Early training was based on military lines and consisted of much drilling and learning to obey orders. The skills of police work were absorbed through instruction books that gave details of a policeman's responsibilities as required by the law. As new recruits progressed in their career, levels of proficiency of constable from 'preparatory' to 'merit' were observed⁵⁰. In addition, instruction in first aid, controlled by the Physician to the Force, first mentioned in Criminal Returns, 1888 as 'regulation course of ambulance instruction'⁵¹, was included.

Initially, training could be an unstructured affair and its depth and breadth could be largely dependent on the requirements of the constabulary at the time.

Hunter continued.

⁴⁸ Chief Constables' (Scotland) Association Centenary, 1870 - 1970, Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS), 1970, p.15.

⁴⁹ Hunter, J., 'Glasgow Police Training School' in The Police Journal, Vol. IV, 1931, p. 83 et seq.

⁵⁰ City of Glasgow Police Regulations, Orders and Instructions, Glasgow, 1857. Also, Robertson, M/S History of the Scottish Police, p.200.

The training varied from a few weeks' to several months' instruction in drill and police duties. The former, in particular, was sometimes dispensed with in the case of ex-servicemen. The length of the course was determined by the number of vacant beats in the city and the aptitude of each recruit for the work⁵².

Macdonald's experience in 1922 involved six weeks of training at the then training school in Turnbull Street. Along with other recruits, he was given accommodation in the police barracks at Camphill. Two weeks into his training he was issued with a uniform. The instruction consisted initially of 'exam work and foot drill'. Thereafter he was posted to the Central Division where he was under the supervision of a senior constable. He admitted: 'there was such a lot to learn'⁵³.

The employment turnover of officers had a direct influence on the 'rawness' of constables. Consequently, he was 'in many cases no more proficient in the knowledge of the duties of a policeman than he was when he left the army or the village and the plough'⁵⁴.

As part of the major revision of police terms and conditions of employment, Lord Desborough's report, which eventually came out in its entirety in 1920⁵⁵, suggested a broader and deeper approach to the education of officers of police be introduced, 'instead of almost continual dreary drill'⁵⁶. Moriarty, writing in 1929 advanced the degree of importance now attached to police professionalism.

Every policemen worthy of the name should try to improve his knowledge of his duties in every possible manner,

⁵¹ Chief Constable's Criminal Returns, 1888.

⁵² Hunter, 'Glasgow Police Training School', p.83.

⁵³ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber Elgin, 2000, p. 38.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Report of the Committee on the Police Service of England, Wales and Scotland, House of Commons, 1920.

⁵⁶ Hunter, 'Glasgow Police Training School', p.83

urged thereto by pride in his profession as well as rivalry with his comrades in the race for promotion⁵⁷.

While learning by experience was accepted as part of the maturation process, formal 'school' training was essential 'to form his character as a policeman' and to 'habituate his to that discipline which must be the backbone of the service'⁵⁸.

By the early thirties, when Hunter was making his assessment of training standards within the City of Glasgow Police, he described the careful selection of officers in terms of mental and physical aptitude and the importance of examination in both contexts as a precursor to selection. While admitting that 'men of good physique from the country are still preferred, brawn is not enough, brain is also essential' At the same time Hunter recognised that the improved terms and conditions, but not the dearth of alternative employment, was attracting applicants 'with the privilege of a secondary education'⁵⁹.

New recruits while undergoing instruction were accommodated at Camphill police barracks in Queen's Park. Instruction took place in the gymnasium at the then Central Police Office in Turnbull St. The course of training lasted ten weeks, although officers could spend the first four months of their service in the barracks. Appendix VII illustrates the weekly cycle of classes that was thrust upon the raw recruit. Although heavily dependent on *mens sana in corpore sano* the evidence suggests a more formalised instruction in the abstract skills required for efficient policing.

As the duties of the police diversified and multiplied, the basic training offered in the limited accommodation available at Turnbull Street, and the new (from

⁵⁷ Moriarty, C. 'The Police Recruit' in The Police Journal, Vol. II, 1929, p.454.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.466.

1931) headquarters round the corner in St. Andrews Street was strained to the limit. In 1932 the idea was postulated, as part of a major re-organisation of the force, of equipping a self-sufficient training unit. In 1938, amid great junketing, and at the instigation of the flamboyant Percy Sillitoe, the old Southern Police Office in Oxford Street, a semi-redundant building, had been converted at the cost of £28,000 into a new, purpose-built Glasgow Police Training School⁶⁰.

It was replete with every modern teaching aid including a cinema, a 'stripped' car chassis for examining faulty braking and silencer systems, facilities for instruction in scientific crime detection, and a rifle range. Assistant Chief Constable David Warnock, who was in charge of the school, admitted that this quantum leap was long overdue and that it was still in the living memory of many officers that they

could look back to the early days of their service when little training was given the men. They probably received a police manual to read for a day or two, were a few times in the muster room forming fours, and were then sent out to pick up their duties as best they could⁶¹.

The twelve weeks instruction provided at the training school was to set new horizons for the raw officer. In 1935, Sillitoe described the basic training. While instilling subliminally, concepts of aptitude for police work, character traits, and good manners (having satisfied the physical requirements - in 1935 the 'average' recruit was 21 years of age and 5'11" in height) the new policeman went through three stages of training.

⁵⁹ Hunter, 'Glasgow Police Training School', p.83

⁶⁰ Police Review and Parade Gossip, 1 April, 1938, p.296.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

For the first six weeks administration and organisation of the service, discipline and personal behaviour dominated the curriculum. A start was made on elements of criminal law and statutory offences. This was developed in stage two in tandem with expanding knowledge of police duties and first aid. Stage three concentrated on criminal law with guest lecturing appearances from the Stipendiary Magistrate, the Police Procurator Fiscal, the Deputy Firemaster, and a representative from the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. A final talk was delivered by Sillitoe himself or one of his assistants. Throughout the period of training foot drill and physical training including boxing, swimming and life saving, continued⁶². After nine months 'on the street', officers returned to the training school for a refresher course. A confirmation examination had to be passed after eleven months in the force before an appointment was confirmed. The ultimate accolade was served on the school with the comment that recruits from other burghs and counties; 'in the West, South West and North of Scotland'⁶³ were being sent to Glasgow for instruction.

A recognition of the importance of basic training and specialist input was the rule by the mid-thirties. Lord Desborough recommended further in his report in 1920 that

there should be qualifying examinations in police duties and educational subjects for promotion from constable to sergeant and sergeant to Inspector (sic) that should be the same for all forces in England and Wales and for forces in Scotland respectively⁶⁴.

⁶² Chief Constable's Report, 1935, Glasgow, 1936, pp.17-18.

⁶³ *ibid.*.

For the first time in 1928, the Criminal Returns included details of success rates in the Police (Scotland) Examinations held at the Technical College⁶⁵. In that year, 107 of candidates passed the elementary qualification, 56 succeeded in attaining an advanced certificate. Table IV quantifies the pass rate for the first five years of published results.

Table IV Police (Scotland) Examination passes 1928 - 1932

<u>Year</u>	<u>Advanced Certificate</u>	<u>Elementary Certificate</u>
1928	56	107
1929	93	69
1930	89	98
1931	84	68
1932	67	70

Source:- Chief Constables Criminal Returns/Annual Report.

This demonstrates the potential for officers to progress within the system, and the calibre of a group willing to undertake the required study. Since the study was sequential, those attaining the Advanced Certificate had first to pass the Elementary exam. By 1932, 389 officers held both qualifications, allowing them to be put forward for promotion. This indicates a growing pool of qualified officers from which to draw. Unfortunately the number of openings was a fraction of the number of police available to fill the posts.

The degree of formality and rigor in police training improved radically from 1920 onwards. Appendix VIII indicates a drastic reduction in labour turnover during this period. It would be foolhardy to conclude that the improvement in training was directly responsible for this state of affairs, the then massive unemployment situation was a significant contributing factor, but the genuine efforts made as a result of the

⁶⁴ Report of the Committee on the Police Service of England, Wales and Scotland, House of Commons, 1920, p.10, para. 134.

⁶⁵ Chief Constable's Criminal Returns, 1928, p.10.

Desborough deliberations, the real improvements made in terms and conditions of work, and the more exacting the screening process of applicants played no little part in this situation. The availability and uncertainty of alternative employment in the inter-war years was a not insignificant factor, but the evidence suggests that the quality of police officer improved as the quality of the job did the same.

The Officer Structure

In the early 1800's, the duties of the police officer were seen as those of a custodian of the quality of life in a material and to a certain extent moral sense. The expectation that the constable considered the quality of street metalling, the lighting of thoroughfares, the cleanliness of middens and the general demeanour of the lieges as part of his daily duties suggested a wider brief than the mere upholding of the law. This is substantiated not only by commentators nearer the events of the early 1800's, for example Peter MacKenzie in his Reminiscences in 1890 and Bell and Paton in Municipal Glasgow in 1895, but also by recent writings, for example Policing the Periphery in 1984. By the late 1850's, despite the considerable involvement of the Police Board in the areas of fire fighting, road maintenance, sewers and drainage and the containment of nuisances, the operational police had changed in function in many fundamental ways. In 1857, General Instructions contain the *dictum*: 'it should be understood at the outset, that the primary object to be attained is 'the Prevention of Crime'⁶⁶. More specifically the force saw itself in the first instance as a deterrent.

The security of person and property, the preservation of public tranquillity, and all the other objects of a Police Establishment will be better effected by what is known as

⁶⁶ City of Glasgow Police Regulations, 1857, p.9.

"prevention" than by the punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime⁶⁷.

High minded as these principles are, naiveté existed.

When in any division offences are frequently committed, there must be reason to suspect that the police are not, in that Division as efficient as they ought to be. The absence of crime will be considered the best proof of the efficiency of the police⁶⁸.

To fulfil the requirements of the police acts a formal organisation structure was devised. By the late 1850's the professionalism of the force was established to a degree unthinkable to the first commissioners. The City of Glasgow Police Regulations, Orders, &c., issued in 1857 are very detailed. Their description of organisation of area offices and the duties and responsibilities of the functionaries therein was uncompromising.

Assistant Superintendents were second only to the Chief of Police. In each division he was the officer in charge. Senior executive management and administrative responsibility was vested in this rank. A primary decision-maker, he acted as a communication link between his subordinates and superior. Not generally involved with day-to-day operational duties he could, should the situation demand, take control of major incidents.

Lieutenant officers had executive authority, with the ability to take over the operation of an office in the absence of the Assistant Superintendent. As a focal point of report, the lieutenant played a vital part in decision-making and processing the affairs of the office in which he was stationed. He was on the receiving end of instruction from higher authorities for delegation to his colleagues.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

Inspectors were the first line of senior rank, and carried a higher administrative responsibility than sergeants as well as a liaison with the Detective Department. This last for the dissemination of information to those under his control regarding criminal activities in the area. Inspectors of Police received instructions for passing on from those in higher authority viz. lieutenants and superintendents.

Sergeants were seen to be slightly divorced from the operational duties of the constables but, nonetheless, expected to be omniscient in their activities. Anticipated to take an operational lead when required, they patrolled the division area and satisfied themselves as to the efficient operation of those under their control.

Constables formed the bulk of the force. Duties of patrol and security checking, encouragement to look for transgressors of the law, be it civil or criminal, powers of search and arrest, agents for the reporting of nuisance, and much else formed the operational duties of this officer. Prevention rather than cure was emphasised as a primary function of the constable⁶⁹.

The Police (Scotland) regulations stipulated that superintendents, inspectors, sergeants, and constables could not be more than forty years of age on appointment⁷⁰.

A complex administrative system supported the hierarchy of 'street' or operational officers. A system of Bar Officers, House Officers, Gate Officers and Orderly Officers were responsible for the administration of police buildings and the processing of persons in the custody of the constabulary. More prosaic functions were undertaken by the evidently responsible tailor and storekeepers, lamptrimmers, and female searchers and cleaners.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp.10-21

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.23.

⁷⁰ Police (Scotland) Act 20 & 21 Vict., c. 72 1857, Section 3.

The Superintendent's Clerk undertook clerical and secretarial functions. His main duties were those of collating information on activities of senior officers in peripheral offices for submission to the Superintendent (latterly Chief Constable) of Police. Information from the Superintendent was issued through the Clerk, who recorded and indexed the orders given. The Superintendent's Minute Book was kept by the Clerk and contained details of all men who had advances in pay, or reductions, transfers between divisions and even leave of absence granted to senior officers. He recorded personal information on individual policemen in the Registers of Police. In addition, he had the onerous task of collating from the hundreds of individual transactions, the tables that became the mainstay of the annual Criminal Returns.

Specialist medical expertise was a two-tier arrangement. The Surgeon, also referred to as Physician to the Force, had a primary duty of the serving officers in the organisation and their state of health on entering the service. He attended those who fell sick and were injured, entering details of absence from work and causes thereof in The Sick Register.

District Surgeons, employed at divisional level, had a duty to attend to prisoners in the local office requiring medical aid. Casualties as a result of assaults, who were subject to police investigation, were also part of his rubric. Similarly, in the event of the non-availability of the Force Physician, he was to attend to the needs of officers injured on duty. Since he attended to suspects' and witnesses' requirements, follow-up visits were sometimes undertaken as recovery progressed. Medical notes were made as may have been required in evidence. Preliminary examinations of cases involving sudden death were his responsibility. As with the Physician to the Force, duties of a public health function were his. Inspection of unwholesome or adulterated foodstuffs and reporting on same to the Police Court

when required as well as making inspection of reported nuisances, e.g. drainage and sewage problems, and smoke emissions. District Surgeons carried out police duties in addition to their conventional practice work. Both the Physician to the Force, and the District Surgeons were to be available at any time, should their services be required⁷¹. In addition, he developed forensic skills that could be tapped when evidence was required in criminal proceedings. They were called upon in summary courts as well as in serious criminal cases heard in higher courts. Initially their competence was questioned, but from the late 1830's, experts in 'medical jurisprudence' were increasingly used and appropriate academic qualification was seen as a definite advantage. For example, in 1839, John Easton, professor of material medica at the Andersonian Medical College was appointed as a Police Surgeon in Glasgow⁷².

Service of Police officers over time

Despite recognition that training was a vital element in the promotion of an efficient and professional police force, as the time in post increased, the argument could be postulated that ability and experience were directly proportional thereto. Appendix IX considers the length of service of officers in a framework covering five year periods. The chart covers 1858 to 1935. Taken out of context, the figures give a clear indication that an older, longer serving police establishment emerged in time. In the early part of the period, 1858 - 1878, the vast majority of officers had less than ten years service. Table V makes milestone comparisons.

⁷¹ City of Glasgow Police Regulations, 1857, p.53.

⁷² White, B.' Training Medical Policemen: forensic medicine and public health in nineteenth-century Scotland' in Clark, M. and Crawford, C. Legal medicine in history, Cambridge, 1994, p. 155.

Table V Officers' length of service

Year	<u>1858</u>	<u>1863</u>	<u>1868</u>	<u>1873</u>	<u>1878</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1894</u>	<u>1898</u>
Officers with less than 10 years service	584	597	644	694	782	729	627	783	820
Force Total	704	744	842	922	1046	1079	1098	1355	1371
%age of total	82	80	76	75	75	68	57	58	60
Average Service (yrs)	5.5	6	6.75	7.0	7.25	8.5	10.25	10.0	9.75

Source: Criminal Returns.

The turnover was high, but the trend in departures was down.

A major factor affecting recruitment to the Police was the rate of pay and its position in comparison with 'civilian' alternatives. In 1866, HM Inspector of Constabulary remarked that

the number of resignations, desertions and dismissals from police forces is greater than in previous years. Men with the qualifications necessary for the police service, in the prime of life, of good character, with a good education, with tact, good temper and general intelligence, can now obtain better remuneration in many other professions and trades on easier terms with a less number of hours work or duty and subjected to less discipline, besides having their Saturday evening and Sunday to themselves⁷³.

For those capable of seeking a livelihood outwith the unskilled labour market, the police service had few attractions. In February 1871 M'Call stated that

the best recruits leave the force in disgust, and look out for other employment, dissatisfied with the delay and ordeal through which they have to pass, and the meagre remuneration

⁷³ Robertson, History of the Scottish Police, p.228.

given to them, before they can possibly better their position on the force⁷⁴.

Promotion opportunities as a result of formal examinations did not exist at that time. After the basic training period, officers were expected to develop skill as a result of their exposure to the job. This was an uncertain method of gaining comprehensive knowledge.

As the economic climate deteriorated in the late 1870's, an improvement in recruitment can be seen. As other employment prospects receded, employers, with a greater pool on which to draw, could be more discriminating. In addition, the temptation to leave for other jobs was reduced or eliminated as the appeal of 'secure' employment became stronger, even if the comparative earnings remained somewhat lower and the differentials had only improved fractionally. Average length of service almost doubled from 5.5 to 10.25 years in the three decades from 1858 to 1888 in support of this contention. This increasing stability is a feature of the Police service into the 1890's, and, as Appendix IX indicates, more officers are staying longer in post.

Appendix X graphically illustrates the roller coaster economy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Police employment by this time offered continuity, even a pension after 1860. The Spartan and deteriorating domestic experience of the influx of working class Irish and Highlanders to Glasgow as a result of displacement from their native heath made the relatively poorly paid, but 'secure' employment in the police an attractive alternative. Fraser comments.

⁷⁴ GCA, D - TC 14/2/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting as to Police Matters, 10 February 1871.

Few working people would expect to be in the same job for the whole of their working life. Apart from very rare years, there was, in almost all trades, a surplus of labour available. For skilled craftsmen, moves in search of work, sometimes away from the city, were common; for the unskilled and the casual labourer the search for work was unrelenting. There were always the normal fluctuations created by seasonal demand, by the trade cycle and by the weather⁷⁵.

The economic recovery heralded a slow but continuous improvement in wage rates for constables in the 1890's. Differentials with other employment shrank, but were not eliminated. Hitherto poor labour turnover and the relatively short length of service of officers began to change for the better as officers remained in the service. Nevertheless, Appendix IX indicates that in 1898 over 60% of serving police officers had less than ten years service. This was a drop of more than a quarter over the preceding twenty years. Table VI describes the situation over the following decade and a half.

Table VI Police officers with less than ten years service

Year	<u>1900</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1914</u>
Officers with less than 10 years service	809	943	905	952
Total Police	1360	1519	1613	1996
%age	59	62	56	47
Average Service (years)	9.75	9.5	11.33	11.08
Source:- <u>Criminal Returns</u>				

⁷⁵ Fraser & Maver, Glasgow Volume II, p.301.

Table VI reveals that although the force still had a high percentage of leavers, more policemen were remaining in post for longer, the overall upward trend of average length of service being sustained. The attractions of 'respectability', promotion for those so inclined or able, and a pension were coupled with a certain stature in the community. In 1896 Bell and Paton presented a glowing picture of the attractions of police work.

The Glasgow police service offers in point of pay, promotion, and pension fair attractions to young men of intelligence and steady habits. Every office up to that of chief constable itself is within the limits of their ambition⁷⁶.

In reality, the relatively narrow pyramid of command meant that promotional prospects were limited. Criminal Returns reported the promotions each year. For example, in 1876, 1884 and 1888 there were 11, 15 and 20 promotions respectively at a time when there were over a thousand in the constabulary. In 1901 there were 28 promotions from the 1379 strong group. In 1913, of the 1996 in the police, 24 were elevated to higher ranks⁷⁷. Appendix VIII suggests that in 1876, with promotion in mind, an annual turnover of 21% of the force, numbers from which to choose were small. However, by the eve of the Great War, turnover had halved, implying a longer serving group from which to choose officers of potential. Promotion from constable to sergeant could take twenty years, more for the higher ranks. Promotion was based on ability; zeal, tenacity and the element of nepotism cannot be ruled out. At any rate, length of service, itself a function of satisfying the standards of discipline and attainment in the constabulary, was essential before promotion was considered. High turnover rates of officers within the first five years of appointment (Appendix IX) and

a small executive officer structure meant that advancement was slow. As turnover of officers declined, particularly after the Great War, and reorganisation of the structure of the force, expansion of specialist training, and the need for specialists in various departments increased, promotional opportunities changed. Nevertheless, even by the late 'thirties the aspirations of all but the most determined were constrained by time and a bottleneck of long-serving colleagues. Percy Sillitoe introducing a policy of compulsory retirement when officers had reached pensionable service maxima of age and time served only temporarily addressed this in 1931. In 1932, despite the economic and structural reorganisation, which involved 77 redundancies of time-expired personnel, promotion prospects had improved, according to the Evening Times

he [Sillitoe] pointed out that more than four superintendents and 20 lieutenants are due to leave the force as time-expired men.

At present, it was pointed out, young officers worked hard with a view to obtaining promotion, and, if their prospects of this were to go down, it was natural that there would be some disappointment⁷⁸.

On the same day readers of the Glasgow Herald considered Sillitoe's argument.

The greatest stimulus to any member of the police force to give of his best must always be promotion. The retention in the force of men of high rank after they have qualified for full pension is the direct opposite of this, so that to some it becomes more or less a practical impossibility⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Bell & Paton, Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation, , Glasgow, 1896, p.121.

⁷⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1913 Glasgow, 1914, p.7.

⁷⁸ The Evening Times, 3 September, 1932.

⁷⁹ The Glasgow Herald, 3 September, 1932.

Innovation had been made in an attempt to establish a formalised promotion system. This was reflected in the publication of figures in the 1934 Chief Constable's Report of the effect on promotion of the restructuring of the force, and the compulsory retirement of officers. In the six years 1928 - 1933, with around 2,200 officers in post, promotion figures were 49, 45, 45, 39, 4 (in the transitional year '31/'32) and 91 in 32/33⁸⁰. This cleared the logjam of officers, doubling the promotion rate overnight. It was not to last. In 1937, 29 officers were promoted⁸¹. Despite these arithmetic reversals promotion became, in theory at least, more structured and attainable. Personal ability and diligence still counted, but promotion was not possible without what were now known as 'tickets'. The Police (Scotland) Elementary certificate was required for promotion to sergeant, the advanced qualification for inspector candidacy. Passing the exams did not guarantee promotion, and it was generally accepted that both tickets were necessary before the superior officers would consider the first step in the ladder. For a time long serving 'unqualified' officers were at a greater risk of being passed over as the number of police personnel passing the exams annually outnumbered the promotion opportunities. In 1937, there were 120 successful candidates in the examination system. 29 officers were promoted that year. With the backlog of 'qualified' officers from previous diets, the likelihood of fast promotion was not increased, however, more highly trained and educated persons were available from which to select.

Difficulties with Recruitment after 1900

⁸⁰ Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police for the Year Ended 31st December, 1934, Glasgow, 1935, p.54.

⁸¹ Report of the Chief Constable of the City of Glasgow for the year 1937, Glasgow, 1938, p.11.

Notwithstanding authorised increases to the force by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century concern was being voiced once more at the difficulty experienced in recruiting suitable people. Several reasons were given for this, including the high standard of recruit required, competition from other forces, unsociable hours, and better remuneration in other [civilian] employment. James Verdier Stevenson, then Chief Constable, expressed his concern in the 1907 Criminal Returns.

Recruiting:- For the past few years there has been difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of suitable recruits. The police service does not appear to be as attractive as formerly, probably because other large departments of the public service offer less irksome conditions, and do not exact such a high standard as is required in the Police Service⁸².

The specification was of a calibre that required a sturdy, if not burly, physique and general all-round good health. This must compliment a 'good character', that is no detrimental issues clouding previous employment or behaviour. A degree of intelligence based on a sound education was required to deal with the diversity of situations in which the officer would find himself and to that end evenness of temper was desirable. Discipline was strict and the recruit was fully aware that he would be required to submit to a hierarchical organisation's rules. As the duties of the constable were changed and added to as time went by, officers had to be fully aware of the complexity of their job. Nevertheless, he would often have to make spur-of-the-moment decisions that, if wrong, could have very unpleasant consequences.

⁸² City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1907, Glasgow, 1908, p.8.

Often these pressures could overwhelm the new recruit. Stevenson remarked, 'In 1907 thirty-two men resigned with less than a year's service'⁸³.

Appendix IX suggests a relatively static turnover situation with a slow but steady increase in the average length of service from 9 years in 1905 to just fewer than 12 on the eve of World War One. Contemporary economic uncertainty must have been a contributing factor in persuading officers to stay. The attraction of other forces is qualified by his quantification of the homework he has done in this area and the case is presented to the public in the following uncompromising terms.

The better conditions that prevail in the police service in England add to the difficulty of getting suitable recruits here. Many Scotchmen [sic] enter the English police forces, but not many Englishmen are found in Scottish forces. In the Liverpool police alone there are 259 scotsmen.[sic] In Glasgow police there are only 23 Englishmen. The shorter period of service required to qualify for pension is undoubtedly an attraction to the English forces⁸⁴.

Stevenson considered police forces south of the border serious competitors. When potential recruits exercised little or no geographic discrimination in considering the police service as a potential employer, English organisations could exercise greater drawing power. This *cri de coeur* was repeated word for word the following year (1908) with appropriate adjustments made for the number who had quit with less than a year in service, 34 in this case. Liverpool police could still boast 259 from north of the Border, whereas those from England in the Glasgow establishment had dropped to 21⁸⁵. Further justification was added.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1908, Glasgow, 1909, p.9.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

The policeman's work, particularly at night, is nerve - trying, the sense of responsibility is always with him, and he must be prepared to answer for every act or omission. A slight physical disability, such as slight deafness, slight lameness, defective sight, or loss of nerve following an accident, which would scarcely affect a man in other occupations, would render a policeman unfit for further service, and cause his discharge⁸⁶.

In addition to this, colonial forces recruited quantities of officers. Hong Kong was particularly popular as was the police service in Callao, a 'dot' off the west coast of South America, for reasons never explained.

Seemingly, the City of Glasgow Police was to be composed of members with exceptional abilities. These were not to be found in great numbers. In 1909 and 1910, the above diatribe was replaced by a sardonic 'There is some difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of recruits on account of the competition of other services'⁸⁷. An illustration of the problem can be drawn from the percentage figure of leavers who resigned, died, pensioned, and dismissed. Each person leaving the force created a vacancy. This is expressed as a function of the total force in Appendix VIII. From 1898 to 1900 inclusive, the total number of 'departures' doubled from 167 to 334. By 1903, the level has returned to pre-1899 levels at 138. This was the middle of a trade cycle (Appendix X) and the vast majority of leavers were resignations apparently from the service groups 5 - 15 years. Table VII illustrates the situation.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1910, Glasgow 1911, p.11.

Table VII Selected comparison of labour turnover

	'TOTAL LEAVERS'	TOTAL FORCE	%age.TURNOVER
1892	111	1347	8.24%
1900	334	1360	24.55%
1905	162	1519	10.66%
1907	187	1588	11.78%
1908	146	1613	9.05%
1909	150	1613	9.30%
1910	185	1613	11.46%

Source: - Criminal Returns. (1891 - appropriate figures not in Criminal Returns)

This drop in total force numbers (*q.v.*) and the increases allowed by the Secretary of State suggests that despite considerable effort, the establishment figure was being reached with a degree of difficulty. The comment on the difficulty of recruiting sufficient people for the reasons stated continued into the early nineteen thirties before stabilising.

A comparative observation considering the length of time officers served in the force is made in Appendix IX. The figures relating to years in service, taken for comparison in 1892, 1901, and 1910 indicate, at the beginning of the period, a force with the majority serving 15 years and more. Those with five years service and less account for a significant 43%. By 1901, just over 40% of the force had five years service or less. The figures display evidence that more officers were staying longer. Having crossed the barrier of five years, many stayed to make a career in the force, increasingly so by 1910. By 1910 35.5% of the constabulary had five years or less service. The average length of service had risen to 11 years. Table VIII confirms the change in emphasis.

Table VIII Length of service 1892, 1901, 1911

Length of Service Distribution			1892	1901	1911
Year					
Number of Men					
Under 1 Year			188	209	185
1 to 5 Years			394	354	387
5 to 10 Years			247	173	307
10 to 15 Years			179	216	259
15 to 20 Years			169	154	139
20 to 25 Years			84	139	154
25 to 30 Years			49	97	106
30 to 35 Years			34	31	55
35 to 40 Years			2	5	20
Above 40 Years			1	1	1
Vacancies					
Total			1347	1379	1613
Average Service (Years)			9.5	9.92	11

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1892 Corporation of Glasgow, (1893), p.32.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1901 Corporation of Glasgow, (1902), p.61.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1911 Corporation of Glasgow, (1912), p.62.

The period covered by the Great War presents a misleading picture. Hundreds of policemen joined the armed services. Recruiting was minimal and by 1916 non-existent to all intents and purposes. Many officers due for retiral were asked to stay on. Consequently, the average length of service rose to a peak of 16.58 years in 1918 before a massive recruiting/re-engagement of manpower the following year that continued in 1920 and 1921. This strategy not only brought the average length of service figure down, but also allowed for the belated retiral of a very large number of long-serving policemen. An indication of the 'top heavy' nature of the constabulary can be gleaned from the fact that the number of police who had over thirty years in the constabulary in the years 1914 to 1918 inclusive was 82, 98, 114,

118 and 109 respectively. Those with over thirty years service as a proportion of serving officers, as opposed to the allowed establishment, had risen from 4% to 8%.

Police Age Structure

Age can be closely related to length of service in the available figures. In the forty years 1858 to 1898 the average age of starters in the force with less than one year of service ranged from a high of 26.5 to a low of 22 with a skew towards the higher of the two (Appendix XI). An average age is available until 1935. Never below 32, never above 36 (outwith the War Years - when a peak is reached of nearly 40) the stability of this average makes a counterpoint to the 'ageing' police force as length of service increases. Emsley and Clapson's work suggest that the average age of recruits, they considered those joining the Metropolitan, Hull, Kent and Worcester police from 1840 - 1940, was modal 21 years, 'closely followed by the ages twenty, twenty two and twenty three'⁸⁸. Appendix XI, indicates that in 1858, the average age of the recruit with less than one year in post, was 26.3 years, compatriots in the Metropolitan Police were 24. By the end of the century this difference had all but disappeared, and 22/23 is the 'norm' in the English forces examined. In Glasgow in 1898, the average age on appointment was 23⁸⁹. Glasgow, in line with many constabularies, preferred recruiting officers with some experience of the work ethic, usually from a background of modest or limited skill. Steedman observes that many recruits had as much as ten years of a working life elsewhere before joining the police. She makes the valid deduction, not absent from the thoughts of Victorian Chief Constables, that 'their age at joining enabled them to make detailed

⁸⁸ Emsley, C. and Clapson, M., 'Recruiting the English Policeman' p.282.

⁸⁹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1898, Glasgow, 1899.

comparisons between a past and present life'⁹⁰. This thinking is applicable to Glasgow.

Factors affecting whether people stay in a job are closely related to conditions of service including rates of pay, hours of work and standards of management. On the other hand, the quality of recruit could be read as a function of comparative wage rates. Perceived working conditions could have a significant effect on the calibre of applicant. Besides, a job in the police service had certain attractions. Critchley's description of the situation as applied to English forces has a certain ring of similarity to the Scottish experience and happily concurs with the contemporary opinion offered above.

A job in the police offered not only security; it offered respectability, warm clothes and the opportunity for self-improvement, eagerly exploited by men who were to fill the rank of sergeants, inspectors and superintendents in years to come; and most attractive of all probably, it offered the allure of a tiny pension in old age. In exchange for this a recruit enrolled in a para-military organisation which demanded little less of its adherents than did the order of the Franciscans⁹¹.

Contemporary descriptions of day-to-day life for a policeman in Glasgow suggest a rigorous discipline, and an inflexible hierarchy on occasion, who themselves were not immune from sanction. For example, in January 1844 an investigation was instigated into the consumption of bread purchased for prisoners and vagrants' nourishment at the Central Police Office. Suspicions were aroused when it was discovered that the amount used was 20% more than was required. An inquiry revealed that the responsibility had been gradually demitted from the designated

⁹⁰ Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, p.80.

officer of police (the Superintendent) to a minor functionary in the firehouse next door whose commitment to control was less than total. The Board was clear and firm.

Your Committee have ordered that the bread shall be in future under the direct charge of the Superintendent, from which, indeed it does not appear to have been ever properly removed - and have instructed him to cause a book to be kept in which there shall be entered daily the weight of the bread and the number of rolls⁹².

Acting on a complaint in July 1865 by a Mr. Scott, Chief Constable James Smart established that two officers from the Southern Police Office had grossly overstepped their authority. Mr. Thomas Weir, a butcher at 197 Eglinton Street discovered some children had been vandalising the van parked in his yard. Apprehending the ringleader, McMiney, an eleven year old, he called the police who took the child in charge. Acting Lieutenants John Wilson and David Niven extracted the names of the other members of the gang, aged six to ten years. At two thirty the next morning the children were taken from their beds to the Office in South Portland Street and held there. Parental access was refused. Mr. Scott acted on behalf of the parents, had the children released, and made formal complaint. Smart ordered the immediate suspension and disciplining of the officers concerned⁹³.

Rodger's not unbiased observation of police service in Govan and Hillhead (both then independent burgh forces) from 1875 to 1883 attests to this cavalier attitude being used internally. In questioning an instruction, Rodger was told by his Sergeant, 'be off, you will get no explanation from me - you must just learn these

⁹¹ Critchley, T.A., *A History of Police in England and Wales*, London, 1978, p.145.

⁹² GCA E1/1 Minutes of Police Commissioners 1800 - 1846, 18 January, 1844.

⁹³ GCA/E1/3 Minutes of Board of Police, July, 1865.

things as the rest of us had to do you green B....'. The beat officer came under an uncompromising control of his sergeant and those above him in the organisation. Complaints by members of the public against policemen were taken very seriously indeed, and officers were accountable for the smallest of infringement of regulations⁹⁴. Van Slingelandt and Macdonald, in their biography of Cameron Macdonald, who served in the City of Glasgow Police from 1922 to 1952 confirms the bullying that was the hallmark of some unscrupulous senior officers at this time. Inspector 'B' was known as the 'Brute'. His uncompromising behaviour towards a colleague, a Constable Campbell, for the petty infringement of being caught smoking on duty, escalated to a vendetta that ended in the suicide of the Constable⁹⁵. Cases like this were extreme nevertheless; the regime of strict discipline and intermittent paranoid control is evident throughout the period.

Quality of Police recruits

The departure of police officers with less than one year of service (Appendix IX) suggests that for many recruits the strict discipline was a code to which it was difficult to adhere. Fraser proposes that an alternative form of 'security' for the working class, particularly the male members was readily available in the public house⁹⁶. The quantity of police officers dismissed, many for drunkenness, a growing problem by the late 1870's bears testament to this analogy (Appendix VIII) even allowing that the total 'dismissals' were proportionally considerably fewer than twenty years before. A function, at least, of M'Call's strategy.

Steedman's analysis of provincial English police forces indicates parallels with Glasgow. In the twenty years from 1856 the annual turnover of police in

⁹⁴ Rodger, S. The Secret Memoirs of the Glasgow Teetotal Bobby 1846-1901, Glasgow, 1979, p.19.

⁹⁵ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, p.61.

Glasgow was only once below 20%. This was in 1868. In 1859 it was 36.9% (Appendix VIII). From 1880 the general trend was down. Steedman's examination indicates the same tendency with labour turnover halving in England during the same period. She suggests that, although dismissal levels could be high in light of the strict regulations regarding behaviour of officers and many 'leavers' went within five years of appointment, she promotes the theory that before the police service had become identified with the notion of a respectable job for life with a pension to look forward to, many new recruits saw police service as a limiting factor if or when they sought re-employment in the trade they had left⁹⁷. Support must be given to this theory in light of the debate that the police was seen as a desperate alternative when economic circumstances moved workers from depressed industries onto the labour market.

Alexander M'Call, was determined to improve the quality of recruits not only to reduce the rate of departure, and hence improve the efficiency of the force but also to eliminate the practice of over-recruiting which resulted in quantities of unemployed and unpaid 'policemen' retained, but without a job to do⁹⁸. Despite no apparent lack of applicants, quality was not always an adjunct to quantity.

The postulation that the influx of immigrant highlanders who were suitable in terms of physical dimension but their lack of street wisdom of the city and a liking for the native distillate accounted for part, at least, of the high turnover of officers in the latter half of the nineteenth century and even up to the eve of the Great War⁹⁹ cannot be discounted as pure fancy but must be set in the social context of the time.

⁹⁶ Fraser & Maver, Glasgow Volume II pp.302-3.

⁹⁷ Steedman, C., Policing and the Victorian Community, pp.92-94.

⁹⁸ GCA, D - TC 14/2/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting as to Police Matters, 10 February 1871.

⁹⁹ Withers, 'The Long Arm of the Law', p.134.

Nevertheless 'dismissals' as a fraction of 'resignations' fell between 1900, when 223 resigned and 78 were dismissed and 1913 when the ratio was 150 to 10 (Appendix VIII).

The problem of poor pay and working conditions continued, coming to something of a head when the war came in 1914. Not only did the force lose many to the services but also when those who survived returned conditions of work were so poor comparatively speaking that recruiting was well nigh impossible. In 1918, there were 705 unfilled vacancies at the end of the year. The force establishment was 1997. It computes that the City of Glasgow Police was 35% short of the establishment figure. After the end of the war it took some time to overcome the problems of recruiting new officers and for them to gain the requisite skill. This situation is reflected in the length of service curves comparing 1911, 1921 and 1930, suggesting an inexperienced group in 1921 - i.e. many officers with less than five to ten years service, and the more rounded curve of 1930 implying longer service and combined experience. Table IX shows a more experienced force with officers tending to stay longer in the force from 1931.

Table IX Length of service 1931 - 1935

<u>Length of Service Distribution</u>	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Year					
Number of Men					
Under 1 Year	87	66	88	88	82
1 to 5 Years	342	339	311	305	285
5 to 10 Years	449	463	403	415	406
10 to 15 Years	560	604	725	602	459
15 to 20 Years	290	187	97	228	425
20 to 25 Years	268	314	360	358	327
25 to 30 Years	205	212	205	209	215
30 to 35 Years	73	29	19	20	27
35 to 40 Years	8	2			
Above 40 Years	2	2			
Vacancies	6	23	33	6	6
Total	2292	2241	2241	2231	2232
Average Service (Years)	13.58	13	13	13.33	13.66

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1931 Corporation of Glasgow, (1932), p.64.

Report on the State of Crime and the Police Establishment with Tabulated Returns for the Year ended 31st December, 1932, Corporation of Glasgow, (1933), p. 79.

Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police for the Year Ended 31st December, 1933, Corporation of Glasgow, (1934),p.117.

Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police for the Year Ended 31st December, 1934, Corporation of Glasgow, (1935), p. 104.

Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police for the Year Ended 31st December, 1935, Corporation of Glasgow, (1936),p. 87.

1935 was the last year that that these figures were published, but the attractions of a police career were strong. Alternative employment was not readily obtainable, accommodation was supplied for single and married officers, and the chances of promotion improved slightly following the changes Sillitoe made soon after his appointment.

The negative economic situation can be juxtaposed with length of service in the police. A contributing factor, of course, but changes in the remuneration system and conditions of service had a profound effect not only on the serving members of the force, but also on the degree of discrimination which could be exercised in the selection of applicants.

Police Pay

As the nineteenth century progressed the pattern of turnover changed as a function of various influences, not least of which was the payment of the police force. From 1800 until 1939 the problem of recruitment was one constantly being intimated by chiefs of police in their reports. The lure of lucre not only from other forces, but other jobs was a constant problem, which was not completely solved by Lord Desborough's efforts in 1919. In the early days, wages were modest.

In a small professional force established in Glasgow in 1778, the Inspector of Police was paid £150 per annum, while the eight officers were paid at the rate of 1/6d per day¹⁰⁰.

In the first full-time paid police force established in Glasgow by private act in 1800, the watchmen were paid 11/- per week in summer and 12/- per week in winter. When the Aberdeen Police Force was established in 1818, the men received 12/- per week¹⁰¹. This compared favourably with skilled men's wages. In a statement issued in 1840 describing the rural police, the wages paid to police officers in the various counties of Scotland were compared with the wages paid to labourers as follows in Table X.

¹⁰⁰ Robertson, History of the Scottish Police, p.242.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

Table X Comparison of police and labourer's wages 1840

<u>Area</u>	<u>Constables' Pay (p.w.)</u>	<u>Labourers' Pay (p.w.)</u>
Aberdeen	15/4,11/6,9/2,6/11	10/- - 14/-
Argyll	14/-	9/- - 10/-
Ayrshire	15/-,14/6,14/-	10/-
Banffshire	14/-	10/- - 12/-
Dunbartonshire	14/-	10/-
Edinburgh	15/-(plus house)	various
Inverness	11/6	12/-
Lanark	14/6	various
Perth	14/-,13/-,12/-	various
Stirling	14/-	10/- - 13/-

Source:- Robertson M/S

Hierarchical comparison of wages paid to police officers from 1871 to 1908, when the figures ceased to be published in the Criminal Returns is produced in Table

XI.

Table XI Police Wages and Salaries 1871,1880, 1890, 1900, 1908 (£s p.a.)

POST	1871	1880	1890	1900	1908
Chief Constable	500	700	700	900	1000
Physician		400	400	400	500
Dist Surg*		40	95	80	70
Chief Super		-	-	-	-
Superintds*		210	270	275	375
Lieutenants*		105	145	145	165
Chief Clerk*		-	-	-	-
Super. Detect*		-	-	-	-
Lieut Detect*		-	-	-	-
Insp. Det Dept*	140	150	140	152	140.4
Sub-Inspt*		93.6	96.2	106.6	109.2
Det Offs*		75.4	83.2	91	104
Det Serg.*		-	-	-	-
Det Const*		-	-	-	-
Pay Clerk Cus Reg		-	-	-	-
Inspts*		75.4	96.2	96.2	111
Sergeants*		67.6	80.6	80.6	88.4
Constables*		49.4	65	65	70.2
Storekeeper (Insp)		-	-	-	-
Pwd. Mag. Kpr*	54.6	62.4	59.8	67.6	65
Strkpr & Tailr*	57.2	67.6	67.6	70.2	75.4
# Lamp Trms*		36.4	46.8	57.2	70.2
Waiters	41.6	54.6	54.6	54.6	59.8
Fem. Turnkeys	31.2	36.4	36.4	36.4	41.6

The Chief Constable's salary in 1871 was LESS than 1869 by £100 M'Call succeeded Smart in 1870 and was appointed on the lower scale.

*Average figure #Tailor only in 1908

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1871, p. 32, 1880, p.32, 1890, p.32, 1900, p.61, , 1908, p.65.

The above figures present a general picture of the changes in salary over the years. Apparent drops were a function of changes in personnel. For example, recruits on a lower salary replaced long-serving individuals at the top of the scale. Averages indicate a midpoint in a scale occupied by a quantity of people. Restructuring in the early years of the twentieth century accounted for additions and deletions to the ranking system, and a considerable upgrading of the detective department. Administration was placed in the hands of a Chief Clerk and a Storekeeper, both salaried at inspector level. New ranks of Chief Superintendent and Chief Clerk, as well as the creation of a Storekeeper, coupled with the disappearance of the rank of Sub Inspector, occasioned slight anomalies in pay structures, for example a drop in the salary of superintendents, as chief superintendents became divisional commanders. Parities within the force were not maintained. The salary of the Chief Constable doubled between 1871 and 1908 from £500 to £1000 *per annum*. Consider the same comparison at other ranks as a percentage increase over the same period. Divisional Commanders, ranked as Chief Superintendents by 1908; 91% increase; Inspectors - 50%; Sergeants 43%; Constables 50%.

Comparison with other workers outside the force is less easy. Smout compares Scottish earnings with English equivalents and suggests that, quoting R. Dudley Baxter, working in the middle of the nineteenth century: 'using both tax data and wage estimates, he calculated that average income per head in Scotland in 1867 was 75% of the English figure. A recent estimate for 1911 which can only be approximate, suggests a figure in the region of 95 %.' On a fundamental level, Baxter estimated for 'Higher skilled [wages over £50. p.a.]' an average of £47.2/-¹⁰². A

¹⁰² Smout, T. C., A Century of the Scottish People 1830 - 1950, London, 1986, p.113.

constable of police earned £49.8/- p.a. on average at that time¹⁰³. However, in 1900 Smout suggested a figure of 36/- per week for a time-served craftsman. The average weekly wage for a constable of police then was, according to the Criminal Returns, 27/-. Pessimistic estimates for 1906 indicate the rate for skilled shipyard workers at 36/4 weekly, the Board of Trade return suggesting 47/11. The constable of two years later was on an average of 28/-. Smout estimates that real wages in Britain rose by 80% between 1850 and 1900 (more in Scotland)¹⁰⁴. With such pressure from without, it is scarcely surprising that there was a problem in trying to recruit people of suitable calibre.

Reference was made regularly in the reports of her Majesty's Inspector of constabulary to the disparity of wages paid to the various police forces. In Glasgow, following M'Call's report in 1871, wages rose slightly over the next few years (Appendix XII). Robertson comments that

in 1892 rules were made by H. M. Secretary for Scotland, the Most Honourable The Marquis of Lothian, K.T., pursuant to the Third Section of the Police (Scotland) Act 1857 (20 & 21 Vict.C.72) for establishing a uniform system for the government, pay, clothing, accoutrements and necessaries for constables appointed under the Act as read with the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1889 (52 & 53 Vict. C.50) and the Police (Scotland) Act 1890 (53 54 Vict. C.67)¹⁰⁵.

These sets of rules, made reference to suggested model scales of pay (exclusive of expenses including office stationary, travelling on duty, purchase of

¹⁰³ Criminal Returns, 1911.

¹⁰⁴ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.113.

¹⁰⁵ Robertson, History of the Scottish Police, p.252.

horse, cart or forage) which had been drawn up for the assistance of local authorities and one or other of them according to local circumstances, was recommended for adoption when any alteration of the existing rates of pay of a police force was proposed. Definitive action was not taken until Lord Desborough reported at the end of the Great War.

Appendix XII compares the weekly wage of constables of police with various skilled artisans. In the 1860's, for which two comparisons are available, the policeman, earning 21/- per week compares less than favourably, accepting the Agricultural labourer - who had a tied cottage. Police 'payment in kind' in the form of uniform, and accommodation at reasonable rates was not sufficient to entice a suitable applicant who wanted to make the police a long-term career and was prepared to abide by the strict code of discipline and conduct. This is suggested by the level of dismissals that rose to a peak of 122 in 1858 before settling down to an ignominious average of around 65 over the years to 1885.

Sloan develops this discussion, commenting that the comparative attractions of the police service in the nineteenth century when the availability of skilled work was limited. He declares that

in June, 1857, the 74 men in the top class of the five grades of constables could earn 18/- a week, the 225 men in class 3 had 16/- a week while those taken on as class 5 constables, of which there were 70 at the time, had only 14/- a week. A skilled fitter could expect to earn 24/- for a 57-hour week at this time¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ GCA E1/14/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting, 19 June, 1857, in Sloan, Aspects of Assimilation of Highland and Irish Migrants. University of Strathclyde M. Phil. thesis, 1987. Also, Department of Employment and Productivity, British Labour Statistics, Historical Abstract 1886 - 1968, H.M.S.O., 1971.

Appendix VIII's examination of the turnover of police officers compared with the information in Appendix XII's comparison with wages in other sectors, indicates a direct correlation between relative remuneration and the rate of turnover in the force. For example in 1900, a peak year for 'leavers', wages in many industries including fitters, turners and bricklayers offered significantly higher wages - a differential that narrowed over the next decade as the industrial situation deteriorated. This was also reflected in the decline in the number leaving the force, but departures generally remain in 9.5% - 11.5% of total establishment until the outbreak of war in 1914. The drain on the resources of the permanent police is evidenced over the next four years in the figures. The comparative deterioration in conditions of work in the police service nationally had been ongoing for some time before the war, and as wages in war industries rose as a result of war production schedules producing full employment, the salaries of the police did not rise in proportion. Table XII illustrates comparative rates in 1918, as presented to Desborough.

Table XII Comparison of police wages at August 1918 with other employment (in shillings per week)

	<u>Constable's pay at Aug. '1918. in shillings.</u>	<u>Allowances</u>	<u>Weekly earnings of other Employments as stated by witnesses</u>		<u>Wages of Constable with 5 years service (2 Children) Metropolitan Police</u>		
Dorset Min.	21.00	Difference of rent over 2.33	Corporation Street Sweeper, Newcastle	55.00	Pay	48.00	
Max.	26.83				War Bonus	12.00	
War Bonus	12.00				Rent Aid (av.)	1.66	
Max.Total*	38.83			Tramcar Driver, Newcastle	65.00	Coal Allowance	.33
					Children's Allowance	5.00	
Lancs. Min.	35.00	Houses or quarters rent free	Scavenger, Mersey Docks & Harbour Board	67.50	Total	67.00	
Max.	44.33						
War Bonus(M)	10.00						
War Bonus(S)	6.00		Cotton Porter, L'pool	68.50			
Max. Total (M)	54.33						
Max. Total(S)	50.33		Dock Gate Man, L'pool	68.00			
Truro Min.	23.00	-	Carter, L'pool	72.00			
Max.	31.00						
War Bonus	8.00						
Total Max.	39.00						
Manchester Min.	35.00	-	Corporation Road Scavenger, Birmingham	61.00	Typical Small Borough Force		
Max.	46.00					Pay	45.00
War Bonus	20.00			Glasgow Paviour	68.00	War Bonus	10.00
Total Max.	66.00			Unskilled Labourer, London	1.42	Total	55.00
			rate per hour				
Glasgow Min.	32.42	-					
Max.	42.33						
War Bonus	15.00						
Total Max.	57.33						
Ross & Crom. Min.	23.92	Rent allowance 1.5 per week.					
Max.	34.42						
War Bonus	10.00						
Total Max	44.42						

Source: Report of the Committee on the Police Service of England Wales and Scotland, 1920. H.M.S.O.

Increases in pay in 1918 did not stop the rot that had set in and grievances regarding hours of work, rest days, salaries and operational constraints festered. Strikes in England of serving police officers not only caused genuine alarm in government circles but also indicated that major revision of the police service was required. Lord Desborough headed the enquiry and recommended in his preliminary report that huge increases in basic pay should be instigated. An almost doubling overnight, in addition to the 4 increments in 1918, catapulted the police wage to a powerful comparative position (Appendix XII). This, with revised pension and holiday leave entitlements as well as a review of hours of work gained for the police a position of comparative strength in the labour market. Funding for this was to be accommodated by a grant from central government to police forces of fifty percent of the total expenditure¹⁰⁷.

Table XIII displays the so-called 'Desborough Scale' of payment as established in 1920. Consequent to this, with improved pension rights as well as the provision of a representative body in the form of the Police Federation, employment conditions once more competed strongly with 'civilian' alternatives. Nevertheless, it took twenty-two years for a new constable to complete the salary scale that incorporated a total increase of one pound five shillings per week.

¹⁰⁷ Gordon, P., Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p.26.

Table XIII The Desborough Scale, 1920

The Desborough Scale (1920)

"Recommended for Constables" (in shillings per week)

On Appointment (on Probation)	70.00
After 1 year (unless probation is extended)	72.00
After 2 years from appointment	74.00
After 3 years from appointment	76.00
After 4 years from appointment	78.00
After 5 years from appointment	80.00
After 6 years from appointment*	82.00
After 7 years from appointment*	84.00
After 8 years from appointment*	86.00
After 9 years from appointment*	88.00
After 10 years from appointment*	90.00
After 17 years from appointment*	92.50
After 22 years from appointment*	95.00

*AFTER not less than FIVE years service, an additional increment could be awarded for good conduct and/or efficiency . This was discretionary.

"Merit Pay" in the form of a non-pensionable lump sum was recommended for single acts of outstanding value.

Source: Report of the Committee on the Police Service of England Wales and Scotland, 1920. H.M.S.O. (Desborough)

Appendix XII indicates that a constable of police now commanded wages at the higher end of the employment scale and earned a maximum well in excess of many skilled workers. This is reflected in Appendix VIII as turnover fell. The 'pull' of other employment decreased as wages and conditions of work improved.

The financial crisis of 1929 - 31, forced radical changes in government funding plans for all public services. The police allocation was cut and, following the economic crisis of 1931, the May Committee recommended a cut in wages of 6.25 % followed by a further 12.5% reduction the following year. Appendix XII follows the career of Police wages at the time. In September 1931, as a result of May's deliberations, and as a response to protests, a meeting was convened which was addressed by Sir Herbert Samuel, the Home Secretary. 400 members of the Metropolitan Police Board were in attendance to ask him to reconsider the initial 5/-

cut. This was to no avail and the deductions were introduced. Table XIV quantifies the 1931 cuts.

Table XIV Cuts in weekly Police Pay, 1931

Constables	4/3
Sergeants	5/6
Inspectors	6/9

New recruits were to start at a minimum of 55/- per week.

Other Ranks:- Not more than 5% reduction.

Source:- Police Review, 20.4.34, p. 286.

12,000 police protested at an open meeting in the Albert Hall in November of that year. On 13 January 1931 the Police Review reported the defiance of the Glasgow Corporation to the proposed cuts for new entrants and promotions.

It was agreed by the Committee that Sergeants and Constables who have joined since 30.9.31 shall receive the same scale of pay as similar rank at that date, i.e. 75/- - rising to 90/- (100/- - 112/6d [Sergeants]).

But the cuts went ahead as planned.

In September 1932, the Higgins Committee was appointed to enquire into wage rates of constables and sergeants and the disadvantaged 'new entrants' - that is, those appointed after September 1931. In October 1932 the second pay cut was introduced. This is summarised in Table XV.

Table XV Supplementary cuts - October, 1932 giving TOTAL cuts (1931 &1932) per week

Constables	8/6
Sergeants	11/-
Inspectors	13/6
Other Ranks	not exceeding 10%

Source:- Police Review, 20.4.34, p. 286.

Sir John Gilmour, now Home Secretary, informed outraged representatives at the Federation Annual Conference in November 1932 that this was indeed in the spirit of Desborough. Had Desborough himself not said in his Report that 'the standard scale of pensionable pay be reviewed from time to time in the light of changed circumstances'? This might have been the letter, but thousands of officers of police offered a cogent argument as to whether or not it was the spirit. Over the following months protests flooded in from all parts of the nation. Police morale reached an all-time low.

National representations to government eventually brought partial success and on 1 July 1934, 5% of the cut was restored. By the following year, as the economic climate improved, the constant pressure brought to bear produced results.

As from Monday next the economy "cuts" in the pay of the Police will cease to operate, and all members of the Force will receive the full rate of pay which they were entitled by the terms and conditions of their employment¹⁰⁸.

Benefits

In the Police Service payment when injured on duty and free medical treatment was the norm from the days of the first act in 1800. The Sick and Funeral Society, membership of which was compulsory, provided sick pay and funeral expenses. In 1860 James Smart, the then chief of police, proudly announced in the Criminal Returns that a superannuation fund had been started. In light of the fact the average length of service at the time was 5.5 - 5.75 years, he felt that this should be introduced

¹⁰⁸ Police Review 28.6.35, p.617

with a view to inducing a better class of men to join the force and to remain in it, and a very great improvement *has taken* place in the class of recruits obtained; but it will be observed that it has not done much to induce them to remain¹⁰⁹.

Sadly, after only 11 pensions being disbursed over the next few years, the scheme was defunct by 1870. (Appendix VIII) McCall, Chief Constable by that time, was not sanguine about the viability of a pension scheme that did not have some kind of centralised support. No matter how desirable or appropriate a pension fund may be

unless the contributions from the men are largely supplemented from the assessment and by government allowance, it is useless again to attempt it. [a pension scheme]¹¹⁰.

Two decades later, the Police (Scotland) Act of 1890 provided for a national police pension provision. After 20 years one third ordinary pay, adding one sixtieth per year of service to twenty-eight years. Long serving officers thereafter received a two sixtieths supplement, with a ceiling being set at a maximum pension of two-thirds ordinary pay¹¹¹. In 1921 the provision was further revised as a result of Desborough. Appendix VIII indicates the increasing number of pensions paid. This reinforces the contention that there was now a trend towards the 'job for life' policeman being recruited in greater numbers.

¹⁰⁹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1860, Glasgow, 1861, Introduction.

¹¹⁰ GCA, D - TC 14/2/1, Report of the Committee on Watching and Lighting as to Police Matters, 10 February 1871, p.7.

¹¹¹ Bell, & Paton, Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation, Glasgow, 1896, p.122.

Despite the distress caused by the wage cuts of the post war period, until then many improvements in conditions of work were made. For example, in 1873¹¹² a pay increase was accompanied by a decrease in the working day by half an hour for day officers, and one night's 'relief with pay' for those on night duty¹¹³. In 1906 the Criminal Returns reported the introduction of an eight hour system for indoor staff.

In 1918 the Returns describe the 1914 The Police Weekly Rest Day (Scotland) Act coming into force on 18 August 1918. At that time, due to a shortage of constables, this was not possible to enforce properly, but payment in lieu was given. Entitlement for constables became 52 days off plus ten days paid annual holiday.

By 1925, in Criminal Returns, under 'Recreation' an annual picnic to Lochgoilhead was reported, sport, etc. in spare time was encouraged. Over the years this developed into

concerts, dances and whist drives provide much amusement for the officers and men of the Force to promote right and proper understanding between the men and their superior officers¹¹⁴.

The more benevolent attitude by senior management was clearly designed to further encourage a spirit of *esprit de corps* and unity in the service. Sillitoe fostered this after his appointment in 1931. He considered the personal well-being of the constable on the beat as a matter of great importance in relation to his place in the constabulary. There is no direct evidence that picnics to Lochgoilhead or whist drives reduced staff turnover, but they played their part, along with the athletes like Willie Burns, who swam at national competition level; the pipe band (inherited from

¹¹² City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1873.

¹¹³ Bell, & Paton, Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation, p.121.

¹¹⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1929, Glasgow, 1930, p.11.

Govan, when it joined Glasgow) won international acclaim; and the considerable donations to charities, in reinforcing the concept that the City of Glasgow Police was a smart body of men (and women) to which it was a privilege to belong.

Development of the police service in Glasgow was punctuated by setback, sometimes verging on crisis. As economic fortunes changed in the area, the police service, as non-contributors directly to the economy, became divorced from the forces affecting wage levels and other standards of living. This generally worked to the advantage of officers in times of economic recession. With the possible exception of wage cuts after the First World War, the police were protected. Still, as the circumstances of the working classes improved, police conditions failed to change in parallel. For example, successive Chief Constables had to make strong cases for improved pay as differentials were erased, morale declined, and quality of recruit deteriorated. The restoration of economic parity with mercantile equivalents did much to rectify the situation overnight.

On 8 April 1938 the Police Review commented on 'the increasing difficulty in obtaining sufficient recruits. When unskilled workers are earning more than the entrance rate of the Police Service'¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁵ The Police Review, 8 April, 1938.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Management of Crime

The early attempts to categorise and record crime at the turn of the nineteenth century are difficult to assess as a true reflection of criminal activity. With the introduction of a universal recording system of crimes and offences, a more reliable picture emerged as to the prevalence of particular types of miscreant behaviour. The police institutional response varied depending on the activities of the criminal community, and the ever-changing dictates of the legal system.

They [the magistrates of Glasgow] did not see any connection between the export of sovereigns and the import of criminals. [Reported at a time of economic crisis and widespread strikes in 1857]¹.

'Crime' is a conveniently generic term for all acts punishable by law, from the indictable extreme of murder to the non-indictable aberration of obstructing the highway. All breaches of the law are matters of police concern and all are prodigal of the most expensive of commodities, time; but the true measure of criminality in society is indictable offences. These are the reflection of deliberate lawlessness, and they are often a commentary on the state of the law itself².

Sharpe acknowledges the paradox facing academics in interpreting crime levels. On the one hand, increases are sometimes seen as a function of increased prosperity and material progress. On the other, the counter argument is offered that it is economic recession that compels those in straitened circumstances to resort to crime³. Woods for example, offered this view in his study of Crime and the Trade Cycle in the Black Country 1860 - 1900 in which he declares that a direct correlation

¹ Alison, A. ,(Ed. Lady Alison), Some Account of My life and Writings, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1883, p.211.

could be made between 'troughs and peaks in the economy and the incidence of criminal behaviour'⁴. Nevertheless, while accepting these opposing views as sincerely held, he broadens the concept of factors influencing crime levels to include 'patterns of punishment, the attitudes of the ruling groups to such matters [crime trends], and broader socio-economic change'⁵. Furthermore, this must be seen against the passage of time.

From a Marxist point-of-view, Weisser suggests that the relationship between the social classes caused tensions that were manifest, in part, by changes in criminal activity and the punishment meted out⁶. He insists that the discussion is considerably more complex than this, but this fundamental thesis is defensible on more than one level. For example, he maintains that

what the upper classes saw as disorder, the lower classes saw as fun. What the lower classes experienced as misery, the upper classes experienced as the maintenance of law and order⁷.

Simplistic as this sounds, Weisser makes the fundamental point that there was a close relationship between criminal behaviour and social conflict and crisis. Continuing the European comparison he observes that there were many similarities between cultures and legal systems. They tended to change about the same time as cause and effect situations percolated around the Continent. He detected that the ruling elite of one country was strongly influenced by that of another. This was the same for the proletarian elements. Finally, he reinforces his thesis by asserting that

² Ascoli, David The Queen's Peace, London, 1979, p.258.

³ Sharpe, J. Crime in Early Modern England, 1550 - 1750, London 1984, p.168

⁴ Woods, D.C. , Crime and the Trade Cycle in the Black Country 1860 - 1900, PhD thesis, University of Aston in Birmingham 1979, Conclusions.

⁵ Sharpe, J. Crime in Early Modern England, p.168.

⁶ Weisser, M.R., 'Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe' Hassocks, Sussex, 1979, p.171.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.172.

societies with different styles of social and economic development experienced diverse patterns of criminal activity and sanction⁸.

Tobias, examining crime in Britain's emergent industrial society in the nineteenth century, draws the strong relationship between economic and social change and criminal trends. He reinforces this by correlating the effect of the trade cycle on crime and finding that it was limited to 'special cases'. Generally, the poorer classes did not resort to crime, no matter how straitened the circumstances. In addition, he draws a relationship between the large numbers of juveniles involved in crime to the middle of the century and the falling in their numbers at the same time as crime levels fall towards the end of the period⁹. Having established these fundamentals he acknowledges the influence of a number of economic and social changes that modified society to a greater or lesser extent. Each was a contributing factor to the greater whole. Four broad areas are cited as 'factors affecting crime' viz. poverty and population growth; education and housing, which he combines with the problems of drink; the gulf between the classes; and the effects of the revolutions in transport, technology and the financial institutions. As a result he builds on the concept of a sea change in society, itself strongly affected by secondary, diverse, but no less vital, constituents influencing the changes in criminal activity¹⁰.

Taylor reconciles the work of earlier writers, including Jones, Philips, Taylor, and Tobias, distilling the link between criminal activity, its control under law, and the sociological implications concluding that

crime, far from being absolute and moral, is both a relative concept and a social and political construct, varying with time and place¹¹.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.173.

⁹ Tobias, J.J. Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century, London 1967, p.244.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, *passim*.

¹¹ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750 - 1914, London, 1998, pp.8-9.

Thus, in corollary,

it [the above definition] has the considerable merit of focusing attention upon the criminal law as the product of a political process which itself is intimately linked to the distribution of social and economic power and influence¹².

Langbein challenges the concept of an all-pervasive powerful elite in the criminal justice system. He questions Hay's work on an eighteenth century 'ruling-class conspiracy' of control. Though advocating of an enormous number of offences punishable by death, the right to clemency was shown by the relatively few executions¹³. His complex examination of the Hay thesis concludes the conspiracy theory as questionable on two grounds. Firstly the discretion of imposing draconian sentences was exercised by people who in many cases were not of the ruling classes, for example, prosecutors and jurors. Secondly, the 'discretion' was not self-interest, but rather 'turned on the good-faith consideration of factors with which ethical decision-makers ought to have been concerned'¹⁴.

Linebaugh strongly contests Langbein's assertions, reiterating his agreement with Hay that the law had an ideological as well as functional purpose that served the class interests of the elite. He considers Langbein's findings narrow, limiting, and lacking in breadth, particularly in the fields of economic, social and political history. Whereas Hay and Linebaugh had used the evidence of legal transactions in the eighteenth century as indicators of 'a new kind of evidence' of the state of society and

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Langbein, J. 'Albion's Fatal Flaws' in Weiss, R. (Ed.), Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment, Adershot, 1999, p.30.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.53.

how it changed over time Langbein, he felt, 'has been limited by his excessively intellectualised and self-enclosed view of the law'¹⁵.

European institutions to combat problems of crime, and law and order in general in the modern era date from the mid-eighteenth century. O'Brien collates much of the academic observation on the issue, considering works as diverse as Marx and Engels' writings in the 1840's to the deliberations of, *inter alia*, Foucault, Hay, Silver, Tobias, and Thompson, and the findings of British sociologists, Taylor, Walton and Young writing in the last quarter of the twentieth century¹⁶. Arguing strongly the view that social interaction is vital as a component in institutional development, the state as sole harbinger and instigator of the development of law and order can no longer be considered valid. As a result the police, law and prison systems cannot be seen in isolation and a broader picture to include class, family and ideology, and their influence on each other, should be recognised¹⁷.

From the above debate, examination of records of crime qualitatively and quantitatively requires care and an awareness of the problems of interpretation that could result in biased or incomplete inferences being drawn. This is no less important when considering the criminal records in Scotland. Stewart, in her examination of the eighteenth century records in Dumfries reflects the experience of Linebaugh and Hay in that the records are a 'mirror of events in the kingdom at large'¹⁸. For example the strategic positioning of the town close to the English border could have given reason for national rivalries to express themselves. More

¹⁵ Linebaugh, P. (Marxist) Social History and (Conservative) Legal History: A Reply to Professor Langbein.' in Weiss, R. (Ed.), Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment, Adershot, 1999, p.86.

¹⁶ O'Brien, P. 'Crime and Punishment as Historical Problem' in Weiss, R.(Ed.), Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment, Adershot, 1999, pp.403- 5.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.410.

¹⁸ Stewart, M. 'In Durance Vile': Crime and Punishment in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Records of Dumfries', in Scottish Archives, The Journal of the Scottish Record Association, Volume 1, 1995, p.63.

fundamentally, she observes that 'the real reason why these records make such a powerful impact lie in the vivid impression of the society that created them'¹⁹.

Crowther, in her examination of precognition records, concurs with this view. She declares that they provide a unique insight into personalities and their attitudes providing 'hours of voyeuristic amusement' that are of immense value to historians whose various interests cover separately or in combination, elements of social, criminal, medical and, of course local history. Unfortunately, they give no indication of the scale of crime, being limited by the exigencies of the legal process, who was precognosed and by what has survived. Nevertheless, they give valuable information on economic conditions and standards of living, as well as attitudes of authority, to the first time and the repeat offender, in controlling the activities of the populace²⁰.

Donnachie, complements the observations of Stewart and Crowther in the same issue of Scottish Archives and considers the profile of offences, rather than offenders by his examination of the Lord Advocate's Papers²¹. Approximately eight out of ten of those precognosed went to trial. Only serious offences would be heard in the High Court. Having been thoroughly investigated by the Procurators Fiscal, the lesser malefactions were processed by the magistrates. As with the previously mentioned writers, Donnachie observes that the quantity of material gathered in precognition statements gives a deep insight into socio-economic conditions. The figures he has generated give valuable information on the cases, their quantity and categorisation and hence trends in prosecutions brought before the authorities. His careful collation of the figures in the first half of the nineteenth century produces

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.74.

²⁰ Crowther, M. A., 'Criminal Precognitions and their value for the Historian' in Scottish Archives, The Journal of the Scottish Record Association, Volume 1, 1995, p.75. *et seq.*

²¹ Donnachie, I., 'Profiling Criminal Offences: the Evidence of the Lord Advocate's papers during the first half of the nineteenth century in Scotland' in Scottish Archives, The Journal of the Scottish Record Association, Volume 1, 1995, p.85.

interesting conclusions. He acknowledges that unreported and undetected crimes form an unquantifiable proportion of the picture, but he observes that the trend in Scotland in crime and prosecution - a continuous rise to 1850 - was 'mirroring the trend south of the Border'. Furthermore he makes distinction between 'acquisitive crime', which tended to be influenced by short-term economic factors and the more serious crimes with violence. Those that commanded a capital response, i.e. execution, tended to remain uninfluenced by economic factors. Again, he sees a parallel with England. In conclusion, Donnachie sees a direct relationship, if the figures are a true indication, between crime levels and population density, poverty, and the degree of urbanisation, with Glasgow and Edinburgh among the most badly affected. Generally, offenders were working class, young and poor, 'with men outnumbering the women three to one'²².

Admirable as Donnachie's work is, the examination of criminal statistics presents certain difficulties. Writing in 1986, Sindall suggests 'a new approach' to the problem of interpreting criminal statistics²³. He recognises considerable inconsistencies. The gathering and ordering of information throughout the nineteenth century presents problems to the historian. Methods of gathering, ordering and presenting statistics were not universal. Decisions as to classification and recording varied, and reasoning on the disposal of cases changed over time and with geography. Changes in legislation further affected the general uncertainty²⁴. Furthermore, as police effectiveness improved, greater numbers of cases were sent for disposal. With such enormous complexity, Sindall suggests 'as a direct measure of criminality the usefulness of criminal statistics is highly suspect. He supports his comments with

²² *ibid.*, pp.91-92.

²³ Sindall, R. S. 'The criminal statistics of nineteenth-century cities: a new approach', in Urban History Yearbook, 1986, pp.28-36

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp.28-9.

observations by Baroness Wooton, and Tobias. He presents less critical views expressed by Andreski' and Gatrell and Hadden, but reaffirms the specious nature of criminal statistics ²⁵. Having developed his argument from 'statistics are worthless' via 'statistics can be useful if certain biases are taken into account in a judicious interpretation', he offers a third approach to this sensitive subject: interpretation of the statistics as a 'phenomenon in themselves' or as a product of the circumstances in which they were produced. He concludes.

The statistics are therefore a measure, not necessarily of what was happening, but of what people believed was happening. It was through the knowledge of such statistics, rather than the observation of criminal acts themselves, that Victorians could conclude in the 1840's that 'the progress of wickedness is so much more rapid than the increase of the numbers of the people' and in the 1890's that 'we have witnessed a decline in the spirit of lawlessness'²⁶.

Finding common ground on the various theories that have been advanced on the observation and interpretation of crime figures is difficult; nevertheless Stevenson makes an able correlation²⁷. He distinguishes 'quantifiers and phenomenologists'²⁸, of whom a few are cited above. He challenges Davis' (a 'phenomenologist') view that the 'moral panic' of 1862 drove up crime figures, which in turn resulted in increased legislation, judicial and legislative action. This he saw as an example of the 'ruling class' hegemony. Claiming to be 'an empiricist' he questions Gatrell's (a 'quantifier') statistical analyses of national trends. He sees a situation where

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.33.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.35.

²⁷ Stevenson, S., 'The 'habitual criminal' in nineteenth-century England: some observations on the figures' in *Urban History Yearbook*, 1986, pp.37-49.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.37.

there is far more to late nineteenth-century urban criminal statistics than satisfies any mono-causal or mono-thematic interpretation: the pattern of local criminal statistics is a complex interplay of pathological, economic, administrative and political forces at work one upon the other²⁹.

Recognising this intricate relationship Stevenson discovers variations in magisterial and police policy that varied between town and county, north and south. Why this is so could be explained, he says, in the psychological effects of the move from the 'rural to the urban and the agrarian and domestic to the workshop and factory systems of toils and intercourse'. This is the very stuff of Engels' 'demoralisation of the working class'. Finally, he suggests that the implications of the industrial society, in terms of the disciplines of working conditions in the factory system were analogous to the 'use of more formal and bureaucratic means of categorisation'³⁰.

Keeping the foregoing in mind, an examination of crime in the city of Glasgow will be undertaken.

The Police Handling of Crime

The process of detection and arresting criminals in Scotland was one of evolution. Writing in 1897, Cowan describes the ancient system of settling disputes and trying suspected criminals as devolved to local magistrates. In real terms judicial arrangements were based on territorial possession, i.e. the local landowner was magistrate by dint. According to the status of the incumbent, areas could be termed justiciaries, (minor) sheriffdoms, stewardries, royalties, regalities, and bailleries. In Royal Burghs the provost and magistrates conducted this function. In addition to this, from the time of William the Lion, Justiciars were appointed, usually from the

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.38.

nobility. They held tenure indefinitely and by heredity. Each had a staff of officers, sergeants and mairs of fee - also holding hereditary title.

In 1747 the system was streamlined and simplified and the hereditary qualification was discontinued. This was not without acrimony from the incumbents who stood to lose considerable income from the system. Compensation of £152,037.12.s. 2d. was sanctioned by parliament to soften the blow to the claimants. This included all the nobility and a goodly portion of the gentry.

The titles 'Sheriff' and 'Coroner' were long used in Scotland, although their duties were not comparable with the English counterpart. Both posts were hereditary positions passed down through the nobility and landed gentry. Sheriffs, of whom there might be several in a county ('shires' and 'counties' not being interchangeable, in the strictest terms) held considerable power for the trying of accused and the dispensation of justice. Coroners or Crownars, of whom there could be two or three in each shire, conducted investigations, arraigned suspects and conducted proceedings in court. As time went by the duties of the two offices became synonymous and the title of Coroner fell into disuse in Scotland by the end of the 17th century. In the restructuring of the system in 1747, Cowan relates that coroners were not included in the list of abolitions. The few who had the cheek to claim compensation for the disappearance of hereditary titles were not allowed. By the end of the 19th century

the whole duties discharged by coroners are now absorbed in the office of Sheriff; discharged either personally by sheriffs, or by the officers whom they appoint in their counties³¹.

J. H. Burton, writing in the Westminster Review, in 1835, not only described the activities of the sheriff system, but also questioned the degree of diligence of those entrusted with the duties and responsibilities attached to the title. In 1832 a return of

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.49.

³¹ Cowan, H. 'Sheriffs and Coroners' in Scottish Review, Vol. 30, 1897 p.245.

residence of sheriffs in their counties was called. Four months was the legal stipulation. This was rarely enforced, but

one gentleman observes, that 'he has in each of the last five years, made frequent visits to the county, both on business and by way of compliment, but has no means of reporting either the precise number, or the duration of these visits³².

Burton reported that the thirty sheriffs in Scotland were generally chosen from among the advocates, each with up to four or five sheriffs-substitute, depending on the pressure of business. In addition, sheriffs had under their control 'such Procurators Fiscal as may be necessary to conduct the criminal prosecutions in his court'³³. As the 19th century progressed, investigative, that is detective, duties became devolved to the police and the breadth of expertise of the constabularies increased gradually. The police reported to the Procurator Fiscal the circumstances of crime. The ultimate decision to prosecute the accused remained with the Procurator.

Early police acts enjoined newly formed constabularies, among their many and varied duties, to 'Watch and Ward'. This was commonly held to be a patrol function, originally at night only. Those abroad late at night could be challenged, drunken and boisterous people detained and those caught breaking the law arrested. The detection of crime and apprehension of criminals was an expertise to be refined some years after the foundation of the Glasgow police in 1800.

The detection and apprehension of criminals had, in the days before organised policing, been a haphazard affair. Carson and Idzikowska suggest considerable conflict of interests between Sheriffs, Procurators Fiscal, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply (the country equivalent of what would become Commissioners of Police in boroughs)³⁴. With the advent of statutory police authorities, the dual administration of conurbations including Glasgow blurred and

³² Burton, J. H. 'Practise of Criminal Law of Scotland' in Westminster Review, Vol. 22, 1835, p.94.

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ Carson, K. and Idzikowska, H. 'The Social Production of Scottish Policing', p.277.

strained the relationship between the activities of the City Magistrates and the Police function. Gordon states that the Glasgow police appointed its first detective officer in 1819³⁵. Methods of detection and apprehension of criminals varied markedly north and south of the border with England. Crowther examined the fundamental differences, likening Scotland to the Continent of Europe where a public prosecutor had been the norm 'from an early date'³⁶.

In 1844, Bell described how the work of Baron Hume on the criminal law of Scotland, which was founded on common law, had been fundamental in establishing a system of jurisprudence in the late eighteenth century 'at a period when uncertainty was perilous and discretion unsafe'³⁷. Hume's work narrowed and defined the 'sphere of judicial discretion', hitherto somewhat vague, heralding 'great improvements in the department of criminal law' that were considered to be more liberal, reasonable, and altogether humane than before³⁸. For example, Bell indicates the selection of juries by ballot and the attendant right of peremptory challenge (objection) to appointment of members. The excellence of the procurator system was seen as a major strength. He remarked that

Since all crime over the country was investigated at public expense and at the insistence of the public prosecutor 'justice cannot be withheld from the poor, or evaded or resisted by the powerful'³⁹.

In 1847 an examination of the 'Criminal Jurisprudence of Scotland' in the Dublin University Magazine drew attention once more to the contrast of Scotland's procedures with those of England and Ireland. These 'peculiarities' existed 'not so much in the principles as in the practice of the law', in itself founded mainly on

³⁵ Gordon, P., Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p.24.

³⁶ Crowther, M. A., 'Scotland, a Country with no Criminal Record', p.83.

³⁷ Bell, R., 'A Supplement to Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes', in The North British Review 1844 - 45 Vol 4, p.313.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.317.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.336.

common, rather than statute law⁴⁰. Writing in 1884, Lees compared the English with the Scottish systems of investigation and prosecution then current. Reiterating much that was included in the Dublin University Magazine article almost forty years previously, he itemised three fundamental differences that made, in his opinion, Scotland superior to England, and demonstrably fairer. Firstly, no common law, and few statutory crimes could be prosecuted without the sanction of the public prosecutor, the Procurator Fiscal. Secondly, examination of prisoners and witnesses took place in private and separately. Finally, juries could return a majority verdict as well as having at their disposal the 'third verdict' of 'not proven'⁴¹. Although he was ambivalent about this option, concluding that it was used, on occasion, by indulgent juries or those 'willing to wound but afraid to strike'⁴². Nevertheless, the use of an intermediate, in the form of the Procurator recommending prosecution, the use of the fifteen man jury and the fact that the accused is 'always entitled to the services of a counsel or an agent *gratis*, if he is poor' all contributed to the comparative virtue of the Scottish order⁴³.

England, on the other hand, had relied on a cumbersome system of 'private' prosecution, serviced by an industry of professional 'thief takers', employed by those who could afford them, and associations for the prosecution of offenders, financed by insurance-style subscription of monied patrons. In the event of property being stolen funding (or part funding) was available to instigate an investigation. Organised as a professional body, by the end of the eighteenth century, the toast of the Society for Prosecuting Felons, Forgers etc. Anniversary Dinner, on 18 April 1798 pompously declared: 'This Society and may there always be good men to associate while there are bad men to conspire'⁴⁴. With the advent of a police system in the third decade of the nineteenth century an uncomfortable relationship existed. The Bow Street

⁴⁰ Unattributed, 'The Criminal Jurisprudence in Scotland' in The Dublin University Magazine 1847, Vol. 29 pp.391-392.

⁴¹ Lees, J. 'The Investigation and Prosecution of Crime', in Blackwood's Magazine, 1884, Vol 36 p.43.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.50.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.45.

⁴⁴ Philips, D. 'Good men to Associate While there are Bad Men to Conspire' in Hay, D. and Snyder, F. [Eds.] Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750 - 1850, Oxford, 1989, p.113.

Runners were not finally disbanded until 1839, ten years after the formation of the Metropolitan Police⁴⁵.

In the meantime, the Scottish experience differed somewhat. Private enterprise was not required to seek out offenders, neither was it a drain on the exchequer of the individual should a prosecution succeed. Crowther summed up the situation.

In Scotland the transition [to Policing in the modern sense] was mainly towards a system more firmly in the hands of lawyers, as the fiscals and sheriff-substitutes won for themselves greater security and social importance. One system [the English] entrusted prosecution to a professional Police; the other [the Scottish] remained in the hands of lawyers, even after police forces were introduced⁴⁶.

In the 1788 attempt to organise a policing system in Glasgow, the Scheme for the Regulation of the Police of the City of Glasgow (1788) included the following.

The object of the present scheme is, not only to make easier the detection and punishment of crimes, when committed, but to prevent the increase, and, if possible, to remove the cause of these evils⁴⁷.

When the police act was passed in 1800, a remit to include a detective department *per se* was not included, albeit some quasi-detective duties including the searching and recording of articles found on persons charged were delegated to officers.

It is important to make distinction between the two systems. Apart from procedural differences, attitudes to the police differed between the two countries. Certain elements resented the introduction of the so-called 'New Police' in England. This included more than the criminal element. The new forces were seen as a

⁴⁵ Robertson, Sir James, M/S History of the Scottish Police (unpublished) from personal papers held at Scottish Police College, Tullieallan, p.148.

⁴⁶ Crowther, 'Scotland, a Country with no Criminal Record', p.83.

reaction to the problems of urbanisation and political awareness. Roger Swift examples the experience in Wolverhampton in 1842. Initially, less-than-enthusiastic, a succession of political activities including Chartist demonstrations and industrial agitation in the Potteries and Black Country galvanised the county magistrates to activate the provisions of the 1839 Police Act.

The 'new police' brought a vigorous style of policing to early Victorian Wolverhampton. The county police force was organised on paramilitary lines⁴⁸.

Swift observes also that the ideal officer would have a military background. This was seen as essential since the fundamental purpose of the organisation was, as directed by the council and magistracy

to suppress popular disorders, to monitor closely all large public gatherings, to keep an eye on known criminals, and to crack down on street crime such as drunkenness, disorderly behaviour, assaults, vagrancy⁴⁹.

This vigour was directed towards the working class areas of the town and employed in attacking traditional community and leisure pursuits. The hostile response was predictable.

Writing in 1835 Burton commented more or less favourably on the 'Scotch' system of criminal procedure not only *vis a vis* the English, but also European counterparts. Although there were somewhat vague instructions to the police in respect of the detection of crime, Burton is writing approximately ten years before a discrete department was formed in the Glasgow constabulary. His 'warts and all'

⁴⁷ Elliot, B.J., & Blair, L. (Eds.) *Law, Crime and Punishment*, Stirling, 1982, p.39.

⁴⁸ Swift, R. 'Urban policing Early Victorian England' in *History*, Vol. 73 No. 238, June 1988 p.216 *et seq.*

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

examination described the system. While laudatory in general, he expressed considerable concern at the secretive nature of the initial investigations.

When it is recollected that the examinations of accused men are conducted in secret, it will easily be seen that in many cases the interests of the parties may be in opposition to those of the public, and that the virtue of the legal practitioner may be sorely tried⁵⁰.

He admitted that he had no evidence whatsoever to support this thesis⁵¹.

Chambers made similar comment.

The first and most conspicuous defect is the want of publicity. All the preliminary investigations, or, as they are technically called, precognitions, are conducted with the profound secrecy of the Inquisition. If no trial ensues, the public do not hear a word of the case⁵².

Early police acts made unclear reference to the investigation of crime, but did not specify the appointment of detective officers as such. The 1819 selection of a police detective officer could be little more than a liaison with the Fiscal's office, where control was firmly held, providing a limited flow of information. Operationally he kept records of investigations, descriptions of those arrested, and an archive of crimes committed.

The increased professionalism of the police service required a day-to-day 'hands on' role using detective officers with a senior officer, originally of inspector rank, in charge. Robertson noted: 'at that time [1848] the Inspector of Detectives received £80.0.0 per annum which was £10.0.0 per annum more than the pay of lieutenants [the next higher rank]'⁵³.

⁵⁰ Burton, J.H. 'Practise of Criminal Law in Scotland', p.96.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Chambers, Wm. 'How Crime is investigated in Scotland' in The Fortnightly Review Vol. 2, 1865, p.79.

⁵³ Robertson, Sir James, M/S History of the Scottish Police, p.151.

Chief Superintendent Miller, the then chief of police, had no hesitation in encouraging and developing the specialism. His officers made sure that details of robberies and serious crimes were circulated to all police offices; plain clothes officers mixed with crowds during political demonstrations and public festivities; and details of stolen property were circulated to the pawnbrokers in the city. Political motives were mixed. The judicial system was hard-pressed with the greater number of cases coming up for trial. Sheriffs, their officers and the procurator system was not equipped to carry out the ever-increasing number of investigations. A logical progression was to encourage the police, the arresting body in the majority of cases, to expand and deepen extant facilities. For example, as early as 1844, the establishment of card indexes of criminals had begun and ticket of leave prisoners were notified to the police as a matter of course⁵⁴. By the end of the decade regular dispatches were being circulated to all divisions with details of crimes committed. In 1848, Henry Miller, during his second period as chief of police, submitted a report to the corporation recommending major restructuring and re-organisation of a constabulary in considerable difficulties. Among his plans was the permanent establishment of a 'Detective Department' under the direction of a superintendent and two inspectors. By June of the year a team of sixteen was in place with an inspector in charge. Chief Constable James Verdier Stevenson managed to persuade the corporation to allow the more senior rank to be introduced - in 1904⁵⁵! After the establishment of a government appointed inspectorate of constabulary in the late 1850's, Captain Kinloch, in his first report in 1859, was not only emphatic in his support of properly equipped detective departments, but also clear in his opinion as to the position of the police in the detection of crime.

⁵⁴ GCA/E/E1/1, 1844.

As the immediate detection of crime is one of the most important duties of a police [constabulary], I have recommended counties and also burghs, where none were already employed, to appoint one or more detectives, for the express purpose of detecting crime⁵⁶.

In addition, he recognised that detective officers should be suitably rewarded, recommending

an expert and experienced detective will have a higher rate of pay than an ordinary constable; in general they have higher pay even than sergeants⁵⁷.

Kinloch acknowledged the potential benefits of a national 'detective force' with representatives drawn from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee 'and other large towns' based in Edinburgh. This group would be active at large public events, and where experienced detectives were required particularly. This degree of organisation and expertise was a long way from the modest establishment of 1848.

Finally, Kinloch mooted the idea of a Scottish Police Gazette. This publication was at that time established in England, with limited circulation north of the border. This new journal, also for national distribution, would include items of criminal moment as well as more general information on promotions, transfers, resignations, etc.. He suggested the proposed detective force take this on board⁵⁸. After careful consideration the first edition of the Scottish Police Gazette was published - on 1 August 1934⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Ord, John, Origin and History of Glasgow Police Force, Old Glasgow Club Transactions Vol. I, 1905/1906, 20 March, 1906, pp.97-112.

⁵⁶ Kinloch, J., Report of the Inspector of Constabulary for the Year ended 15th March, 1859, made to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, under the Provisions of the Statute 20 & 21 Vict. C.72, House of Commons, 1859, p.8.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Annual Report of the City of Glasgow Police, Glasgow, 1934, p.19.

By 1850, when the Superintendent of Streets and Buildings, John Carrick, presented his plans for the new police buildings to be erected in Bell Street The inconveniences of the old establishment were to be swept away. In their place, on the ground floor of the new office the lieutenant's room would be geographically convenient, in a commanding position at the main entrance.

In connection with the lieutenant's room, improved accommodation will also be found for the officers in the detective department⁶⁰.

The distinct specialism, with separate facilities was in place.

In 1854, the Detective Department consisted of an establishment under the charge of an Inspector who was paid £2.0.0 a week. In addition there were, two sub-inspectors and ten detective officers on 30/- per week - the same rate as a uniformed inspector⁶¹. By the middle of the nineteenth century the investigation and detection of crime was increasingly a police responsibility in the first instance, reporting to the Fiscal Service, where the decision as to the option of further prosecution was made.

In 1857, the City of Glasgow Police had an established, operational Detective Department (It would be 1920 before a permanent woman appointment was made)⁶². John Kinloch expressed his satisfaction with the 20 officers of the department. He remarked that

at the head quarters office (sic), that important branch of a police, 'the detectives department' is well organised and regulated, ample accommodation being provided for the inspector of detectives and his assistants. It may be taken as a model for other cities or towns in Scotland to copy from⁶³.

⁶⁰ 'Senex' Glasgow Past and Present, Volume I, Glasgow, 1884, p.212.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, p.100.

⁶³ Kinloch, J., Report of the Inspector of Constabulary, House of Commons, 1859, p.44.

Clearly, a modicum of efficiency can be assumed. The crime figures are confirmation of a 'norm' rather than a starting point from which a false impression could be drawn as the officers involved experienced a steep learning curve.

Scientific aids to Police work and the use of expert input

As early as 1599, the 'Gift and Charter of Erection' granted to the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow by James VI decreed that medical experts should

visit every hurt, murdered, poisoned or any other person, taken away extraordinarily and to report to the Magistrates the facts as it is⁶⁴.

Early records kept by the newly formed detective department included card index systems of known and convicted criminals, ticket of leave prisoners and vagrants. This was not new in itself, but use of the system by detectives as a major source of information was an early development. Similarly, techniques of observation and deduction were not new to a separate detective department. For example, by the 1880's, uniform constables were being instructed to stick a small, but inconspicuous, piece of paper over the gap between door and lintel of houses that were empty for the holidays⁶⁵. If the paper was broken, an entry had been effected. This had been routine for some years. Beat men had always been encouraged to know the inhabitants of their 'patch' and encourage informal communication systems. Ferrotypes and Daguerreotypes had been used in recording and identification of criminals since the middle of the 19th century. In 1892, a call had been issued by the Scottish Office, urging police chiefs to replace plaster of Paris with Dr. Moss's preparation of resin with wax or paraffin added to give a more reliable

⁶⁴ 'Gift and Charter of Erection', 1599 - as led in Robertson M/S History of the Scottish Police, p.100.

⁶⁵ GCA /SR 22/63/4 Camlachie Police Station Minute Book.

casts of footprints, knees, elbows, fingers and even thumbs⁶⁶. The cumbersome and unreliable Bertillon system of criminal identification was on the way out by the end of the century. The Penal Servitude Act 1891, allowed fingerprints to be taken of serving prisoners, but only with express permission from the Secretary of State himself.

The development of forensic medicine was an adjunct to the expertise offered by the Police Surgeon. Crowther and White examined the development of this specialism from the start of the nineteenth century from 1807, when the University of Edinburgh contained the only medical school in Britain to offer systematic instruction. Even so, forensics were seen as secondary to inculcation on medical policing, i.e. the control and legislation on public health⁶⁷. Over time, expertise and research, not least of which was at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, produced a succession of eminent scholars, noted for their contributions. Successively, Glasgow University appointed Professors Cowan, Rainy, Simpson and Glaister from 1839 to 1931⁶⁸, although, much innovative work and research was carried out at extra-mural medical establishments including the Portland Street Medical School, the Andersonian, and the Faculty of physicians and Surgeons, each of which offered courses to its students⁶⁹. As methods of investigation became more sophisticated, the skill of Police Surgeons, as expert witnesses, usually for the prosecution, was valued and recognised as fundamental to the outcome of a case.

The early years of the 20th century saw considerable advances in technology in the area of crime detection. By 1904 the value of fingerprinting was eventually recognised and permission was granted through circular 441, that police could take

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Crowther, M. A, and White B., on Soul and Conscience the Medical Expert and Crime, 150 Years of Forensic Medicine in Glasgow, Aberdeen, 1988, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. xi

prints of suspects on their own initiative for investigative purposes⁷⁰. The innovations in ballistics and chemical examination of evidence after helped improve detection rates.

Efficient communication, a necessity for the Constabulary as a whole, was no less important in the detection of crime. In the 1840's, Captain Miller instigated a system of 'route sheets' to be issued, giving details of robberies and other serious crimes to all police offices⁷¹.

Telegraphic communication, the benefits of which were sought and supported by Dr. Thomson of Glasgow and Dr. Taylor of Andersonian University was proposed and agreed in 1861. The previous year, photographic likenesses of ticket of leave convicts became a normal adjunct to the route sheet system⁷². Telephonic apparatus was installed in August 1880. The embryonic system connected the Central and Western police offices⁷³. Telephonic communication between divisional offices was introduced in 1885 and was expanded over the years⁷⁴. Originally for administration purposes, its benefit in operational areas was soon recognised.

Since 1871, according to the Criminal Returns, officers of police had been posted on duty continually from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. at strategic points throughout the city to supplement the beat constable. Police signal boxes were in being from 1891 onwards, thus avoiding a multitude of sub-offices. A policing system of contact points was being perfected combining modern technology and deployment of manpower.

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 13

⁷⁰ GCA /SR 22/63/4 Camlachie Police Station Minute Book p.102.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p.168.

⁷² Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, London, 1973, p.38.

⁷³ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, p.48.

⁷⁴ Robertson, History of the Scottish Police, p.170.

Percy Sillitoe was a keen advocate of using the most up-to-date technological advances. In 1932 a photographic and fingerprint department was established which was complemented by the inauguration of a criminal records office two years later. The following year, experiments with wireless telegraphy culminated in the erection of the first police radio transmitter, whose science was installed in motor vehicles in 1934⁷⁵. Morse transmitters in cars proved unsuccessful, and telephonic apparatus was soon installed.

Patterns of Crime

Appendix XIII indicates the lamentably poor recording of criminal activity to 1842. As a result, little more than an index of malefaction, can be drawn and trends indicated. At best the early figures suggest an increase in reports to the police and the establishment of primitive techniques of recording incidents. Writing in 1844, Alison expressed considerable concern at the 'constant and uninterrupted increase in crime'⁷⁶ since records had been kept (in England since 1805). He laid blame for this firmly at the feet of the government, irrespective of political persuasion. Judging politicians to be 'selfish and inconsiderate' with a total lack of concern he continued 'They care not though their neighbours are murdered or robbed, plundered or swindled, so as they escape unscathed themselves'⁷⁷. He observed a six-fold increase in commitments in England between 1805 and 1842, concluding that 'detected crime has advanced FOUR TIMES AS FAST AS THE NUMBERS OF THE PEOPLE' (author's capitals). In Scotland, where records 'with such accuracy as can be relied on' were kept from 1820 an even more alarming increase was observed. Sensational as this was, an examination of his statistics, reproduced in Appendix XIII computes

⁷⁵ Gordon, P., Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p.27.

⁷⁶ Alison, A. 'Imprisonment and Transportation' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine May 1844 Vol. 55, p.533.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

an increase of 260% in commitments between 1820 and 1842 in Scotland, and 228% over the same period in England⁷⁸. Alison uses the piece as a vehicle for political comment and attack. However, he concedes that the increase in the statistical numbers is, in part at least, a function of the increased efficiency of the expanding police system and their recording processes. Nevertheless, Alison claimed that the returns indicated the tip of an iceberg and the true extent of evil was 'far more colossal and alarming'. He did not say how he arrived at this judgement⁷⁹. Two months later, in the same publication he condensed his views, concluding that crime rates, or increases in crime were a function of, initially, whether the geography was agricultural, pastoral or industrial. Next, he considered that the condition of the 'labouring classes' and whether the 'means provided to restrain them' were adequate for the job⁸⁰. He concluded after much discussion, that the vast majority of crime emanated from the lowest and meanest classes and consequently this limited the sphere in which remedies needed to be applied. The 'apathy, selfishness and supineness in the other more numerous and better classes' was in no little way responsible for this state of affairs⁸¹.

Changing levels of Crime

Discussion as to why crime rates changed and the influences thereon has been deep and varied. Whether contemporary argument or retrospective observation with the benefit of historical hindsight, several common factors are regularly proposed either singly or in combination. Broadly speaking, two basic causes are identified. Socio-political influences on crime have been postulated. The increase in urbanisation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, followed by sustained

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.534.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.535.

⁸⁰ Alison, A., 'Causes of the Increase of Crime' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, July, 1844, Vol. 56, p.1.

and spectacular growth had a fundamental influence on lifestyles and living patterns. This included the consequence of the influx of large numbers of migrant Highlanders and Irish into already densely populated areas of the city. Poor and unskilled in many cases, living in the most squalid of conditions and exploited by unscrupulous landlords, resorting to crime was seen as an obvious outcome. Early attempts to reason the case can be found in the literature. The shifting masses of the first half of the nineteenth century were seen as a cause for concern. For example, in 1841 Burton pulls no punches when observing the influence of certain immigrants.

The Irish certainly form a large proportion of the population of the west; in Glasgow they amounted, at the census of 1831, to 35,000. They have undoubtedly produced the effect of reducing wages; and pressing the population to a lower position of physical and moral standing.

Burton does not see this insurgence as the single cause. He continued.

They have not accomplished so much of this work as they have got credit for. The people among whom they came were already tainted, and too ready to mingle their waters in the downward stream. Of this degenerate population, the handloom weavers form a considerable portion⁸².

At one stroke, Burton accuses the immigrant Irish and the politically active 'locals' as being in conclave.

Political awareness and agitation, principally among the skilled artisan element of the population, was said to influence criminal behaviour. For example political combination and demonstration was seen as a threat to the *status quo*. Similarly, economic circumstance was considered a major factor affecting the level of

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁸² Burton, J. H. ,'Poor Laws and Pauperism in Scotland' in Westminster Review, Vol. 36, 1841, p.389.

criminal activity. At times of economic recession, mass unemployment and destitution was seen as *the* reason for crime rates rising.

Superintendent Henry Miller is quoted by Burton, citing Miller's paper 'read at the last meeting of the British Association' ⁸³. Miller was a consummate professional, with a first hand experience of the less savoury quarters of Glasgow, populated by 'many thousands of miserable creatures'.

The houses in which they live are unfit even for styes, and every apartment is filled with a promiscuous crowd of men, women, and children, all in the most revolting state of filth and squalor. In these horrid dens the most abandoned characters of the city are collected, and from whence they nightly issue to disseminate disease, and to pour upon the town every species of crime and abomination. The people who dwell in these quarters of the city are sunk to the lowest possible state of personal degradation, in whom no elevated idea can be expected to arise, and who regard themselves, from the hopelessness of their condition, as doomed to a life of wretchedness and crime⁸⁴.

Clearly Miller had no hesitation in averring that squalor and poverty were fundamental contributory factors. Miller observed in 1839 that much crime was petty theft and the property stolen was of 'a trifling nature' including 'articles of provision, weights from shop counters and liquor measures from public houses'. This is opportunist theft and with little or no resale value, could almost be construed as a form of sport. In the summer months, when many houses were left empty, it was open season on bell-pulls and door handles.

Miller recognised the polyglot nature of the criminal.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

It is proper to also to observe, that many of the persons convicted of theft are not habitual thieves. Some were wives deserted by husbands - some were children deserted by parents - and many were led to the commission of offences by intemperance⁸⁵.

Writing at the same time as Burton, Archibald Alison considered the consequences of the rapid population growth of Glasgow as demonstrated by the census returns of 1811 (110,460) and 1841 (282,134). He juxtaposed the enormous expansion in manufacturing industry and the fiscal benefits in its train by querying 'has then the social happiness of the community increased during the same period?'⁸⁶.

Keen to observe that a utopian condition had not resulted from industrial prosperity, he was vociferous in his comments.

This unparalleled flood of material prosperity has been attended by a corresponding and still more fearful inundation of improvidence, sensuality, and profligacy. Rapid as has been the growth of wealth and industry, the increase of crime, heathenism, and pauperism, has been still more appalling⁸⁷.

By the early 1840's, the effectiveness of the police in Glasgow as a deterrent, or an incentive to the criminal to move elsewhere, became evident. Writing again in 1841 Alison lamented as to the enormous rise of crime in Lanarkshire, at that time with no police whatever for the vast majority of the inhabitants.

From the official reports of the Glasgow police, that there has been no increase in crime at all during that period [1830 -1840] within their bounds, the vast increase having taken place in offences beyond the city in the unprotected parts

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.400

⁸⁶ Alison, A., 'Social and Moral Condition of the Manufacturing Districts of Scotland' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. 50, 1841, p.663.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

of the county, where there never has been any police whatever⁸⁸.

Policing controlled or discouraged crime in the areas policed, but the knock-on effect was obvious. Perceived reasons for this were scrutinised at the same time. For example, the belief that criminals came from an uneducated group, surviving on basic instinct was attacked. Producing carefully collated statistics, Alison found that 68% of criminals in his sample (arrested persons tried or bailed in Lanark in 1840) were literate to a greater or lesser degree. Appendix XVI compares the City of Glasgow with the Lanarkshire wards in 1839. Far from indicating that the majority of criminals were an illiterate mass, these early figures suggest that the contrary was the case. In Glasgow seventy five per cent had some degree of literacy.

Alison remarked that labourers worked from six a.m. until eight p.m. Similar hours of work were expected from those in factories. This afforded little opportunity to expand and deepen anything but the most basic of knowledge as suggested by Appendix XVI. Religious instruction, which could also be interpreted as an inculcation of social, or moral values was less likely to be a significant part of the broader educational picture. Finally, Alison saw a deep divide in the working-class society. The quantity and extent of debt amongst the very poor was considerable and the exploitation of the situation immense. On the other hand, the relatively prosperous, employed skilled artisan was showing little or no inclination to save disposable income⁸⁹.

Alison's 1841 snapshot, at a time of relative prosperity, perceived a city whose mercantile endeavours were blossoming while the physical, social and moral infrastructure had not kept pace with cathartic changes in demography. A

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.666.

population suffering from overcrowding, disease and destitution, fuelled by drink and usury, starved of a catholic education and moral values fostered criminal tendencies in large numbers. The police, after forty years of experience, contained the situation as best it could with the resources at its disposal. Alison had high principles for the solution of the problem. This was to be achieved by 'the spread of religion, the relief of suffering, and the elevation of the character of the people'⁹⁰.

Three years later, in 1844 Alison re-stated his case on the causes of crime, making it clear that the vast majority of criminal activity was associated with the lowest orders of society. Furthermore, he concurred that the solutions postulated by some, including shorter working hours, better housing, eradication of disease, improved education, awareness of religious ideals, even bigger and better-organised penal institutions, excellent as they were, would have no immediate effect on destitution and crime, and only limited benefit in the long term. He reasoned 'it is from the lowest class that nine-tenths of the crime and nearly all the professional crime, which is felt as so great an evil in society, flows'⁹¹.

The criminal group tended to be 'young'. This is not qualified, but a suggestion of young adult is inferred. Philanthropic activity, estimable in its way, and high-minded in concept, did not penetrate with any degree of effectiveness the areas of greatest destitution. Though not without influence, they were 'trifling at the edges'.

Let Lord Ashley obtain from a reluctant legislature his ten-hours' bill, and Dr. Chalmers have a clergyman established for every 700 inhabitants; let church extension be pushed until there is a chapel in every village and education till there is a

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *ibid.* p.673.

⁹¹ Alison, A., 'Causes of the Increase of Crime', p.12.

school in every street. Still the great fountains of evil will remain unclosed⁹².

Alison offered no solution to the problem. The problem was enormous and attempts at a solution ineffective on the masses living in abject misery. His observation was one of dimension. He observed that

we are quite sure that 150,000 [criminals] come from 3,000,000 of the lowest and not 30,000 from the remaining 24,000,000 [population of the British Isles]⁹³.

The problem was bad, but identified and contained. Later, in 1849 in the same journal⁹⁴ he would support the transportation of criminals to save expenditure on domestic provision of prisons, and their moral and economic rehabilitation in the United Kingdom.

Alison's attempts not to concentrate on the purely anecdotal in combination with a high-mindedness but to offer some statistical analysis of the situation is exceptional for writers of the time. Gatrell and Hadden suggest that 19th century commentators tended to make gut-feeling comments based on personal or reported experience. Furthermore, they reassert the facts that not all crime is either reported or detected, and administrative changes in the figures can skew results in deceptive ways⁹⁵. This first was recognised by chiefs of police from the outset, the second, apart from a significant change of classification in 1896 of certain styles of crime, was the only major redistribution of information - as far as the figures for the Glasgow force are concerned - between 1857 and 1923. Finally, further difficulties of observation and analysis of criminal activity before 1857 are caused by statistics that can be incomplete, or incompatible for purposes of comparison over a period of time.

Before a closer examination is made of the figures from 1857, the effect of policing itself, no matter how well performed affected the crime figures. The

⁹² *ibid.*, p.13.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.14.

⁹⁴ Alison, A., 'The Transportation Question', in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. 66, 1849, pp.519-538.

⁹⁵ Gatrell, V.A.C. and Hadden, T.B., '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, 1972, p.350.

establishment of a police force by definition put in place a system for the control and recording of crime that hitherto had been less than businesslike. As a result, perceived increases in crime could be attributed to the existence of a mechanism of reporting and disposal as much as to any real increase in criminal activity. Glasgow was lucky in that since policing of some kind had been in existence under parliamentary sanction since 1800, the establishment of a formalised, consistent, method of reporting in 1857, was more a confirmation, rather than the sudden realising that a serious situation had developed.

The Classification of Crime

In 1857 the City of Glasgow Police Regulations, Orders, & Instructions underlined the importance of the police service's attitude to crime.

The security of person and property, the preservation of public tranquillity, will be better effected by what is known as 'prevention' than by the punishment of the offender.

The absence of crime will be considered the best proof of the efficiency of the police. In divisions where security and good order have been effected, the officers and men belonging to them may feel assured that their conduct will be acknowledged by promotions or rewards, as such opportunities may offer⁹⁶.

In 1866, the Glasgow Police Act confirmed

it shall be the duty of the Chief Constable and constables acting under or appointed by him, efficiently to execute the powers which are by this act, or any public act, or by Common Law conferred upon them for the prevention, detection and punishment of penal or police offences, or for the preservation of peace and good order within the city, and otherwise to carry into effect the objects and purposes of this act, so far as is

⁹⁶ City of Glasgow Police Regulations, Orders, & Instructions, Glasgow 1857, p.9.

incumbent on them or required by the Corporation or the Magistrates Committee⁹⁷.

From 1857, the haphazard system of collecting police crime statistics was centralised and controlled at government level. For the first time, universal comparison was made of the quantity and type of reported crime. The annual Criminal Returns were to be submitted, not only to central government, but also the town council. Figures of 'crimes' for the purposes of the Criminal Returns were categorised as follows.

Firstly, (Class I): Crimes against the person included; culpable homicide; bestiality; bigamy; assault (with or without intent to ravish), including stabbing; child exposure; reckless discharge of firearms; neglecting a child; and examination as to a sudden death. Crimes peculiar to a given year were also included as required, for example 'selling poisoned cake' (1871) 'attempt to commit incest' (1875), 'concealment of pregnancy' (1887).

Secondly, (Class II): Offences against property committed with violence included the predictable areas of assault and robbery; theft by housebreaking, housebreaking with intent to rob; and fire raising.

The third sub-division of the *genus* (Class III) was: Offences against property committed without violence; theft; reset; fraud; embezzlement; attempted thefts. The more romantic 'cattle stealing' and 'horse stealing' were included on occasion.

Fourth place in Criminal Returns (Class IV) is taken up by the category of Malicious Mischief. This included breaking and extinguishing lamps; breaking glass; and petty vandalism. Curiously, by the end of the period, fire raising had been demoted to this category.

⁹⁷ Glasgow Police Act. 1866, [29 & 30 Vict., Cap 273], Sect. 83.

Fifthly, (Class V): Forgery and offences against currency were categorised. Distinction was drawn between forgery itself, and coining and uttering base coin.

The last and sixth qualification (Class VI) was headed: 'Miscellaneous Offences' (designated 'Other crimes not included above' *post* 1897) and typically contained entries including 'Post Office Offence'; perjury; contravention of the Registration Act; and sending threatening letters. Again slight variation occurred depending on the demands of the particular Criminal Returns.

Appendix XIV collates the returns according to classification from 1857 to 1939. Apart from a redistribution in 1896 when certain types of assault were re-classified, the figures present a consistent picture of reported crime for the period. Changes in the city police and parliamentary boundary as well as the amalgamation of other forces with the Glasgow constabulary are taken into consideration as and when they occur.

Enlightening as these figures may be in raw form they can give only a general view. Appendix XV indicates a propensity to crime, by examining the figures as a function of population. Appendix XIV considers the detection rate over the period, i.e. the percentage of apprehensions to convictions.

How true the Returns are to the actual level of crime is questionable. For example, the figures can only record reported crime. Successive chiefs of police indicated that much crime was not reported to the police, robberies in brothels an obvious example. Furthermore, much crime could have been easily prevented by the most basic of precautions. Goods left unattended, doors unlocked, premises unbarred was carelessness that did not go unnoticed. The police authorities were fully aware that 'regular clients' accounted for multiple crimes and, as a result, conviction rates could be distorted.

For the first eleven years, the 'recording year' ran from October to September, that is 1857 - 1868. Thereafter a January to December format was adopted. For the first three years the figures indicate apprehensions for crime only. From 1860 the figures indicate reported crimes. This accounts for the sudden rise in classes 2 and 3, offences against property, but not for the fall in malicious mischief (Class 4). In the first decade the greatest cause for concern was a rapid increase in reported crimes against property between 1864 and 1870, peaking in 1867. This can be accounted for only in part by changes in the parliamentary boundaries in 1866, and the increased powers resulting from the 1866 Police Act. This was a period of economic difficulty and its effect on the level crime must be considered as a contributing factor. The rapid decline after 1870 is noteworthy. By this time, concerted efforts were being made to improve the condition of the slum areas in the town, and the economy was on an up-turn. From *circa* 1870, Chief Constable McCall put into practice several initiatives to curb crime, prostitution and drunkenness in a concerted attempt to reduce criminal activity. Appendix XV, illustrating crimes per thousand of the population, reinforces this suggestion. A high point was reached in 1868 at 23.38, there is a sustained drop thereafter in the level of crime in Glasgow. This was not overtaken during the rest of the period under examination.

During the 1870's a steady decline continued and towards the end of the decade, a particular decrease in crimes of robbery with violence (551 to 390) is noteworthy. Although the crime figures remained fairly static in the first half of the new decade, during the economic boom there was a sharp increase in 'offences against property committed with violence'. They soared from 443 cases in 1869 to 730 in 1873 (Appendix XIV). This disturbing trend continued throughout the 1870's adding significantly to the figures when other areas remained fairly static. By 1878 1283

cases were reported. A peak was reached in 1886 (1491); significantly, this was the bottom of the trade cycle. Curiously, the overall picture of reported crime improved by the end of the decade with a dramatic decline in total figures from 10211 in 1879 to 6666 in 1889. This was considerably less than ten years previously. Thereafter another cycle started.

Dealing with reported crime from 1876, apart from incidents involving violence, which McCall saw as prevalent in certain parts of the city, particular kinds of theft were singled out for examination and comparison with previous years. Table I illustrates this with a comparative analysis.

Table I Thefts 1873, 1877

CLASS OF THEFTS	1873	1877
By Prostitutes	256	263
In Brothels	8	7
From Intoxicated Persons	908	1399
By Picking Pockets	216	616
By Child Stripping	110	225
By Shop Lifting	128	340
Goods Exposed for Sale	128	164
From New Buildings	270	583
By Lodgers	300	247
By Doors being open or insecure	494	363
From Carts & Carriages	34	93
By Domestic Servants	61	63
By Shopmen & Clerks	8	23
Miscellaneous	3413	3503
TOTAL	6321	7889

Source: City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1877, Corporation of Glasgow (1878), p. 6.

A sharp increase can be seen in what could be called 'opportunist theft', that is stealing from drunks, pick pocketing, shoplifting, and from new buildings. Reaching a high point around 1879 (10211 reports of crimes) the figures remain stable for the next seven or eight years. There was a dramatic decrease in the figures for 1888, which is not explained by the Chief Constable in his report for the year. The most

marked area of decrease was in 'Offences against Property committed without Violence', the number of reports falling by 419 (6.4%).

Many contemporary writers, including academics cited in this chapter, considered that crime was, by and large, the province of the poorest classes. Chiefs of police, however, when commenting on the quantity of crime, tended to be uncontroversial when class structure was applied to the perpetrator. Comments were restricted to generalisation of the situation and excursions into the realms of identification of specific groups was uncommon.

Sadly, personal accounts of police service in nineteenth century Glasgow are rare, and reports suggesting a miscreant element in the middle classes even more sparse. An exception is the notes of Samuel Rodger, who served as a constable of police in the then independent borough of Hillhead from c. 1876 - 1883. He gave a vivid, if not altogether unbiased, account of attitudes to the lower orders held by the bourgeoisie. An ardent teetotaller, he railed against the hypocrisy of the well-dressed publican's daughters balking at the thought of close proximity to a ragged youth who might soil their clothes. When the youth retorted that if their father ordered his father from the public house, then the money would go to clothe him, and not them. Rodger refused to take the youth in charge for insulting behaviour, much to the public humiliation of the publican⁹⁸. Further evidence of partisan behaviour on the part of the constabulary in Hillhead to the benefit of the more affluent outraged Rodger.

I knew of a young swell on one occasion while under liquor who committed one of the most immoral acts which it was possible for a man to commit in the presence of ladies. He was apprehended and taken to the Police Office in the district. But instead of being locked up, he was allowed to leave on depositing a pledge of two guineas.

⁹⁸ Rodger, S. The Secret Memoirs of the Glasgow Teetotal Bobby 1846-1901, Glasgow, 1979, p.10.

Thereafter, an 'arrangement' was reached between the youth's father and the magistrate⁹⁹. Rodger liberally seasons his memoirs with incidents in which a certain level of society is thought to be manipulating the system to its advantage. The police ignore, condone, or acquiesce to the political pressures. This suggests an attitude to the police of *noblesse oblige* by some sections of society.

In 1895, a certain Lieutenant A. Carmichael reminisced on his many years as a detective in the City of Glasgow Police. Over the quarter century of his experience, he instances a colourful collection of cases involving jewel thieves, confidence tricksters, and embezzlers, whose activities involve enquiries in Ayr, London and even Continental Europe. While these writings concentrate on the exceptions to the mundane detective work in the city, Carmichael suggests a sophistication not only to the style of crime committed in Glasgow, but also an expertise on the part of the professional employed in its detection¹⁰⁰. For example, in 1877, a man posing as 'Vicomte Pierre Fontenoy', took rooms 'at a large hotel in George Square' and used it as a base to effect the theft by deception of a valuable diamond necklace. The culprit was caught through collaboration with the Metropolitan Police, and the authorities in Amsterdam¹⁰¹. Some levels of criminal activity in the city must be viewed in a national, and international, context. In 1888 circulars were sent to Glasgow from the Metropolitan authorities regarding the sighting of a suspect in the 'Jack the Ripper' murders. No arrest was made in Glasgow¹⁰²!

Capital crime, *i.e.* murder, and culpable homicide tended to remain static, murder being quite rare - two or three cases only in some years. Culpable homicide varied e.g. 13 charged in 1882, (there were NO murders) 6 in 1879, 4 in 1872. The 1880's continued this trend. A sample illustrates the situation. The murder figures

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁰⁰ Carmichael, A., Personal Adventures of a Detective, Glasgow, 1892.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp.58-64.

¹⁰² GCA/SR/22/62/5. 1888/ 1901 Exhibition correspondence.

in 1884, 1886 and 1888 were 1, 0, and 2 respectively. Culpable homicide scored 5,5,2 for the same period¹⁰³.

In combating crime the success rate varied. Overall statistics comparing total reported crimes related to apprehensions and resulting convictions indicate an approximate one third of convictions to crimes reported ratio throughout the two decades, with the exception of the dramatic fall at the end of the '80's when the conviction rate remained relatively static numerically, but represented a considerable improvement in detection rates due to the fall in reported crime (Appendix XIV). Appendix XV in expressing the overall crime rate in terms of population size indicates a prolonged and sustained drop in the crime rate from the high point in 1877.

Of the six categories of crime, percentage rates vary in terms of detection. High percentages were experienced throughout the period in solving offences against the person enjoyed 72.8% in 1874, 75.35 in 1877, 81.7% in 1887, and 87.6% in 1890. Malicious Mischief often showed higher numbers of convictions than numerical offences, for example, 136.3% - 1874, 151% - 1877, 159.6% 1879. Clearly persons acting in consort were being convicted of the offence. Similarly, currency offences had a high detection rate, generally around 70%, however the numbers of people involved rarely exceeded the dozen.

Offences against property, not only involved the largest number of incidents, but also the greatest fluctuation in detection rates, particularly those involving violence. The gentle curve of crimes against property without violence sharply contrasted with the explosion in violent crime mentioned above. The detection rate for crimes without violence varied from as low as 30% (1886) to 42% (1890) +/- 2%.

¹⁰³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1884, Glasgow, 1885, p.3.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1886, Glasgow, 1887, p.12.

Crimes with violence, meanwhile achieved relatively poor detection results. They were as low as 10% in 1887, 22% in 1873. This was not reflected in the overall figures. Improved trade was suggested as a reason for the overall decrease in crime. However, Chief Constable Boyd made a comment in 1890 in respect of crime against property.

The majority of these thefts are committed under circumstances which afford few opportunities to the police either to detect or prevent. This is notably so of thefts from the person, where both the thief and the victim conspire to elude the police. Another prolific source of crime of the above description is to be found in the carelessness of those having property in charge not exercising reasonable precautions for its safety, and frequently exposing it in positions sure to tempt the criminal classes. In many instances the occupants have been warned by the police of the insecure condition of their premises¹⁰⁴.

Apprehensions, for petty assaults, drunkenness, in its various forms and disorderly conduct showed a high conviction rate to apprehensions as is indicated by the table. Clearly, since the offence and the retribution tended to be of an immediate and summary nature, that is at the time of the event or within days, if not hours, of the incident being observed by the officer concerned, the success rate was bound to be high.

In 1898, at the behest of the Secretary for Scotland, changes were made in the regulations for compiling the statistics. This change, when graphically expressed, suggests an apparent surge in crime. (Appendix XIV). Boyd, Chief Constable at the time, footnoted this change in the Criminal Returns for the year ended 31st December, 1899.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1888, Glasgow, 1889, p.12.

¹⁰⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1890, Glasgow, 1891, p.7.

The increase shown here [in Class I, Crimes Against the Person] is owing to the fact that "Assaults by Husbands on Wives" which, in 1897 were included with "Breach of the Peace," 'Petty Assaults, &c.," in Class VII, have since that period, by order of the Secretary for Scotland, been included in Class I¹⁰⁵.

Instructions had been issued to chief officers of police in December 1896 for the adoption of amended forms. In 1897 and 1898, a dual system was used to give overlap of comparison of the old with the new figures. The old system was discontinued completely thereafter and from 1899 the new format only was presented to the corporation.

Until the mid 1890's the number of reported crimes continued a trend of decline that had bottomed out in 1889 (6,666 reports). This is difficult to assimilate since there had been a clear increase by over 1800 to 1892 (8,474). A goodly quantity of these incidents involved sums of less than 5/-. In 1895, 8,036 was the reported figure, with 2,619 of those being 'petty thefts'. Appendix XIV illustrates this upward trend and compares apprehensions with convictions. The 1899 change of collation is marked. From 1903 there was a surge in crime. At the same time there was a static, followed by a declining detection rate.

Offences (given Class VII designation from 1897)

Offences (Appendix XVII) fared no better with a widening gap between reported offences and convictions. The dramatic drop in detection rates in 1899 can be only partly ascribed to the change in calculation. Minor incidents may not have been considered worth the expense of prosecution.

At the same time that a formal, structured record of criminal activity was initiated, a second collection of data regarding public transgression was started. Offences covered a wide range of situations. In the Criminal Returns for 1888 they are referred to as 'more an index to the vices and follies of a portion of the people than to any criminal propensity of the population'¹⁰⁶. Appendix XVII gives an

¹⁰⁵ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1899, Glasgow, 1900, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1888, Glasgow, 1889, p.12.

indication of the dimension in terms of numbers of apprehensions and the percentage convicted.

Under this heading, in literal terms, fell 'vices and follies' including simple assault, disorderly conduct, being drunk and incapable as well as the apprehension of 'rogues and vagabonds'. Wide were the powers of the Police Courts, controlling many aspects of public behaviour. The range of prosecutions could be immense. 1888 gives a good example of the variety of cases submitted for disposal. Under 'Offences' the following misdemeanours were itemised.

Assault (simple, Disorderly Conduct &c.)
Drunk and Incapable
Begging and Destitute
Obstructing the police
Cruelty to animals
Reckless Driving
Rogues and Vagabonds
Vagrants
Throwing stones to annoyance of Inhabitants
Throwing snowballs to annoyance of inhabitants
Discharging Fire-arms (sic) on Public Streets
Discharging Fireworks on Public Streets
Drinking in Shebeens
Contravention of Prevention of Crimes Act
Offering Indecent Books for Sale
Playing at Games of Hazard
Absconding from the Reformatory and Industrial Schools
Contravention of the Trespass Act
Deserters
Lunatics
Neglecting Children and Ill-treating(sic) Children
Sending Children to Beg
Contravention of the Poisons Act
Failing to Attend as Witness
Children Living in Improper Houses
Hawking Spirits
Prostitutes Importuning Passengers for the purpose of Prostitution¹⁰⁷

Appendix XVII indicates a deterioration of summonses against convictions after the turn of the century. Reasons include the enormous amount of notifications in the system of a petty nature and the expense involved in their prosecution.

¹⁰⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1888, Glasgow, 1889, p.14.

Similarly, regular offenders could have multiple summonses against their name. While illegal, irritating and worthy of control, accused released on bail often preferred to forfeit this pledge rather than suffer the indignity of a court appearance. Until particular measures were instigated against drunkenness the release of those apprehended, without further action, after sobering up, was common. Similarly, the verbal warning, for example, given to those throwing snowballs or other projectiles was deemed sufficient. Chief Constable James Verdier Stevenson observed in 1920 that

32.8% of the total number of apprehensions occurred between 4.p.m. and 12 midnight on Saturdays. 6,183 of those apprehended were allowed out on bail and preferred to forfeit their bail rather than appear to answer the charge in Court: 12,331 were convicted and fines imposed in 11,111 cases. 1,857 persons were committed to prison in default of payment of fines¹⁰⁸.

Crime figures, as measures of efficiency state facts, but do not suggest causes or context. Changes in the level of crime and the reasons therefore have been examined contemporaneously, and with the benefit of hindsight. Examination of the reasons for crime levels in the first half of the 19th century suggest a combination of rapid industrial expansion, lack of investment in domestic infrastructure, mass immigration of destitute poor into overcrowded housing, and a trade cycle that went from peak to trough at regular intervals, throwing thousands of the poorest into abject poverty. The hard core of the criminal class was concentrated in this section of society. In addition, many were considered not to be hardened criminals, but would resort to crime in times of need only. Solutions included moral improvement for some, containment by the Police for many others in almost ghetto-like conditions, and

¹⁰⁸ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1920, Glasgow, 1921, p.5.

a penal system that combined correction with 'improvement', at home or abroad - according to the *mores* of the time.

By the last quarter of the century sweeping social changes in education and housing, along with greater tolerance of political and religious variation and the maturing of formalised civic structures and control mechanisms, including the police, caused radically different interpretation to be made of the condition of the community. Writing in 1892, E. Robertson recognised that old values could no longer be applied to traditional problem areas.

In some respects the temper of the times is not favourable to a rational settlement of complicated and difficult problems; in other respects it is. It is an age of doubt and uncertainty in spheres economic as well as theological. Fixed principles which guided men's actions in old days have been cast to the winds.

Ecclesiastics dream that by persuading men to change their opinions they will regenerate the world; politicians dream that by framing a new social creed they will cure the ills which afflict the commonwealth¹⁰⁹.

In 1892, E. Robertson commented on the growing affluence of the artisan classes as a result of increased prosperity, their willingness to save for the future and to develop their cultural interests¹¹⁰. This perceived state of comfort and security had to be juxtaposed with the 'truly distressing and pathetic' state of the unskilled poor whose condition was still a cause for considerable concern. Those with wages above 20/- per week had at their disposal a full supply of accommodation within their reach of good quality. Below this notional barrier were to be found the cases of greatest hardship and deprivation. Despite financial difficulty, it was considered that there

¹⁰⁹ Robertson, E.R., 'The Social Condition of the Poor in Glasgow' in The Scottish Review Vol. 20, 1892, pp.1-29.

existed a class of honest poor in the community who with encouragement would remain free from the temptations of drink and crime. These were referred to as the 'industrious'. The residuum fell into two groups.

1) those who still work; though their work is precarious, partly due to their vicious habits and partly to the class of work at which they are employed; people whose sins have found them out and whose lives are very hard and very miserable.

2) the criminal and lazy who do not work, and doggedly decline to work; who prefer to live on the fruits of vice and pillage. They are violent, disorderly, reckless; they pillage and destroy the houses in which they live¹¹¹.

Despite the improved condition of the working classes, from whom the majority of criminal activity was perceived to emanate, there still remained a hard core of humanity considered beyond redemption of any kind. High-minded verbiage, usually with religious overtones, e.g. 'rescued from perdition; their souls vexed with unrighteous deeds'¹¹², suggested that, having removed the 'industrious' from the contaminating effects of the lowest class, these unfortunates would be removed to certain areas and put under direct police supervision and control, where

the most merciful fate which can befall them is to be coerced by the strong arm of the law, to reform their habits and moderate their drunken violence¹¹³.

Those of the lowest order, including the considerable vagrant population, it was suggested, should be dispatched to labour colonies outside the towns to be educated in some trade in clean, healthy conditions and thereafter returned to society. To prevent those susceptible to criminal pursuits the encouragement of honest work, clean and

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.4.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* p.15.

sanitary housing and a stable and wholesome domestic life provided by a stable and wholesome spouse promised a utopian future, free from crime. The aspiration to break the self-propagating circle of crime breeding criminals by improving infrastructure and encouraging self-help is the common denominator of the piece. Tobias observed this when discussing the introduction of schooling for workhouse children at ordinary day schools. He remarks

perhaps changes in the Poor Law [post 1861] administration did do something to help reduce crime, if contemporaries were right - as it seems they were - in suggesting that children in workhouse schools were given a training in crime¹¹⁴.

Whatever the beliefs held by the pundits of the time, the crime figures in the last decade of the nineteenth century show a steady increase from 1895 when the index of 11.56 (Appendix XV) jumps to 16.1 in 1901 and 21.81 in 1906 an almost doubling in just over ten years. Offences against property and violent crime doubled in the same ten years. This high level of crime continued, with slight variation, until 1911 (19.51) when the levels fell slightly. Significant decline in the numbers per thousand did not occur until after the outbreak of war, and by 1915 the index experienced a dramatic fall. There was a twenty year low in 1918. The slight rise in the early 1920's is checked by mid-decade.

Coming to a climax in 1914 of 18,433 reports of crimes, in 1915, the year after the outbreak of war, there started a sharp decline that continued for the duration. The reasons for this are not immediately apparent. The large numbers of officers leaving for military service, and the somewhat *ad hoc* arrangements with new police recruits, paid and unpaid, would suggest the potential for an open

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.16.

season for crime in the city. The reality was plummeting criminal activity. Exceptionally, non-violent crime against property shows an increase in 1916 to pre-war levels before enjoying the dramatic decline of the war years. In 1919 there was a modest increase in the figures of reported crime, but the huge increase from 14,087 to 20,146 of total reported crimes between 1918 and 1920 showed some alarming trends in more than one area. Stevenson, then chief constable, made the following comment. 'There has been a considerable increase in the number of crimes against the person. The increases have occurred chiefly in the different classes of assault.' He qualified this with reference to concern about the use of firearms recklessly. 'A number of firearms and a large quantity of ammunition have been surrendered to the police'¹¹⁵. Englander qualifies this. Accepting that 'the striking decrease in indictable and non-indictable offences owed something to full employment and the conscription of the criminal classes' as numbers of police available for duty fell, 'the struggle was suspended for the duration'¹¹⁶.

Throughout the 1920's the general trend in reported crime was downward, reaching a new low in 1927 of 11,993. At this time, non-violent crime against property, which had seen a marked decline over the period continued with crimes against the person, which had remained relatively stable, also in this vein. A cause for concern, however, had been a continued and sustained growth in crime against property with violence. In 1918 this category had accounted for 3,096 of the total 14,087 reported crimes, whereas non-violent crime against property was reported at 9,502 incidents. By 1927, non-violent crime against property had fallen to 5,614,

¹¹⁴ Tobias, J.J. Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century, London 1967, p.241.

¹¹⁵ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1920, Glasgow, 1921, p.5.

with an alarming 4,473 reports of the violent kind. 1927 was a year of a low numbers in the reported crime figures. From then until 1930, a steady increase was experienced, notably in the area of violent crime. In 1930 the reported figures for crimes against property with and without violence of 7,091 and 7,519 represented a fractional difference compared with the identical comparison in 1918.

Macdonald, recalling experiences in the 1920's as an officer of police witnessed the more mundane and routine in the police court at Partick. Sitting each day, except Sunday, an average of thirty cases was heard, with up to one hundred persons passing through the system, each day. This court dealt with a wide range of cases. 'Betting houses were being raided. Hooliganism at football matches and street fighting kept the court busy'¹¹⁷. An example of the professional skill of policing is exemplified by his report of attending a particularly violent domestic incident. A young girl, who he knew to be 'slightly retarded' rushed up to him, pleading for him to come to her house where 'her father was murdering her mother'. On arrival at the house in question, a dock labourer, known to Macdonald as 'Reddy' Simpson attacked him with a docker's hook, slightly injuring him. To protect himself he struck Simpson with his baton - which broke! Subdued, the assailant was handcuffed, and Macdonald found the wife, who was seriously injured, in bed. He knew that a local shopkeeper had once been a nurse, and the child was dispatched to obtain help. At this point Macdonald was able to summon assistance by getting the now returned child to blow his whistle at the nearby dock gate. Help arrived in the form of two colleagues. Macdonald was now free to go to the nearest police box to telephone for an ambulance. At the ensuing court case, Simpson was sentenced to

¹¹⁶ Englander, D. 'Police and Public Order in Britain 1914 -1918' in Emsley, C. and Weinberger, B. (Eds.), Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism and Public Order, 1850 - 1940, London, 1991, p.97.

¹¹⁷ Van Slingelandt, N. And Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, p.67.

sixty days in gaol¹¹⁸. The wife, in addition to her injuries, was found to be consumptive and died within a few days of her husband's release. The child was taken into care. Modest as the example is, the responsibilities of the police beatman ranged from the protective to the pastoral, and he was expected to have a deep and varied knowledge of the area of his responsibility.

Apprehension and conviction figures remained at approximately the same levels. However, they do not reflect the fluctuations in the crime figures. The percentage of convictions to reports improved as the amount of reported crime fell. Sadly, it did not rise with the increased incidence by 1930.

Stevenson referred to the chronic problem of insecure premises. The 1930 return was no different in its tone than those of three quarters of a century before.

The police discovered 5,854 premises insecure after the owners had left for the night. Year after year your [the corporation's] attention has been drawn to this class of negligence on the part of shopkeepers and householders. It is difficult to credit, but frequently the police find the entrance to where valuable property is housed, left glaringly insecure, and thereby inviting dishonest persons to walk in and help themselves¹¹⁹.

Comforting overall percentages were offered of convictions to apprehensions that ranged from 69.7% in 1911 via 70.0% in 1920 to an adequate 67.3% in 1930. However, a comparison with reported crime figures for the same years shows a somewhat different picture. Table II illustrates the point.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp.73-74.

¹¹⁹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1930, Glasgow, 1931, p.3.

Table II Comparison of Reported Crime to Convictions

THE PEAKS - years with high numbers of incidents reported

Year	Total Reports	Convictions	%
1911	15309	4025	26.29
1920	20146	5356	26.58
1930	17040	3782	22.19

THE TROUGHS - years with low numbers of incidents reported

1918	14087	3907	27.73
1927	11993	3596	29.98

Source: Appendix VII

Despite fluctuations in the number of reports, detection rates remain about the same, with the possible exception of 1930. Many factors influenced these results. Within the system itself a relatively inexperienced element of the force newly recruited after the end of the Great War could be said to have an effect on the rise in crime figures. However, the longer serving constabulary of 1930 which, presumably, was more experienced and competent, showed little evidence of stemming the crime wave. This was not for want of efforts being made to improve the *esprit de corps* of the service, with respect to the traditional rivalry of C.I.D./uniform departments and the upgrading of methods of detection including the increased use of photography and improvements in indexing of criminal particulars¹²⁰.

Cycles of criminal activity

The period c. 1900 - 1912 is notable for economic recession, political unrest and a growing emergence of a more militant labour movement. Nineteenth century writers, for example Alison and Burton, maintained stoutly that idle, unskilled, poverty-stricken people of the lower social orders, were the source of all that was evil in society. These trends have been laboriously compared with crime statistics and offered as a vehicle for explaining criminal activity. This may well have been the

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p.5.

case, but modern examination of the figures finds no immediate relationship between criminal and economic activity. 19th century commentators suggest an extensive and active criminal class, in quantity relatively static as a proportion of the population as a whole. Gatrell & Hadden make a careful examination of the crime figures in England in the context of economic activity. Despite the roller-coaster nature of the economy throughout the century they discovered that, in general terms, the rate of crime increased to mid-century, and decreased towards the end. They drew two conclusions. Firstly, there was no doubt that the decline in crime figures had to be attributed to the increased efficiency of the police service and secondly, a general increase in prosperity of the nation as a whole. They accepted that regional variations could be a function of local conditions¹²¹.

A third factor could be introduced as an influence on the level of crime. A continuing theme of Chief Constable's Criminal Returns, commentators of the time, and contemporary moralists is one of finding enough for the criminal to do to keep him from being tempted into crime. Consequently, those of working age, unskilled, (also read trying to become skilled without success) tend to form the criminal class. This included those of working age, but still relatively young. The assumption being that older, skilled, settled personalities, eschew the criminal life. Coleman and Smalt's work on population trends compares age structures in five year bands in 1871, 1891, 1911¹²². Table III illustrates their findings. Significant differences can be observed in a comparison to the structure of the population between 1891, when the crime rate in Glasgow was 13.14 from 12.24 the previous year and 1911 when the

¹²¹ Gatrell, V.A.C. and Hadden, T.B., '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, 1972, p.377.

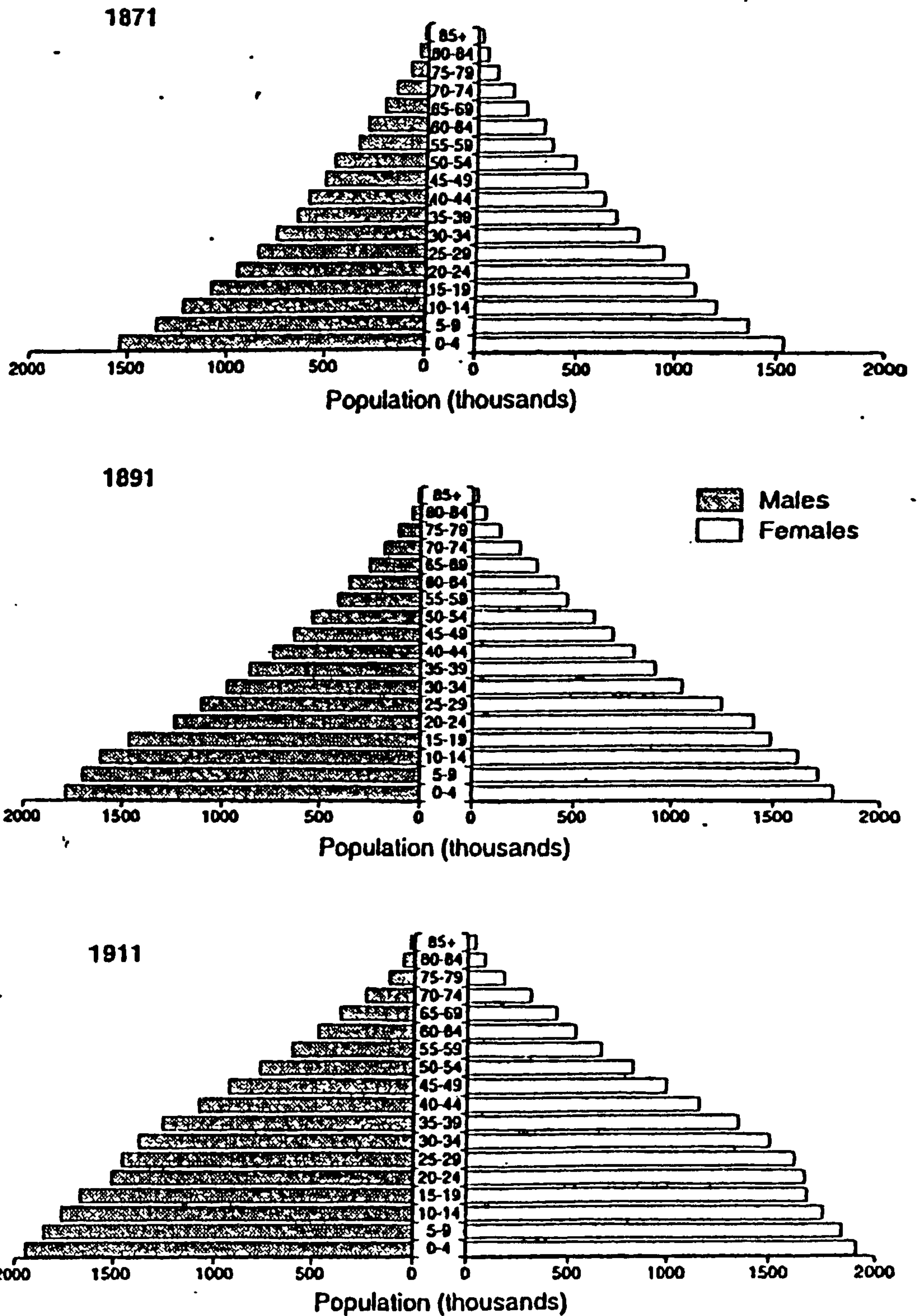
¹²² Coleman, D, Smalt, J. The British Population, Patterns, Trends and Processes, Oxford, 1992, p.76 *et seq.*

index stood at 19.51 (18.86 the year before). Chief Constable J.V. Stevenson expressed his frustration with the trend in 1905.

To protect the public efficiently, it should be possible to bring before a court any person who is reasonably suspected of living dishonestly and is without visible means of subsistence, and call upon him to show cause why he should not be committed to a Labour Colony¹²³.

¹²³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1905, Glasgow, 1906, p.4.

TABLE III



Sources: Censuses of England and Wales, 1871-1971.

FIG. 2.9. Age-structure of England and Wales in five-year age groups, 1871-1971

Source:- Coleman, D. & Salt, J. *The British Population, Patterns, Trends and Processes*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, pp 76/77.

The most striking difference is the increase in those aged between 20 and 40 - a most active time of life that encompasses the majority of those of the criminal fraternity. Appendix XVIII indicates that the number of people between 20 and 40 years of age, within the municipal boundary of Glasgow, doubled between 1871 and 1901. This was an increase of about 6% of the total. The increase in the level of crime at the same time may not be pure coincidence. By 1914/15 when vast numbers were enlisting for military service, the crime rate fell considerably. At this time the age group in question was in the forces or full time employment.

Patriotic factors effect predisposition, high employment for those left behind. These included the skilled artisans needed for vital war production and not of the 'criminal class' as defined. This affected the level of crime. It is notable that after hostilities ceased, the crime rate climbed from 12.66 in 1918 to 17.95 in 1920 before falling a few years later. In 1932 the level had risen to 25.29. The remains of the 'lost generation' had grown up, and a new group of unemployed, unskilled people had emerged. The effects of the economic depression from the late nineteen twenties are a significant factor. The changes in demographic composition of the population should be added to the factors influencing the changes in crime levels.

The figures suggest a 'crime cycle'. While it cannot be denied that fluctuations in trade and the uncertain nature of employment would pressurise many to display criminal intent as a result of personal circumstance, the overall picture does not support a direct comparison between trade depression and an increase in crime as being the only components involved.

If changes in crime levels are a function of police experience or expertise, useful information can be gleaned from Appendix XIX. Appendix XIX considers the numbers of officers in post with the constabulary compared to length of service. In

1858, when the record begins, the average length of service was 5.5 years. Over half the force had less than five years service. It was a time of high crime levels. After the sweeping reforms and reorganisation of the force in the early 1870's by Alexander McCall, along with the improvement in pay and conditions and a more rigorous selection process, the average length of service rose slowly. The rise in the rate of crime reached a static position in 1877/79, when length of service reached eight years, on average. Thereafter the average length of service for a police officer experiences a sustained fall. In 1889 the average length of service had risen again to 10.33 years. The crime rate had fallen to 12.01 per thousand of population at the same time. With average length of service around ten years, the crime rate stayed at the 12/13 mark.

After the turn of the century, the length of service, after a slight fall, rises after 1907. The crime rate, meantime, rises alarmingly. Towards the outbreak of the Great War, conditions of employment in the police service deteriorated once again. As the average length of service rises, implying, in part at least, an experienced and motivated force, the figures suggest a concomitant stabilising of the crime figures. A demotivated force, suffering from lack of investment, and poor comparative rates of pay, with a lower average length of service was inept in a rapidly changing political, economic and social situation.

Appendix XVIII's information contributes to the debate on factors affecting crime levels. The Great War, and its effect of prescribing the activities of a certain fraction of the population compares with a fall in crime levels and with the lack of new, young, recruits to the constabulary, a rise in average length of service. The early twenties witnessed a temporary increase in crime before the returning men took up civilian employment and the force recruited fresh officers. This is evidenced by the 1919/1921 figures.

Juvenile Crime

Since time immemorial the problem of juvenile crime had been recognised as requiring special attention. Usually associated with vandalism, petty thievery and mischief, remedies have varied. Informal 'control' of miscreants by the patrol officer, could be supplemented by an official dressing down by the superintendent. Chief constables were well aware of the chronic problem of child malefaction. For example, on 26 May 1882, Chief Constable M'Call communicated with Superintendent Reid, Commander of 'C' Division.

Mr. Duncan, the Tramway Secretary, writes complaining of the breaking of glass in the tramway cars, while travelling along the various routes, by the throwing of stones by boys upon the streets; he states that daily there are panes of glass broken in from 6 to 12 cars. You will instruct your constables to be on the alert and prevent, as far as possible, such dangerous practices¹²⁴.

The first 'ragged' or 'industrial school' intended for children of the poor, but not necessarily miscreants, opened in Glasgow under the auspices of an Industrial School Society, founded in 1847. The containment of delinquent children in industrial schools was formalised through acts of parliament of 1854 and 1866. By the 1860's, Glasgow boasted four each of reformatory and industrial schools¹²⁵. Furthermore, the sanction of corporal punishment remained a tool to control or deter offenders.

The Probation of Offenders Act, was passed in 1907, although the system had been operating in Glasgow since December 1905 when a plain clothes officer had been attached to each police court for the purpose. In addition, since 1907 two

¹²⁴ GCA/SR 22/63/4 Camlachie Minute Book, 26 May, 1882.

¹²⁵ Anderson, R. D., Education and the Scottish People 1750 - 1918, Oxford, 1995, pp.95-96.

female probation officers were appointed to form a close liaison with the Scouts, Boys Brigade, and Girl Guides as instruments of prevention. From 1905, trivial cases were dealt with by the local superintendent 'in his room' with parents and a representative from the Council of Juvenile Organisations present. This avoided contact between children and the police court. They were known as 'Superintendents' Courts'. Such was their success over the years that in 1931 the benefit of the arrangement was considered a most valuable facility in the Criminal Returns¹²⁶.

1928 saw the opening of a 'Place of Detention' in St. Vincent Street for boys and girls under sixteen on remand. 'It is a homely, comfortable dwelling house, without the slightest suggestion of a prison' opined the chief constable¹²⁷. By the late twenties new temptations were put in the path of those so disposed. Chief Constable Andrew Donnan Smith had strong views. For example, in 1928, he commented specifically on the vandalism and pilfering from vending machines

Automatic Machines: Within the last year or two a great many automatic machines containing cigarettes and other commodities have been erected in shop doors for the purpose of supplying the public after closing time. Quite a number of boys have been dealt with for stealing or attempting to steal from these machines, and much time is taken up by the police detecting this form of theft. They are temptations to steal and should be abolished¹²⁸.

The police response as regards juvenile delinquency was no different than its operation with other elements of the criminal fraternity. Chief constables were fully

¹²⁶ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1931, Glasgow, 1932, p.4.

¹²⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1928, Glasgow, 1929, p.4.

¹²⁸ ibid.

aware of the particular problems of child crime. It was seen as a community problem, involving disposal by specialist prosecution when necessary. Having committed miscreants to the judicial system, the police function did not extend to the operation of the reformatory schools.

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The police function, its place in society, and its attitude and reaction to crime changed markedly during the 19th century. The multiplicity of contributing factors, including the increased powers vested by government coupled with the changing social mores resulted, by the end of the First World War, in a professional force with considerable power and influence. Davis makes a cogent mid-century observation.

The increasing facilities for prosecution had important consequences for nineteenth-century society, its class relations and the operation of the state, especially in light of their wide use. Prosecution was still only one possible disciplinary option for either individuals or the state, but the importance of its availability should not be discounted. The social order continued to depend, to a large extent, on informal sanctions and negotiations operating on the ground rather than imposed from above. However, the availability of prosecutions did mean that perceptions as to what sorts of behaviour could no longer be dealt with informally were affected by the new opportunities for exercising discipline offered by the state. Thus, the point at which naughty children, employees taking perks, obstreperous drunks, and even bad neighbours might find themselves objects of state intervention and control was scarcely the same as it had been a century earlier. To this extent, the ease of prosecutions and their use marked a significant increase in the power of the state, and the groups it represented, to underwrite the social order. However, the way the prosecutions were used indicates that, at the same time, the

state's power was crucially limited by differing views both between classes but also within them as to what constituted legitimate intervention by the state, when it should be invoked, and when resisted¹²⁹.

The Scottish experience, exemplified by that of Glasgow could be compared with the above. Contemporary commentators, including Alison, Burton and E. Robertson, made observations of nineteenth century Scottish society. For example, Archibald Alison, on examination of the lamentable state of the lower orders and the attempts to solve the many social problems created by the industrial system, said

self-government has been tried on the greatest scale, for the last forty years, and it has landed the community in a hundred thousand practical heathens within its bounds [the County of Lanark]. It is high time that serious efforts be made to arrest these evils; but it must be done by the power of the state, and by the central government. They are far beyond the reach of either private benevolence or local legislation¹³⁰.

In 1892, E. Robertson considered the prospect of establishing 'labour colonies' or 'state labour reformatories' which would be used to house the 'drunken and dissolute' who are convicted again and again' then 'it may reasonably be demanded that the state should give effect to the measures suggested'¹³¹.

Within the police itself, cyclical difficulties; political, economic, and structural, had been the result of varying degrees of support externally and fluctuations in morale within the organisation. For example, the major re-structuring and improvements instituted by McCall in the early 1870's had not been maintained

¹²⁹ Davis, J. in Hay, D and Snyder, F., Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750 - 1850, Oxford, 1989, p.426.

¹³⁰ Alison, A. 'Social and Moral Condition of the Manufacturing Districts in Scotland', in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. 50, 1841, p.637.

¹³¹ Robertson, E. L. , 'The Social Condition of the Poor in Glasgow', p.19.

in terms of conditions of work and remuneration. By the first decade of the twentieth century wage parity with employment of comparable status had been lost but the level of responsibility had increased. The latent crisis in the police service, manifest in 1919, had been at least ten years in the making.

Davis reasons that historians of the nineteenth century can be broadly divided into two main groups. Firstly, those concentrating on the earlier part of the period saw law enforcement as fundamental to the ruling elite as a measure for controlling the lower orders, in light of the prospect of the breakdown of society in general. The second group are those examining the second half of the period who had based their discussions on an assumption of an underlying stability. This 'stability', they declare, is indicative of the success of the earlier tactics. Consequently, changes in law enforcement and civil direction served to underline this 'ruling-class hegemony'. Any behaviour that threatened this imposed *status quo* was either seen or ordered to be criminal in intent or redefined as deviant from both sides of the class divide. As a result, the frequency of crime diminished and the agencies of law and order were directed to an ever more marginalised portion of society 'distinguished by its economically marginal position to industrial capitalism, who were responsible for the bulk of law-breaking that remained'. Finally, he offers a third view, suggesting that there was an emergent 'cross-class consensus' as to what was seen as inappropriate public conduct. This was associated with the dissemination of political power and economic prosperity from the hierarchy. This was manifest in the reduction of perpetrated crime. He concludes that

by a process of circular reasoning, which sees decreasing crime as a symptom of either consensus or hegemony and the evidence for consensus or hegemony to be the decrease in crime, these historians have arrived at the same position as the mid-Victorian ruling classes. They view the law and its

agencies of enforcement, in the second half of the century, as embodying a single set of socially dominant values to which only a diminishing minority of the population did not subscribe¹³².

Glasgow was a typical Victorian city with common denominator Victorian attitudes.

Determining reasons for changes in levels of crime, and the effectiveness of the police as detective and deterrent has challenged historians. Comparing levels of crime in Glasgow with; general economic activity; industrial growth; and population size and age demographics has been inconclusive in establishing empirical reasons for criminal trends. Similarly, a consideration of the number of police per head of population, and the length of service (and supposed consequent degree of experience/efficiency) compared with criminal activity is unconvincing.

The effect of policing of the community and its direct influence on the level of crime is difficult to assess accurately. The argument that increases in levels of criminal activity with the advent of an organised police were as much a function of increased reporting and prosecution of crime as any literal escalation cannot be proved conclusively. Still, Taylor is clear when he concludes that 'it is likely that there was no long-term increase in serious crime during the Industrial Revolution'. He considers that perception of crime changed from the late eighteenth century when there was a general fear of crime and serious crime was on the increase. By the 1860's, confidence in policing had increased to an extent that, although the fear of crime and the criminal never dissipated entirely, there was an increased confidence in an innate stability in society. This was verified by a general decrease in the level of recorded crime from the 1860's and thereafter¹³³.

¹³² Davis, J., 'Prosecutions and Their Context - The Use of the Criminal Law in Later Nineteenth-Century London' in Hay, D and Snyder F., Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750 - 1850, Oxford, 1989, p.398.

¹³³ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, pp.21-25.

Smout argues that the far-reaching 'even draconian', police powers that were strengthened and widened throughout the nineteenth century had a direct effect on their ability to control and act as a deterrent¹³⁴. Concentrated policing of selected known trouble spots for example; McCall's actions in the 1870's against intemperance and prostitution; or Sillitoe's concerted efforts against organised gangs in the 1930's demonstrated the determination to address specific problems. The effect of experience gained over the years allowed the police to anticipate criminal activity at known times and events, and be on hand and 'visible' not only to encourage good behaviour, but also deter wrongdoers.

Criminal activity cannot be attributed to a single cause-and-effect proposition. Moreover, as social standards changed, the combination of factors affecting crime mutated accordingly. The police had to adapt in the same way. As a deterrent the existence of the police is unquestioned; the efficiency of detection is open to debate.

¹³⁴ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.48.

CHAPTER SIX

Police and Public Order

To draw a distinct line between public order and crowd control would be impossible. The two are easily transposed. They overlap in manifestation, blend in *raisons d'être* and enjoy a variety of forms and commitment by the participants. For the purposes of discussion the premise of convocation in large numbers for some purpose, spontaneously or with a degree of premeditation related to some issue or event, is the parameter applied. The response of the police to civic unrest was a function not only of the circumstances of the event in question, but also the established attitudes inherent in the force.

In Gatrell's seminal work on the 'Policeman-State', he contends that in pre-Victorian England much control of latent mass dissent was directed by a social hierarchy and the established norms therein. Deviance was controlled by internal pressures rather than legalised procedures. With the fundamental changes in the social order in the early nineteenth century, he observes that

established hierarchical relationships were perceived to be under chronic threat. The populace was expanding, increasingly insubordinate, unshackled from rural controls, and politically opinionated¹.

He considers that the English system of policing developed as a process rather than an event. Nevertheless, the 'New Police' of the 1820's and 1830's were fundamentally at odds with the old parochial system and the tactics and methods employed tended towards overt display and use of coercion 'more or less concealed'².

¹ Gatrell, V., 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-State', in Thomson, F. (Ed.) Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 - 1950, Volume 3, 'Social Agencies and Institutions', Cambridge, 1990, p.254.
² *ibid.*

He contends that there was a sea change in government attitudes to crowd control between the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the Great War. By the end of the 1840's, the use of military intervention to control mass dissension was discontinued as a more expert police system emerged which employed a cheaper, but 'broader restrictive power'.

In 1790 you could peaceably assemble where you liked but not say what you liked; in 1890 you could say what you liked (if the libel laws permitted) but certainly could not assemble where you liked³.

The maintenance of public order in Scotland had been a policing function long before the inception of policing in the 'modern' sense. Robertson's papers contain a copy of a sixteenth century 'Statute of Queen Mary' (of Scots) 'For stainching and suppressing of tumultis within burrowis, under the pane of deid'⁴. Maver attests that striking weavers in 1787 and the resultant violent demonstrations were a major influence on the town council for the formation of the first aborted police force. This series of riots had emphasised the 'serious imbalance in policing arrangements'⁵. The influx of industry at the end of the eighteenth century with concomitant population changes was linked, as far as the Statistical Account was concerned, with 'a greater dissoluteness of manners and more crimes'⁶. The formation of the police in the city in 1800 and its deterrent effect on riotous assembly is open to debate, since military support was used as supplementary energy in the control of mobbing until the middle of the century.

³ *ibid.* p.267.

⁴ Robertson Papers, Extract from '*Leges Burorum*', printed for Scottish Borough Records Society.(R/ATS/V).

⁵ Maver, I. Glasgow (Town and City Histories Series, Constantine, S. (Ed.), Edinburgh, 2000, p.30.

Large assemblies of people have been seen as potential flash points of civil unrest for some time. Logue⁷, with this in mind, catalogues reasons for potentially militant gatherings including resistance to military secondment, food shortages, industrial unrest, political disturbance, and religious bigotry as well as reaction to some local issue. Stevenson supports this thesis, from the English perspective⁸. More parochially, Glasgow had seen its share of political unrest in 1848 with the bread riots of the Spring of that year. Whatley describes the traditional mayhem associated with the monarch's birthday celebrations to as late as 1860⁹. 'Senex' describes king's birthday celebrations 'every 4th of June in the early years of this century [the nineteenth]' in some detail, including the elaborate decoration of the city, the ringing of bells, parading of troops and lighting of bonfires. Generally, behaviour was good-humoured, but on one occasion the mob became somewhat more than skittish and tried to set fire to the door of the Tron Steeple. The civil power was unable to control the situation and troops with fixed bayonets were called to clear the mob¹⁰. Alison reflected on the dangers of revolt in 1844. Citing 'the insurrection in the manufacturing districts of England and violent strikes in Scotland in 1842', he warned of the dangers of such an outbreak¹¹. He had no doubt that revolution was imminent, originating from the radically disposed and unionised labouring classes.

⁶ Sinclair, J., The Statistical Account of Scotland [1791-1799] drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes., Edinburgh 1793, p.513.

⁷ Logue, K., Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780 - 1815, Edinburgh 1979, p.210 *et seq.*.

⁸ Stevenson J., Popular Disturbances in England, 1700 - 1832, (2nd Ed.), London 1992, p.306 *et seq.*.

⁹ Whatley, C., 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c. 1660 - 1860', in Mason, R. And Macdougall, N. (Eds.) People and Power in Scotland, Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout, Edinburgh 1992, p.170 *et seq.*.

¹⁰ Pagan, J. (Ed.) Glasgow Past and Present: illustrated in Dean of Guild Court reports and in the reminiscences and communications of Senex, Aliquis, J.B. [et al.], David Robertson, Vol. 1. Glasgow 1884, p. 260.

¹¹ Alison, A. 'Imprisonment and Transportation' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. 55, May 1844 p.545.

At the same time, he had no doubt that this would ultimately fail, 'crushed, by an (sic) united effort of the other classes in the state'¹².

Throughout the period under observation instructions were being issued in Glasgow to divisional commanders to make appropriate preparations for festivals associated with unsavoury crowd behaviour, including the New Year and Glasgow Fair holidays. Formal statistical tables were produced in the Chief Constable's Criminal Returns and its successors examining the incidence of drunkenness over these periods and making comparison with previous years. Gallagher discusses the emergence from about the turn of the 20th. century of rivalries between opposing factions at football matches as mass spectator sports increased in popularity. This compounded the apprehensions of the authorities¹³. As a result, the convocation of large numbers of people over a protracted period was seen as a potential problem to be dealt with by the allocation of resources in a quantity sufficient to deter any criminal infraction.

Traditionally, the reaction of Authority to throngs of people has been invariably one of suspicion based on prevalent influences at the time, coupled with prejudices ingrained over a period of years. Crowds could be, and were, seen as potentially disruptive, even seditious and to be controlled at all costs. Furthermore, they were seen as magnets for all that was undesirable in the form of petty thievery. Large assemblies of people have been seen as potential flash points of civil unrest for some time. Glasgow had experienced a continuing undercurrent of civil unrest motivated by political ideals from the 1790's. Logue theorises on the origins of disruptive behaviour by large gatherings as discussed above. However, he comments further that crowds gather and take action in order to achieve a common objective,

¹² *ibid.*

directing action against property. This included churches, courthouses, or the residences belonging to the perceived originator of the common cause. He qualifies this by maintaining the argument that most disturbances were spontaneous and the aims short-term. This analysis makes a snug fit with the aforementioned reasons for assembly.

On the other hand, the individual policeman could find himself in an invidious situation when attending strike demonstrations. Taylor states the problem for the police. When in conflict with strikers he was seen as being, along with his family, set apart from society, almost a pariah. On the other hand, when dealing with minority groups who are perceived as a threat including ethnic minorities (e.g. Irish immigrants) or particular workers' liaisons, whilst unpopular with the target group, his standing could be raised in the eyes of the rest of society, irrespective of the individual's place in the hierarchy. Clearly attitudes to police could be fluid, depending on the particular circumstances and target group of the day. Today's friend could be tomorrow's enemy¹⁴.

Demonstrations in Glasgow

Glasgow was the setting for large-scale demonstrations against the Corn Law legislation in 1815, and at James Turner's estate of Thrushgrove in the autumn of the following year. Feelings ran high, but the occasions were noted for their lack of disorder and the commendable demeanour of the crowds. 40,000 were estimated to have attended the latter event¹⁵. On the other hand, the reaction of the authorities to the incident at St. Peter's Fields Manchester on 16 August 1819 although parochial, demonstrated a fear of political activity on the part of the establishment. Earlier that

¹³ Gallagher, T. Glasgow The Uneasy Peace, Religious Tension in Modern Scotland, Manchester 1987, p.99.

¹⁴ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, pp.103-104.

¹⁵ Maver, I. Glasgow, p.64.

month, massed demonstrations had taken place in Glasgow advocating national political reform in the wake of the post war depression and economic hardship. Feelings against the ministry of Castlereagh and Sidmouth were running high: so much so, that when being examined in retrospect in 1833 the administration was considered to be 'utterly odious and detestable to the nation'¹⁶. Lord Provost Monteith took the precaution of ensuring that the police and local volunteers were supplemented by sizeable contingents of Hussars and infantry in anticipation of combating a national insurgency. Approximately 2,000 regular troops were involved. Maver states that liaison with the Manchester authorities was maintained with this in mind¹⁷. Prompt action on the behalf of the city authorities averted or discouraged the spread of violence in Glasgow, albeit there was considerable unrest of varying degrees of intensity, but including fatalities, in the surrounding districts. It is notable that the agencies used to suppress civil unrest at this time were predominantly military, rather than civilian.

Continuing political unrest in the first decades of the nineteenth century was manifest in the ongoing activities of Chartist sympathisers. Disturbances including Reform Bill ferment in 1831/2, a final flourish of Chartism in the late '40's, and bread riots in 1848. Political agitation, culminating in the Reform Acts in 1867/8 and 1884/5 had been preceded by demonstrations in the city. These continued into the twentieth century, an example being the George Square incident in 1919.

Parallel to the political debate, riotous behaviour was experienced as a result of other agencies including in 1822, the sacking of the residence of a suspected 'resurrections'. By the 1880's, embryonic antagonisms were being expressed in the culture emerging from the formation of the football league system. From the early

¹⁶ Johnstone, C. The Spy System; or, 'Tis Thirteen Years Since' in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. IV, 1833, p.198.

1880's poor crowd behaviour was becoming something of a norm. The 1909 Cup Final at Hampden ended in a riot. Lesser fracas in 1905 and 1912 furthered the deteriorating reputation of the football crowd. Railings against perceived failings of employers resulted in strike-led demonstrations by hostile gatherings of people. For example, the bitter tramways strike in 1911 had threatened to wreck the opening weeks of the 1911 Exhibition.

Early control of riots by the police was varied in its success. In 1821, Orangemen celebrated in Glasgow the first recorded 'twelfth'. Police were called to quell a disturbance that started with a 'boxing match' at the head of Miller Street and gradually spread through the city centre following the chosen route of the march. Marshall suggests the reason for the unpleasantness.

The intended venue for the Orangemen was probably the equestrian statue of King William III, which at this time was located in the Trongate. It was indeed unfortunate that the statue was located in one of the most heavily populated Catholic Irish districts in the city¹⁸.

One hundred and thirty were arrested including one stalwart, armed with a pitchfork that he had been sharpening on the pavement. Despite a ban on further marches by the city magistrates, 'private' gatherings occurred, where regalia was overtly displayed on the walls and from the meeting houses where these functions took place. This deliberate provocation resulted in another situation, pregnant with malice, in 1829, which was defused by prompt action by police and military¹⁹.

Wilson records huge mass demonstrations on Glasgow Green in support of the various causes, e.g. in September 1831, and 12 May 1832 in support of the Reform Bill, when an estimated 150,000 persons attended on each occasion. Two years later

¹⁷ Maver, I. *Glasgow*, p.66.

¹⁸ Marshall, W., *The Billy Boys, a Concise History of Orangemen in Scotland*, Edinburgh 1996, pp.13-14.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.14.

in October, 100,000 were said to have attended a Chartists' meeting on the Green, without apparent distress to the constabulary²⁰.

Industrial Activity

In 1837, with the deteriorating economic situation, strike action by cotton spinners and the general distress of unemployment acted as a catalyst for political agitation and unrest. Sheriff Alison reported:

in the whole of the County of Lanark there was not a single policeman. In Glasgow itself there was a considerable police force, very well organised; but in the suburbs, which contained 100,000 souls, and where the principal manufactories were situated, there was either no police at all, or a very inefficient one.

Matters were in this state, when, on 14 April 1837, the whole cotton-spinners in and around Glasgow struck. This was followed by a similar strike on the part of the whole colliers and iron miners in Lanarkshire²¹.

Alison commented on the liberal attitude taken to mass demonstrations hitherto when the congregation of large numbers of banner-waving, drum-beating workers were harangued by political agitators, and thereafter peaceably dispersed. Indeed, so common were gatherings that they were seen as a right 'if not by law at least by custom'²². Logical progression of thought established that any attempt at control by official means (police or militia) no matter how justified, would be received less than favourably. The outcome of his deliberations was

I resolved after mature consideration to lie by, and, without attempting to check or threaten the meetings of the trades-unions how violent soever the language used, to wait till some

²⁰ Wilson, A., The Chartist Movement in Scotland, New York 1970, p.29.

²¹ Alison, A., (Ed. Lady Alison) Some Account of My Life and Writings, Vol. I, Edinburgh 1883, p.371.

²² *ibid.*, p.374.

serious invasion on life or property was committed, and then act, if possible with the utmost vigour²³.

By June the depth of bitterness of the strike had deepened, and the regularity and vehemence of the demonstrations increased. An incident at Oakbank brought matters to a head. Johnson & Galbraith's mill had been singled out for attacks on hands employed to keep the mill working. Application for protection of these people was received, and Alison proceeded to swear and equip one hundred Special Constables. At the appointed time, only one appeared for duty. A local police not being available, a troop of militia was called. At the sight of the mounted redcoats, the crowd at once dispersed, however the political repercussions on both sides of the divide were marked. The expediency and legality of the move was challenged. The assaults and public disorder continued, but they were finally broken after a raid on a meeting of the organisers and the arrest of persons deemed responsible in the Black Boy Tavern in the Gallowgate, Glasgow.

Political Demonstration

The massive pro-reform act demonstrations in 1831/32 had been noted for their comparative lack of violence. However, as cyclical economic difficulties and political agitation on an international basis combined to foment unrest, serious rioting took place in Glasgow on 6 March 1848. At first the situation was incompetently handled by Pearce, the chief of police, and the militia were called to intervene. Shots were fired on the crowds and fatalities ensued.

The unrest in 1848 was a turning point for policing of civil unrest in the city. By the early Spring of 1848 the leadership difficulties being experienced by the force had reached crisis proportions. Henry Miller, who had been in charge since April

²³ *ibid.*, p.375.

1837, with the designated rank of Superintendent, was appointed to the Liverpool Police in April 1844. Interim Superintendent Duncan handed the reigns of authority at the end of the month to Archibald Wilson. William Henry Pearce, from the Irish Constabulary, took over in April 1847. He was in post that fateful March of 1848.

The City of Glasgow Police was, in the first instance, withdrawn from the scene when rioting broke out on 6 April and military intervention was instigated, with disastrous results. It all started quietly enough with a gathering of unemployed on Glasgow Green on Monday the 6th, but the mob grew and became increasingly more belligerent. Shouts of '*Vive la République*' were heard. The Glasgow Herald, in a retrospective article in 1870 reported that

at three o'clock the town was in a state of utmost apparent security, and before four o'clock bread and provision shops were entered and gutted and windows of warehouses were smashed, provisions of all kinds thrown in the streets and seized upon by the rioters, who in addition broke into the premises of ironmongers and gun-smiths and helped themselves to firearms and other formidable weapons²⁴.

The City Fathers resorted to the use of a large contingent of military personnel. Various referred to as 'pensioners' or 'militia' these men included forces from the 3rd Dragoons and the 71st Regiment whose enthusiasm to quell the disturbance was not matched by skill in crowd control. Confused and frightened commanders ordered the discharge of firearms. There were six fatalities and many injured.

The inertia of Pearce was not matched by his colleagues. Notable among these was the man in charge of the Eastern Division, until late, Superintendent of the Calton Police, James Smart. It was obvious that the brute force employed by the

²⁴ The Glasgow Herald, 28 May, 1870.

militia was not the answer and as the police began to reassert order, in tandem with the soldiers, and not without their own brand of brawn, their knowledge of the city and its people transcended that of the soldiers. Skilful arrest of ringleaders and the dispersal of the crowd by dividing it into manageable pieces, as opposed to the head-on collision school of suppression as employed by the militia, proved superior. Over the next few days, as the crisis passed, a large group of special constables was sworn in to help keep the peace and the soldiers were returned to barracks²⁵. The unrest continued sporadically for the next few days. Pearce's indecision and incompetence and the conduct of his colleagues in the suppression of the riot was brought into question. Sheriff Alison was involved in the local enquiry. Pearce's position became untenable and he, assuaged with six months wages, 'left'²⁶.

On Wednesday the third of May 1848 at the High Court of Glasgow, Lords Mackenzie and Medwyn presiding, five persons appeared. They were George Smith, weaver, John Crossan, self-acting mule-worker, Hugh Barrons, cotton-spinner, James Killin, iron-moulder, and Peter Keenan, labourer. The reckoning was harsh and examples were made. John Crossan and George Smith were sentenced to be transported 'beyond the seas' for eighteen years. Barrons and Keenan were transported for ten years. Killin got two years imprisonment²⁷.

It was clear that the use of military power to suppress civil unrest was not an ideal to be pursued. The 1848 incident had indicated that despite the inadequacies of the force as it then was, the way forward was for the police to take primary responsibility and policing by police, rather than by military authority, in cases of civil unrest became the norm in Glasgow. Nevertheless, just over a year later there

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, p.35.

²⁷ Arkley, P. (Ed.) Reports of Cases before the High Court and Circuit Courts of Justiciary in Scotland during the years 1846-7-8, Edinburgh, 1849, p.481.

was concern over a repeat performance of the previous year's rioting. This time it was in Airdrie by Orangemen. A contingent of militia was kept out of sight on 12 July 1849 when the march began. It was not needed. A group of sixty police from Glasgow confronted the crowd, and the protest disintegrated²⁸. A month later 600,000 persons lined the streets of Glasgow 'the principal seat of revolutionary designs in Scotland' to welcome Queen Victoria without incident. However, sophisticated preparations had been made to control potential trouble²⁹.

As time went by and experience and expertise was developed, the police response to public demonstration became both reactive and proactive. Reaction to spontaneous public demonstration matured from *ad hoc* deployment of officers to planned reactions to situations. Proactive measures in the form of a deterrent or containment policy were developed over time to apply to regular events or standard situations. For example certain annual festivities including the Monarch's Birthday, Glasgow Fair and the New Year holiday were times of heightened awareness for the police service when boisterous crowds in varying degrees of inebriation were expected as the standard. Extra duty officers were called to strategic points in the city and arrangements made to straddle the time period and cover the build up as well as the aftermath of the event. For example, during the election campaign of 1885 arrangements were made to provide a 'presence' at the hustings through a directive to divisional commanders on 5 September.

From the present time till nearly the end of November, by which time both Parliamentary and Municipal Elections will have taken place, numerous meetings of electors with candidates will be held in all parts of the City.

You will make it a point to ascertain daily where such meetings are to be held [in the Eastern Division] and you will

²⁸ Alison, A. , (Ed. Lady Alison) Some Account of My Life and Writings, Vol. I, p.609.

²⁹ *ibid.*

strengthen the Police in the neighbourhood so as to be at hand in the event of any disturbance or breach of the peace being committed³⁰.

Instructions were explicit - there was to be no interference.

The Police must not enter the hall or interfere within the building unless called upon to suppress an actual breach of the peace.

Finally, overt police involvement in politics was frowned upon.

It is not desirable that members of the Force, when off duty, attend or take part in any political meeting. There is nothing illegal in the police recording their votes, but it is inexpedient that they should become advocates or canvassers for any political party³¹.

The police position was to be totally neutral, involvement being necessary only if the discussion deteriorated to such an extent that the open and frank exchange of views heated to the point of the peace being endangered. This passive role was to be adopted, in the first instance at any rate, during the major festivals in the city. By the 1880's a standard operation was initiated when large crowds were expected on the streets.

1. Each division will take charge of its own district. 2. The day men will continue the usual shifts and remain on duty after 8 o'clock till called in. 3. The night men will come out that evening and be upon their fixed beats by 6 p.m.³².

Similarly, elaborate preparations for infrequent or one-off events. While overtly ceremonial, the police recognised the potential for demonstrations of disagreeable character as a result of external influences. The public execution of Dr. Prichard in 1865 was a case in point. A letter was sent to the trustees of the Hutchinson Town Bridge Trustees from police headquarters, warning of potential problems.

³⁰ Camlachie Minute Book, 5 September, 1885

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *ibid.*, 20 May, 1885.

20th July, '65.

Gentlemen,

My attention has been called to the present infirm state of the Hutchinson Town Bridge with reference to the approaching execution of Dr. Pritchard when it is apprehended the crowd of persons will be very great, and if permitted to congregate on the Bridge severe consequences may result in order to prevent the possibility of which it will be necessary that the traffic on the bridge be stopped for the time and the bridge securely barricaded and guarded.

And I respectfully request that effective steps be adopted by you for these purposes.

If [these rancour/appear ?] unnecessary, any formal application to the Lord Dean of Guild on the subject which otherwise it would be my duty to make.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

John Lang*

To the Parliamentary Trustees
the Bridge over the River Clyde
Glasgow³³.

*Clerk to the Chief of Police (James Smart.)

Certain styles of gathering with their attendant potential for unrest occurred with varying degrees of intensity. For example, political demonstrations, although they changed in purpose, involved large assemblies of people voicing commitment to one cause or another. Chartist disturbances in the 1830's and 40's; Reform Bill activities at the same time and preceding the 1866 legislation, embryonic Socialist activities twenty years later; bitter industrial disputes in the years preceding the Great War, and the major demonstration in 1919 each taxed the resources of the Police Authorities. A strategy of observation by the force, followed by the tactic of dividing

³³ GCA /E/E2/1, C.lerk of Police Records, Letter Book 29 Dec., 1864 - 30 Dec., 1865, p.487.

an unruly mob using bands of officers who split the rioters into discreet groups using the geography of the locality, the streets and alleyways of the city as containment areas usually worked in the short term. Participants often interpreted police action as intimidation, fuelling sensitivities in the worst instances. The tramways strike in 1911 and the George Square incident in 1919 are supreme examples. Violent and injurious behaviour on both sides is well documented, with police reaction to verbal and physical assault being less than passive. The police establishment was not seen as an upholder of the law in the circumstance, but more of a representative of authority to be challenged. The niceties of civic responsibilities for the 'Common Good' become an expensive irrelevance when juxtaposed with the immediacies of demonstrations related to political reform, religious bigotry, chronic unemployment, and economic desperation.

As political and social turbulence waxed and waned, by the late 1880's the modest increase in living standards and the emergence of the organised, regular mass spectator events initiated a response from the police authorities based on previous experience. Football clubs with large followings of fans (Rangers, formed in 1873, Celtic in 1888) were a late arrival in police terms. As sectarian rivalries developed between the prominent clubs, a new and regular threat to public order emerged. By the turn of the twentieth century, major problems were recognised. Keevins and McCarra note that

the behaviour of the Old Firm's fans in this period [1900 - 1914] is, sadly, immediately recognisable. In a Scottish Cup-tie of 1905 Celtic fans invaded the pitch and caused the abandonment of the match after seeing Quinn sent off and Rangers assume a 2 - 0 lead. The tie, of course, was awarded to Rangers. In 1909 a riot followed the second drawn game in the Scottish Cup Final. A few of the players of both sides had stayed on the park at the conclusion, thus giving credence to the idea that there might be extra time. A riot followed when it became apparent that this would not be forthcoming.

Barricades were torn down and a bonfire started. It is even said that whisky was poured on to keep it blazing.

The arrival of the Fire Brigade made no difference for the engines were attacked, the hoses cut, and the fireman stoned. There were reckoned to be 6000 involved but the ranks of the police were eventually swelled to 300 and the rioters were dispersed. Around one hundred people, mostly police and firemen, required treatment at the Victoria Infirmary³⁴.

Not all football violence was as a result of religious difference.

Remarkably, this Old Firm riot [1909] featured no sectarian feuding and no division amongst the supporters. It was prompted by little more than irritation with the SFA rules and regulations³⁵.

Police reaction to crowds was one of suspicion and concern that a flash point was imminent. Nevertheless, anomalies existed. The political, religious, football, new year, and Monarch's birthday, crowd was almost expected to be disruptive and a threat to the peace. Similarly, dance halls on a Saturday night (or any other night for that matter) were seen by the 1920's as the regular haunts of rival gangs with a predictable potential for trouble. Pubs emptying after closing provided, on a lesser scale, the spectacle of miscreant behaviour.

For each of the International Exhibitions in 1888, 1901, 1911 and 1938 when large crowds were expected over a protracted period of time in a limited area, *viz.* Kelvingrove park for the first three, and Bellahouston park in 1938, at each event, the police authorities put in hand elaborate preparations. Furthermore, large collections of valuable commodities were on display in somewhat flimsy structures and the potential opportunities for theft were recognised. Besides, large-scale international

³⁴ Keevins, H. & McCarra, K. 100 Cups, the Story of the Scottish Cup., Edinburgh 1985, p.32.

³⁵ *ibid.*

events were an ideal forum for political comment. In the event, crime was negligible and crowd behaviour exemplary. Considering the numbers involved this was extraordinary. Several observations can be made.

This undercurrent of 'good behaviour', is synonymous with all the Glasgow Exhibitions and was commented upon at length by each Chief Constable, as well as each Manager; Hedley in 1888 and 1901, Knight in 1911 and Graham in 1938. In light of the level of crime and political activity associated with Glasgow by tradition as well as in fact these oases of criminal non-activity are not easily explained. Police have always seen themselves as a deterrent to potentially errant behaviour and within each exhibition's precincts a high profile was ordained. Clearly this was a factor. Similarly, Glasgow's reputation for aggression could be attributed to an internal, inter-community problem, rather than a reaction to visitors to the city and as such was limited to specific districts including Gorbals, Townhead, Calton.

The extent to which the events themselves were cues for segregation of a social, political and financial nature is significant. The entrance fee, which was 1/- for each exhibition, was a considerable inroad into the exchequer of families of modest means and thus barrier for many. Within the grounds segregation from the common herd was effected by additional charges for certain exhibits and an outright ban on 'non-members' elsewhere. Overwhelmingly, visitors were the 'respectable' type, be it hard-working artisan, or bourgeoisie. There was no threat to the crime figures from this type of person.

Political activists did not exploit the events. In 1883 and 1890 bombs thought to be the work of Irish extremists were detonated in the city. The first exhibition was a huge success, despite this undercurrent. The same year, 1888, saw the formation of the Scottish Labour Party, a new and sinister influence to those on the other side of

the political divide. The years immediately preceding the 1911 exhibition had included a severe slump, from which recovery was not complete. In 1911 significant industrial unrest, including the tramways strike that involved considerable public disorder at depots and key locations in the city, did not extend to the Exhibition Grounds. The Exhibitions were political deserts, being deliberately designed to further internal goodwill and international brotherhood³⁶. The visiting public to the Glasgow exhibitions did not, however, represent a cross-section of society, more a selection, whether local, national or beyond. Paul Greenhalgh observes of exhibitions in general that

they [exhibitions] saturated the heads of all who attended them with irrational pride and false hope in their confirming of racial and class division and their obsession with power and progress³⁷.

This situation is reflected in the lack of crime or public disorder at each event. As a result this left the police with ceremonial duties, crowd control, security checks, drunks, petty theft and lost children. The police saw the event as it would any large sample of humanity gathered in the one place with a normal distribution of elements of social deviance. The exhibitions, by their ambience and concept, generated a screening process that discouraged either the criminal element in person, or (more likely) the behavioural traits that would have no reign in the 'real world' outside the grounds. Couple this with the large presence of police and the undoubted deterrent effect this would have and perhaps the real reason for the events being so well behaved becomes manifest.

Political Demonstration in the Twentieth Century

³⁶ Goldsmith, A., 'Glasgow on Show and the Boys in Blue', in History Today, Vol. 47, No. 2. February 1997 pp.51-57.

Police proaction discouraged certain styles of disturbance, for example, celebrations of some kind. On the other hand it enflamed different types of gathering including politically inspired events where the establishment is challenged, and the police, as servants of the establishment, became the scapegoat. The presence of large numbers of police was a deterrent or a catalyst. The behaviour of the police contingent during the 1919 George Square demonstration heightened a sensitive situation with disastrous results. It alienated the police in the eyes of many, and reputations had to be re-established.

The Right to Work demonstration in 1908, and the rent strikes of 1915, both the result of considerable hardship, had been noisy and the participants vociferous but without mob violence. They were heavily policed. However, both were set in a 'local' or 'British' context of dissatisfaction. The 1911 tramways strike was acrimonious and not without violent behaviour, with picketing of depots and attempted disruption of the service by the strikers. Police reaction to the situation was firm and uncompromising³⁸. The dispute, although part of a general industrial unrest, was not perceived as part of a national or international political storm. Yet Chief Constable Boyd recognised the seriousness of the situation. In the Returns in 1911 his introduction made explicit that the situation was to be taken seriously and dealt with by the commitment of officers. He reported that to control the situation 'a large number of police were withdrawn from their ordinary duty during the year'.³⁹ This predisposition to deploy large numbers of officers to deter or control violent behaviour was standard irrespective of the mood, composition or purpose of the gathering.

³⁷ Greenhalgh, P., Ephemeral Vistas, The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851 - 1939, Manchester 1988 p.46.

³⁸ Smith, W. 'The 1911 Tramway Strike' in Scottish Transport No. 25, August, 1974, p.13.

³⁹ Stevenson, J., Chief Constables Criminal Returns for the Year 1911, Glasgow 1912, Introduction.

Englander examines the degree of political and industrial unrest in Britain during the 1914/18 war years. This had been controlled by a weakened and ageing police force, itself in a state of unrest due to depleted numbers, increased workloads, longer hours, and poor pay. Sporadic, often unrelated, public protests had taken place throughout Britain for many reasons. They included demonstrations on pay and conditions to food shortage protests. Bolshevik Revolution was seen to be the challenge to be met. A challenge now known not to have existed⁴⁰.

By early 1919 the political situation in Glasgow had deteriorated. McLean reports that, until the last minute the strike of engineering workers, demanding a 40-hour week was not receiving executive support within the union movement, and newspapers across the political spectrum took the view that the impetus for the strike had collapsed⁴¹. Nevertheless, on the first day of scheduled strike, Monday 27 January, 1919, an estimated 40,000 engineers stopped work. The following day the figure was variously reported at 70,000 and 35,000⁴². Over these two days, as the strike gained momentum, mass picketing by thousands of workers at selected venues resulted in factories shutting early and complaints of intimidation by works owners. McLean states that Shinwell rejected the charge 'not very convincingly'. On the 29th, with massed picketing of power stations taking place, Port Dundas power station's workers came out and marched on the sister unit at Pinkston. Dalrymple, the manager of the tramways system, verbally repelled the pickets and even installed his workers in the station where they were confined for five days with board and lodging supplied by the corporation. By the following day, the strike leaders had made approaches to the Lord Provost and telegraphic communication had been made

⁴⁰ Englander, D. 'Police and Public Order in Britain 1914-1918', in Emsley, C., and Weinberger, B. (Eds.) Policing Western Europe: Politics Professionalism and Public Order, 1850 - 1940, London, 1991, p.126.

⁴¹ McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, Edinburgh 1983 (1999 reprint), p.121.

with the War Cabinet, appealing for support. There was little positive response from London.

In the meantime plans were being laid to supplement the severely stretched police resources, at that time still lamentably short of the establishment figure due to war losses, the slow return of officers from the forces, and the lack of new recruits completing training. Strikes of police in London and Liverpool would shake the military and civil authorities and underline the necessity for a reliable, 'loyal', police force at times of civil unrest. In January 1919, as matters went from bad to worse, the Secretary for Scotland argued the case for 2,000 special constables being sworn in to protect the threatened public utilities. At that time, the military were considered less 'reliable'⁴³. Recent events in continental Europe and Russia supported this argument. Nevertheless, the Provost and Sheriff designed contingency plans, not only to put troops on a state of alert, but also to communicate the latest developments to the government via a quickly constituted committee. The Lord Advocate would consider legal alternatives apposite to the situation regarding the arrest of strike leaders, if found.

On Friday, 31 January 1919 the strikers gathered in George Square to hear the reply from London to their communication. The leader's deputation went into the City Chambers. An altercation over the movement of trams in the square was the incident that started the riot. On the one hand, the police duty was to prevent the impeding by the strikers of the lawful business of the tramcar. From the strikers' point of view the police were the embodiment of authority out to thwart their aims. During the ensuing *mêlée*, when the Riot Act was read by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, a second and then a third baton charge was made by the police. 52 were injured,

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, p.124.,

including 19 police in what became christened 'Bloody Friday' before the day was out. Dark mention of Bolshevik insurgence was made. The strike leaders were arrested. Maver declares that the 'authorities took swift and exemplary action'⁴⁴. Contemporaneously, Shinwell insisted that the situation got out of hand due to aggressive police action. There was much discussion in the press on the subject of police behaviour. The constabulary was inexperienced and literally incompetent in dealing with this kind of disturbance. This, coupled with the impression, right or wrong, that it was a crowd with revolutionary intent, influenced their behaviour. Mclean compared contemporary newspaper reports, underlining that none of his examples come from journals 'friendly to the strike'⁴⁵. The Glasgow Herald reporter, who had witnessed the riot was not slow to comment on the clearing to the square by the police 'with vigour and determination', the while

raining a hurricane of blows which fell indiscriminately on those actually participating in the strike, and on those who had been drawn to the scene by curiosity.

The Daily News questioned the police lack of foresight in having the areas properly guarded against the obstruction of tramcars by the strikers. Had this path been made beforehand, the baton charge used to clear the assembled crowd would not have been necessary⁴⁶. The resultant enquiry presented arguments and accusations on both sides as to who was to blame for what. McLean reasons convincingly that the police over-reacted to the situation, which with hindsight was never intended to be more than a declaration of support for a forty hour week of local inspiration and parochial intent. Nevertheless, he comments that no matter what 'moderate' attitude was being adopted by the principal organisers, Shinwell, Maclean, Gallacher,

⁴⁴ Maver, I. Glasgow, p.230.

⁴⁵ McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, p.132.

Kirkwood and Maxton, he suggests a deeper, darker motive being harboured by Shinwell in particular and the genuine shock of Gallacher who, on leaving the City Chambers, tried to defuse the situation⁴⁷.

James Verdier Stevenson, the Chief Constable who was not only present but received minor injury was laconic in his report of 1919. Describing the incident, he restricts himself to recounting its advent, the injuries to his officers and the expense incurred. He reports that

a number of police were seriously injured by the mob who threw bottles and other missiles. One inspector was obliged to resign owing to injuries received and one constable succumbed to his injuries. The expense incurred to the Corporation in consequence of the riot was £11,725.18.2d.⁴⁸.

In addition, he intimated that 'a large number of arrests were made. After the George Square riot of 31 January 1919, Gallacher, Kirkwood, Shinwell and Hopkins were all arrested, along with eight others on charges of incitement and rioting⁴⁹. Ultimately, there were few prosecutions and the ringleaders were given modest sentences. Further indication of the lack of pursuit of those participating can be found in the 1919 Returns. Under 'Crimes Against State and Public Order' a total of 21 prosecutions were submitted for disposal⁵⁰. McLean allows for *ultra vires* action on the part of over-zealous subordinates to Stevenson at the incident and makes a valid case for the pre-disposition of the police before the demonstration itself.

Special Branch reports from London, which must have been known to Stevenson, giving alarmist information on the seditious activities of members of the

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.133.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.136.

⁴⁸ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1919, Glasgow, 1920, p.6.

⁴⁹ Gordon, Policing Scotland, pp.51-52.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.15.

Labour Movement in the context of Bolshevik revolution on Russia as well as anarchist movements operating in Austria, various parts of Germany and Hungary, coloured police opinion in Great Britain. Consequently, there was genuine fear of workers' revolts in the United Kingdom. The deployment of the army at the behest of the War Cabinet was 'to quell a Bolshevik rebellion, or at very least another Easter Rising'⁵¹. This was beyond the experience of the war-weakened, poorly paid and inexpertly led and directed City of Glasgow Police.

Police attitudes to demonstrations

The police attitude to the 1919 demonstration in George Square was seen as part of a situation that had been developing over a period of a few days with picketing of key installations. This was the emergence of parallel circumstances. The police authorities, or more probably the commanders on the ground, were not properly aware of the latent implications of this new type of political activity. Senior officers of police, the Corporation, and even Central Government, although better informed, placed an interpretation on the circumstance that over-estimated the political intent of the crowd. McLean concludes that

January 1919 was almost a carbon copy of March 1916 [the Easter Rebellion in Dublin]. Both times, the Government acted more severely than necessary on receipt of inaccurate and misleading alarmist information. The police misbehaviour in George Square gave the strike a romantic history which successfully concealed an otherwise ignominious failure⁵².

Nevertheless, the context of the Glasgow riot must be viewed as part of a greater, national, whole. Unrest in the Metropolitan Police had resulted in the most rancorous of strikes in for improved pay and working conditions. Fielding relates

⁵¹ McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, p.137.

that Scots Guards were installed in New Scotland Yard, and troops with bayonets fixed were positioned in Whitehall. He states that Lloyd-George was told that the troops were making common cause with the strikers and were ambivalent in their loyalties. When he consolidated this information with the prospect of the war continuing for a year at least with widespread industrial unrest at home, police strikes and the army in sympathy, he was said to have admitted to a friend some years afterwards that 'this country was nearer to Bolshevism that day than at any time since'⁵³. For various reasons there was serious rioting in many areas of Britain in 1919 including South Wales, the East End of London, Liverpool Wolverhampton, Salisbury, Epsom, Luton, Essex, Coventry and Swindon⁵⁴. In August the police in Liverpool went on strike. The Government were forced to make concessions and the 1919 Police Act, resulting from Lord Desborough's investigations, raised the socio-economic status of the constabulary members, in the meantime⁵⁵. Grant reports that the 1919 increases in pay were well received in Glasgow, and the will to strike was not on the agenda⁵⁶.

The 1926 General Strike

Police preparations for the General Strike were well advanced before the first day of action on 6 May 1926. All leave was cancelled, and twelve hour shifts were organised. Strategic installations and locations were guarded from the outset, including railway termini, bridges, power plants and gas works. Pickets were out in force, particularly at railway stations, and ugly scenes were reported when employees attempted to cross picket lines. By the second day of the strike, twelve-hour shifts

⁵² McLean, I. The Legend of Red Clydeside, p.138.

⁵³ Fielding, N., The Police and Social Conflict, Rhetoric and Reality, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1991, pp.63-64.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.51.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.65.

⁵⁶ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line., p.70.

had been increased to fifteen hours, with officers being kept in reserve so that they could be sent to disturbances if and when they happened⁵⁷. On 6 May there were serious incidents in the city, the earliest at the Ruby Street tram depot in the early hours. These spread later to the adjoining streets. Much damage was done to shops and domestic property and nine looters were arrested. The east of the city witnessed clashes between police, strikers and opportunist hooligans throughout the day. There were a series of disturbances in the city centre with shop windows broken, attempts made to stop traffic and brawling with the police almost continuously. Great difficulty was had in clearing the streets. Despite this, arrests were low in number, in light of the thousands involved. Sixty-six were in custody by 11 p.m. that evening. The disturbances continued the next day with renewed violence in the east end. This spread to the city centre by the evening. There was a particularly violent incident at the junction of Argyle Street and Union Street. Police found that with the control or dispersal of one mob, another soon formed close by. Police were attacked and the strikers often singled out the Special Constables, who only had an identity armband to protect them, for special attention. On Saturday 8 May, after a comparatively quiet day, the mob violence of the evening resulted in numerous baton charges to control and disperse the mob that progressed from Bridgeton Cross to Gorbals, once again causing considerable damage. In Maryhill, the premises of an ice-cream merchant were attacked and were only saved from being wrecked by the arrival of the police. On Monday, 9 May there was little disorder. By the Wednesday, amid scenes of great rejoicing, the strike was over. Police returned to normal duties on 17 May and leave was resumed⁵⁸. The use of efficient communication and the employment of a dispersal system of officers in reserve that could be easily sent to scenes of activity

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.87 *et seq.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

served to contain the problem as much as possible. As the strike faltered, a heavy police presence ensured that order was maintained. Unlike the events of 1919, Chief Constable Smith makes no mention of the events in the Criminal Returns for 1926. Similarly, the statistical tables show no entries for mobbing and rioting or offences against the state or public order. Unpleasant as the disturbances attendant on the strike had been, their transitory nature was acknowledged by this lack of singling out.

Charles Macdonald, on duty at the docks, was transferred to the rioting at Bridgeton Cross in a furniture van and witnessed the mobbing and looting going on. Shoe shops were a favourite target for looters. However, since window displays tended to show only one of a pair, the motivation to steal quantities of unmatched single shoes of various sizes remains puzzling⁵⁹. At the height of the strike, to the operational police officer, the situation was grave. 'Indeed there was talk of Civil War', reports Macdonald. He later undertook plain clothed duties outside the 2LO radio station offices in Blythswood Square. He and a colleague were issued with firearms and ordered to keep watch for impending trouble. There was none⁶⁰.

The disturbances during the General Strike had taxed police resources in Glasgow to the limit and the violence on the streets had been dealt with summarily and uncompromisingly. Troops, although sent to the city, were not deployed from their strategic points and many remained in barracks. Grant describes how, unlike the hostility to the police after the 1919 riot, the public' expressed great appreciation for the efforts of the police⁶¹. This appreciation can only be selectively applied, since those directly involved would have had an alternative disposition.

From the end of the First War, with industrial unrest on a national level and feelings running very high indeed, the importance of a well-trained, well paid, and

⁵⁹ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, p.51.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

above all, loyal police force became manifest to central government. Emsley reports varying degrees of co-operation and activity in English forces. For example, where there had been rioting strikers in 1918 in South Wales, stubborn reaction was apparent from the local constabularies. On the other hand in North Yorkshire, where special constables had been sworn in at their own works, much heat was taken out of the situation. Finally, he makes the valid point that the riots themselves could be self-generating, in that personal feelings of resentment on both sides of losing pay (strikers) or rest days (police) for instance, heightened predisposition to violent action⁶². Ewing and Gearty develop the discussion on the use of excessive force by the police, commenting that this was 'deeply resented the length and breadth of the country. The use of gratuitous violence against strikers was widely deplored and complaints made to the Home Secretary. Their examples included the mining communities in West Fife. The alleged failure of the police to allow adequate time for crowds to disperse, as exemplified at Adwich-le-Street was similarly deplored⁶³.

The 'positive' role of the police in the control of public order continued. For example, during the depression years of the 1930's the activities of the National Unemployed Workers Movement occasioned a succession of demonstrations throughout the country. Gordon comments on the incident that started in the early evening of 1 October 1931 when police baton charged and deployed mounted officers when attempting to ban a demonstration through the city centre. Such was its violent nature that questions were asked in parliament. Recriminations continued for some months. In May 1932 The Glasgow Herald reported an exchange in the House of Commons instigated by 'Mr. Buchanan', the Labour Member for Gorbals.

⁶¹ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line., p.92.

⁶² Emsley, C. The English Police, a Political and Social History, pp.133-4.

⁶³ Ewing K., and Gearty, C. The Struggle for Civil Liberties, Political Freedom and the rule of law in Britain, 1914 – 1945, Oxford, 2000, p.190.

Complaining about the huge number of police used during unemployed demonstrations, he suggested that 'given the liberty, the unemployed were as capable of conducting themselves in a decent fashion as were other sections of the community'. The presence of large numbers of police on either side of the group was intimidating and unnecessary⁶⁴. His colleague 'Mr. Howard' (Unionist, Islington) replied:-

The attendance of the police at unemployed demonstrations was to guard against the activities of paid agitators, who used the unemployed for their own fiendish ends. (Hear, Hear.)⁶⁵

The high esteem that the police had earned as a result of its comportment during the General Strike was lost overnight. Grant concludes that for about two years afterwards, in the poorer areas of the city, the police were jeered at. This state of affairs began to change only when the employment situation improved⁶⁶.

In 1938, J.R. Allan described an incident in Buchanan Street on a November afternoon when he happened upon a procession of unemployed workers with 'blood-red banners that swayed menacingly under the misty lights'. The men that carried them were 'broken beyond violence by the prolonged misery of unemployment and could not sustain the menace of the legends'⁶⁷. A dozen constables had been assigned duty to supervise the march. Allan draws a stark contrast between the thoroughly demoralised demonstrators and the imposing presence of the police who 'stepped along with such manly dignity that they themselves were the procession'. The group dispersed without incident⁶⁸. He remarks that the 'ladies with fur coats could look without fear' on the procession and businessmen were unmoved by the

⁶⁴ The Glasgow Herald, 3 May, 1932.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line, p.97.

⁶⁷ Allan, J., 'Sketches for a Portrait of Glasgow' in Allan, J. (ed.), Scotland – 1938, Edinburgh, 1938, p.67.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 68.

group's progress. To the prosperous middle classes the police presented an image of security 'with property and privilege securely on their broad shoulders', whereas the once militant demonstrators assumed a demeanour of cowed submission; as much a function of their apparently hopeless situation than a feeling of intimidation by the twelve policemen.

He continues his observations of late 'thirties Glasgow by considering the meeting of a group of Orangemen 'an army terrible with banners and comic, as men that have a good cause for dressing up', and 'Hibernians or some other Catholic order'. Intent on making mischief among themselves, the limited police presence 'diverted both parties into a side street and left them to fight it out' and summoned reinforcements who 'sorted the wounded from the winded' and dispatched them as necessary to the infirmary or police office⁶⁹.

This is a one-sided, almost romantic, view of the activities of the police in Glasgow on the eve of the Second World War. Nevertheless, it indicates the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the police when they were required to segregate certain elements. Furthermore, it suggests a change in the attitude of the police authorities from one of ill-considered confrontation to an almost sympathetic tolerance of the unemployed and a certain resourcefulness when dealing with the conflicting interests of the religious protagonists.

The distinct nature of Scottish policing is an undercurrent influencing tactics and behaviour. When considering police attitudes to public order, contemporary attitudes cannot be discounted as a significant contributing factor. In Scotland, this maintenance of a common good, even 'discipline' as a primary function of policing, pervades opinion, and was seen as a fundamental office by contemporary observers.

In the context of civil behaviour, Storch identifies a police responsibility 'to act as an all-purpose lever of urban discipline'⁷⁰. Thus the latent, continuous, restraining influence of the police on public order situations should not be divorced from the occasional overt activity involved in solving active public order problems. Unlike the English system, where the introduction of formal policing was seen almost as an extension of a standing army⁷¹, the Scottish experience of a more formal confirmation of an ancient system of watching and warding suggests less suspicion on the part of the populace as to the political allegiance of the constabulary. Storch remarks that

the police, once successfully installed, confronted a number of serious problems in the discharge of their moral-reform mission⁷².

Until the late 1840's, military intervention in large-scale disturbances was common. With the growing expertise of a professional police force, the need for the militia decreased, and, although still employed from time to time in the county areas if need be, by the middle of the century calling the militia to quell riots was effectively over. In 1919, government anxieties over the conduct of political activists in Glasgow initiated the final and remarkable deployment of troops in the city in peacetime as opposed to the precautionary measures in 1926.

The trigger that turned a noisy and boisterous, but generally well-behaved demonstration into a riot was often an immediate, localised incident in the crowd, the perception of which was seen by the participants as unwarranted aggression. For example, the presence of militia at the Bread Riots in 1848, summoned by nervous officials was enough to promote an even more violent protest. The stopping of a

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Storch, R. 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England 1850-880' in *Journal of Social History*, Summer 1976 Vol. 9 No. 4, p.481.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

tram in George Square by protesters was enough to start the riot in 1919 despite the fact that a very strained situation had existed for some days previously in the city as pickets massed at strategic points without violent incident on a large scale. On the other hand, Chartist demonstrations in Glasgow, while attracting huge crowds, did not become bloodletting exercises. Chiefs of police were in an invidious position. Small numbers of police on duty could not deal with potential problems, large numbers added to the strained atmosphere. Politically, the police had to remain impartial, but the actions of individual officers *in situ* could be, with hindsight, ill considered and foolhardy.

Political Policing

The concept of political policing was anathema to the British experience at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While early police services in Britain were perceived as intimidating - a knee-jerk reaction to alleged trends in civil disobedience in England and the Metropolis, or a logical development of an ancient system of watching and warding for the maintenance of the common good in Scotland, the idea of policing or controlling political belief in some way smacked of the worst excesses of European in general and French in particular, government controls. Porter considers a commentary of 1850 suggesting an almost bucolic mien to the police function.

We have no political police, no police over opinion. The most rabid demagogue can say in this free country what he chooses, provided it does not tend to incite others to do what is annoying to the lieges. He speaks not under the terror of an organised spy system⁷³.

⁷² *ibid.*, p.498.

⁷³ Porter, B. The Origins of the Vigilant State, The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch before the First World War, London, 1987, p.4.

Renowned as the United Kingdom was for political tolerance, foreign pressure to take firmer action against what were seen as 'conspiratorial groups' in the 1850's held no sway with Lord Palmerston, who maintained that a country governed liberally would have no trouble from subversives. Emsley supports this view when he comments

while reluctant to establish a secret, political police, the British governments of the mid-nineteenth century also operated an open-door policy for political refugees. The aftermath of the European revolutions of 1848 saw the arrival of many such, notably Louis Blanc, Louis Kossuth, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin Joseph Mazzini, and Karl Marx⁷⁴.

Nevertheless, he concedes that when foreign police agents were invited to London in 1851, ostensibly to help identify continental thieves and pickpockets at the Great Exhibition, European governments saw it as an ideal opportunity to get up to date with their opponents in exile.

Liberalism is grand, but certain hypocrisies existed. For twenty-five years from 1799, the Combination Acts had controlled an embryonic Trade Union Movement, the revolutionary situation in France having no little influence on their instigation. The so-called Pentrich Rising in 1817 and the Cato Street Conspiracy three years later had both been followed by executions resulting from convictions of those seen to be politically provocative.

Emsley cites the case of Sergeant William Poppy of the 'Met', infiltrating the National Political Union in 1832. This caused a sensation and the establishing of a parliamentary enquiry. Poppy was dismissed. Later, in the 1840's, officers from the same organisation investigated the Chartist movement using several levels of overt

⁷⁴ Emsley, C. The English Police, a Political and Social History, London, 1991, p.99.

and covert observation. The veneer of liberalism, covered official 'sensitivity' to political undercurrents⁷⁵.

Bunyan is adamant. Government concern over Chartist activities spawned a number of sources of intelligence. Lord Lieutenants of the counties and magistrates were 'natural class allies' as 'the confidential agents of the Secretary of State (effectively the Home Office) in their localities', as were local military commanders. Operatives in the Post Office and Factory Inspectors were considered rich sources of information as to the public mood at any given time. Certainly, policemen in plain clothes had been used since the earliest times to infiltrate political groups and report accordingly. Even public-spirited citizens 'worried members of the bourgeoisie' communicated concerns to the Home Office. Press reporters, with their special skills, could provide *verbatim* transcripts of political meetings⁷⁶.

Industrial centres, with their roller-coaster economic fortunes, while not hotbeds of seething unrest by modern standards, in many instances reflected the predominant political climate. Glasgow was no exception. Gordon acknowledges that from 1802, Lord Lieutenants, who played an important role in the organising of local militia in the event of unrest, were used as filters for political intelligence that was to be reported to central government⁷⁷. Logue reports that Lord Dundas, the Lord Advocate, wrote to them that they were responsible for

the preservation of internal tranquillity against any who, either in conjunction with foreign enemies, or activated by their own evil dispositions, might be inclined to disturb it⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Bunyan, T. The History of the Political Police in Britain, London, 1983, pp.102-3.

⁷⁷ Gordon, P., Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p.17.

⁷⁸ Logue, K., Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780 - 1815, Edinburgh 1979, p.77.

Before 1820, political informants were sought, nurtured and controlled through this route, rather than the young police system. However, with the appointment of the first dedicated detective officer to the City of Glasgow Police in 1819, the scene was set for a deeper police involvement.

The spying activities of Alexander Richmond, the 'Parliamentary Agent' and his coterie in Glasgow from 1817 until the whole fell apart in 1834 resulted in the Barons of Exchequer convening a commission to investigate. Richmond had infiltrated political activities in the city and reported directly to Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh on the changing situation of the combination of weavers with which he was involved. On discovery, he was outlawed but returned to the city, soliciting help from his erstwhile counsel, a certain Mr. Jeffrey⁷⁹. Writing thirteen years after, but well within living memory of these events, Johnstone was highly critical of the activities of Richmond 'a plausible and clever knave'⁸⁰. Johnstone condemned Richmond's failed attempt to foment political unrest at New Lanark but his activities in Glasgow became infamous. Acting under direction of Lord Sidmouth and in association with Kirkman Finlay, in turn supplied with information by James Reddie, the Town Clerk, he set about investigating 'an extensive conspiracy to overthrow the government' but 'to detect a plot, or suppress a conspiracy, it is necessary that one should first exist'⁸¹. Richmond was considered responsible for inciting the 'Radical Rebellion' at Bonnymuir in April 1820. The agents of the government may have hatched the plot that they later 'discovered'. Its suppression included the arrest, conviction and execution of one Andrew Hardie for treason⁸². This manipulation of perceived radicalism by central government in 1820/1 during the ministry of

⁷⁹ MacKenzie, P. Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, Vol. II, Glasgow, 1890, p.350 *et seq.*

⁸⁰ Johnstone, C. 'The Spy System', p.199.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

Castlereagh and Sidmouth created an enmity that was to taint the political scene for a considerable time. Much sympathy for the victims was expressed and liberal attitudes were strengthened. In 1838 in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, an article on the recent trial of the Glasgow cotton spinners drew attention to the fact that *agents provocateurs* could be included among the persons involved in the recent unrest. While not supporting the extremes of action during the strike, 'we reprobate them' but 'at the same time to protest against the abuse of proof of these crimes - to rebuke crime in purple as well as in rags'⁸³. The author did not intend to insinuate that 'Richmonds, Castleses[sic] and Olivers' were involved, but warning was given that false prophets were abroad in the form of 'certain itinerant orators' who would use their own prosecution as a vehicle to increase their 'factious importance'⁸⁴. It was maintained that precognitions had been taken and warrants issued for these people. A latent control was being exercised on the activities of the nascent and naive unions by an 'idle and dissipated' government. The solution, the author advocated, was in a thorough reform of the system of representation. In other words, the Chartist dogma.

We repeat Bentham's prescription: - Universal suffrage,
Equal Electoral Districts on the basis of population; Vote by
Ballot; Annual Parliaments; No Property Qualification; Paid
Members of Parliament⁸⁵.

The comprehensive work done by Baron Hume in the final years of the eighteenth century in restructuring the Scottish legal system included comment on sedition as then interpreted. He was particularly, vituperative concerning the religious establishment. It was deemed 'seditious' as was

⁸² *ibid.*, p.221.

⁸³ 'The Trial of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners' in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. XC- S , 1838, p.78.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.79.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.81.

he who shall devise a new form of league or association for the people, whereby to constrain and overawe the Legislature into compliance with their desires on any point that may be popular at the time⁸⁶.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Bell could see that a re-adjustment of the qualification was necessary. Writing in 1844 it was obvious to him that this kind of all-embracing legal stance would disadvantage all organisations, whether in support of or against any particular cause or statute, at that time including parliamentary reform, Corn Law agitators, those in support or against the repeal of union with Ireland, and so on. Times had changed since 1793 and ‘a truer wisdom now prevails’⁸⁷. ‘Public excitement’ was best exhausted by public meetings, speeches and demonstrations where political agitators, who would previously have become political martyrs, were allowed to make their points. Furthermore, he questioned Alison’s work then current outlawing the activities of organised labour and advocating the total control, if not subjugation, of *les classes dangereuses*⁸⁸. Bell felt that principles of law, which had been denied or neglected ‘in a darker or more servile age’, had now been understood and implemented⁸⁹. Although comparative change had taken place over fifty years, attitudes to political combination and agitation were still suspicious.

In Glasgow a close watch was kept on sections of society involved with political activities by anxious City Fathers. Smout observed that

during the agitation preceding the Scottish Reform Act of 1832, the huge processions of operatives marching peaceably in Glasgow sent shivers even down the spines of those Whig

⁸⁶ Bell, R., ‘A Supplement to Hume’s Commentaries on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes’, in The North British Review 1844-45 Vol. 4, p.320.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.321.

⁸⁸ Alison, A. ‘Imprisonment and Transportation’, p.545.

middle-class reformers who were using them for their own ends⁹⁰.

Sheriff (later Sir) Archibald Alison was a leading figure in the judiciary. Historian of note, entrepreneur, resident at Possil House, Glasgow he was deeply involved with measures against political activists. His investigations included the demonstrations leading up to the Reform Act of 1832, those with trade union and Chartist sympathies, cotton spinner demonstrations, and the 1848 Bread Riots. He 'reported to Parliamentary Committees' his findings, as well as being literally in the front line on his horse on occasion. He worked closely with the police in Glasgow and the shires as the various organisations grew. He encouraged the establishment of a City of Glasgow Police 'Detective Department' in 1848. His involvement in what would now be called political surveillance is unquestioned.

In 1835, as a result of anxieties over the establishment of Orange Lodges in the army, a parliamentary select committee was established to investigate the movement in Ireland. Reporting in August, a second analysis of the information revealed 300 lodges in mainland Britain with a membership of 150,000⁹¹. The complexities of the exercise are not for this narrative, however the gathering of information by central government on a politically motivated organisation indicates an undercurrent of unease only partly assuaged by a census of parties involved. Alison's memoirs indicate a close watch on religious and political flashpoints.

In July 1835 I was for the first time called upon to act for the suppression of a popular disturbance in Lanarkshire. I received private information that a riot on the part of the Roman Catholics was in contemplation in Airdrie in order that

⁸⁹ Bell, R., 'A Supplement to Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes', p.323.

⁹⁰ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.233.

⁹¹ Marshall, W. The Billy Boys, p.25.

they might prevent any Protestant demonstrations [Orangemen commemorating the Battle of the Boyne]⁹².

Two years later, as the commercial crisis deepened, Alison was taking particular interest in the heightened trade union activity in Glasgow.

The cotton-spinners, the sawyers, the carpenters, the masons, the iron-moulders, the dyers were soon out on strike; and as the whole of these trades possessed thoroughly organised trades-unions, under the directions of small committees, which communicated with each other, they were enabled to act simultaneously, and in the way most calculated to embarrass their employers and prove most distressing to society⁹³.

Alison's knowledge of the inner workings of the unions and their intentions, implies a more than passing interest which he complemented with latent information gathering.

On the 25th I received secret notice that two persons would give me important information if I would meet them alone in some sequestered place. I met them accordingly in a vault under one of the public buildings in the College of Glasgow to which the witnesses were admitted by a back door through the college green⁹⁴.

On Saturday, 29 July, 1837, Sheriff Alison, in conclave with Superintendent Miller, the Chief of Police and representatives from the Procurator's Department, headed a raid on a meeting in the Black Boy Tavern in the Gallowgate where, according to Alison, plans were being laid to assassinate factory owners and blackleg

⁹² Alison, A. Some Account of My Life and Writings, Vol I, pp.359-60.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p.369.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.378.

strike breakers among the cotton spinners, colliers and iron miners at that time in bitter dispute⁹⁵. Following demonstrations and bread riots in 1848, an emotive year if ever there was for ubiquitous political unrest, apprehended persons seen to be ringleaders were prosecuted and transported. Sheriff Alison received special commendation for his work on this case.

'Authority', at central government level, took an interest in potential political subversion. Alison satisfied the aforementioned criteria. Wilson disagrees with this. He admits that Alison was 'apparently well-informed about current trade union practices', but he suggests that the evidence he gave to the Select Committee on Combinations of Workmen in 1838, claiming that Glasgow was in a state of 'insurrectionist fever' was not altogether true⁹⁶. Furthermore, evidence he gave trying to link the conspirators, who were implicated with the shooting of a certain Smith during the general strike in 1837, while there was general civil unrest and public demonstrations, was controversial⁹⁷. Wilson contends that despite the colourful leadership of Feargus O'Connor, and no little amount of sabre rattling, 'there had never been any danger of widespread insurrection in Scotland'. The luxury of hindsight was not available to the Home Office at the time, highly sensitive to the Welsh experience in Newport⁹⁸.

During the American Civil War years, from 1861 to 1865, despite its considerable effect on the economy of Glasgow, the interest of the police is difficult to ascertain. Confederate 'Commissioners' were dispatched to Scotland with a broad remit. At a practical level they re-enforced local support politically or recruited agents of their own to gather information. This included the consular representatives

⁹⁵ Ord, J., 'Origins and History of the Glasgow Police Force', p.108.

⁹⁶ Wilson, A. The Chartists Movement in Scotland, New York, 1970 p.38.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.39.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.105.

on the Union side. Selling visually impressive, but financially suspect Confederate Bonds was an important part of the work. Placing orders for the acquisition of ships and their cargoes was juxtaposed with strengthening political approbation from the establishment.

Pro-Confederate feelings ran high, not only at local, but also at central government level. Sir Archibald Alison, in his memoirs, exemplifies this. At a country house party at Lee Castle in the autumn of 1862

he [Sir Hugh Cairns] told me a very interesting thing about the American War, which was that, contrary to what was generally supposed by the public, Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were supporters of the Federals in the Cabinet, and Mr. Gladstone [Chancellor of the Exchequer] was understood to be the friend of the Confederates. He ascribed this strange twist in the mind of the Premier [Lord Palmerston], so directly at variance with his well-known Conservative prepossessions, to the influence of Lord Shaftesbury, and to dread of the Exeter Hall party and a religious cry. The side Lord J. Russell took was easily explained by his known predilection for democratic government, and the fear of seeing it discredited in the world by failure in the contest; and Gladstone sympathised with insurgents, no matter who or against whom⁹⁹.

Gladstone was a keen supporter of Free Trade, and although serving under Palmerston, did not like the man one whit. Closer to home, Alison openly reported the activities of one of the major players in the '*Trent* Affair'.

1862. During the course of this autumn, I had the happiness of meeting Mr. Mason, the well-known Confederate Commissioner to Great Britain at a dinner party at the hospitable mansion of my esteemed friend, Mr. Dalglish (sic),

⁹⁹ Alison, A. Some Account of My Life and Writings, Vol I, p.498.

MP for Glasgow. The conversation began at seven o'clock and continued till after twelve¹⁰⁰.

No mention of Mr. Mason's more colourful activities are made in the memoir. Still, in light of Alison's position the five hours they spent alone together must have contained more than an encomium on 'Stonewall' Jackson; the confidence of the Confederacy in winning, despite its lack of materials, men and funding; Mason's praise of Alison's treatises on Archduke Charles in Germany in 1797, and Napoleon in 1814 as recalled by Alison. Mason was mixing freely with the political, judicial and business community, at a level not attained by the local union consul. Mason was held in high esteem. The involvement of Alison, by this time nearing retirement, must be construed as significant in light of his known connections¹⁰¹.

No reference is made to persons detained or questioned in the published Criminal Returns. The detailed information on persons apprehended gives exhaustive categorisation of reason for apprehension. The need for discretion as a reason for omission is valid, however this contrasts uncomfortably with the full details of miscreants published in the report of 1883 when Irish Republicans detonated a series of bombs in the City. There are several reasons why this may be the case.

Firstly, what could be termed 'intelligence' work was co-ordinated from London at the time and local constabularies were not involved. This is only partly true. Alison's activities with the investigation of Trade Union subversion and Chartist activities in the 1830's and 1840's, and the direct Police involvement in crowd control included close co-operation with Captain Miller in the surveillance and detaining of those with ill intent clearly indicates local police activities against political activists.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.488.

¹⁰¹ Goldsmith, A. 'Confederates on the Clyde'. in History Today, Vol. 48, August, 1998, pp.45-50.

Secondly, although the United States was consumed by the most vicious and brutal of conflicts, attempts were made by both sides to obtain a firm commitment from Britain to support or intervene. Despite considerable provocation this did not happen. Politically there were supporters of both sides from the top down. Thirdly: the somewhat sticky economic circumstances locally of the previous few years were totally negated by the enormous turn of trade for Glasgow occasioned by the war. Furthermore, many of those involved, far from being seen as persons of low character and shady background, were pillars of the mercantile community¹⁰².

Police involvement in Glasgow in political control was occasional and limited to specific incidents. There was no formalised police department organised for its investigation before 1880.

Political policing and the Special Branch

Many foreign powers had established sophisticated Special Branch (SB) style services by the eve of the Great War. For example Ulunian describes the complex system in Imperial Russia. The Russian SB, *Osobyi Otdel Departmenta Politsii*, kept close watch on military and political areas of concern as well as the movements of foreign nationals. The Border Guard Corps and the verbosely named Administration of the Separate Corps of Gendarmes of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery carried out surveillance. The organisation existed from 1898 to 1918¹⁰³. Political complexities in the Balkans involving Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and the ailing Ottoman Empire were of great interest to the Russian authorities and the activities of the many politically diverse and quarrelsome groups were a cause of some anxiety to the Russian organisation, who had a vested interest in 'saving Turkey from the loss of the Balkan peninsula'. Similarly, the positions adopted by other

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p.50.

interested parties including Greece, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and even the United Kingdom were closely watched. Any attempts to destabilise the situation, for example, the assassination of King George I of Greece in 1913, were of particular import to the defence of Russian interests¹⁰⁴.

Attitudes to political policing in Britain were somewhat different and developed along an alternative route. Porter considers the early activities of the Special Branch at a time when 'political' policing was not considered wholly desirable in a country, noted for its liberal views¹⁰⁵. He suggests that there is a dearth of material on the activities of the security services from their inception, due not only to files remaining closed, but also the considerable amount of 'weeding' that has taken place. Nevertheless, Porter challenges just how close Britain came to radical revolution by the eve of the First War. He considers the evidence for this theory to be 'slippery'¹⁰⁶.

From 1887 to 1910/14, Branch activities were severely restricted to a distinct group of political crimes. The crimes themselves, specifically those of terrorism and assassination, would still have been crimes irrespective of their political intent, and here a fine line had to be drawn as to what made the activity the province of Special Branch. Excepting the domestic anarchist fringe, most people involved were foreign. This included the American Irish. At the same time, interest began to be taken in the activities of the Syndicalists and Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.). Ostensibly, the latter groups' activities were only of note when they threatened to break laws and/or harm people. Subversion, *per se* was not an issue¹⁰⁷. Finally, Porter contextualises

¹⁰³ Ulunian, Artem., 'The Special Branch of the Russian Police: Greece and Turkey Through Intelligence Eyes (1912-14)' in, Revolutionary Russia [Great Britain] Vol. 5(2), 1992, p.209.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.212

¹⁰⁵ Porter, B. 'Secrecy and the Special Branch 1880-1914' in Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History Vol XLII, part I, 1987, p.9.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.14.

the Branch in the political climate changes from its inception in 1883 until the outbreak of W.W.I. The wave of liberalism that was strong when the Branch was formed went into a slow decline in the period up to the outbreak of war in 1914. The activities of extreme groups were seen as irritating but not threatening to the political fabric of the nation. From the 1890's, as confidence in 'inevitable liberal betterment' ebbed, attention was drawn as to what the alternatives could be. On the one hand, the forces of capitalism or racial dominance on the other, individuals with leadership skills coupled to political ideals could fill the vacuum. This required more vigilance than was deemed necessary before. Porter concludes

it may have been the catalyst which changed the Branch from an ordinary criminal into a real political police arm during, or just prior to, the First World War¹⁰⁸.

Irish Agitation

The simmering Fenian unrest of the latter part of the nineteenth century, came to a head in 1883. According to Porter it, 'hit Glasgow first and London worst'¹⁰⁹.

Oakley recorded

the Fenians, who, on 20th January 1883 tried to blow up Tradeston Gasworks, Buchanan Street Goods Station and Ruchill Canal Bridge with Dynamite. The Fenians were also blamed by the public for blowing up two gasometers at Dawsholm in 1890, but in this case the culprits were never traced, in spite of the offer of a substantial reward¹¹⁰.

In December 1883 ten men were brought before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh. The accused, all alleged members of a group known as the 'Irish

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁰⁹ Porter, B. *The Origins of the Vigilant State*, p.27.

¹¹⁰ Oakley, C., *The Second City*, Glasgow, 1975, p.119.

Physical Force Society', and known as the Glasgow Dynamiters in more popular parlance, were charged with, on 20 January, blowing up a gasometer at Tradeston, containing 3,500 cubic feet of gas and attempting to blow up the canal bridge at Possil. Productions included dynamite, revolvers and threatening letters to the Chief Constable. Seemingly, suspicions were aroused when a certain Constable Porter observed a group of people meeting regularly on Glasgow Green at the Nelson Monument. Apparently engrossed in deep conversation, they stopped whenever Porter approached. The resultant surveillance operation culminated in the arrest and conviction of the accused. Five of the group were found guilty of treason and were sentenced to penal servitude for life. The rest received sentences of seven years for conspiracy¹¹¹.

This type of crime was novel. In 1885, All the Year Round sympathised with the problems of the police in dealing with this new threat, and the difficulty in apprehending the culprits.

Assassination of individual rulers we have had of old, but the modern Dynamiter, the wholesale indiscriminate assassin, in comparison with whom the Thug was an embodiment of sweetness and light, was a creature that the ordinary mind was incapable of imagining¹¹².

Much criticism had been levelled at the police and their apparent lack of success in apprehending those responsible. This was illogical, the journal reasoned, since it required a new type of detection, viz. the greater use of informers. It was argued that detectives were known to the criminal fraternity and as such were at once a deterrent and an identifiable presence of whom criminals could be forewarned.

¹¹¹ Tod. T. (Ed.) The Scots Black Kalendar - 110 Years of Murder and Execution, Perth, 1938, reprinted, 1985, p.105.

¹¹² 'Detectives and their work' in All the Year Round, N.S. Vol XXXVI, 1885, p.136.

This was a new type of crime, to be tackled in a different way. The conclusion indicates the feeling of the time.

Whether or not a secret police would be tolerated by public opinion in England, and whether it would be more successful than Continental secret police have been in suppressing dynamiting and bringing dynamiters to book are points that need not be discussed here¹¹³.

At once the need was recognised that strategies had to be developed to counter the menace. However, the use of a force along the sinister lines of continental secret police systems, whose success was also questioned primarily on the grounds of need, was challenged. This concurs with Porter's contention that this style of policing was alien to a liberal and comparatively tolerant attitude to political expression that had been prevalent for almost forty years. A return to the spying scandals associated with Sidmouth and Castlereagh was not desirable. Clearly, the embryonic Special Irish Branch, at that time barely two years old, was not an organisation making public account of itself.

Eight years later, in the same publication, he reprised the events of 1883/85, cataloguing the various instances of 'black bags' being left in public places, evidently to cause as much public mayhem as possible rather than to target individuals. While some bombs exploded causing the desired result, there were many instances where timing devices failed. A number of portmanteaux were left at London railway stations and only one exploded. Smoking bombs discovered in public buildings often caused 'a big noise and a big fright'¹¹⁴. By the time of writing, dynamiting troubles seemed 'fairly laid to rest' in England. However Christmas Day explosions had happened successively in Dublin Castle in 1891 and 1892. The second event

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.138

took the life of a detective officer. This was exceptional. Generally at this time it was claimed that the perpetrators seemed to avoid injury to persons as much as possible, 'and have none of the uncompromising courage and atrocity of the dynamiters of Paris'¹¹⁵.

Two points are important here. Firstly Porter surmised that Victorians, with their liberal views, were evidently ultra-sensitive to the concept of political policing. This was a valid reason for the existence of a Special Branch being kept so secret in the first instance. Secondly, Britain was noted for its tolerance of foreign political refugees. The anarchists who had perpetrated bloody atrocities in France, Spain and Italy in the 1890's were not going to jeopardise this asylum by carrying out similar acts in Britain. This was much to the resentment of the countries concerned¹¹⁶. The early, comparatively amateurish, sallies into terrorist acts by groups of British origin were those of relatively small or isolated groups lacking sophisticated organisation. Nevertheless, the psychological affects of the incidents on the general public were considerable.

The Forming of the Special Branch

The 1883 Fenian bombing campaign began in London on 15 March, with an attack on The Times offices and the Local Government Office in Whitehall¹¹⁷. Within days, the Home Secretary had decreed that Royal Irish Constabulary Officers guard government buildings¹¹⁸. After further attacks in the Capital in October, the Special Irish Branch was formed from officers drawn from the Criminal Investigation Department of Scotland Yard. The group of twelve officers was under the direction

¹¹⁴ 'Explosives' in All the Year Round N.S. Vol IX, 1893, p.200.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Porter, B. 'Secrecy and the Special Branch 1880- 914', 1987, p.9.

¹¹⁷ Porter, B. The Origins of the Vigilant State, p.27.

¹¹⁸ Allason, R., The Branch. A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883 - 1983, London, 1983, p.1.

of a newly promoted Chief Inspector John Littlechild, a Scotsman¹¹⁹. He had a staff of twelve detective officers plus clerical and financial support. This was a schism of the network already existing in Ireland, separate from the local constabularies, who gathered information supplied from local sources as well as those in America and the Continent¹²⁰.

In the meantime, to avoid friction with local Chief Constables, it was decided to keep the organisation centrally controlled. The man eventually found to be in charge of operations in Britain outside London was Major Nicholas Gosselin, a Resident Magistrate in Ireland who was appointed in May, 1883 - a person known for his tact and ability to communicate with those primarily involved, that is: the malefactors. At the time of Gosselin's appointment there were two R.I.C. men working in Glasgow, four each in London and Liverpool with two each in Birmingham, Manchester and Holyhead. They reported to their Irish principal who was under direct control from the Home Office¹²¹. By August of 1883, Gosselin was actively campaigning for an infiltration of Fenian activists in Glasgow, rather than a watching exercise, which he considered unproductive¹²².

The exact date of the formation of a Special Branch unit in Glasgow is uncertain. In 1941, the Police Journal accepted that 'probably other large forces [i.e. outside London] the war [1939 - 45] involved a mere expansion of an already perfected branch of the service'¹²³. Gordon is equally vague. Recognising the metropolitan origins in 1883, he states that the Ribbon Society, a close associate of the Fenian Brotherhood was not only active in Glasgow, but also responsible for the explosions in the city that January. Co-operation with the police in London and

¹¹⁹ Bunyan, T. The History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain, London, 1983, p.104.

¹²⁰ Allason, R., The Branch, p.9.

¹²¹ Porter, B. The Origins of the Vigilant State, p.45.

¹²² *ibid.*

Antwerp resulted in nine arrests of members of the group for the incident¹²⁴. Coupled with Porter's information, Special Branch activities in Glasgow, initially controlled from London, date from the earliest days of the inception of the function. At the start of the twentieth century, the remit broadened to include the monitoring of figures prominent in the socialist and anti-war movements¹²⁵. Gordon acknowledges the existence of a City of Glasgow Police Special Branch in some form by this time.

Women's Suffrage

In 1908 Suffragettes had begun to include attacks on government ministers. In the early autumn of the following year a small department within the Branch was established, specifically to deal with incidents related to suffragette activity. As this grew, the commitment of officers increased. Porter mentions that the situation was particularly delicate and a wrong move could promote rather than check the cause¹²⁶. Allason maintains that there was a certain amount of sympathy within the Branch for the Suffragists and there was 'no quarrel with the Movement's aims'. Nevertheless, in light of their extreme methods, much of the work of the Special Branch was involved with the protection of public figures. Still, officers attended meetings and kept a watching brief on their activities¹²⁷. Romero reports that Special Branch was taking an increasing interest in the women's suffrage movement and the activities of the Pankhursts. As late as 1919, despite Sylvia's disruptive behaviour and that of her many supporters over the years, when she started to try to influence returning servicemen 'to feel the spirit of revolt', the Branch report concluded 'her influence is small, it is considered better for the present to leave her alone'. Her increased

¹²³ 'County', 'The Special Branch', in The Police Journal, Vol XIV, No. 2 April/June, 1941, p.204.

¹²⁴ Gordon, P. Policing Scotland, Glasgow, 1980, p.51.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ Porter, B. The Origins of the Vigilant State, pp.164-5.

¹²⁷ Allason, R., The Branch, p.71

interest in Bolshevik Russia was noted, in the early twenties. In Glasgow she told her audience that she 'expected the Revolution in the United Kingdom any day'¹²⁸.

Suffragette activity in Glasgow followed a militant parallel with the rest of Britain, increasingly from 1908. Leneman catalogues the variety of attacks ranging from the smashing of windows, and tampering with letter boxes to the planting of bombs in public buildings and setting fire to country houses from 1912 to 1914. Many were unsuccessful, and often damage was slight. Nevertheless, there were a few spectacular results, including bomb damage to the Kibble Palace and the complete destruction of Ballikinrain Castle at Killearn¹²⁹. Police attitudes to members of the movement became intolerant as the militant atmosphere deepened. Large numbers of police were dispatched to keep order at public meetings and trials. For example on 15 October, 1913, at the trial of Ethel Moorhead and Dorothea Smith for breaking and entering with intent to set fire to a house, when the verdict of 'guilty' was handed down, pandemonium broke out. The police had the greatest difficulty in controlling the disturbance. Smith, a luminary of the movement, had a 24-hour watch on her house¹³⁰. Surveillance techniques, protection, and the attendance of political meetings had become a part of police duties. Suffragette activities were noisy, disruptive and unpredictable.

Chief Constable Stevenson was confronted by a political movement composed of members of the public covering a broad social spectrum who hitherto were not seen as potential wrongdoers. Suffragette activity in Scotland reached a peak from the early spring of 1912 until the outbreak of the war in August 1914. Stevenson makes no mention whatsoever of Suffragette activity in the Criminal Returns, and

¹²⁸ Romero, P. E., Sylvia Pankhurst, Portrait of a Radical, London, 1990, p.131.

¹²⁹ Leneman, L., A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage movement in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1995, pp.274-278.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.159.

Leneman indicates a reluctance on his part to become involved. For example, when Dorothea Smith's licence under the 1913 'Cat and Mouse' Act expired on 5 August, the legislation was so recently on the Statute Book, that Stevenson delayed apprehending the lady in question for over two months while he 'looked into the matter'¹³¹. By the following March, when Emmeline Pankhurst was to address a meeting in the St. Andrew's Hall, a large contingent of uniformed police and detectives raided the gathering to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst. In the ensuing somewhat unequal battle there were injuries on both sides, however the police baton prevailed over the umbrella, reticule, and flowerpot. A public enquiry was called for. It achieved little success but, in light of the wave of sympathy created for the women concerned, acted as a stimulus to recruiting. Nevertheless, the heavy-handed behaviour of the police at this event, their generally unsympathetic attitude to suffragettes and their actions were a reflection of police behaviour nationally.

Militant attacks in Glasgow were small in number - sixteen between March 1912 and July 1914. There were a total of three arrests resulting from these activities. Damage was slight. Still, organised demonstrations and meetings were well attended and vociferous. Police interest was considerable and Special Branch officers carried out surveillance work on central figures. Leneman insists that the arrest of E. Pankhurst in Glasgow involved no operatives from London. This may be the literal case, however a national organisation such as the suffrage movement was observed by government institutions equally pervasive in their operation¹³². Stevenson, as were his fellow Chief Constables, was in a difficult position. The Suffrage movement was nationally organised, with efficient communications. Many of the members came from an aristocratic background, for example Ishbel, Countess

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p.154.

¹³² *ibid.*, p.185.

of Aberdeen, and Lady Betty Balfour. Others were from the realms of mercantile activity. Janie Allan, daughter of the shipping line magnate is a typical representative of this class. Spouses or daughters of leading industrialists, ministers of the church including Helen Crawford, originally from Gorbals, and Sheriffs Substitute such as Nellie Hunter. Dorothea Smith was one of the first women graduates in Medicine in Glasgow¹³³. These were not bomb-throwing anarchists but highly intelligent persons, deeply committed to their cause. Still, they presented an unprecedented threat to the *status quo* and considerable interest was taken in them and their activities by the authorities not only overtly when shop windows were smashed, but also less openly at the public meetings.

The First World War and after

On 8 August 1914, the sweeping regulations of the 1914 Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) were introduced. This legislation gave the Branch extensive powers of arrest, detention and deportation¹³⁴. In Glasgow, Chief Constable Stevenson was quick to appreciate its implications. In 1915 he reported that

many new duties have been placed on the police by the Defence of the Realm Orders and the Aliens Restriction Orders. The detective staff in particular has had a large amount of additional work in regard to espionage, aliens and suspected persons¹³⁵.

That year, no less than 65 crimes were investigated under the above; forty in 1916; four and six respectively in the final years of the war¹³⁶. In addition, political activists, exemplified by John Maclean, were repeatedly prosecuted and/or imprisoned

¹³³ *ibid.*, p.253 *et seq.*

¹³⁴ Allason, R., *The Branch*, p.38.

¹³⁵ *City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1915*, Glasgow, 1916, p.9.

¹³⁶ *City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1915*, Glasgow, 1916, p.28.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1916, Glasgow, 1917, p.30.

under the act for seditious 'red' scare mongering. Also, socialist publications were suppressed including Vanguard, Forward and The Worker as being pernicious.

Ewing and Gearty report the close watch kept on left wing activists before and during the First World War. The activities of radicals including Kirkwood, MacLean, Gallacher, Bell and Muir, and the suppression of the left wing publications Forward and Vanguard in the first two years of hostilities involved considerable latent activity by the police. In March 1916, acting on the instructions of the Parliamentary Secretary in the Munitions Department (Dr. Addison), a policy of 'deportation' was adopted. Kirkwood, having been roused from his bed at 3 a.m. on 25 March by four armed detectives, was taken under warrant issued under DORA to the Central Police Office and thence to the Queen Street Station for deportation – to Edinburgh. This summary transportation was designed to help break a strike by removing ringleaders under the suspicion of acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety or the defence of the realm. In reality, it tended to strengthen resolve¹³⁷.

The Emergency Powers Act, 1920, resulted in the Emergency Regulations of 1921. Ewing and Gearty declare that they 'bore an uncanny resemblance' to the DORA provisions. The measures continued the government's powers of assuming control of utilities and distribution networks in the event of their disruption¹³⁸.

Between the two world wars, Special Branch operations in Glasgow were concerned broadly with three areas of operation. Communist Party activity was seen as detrimental to the common good, as were the activities of the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM). Gordon maintains that using national concerns as a model and the infiltration of the movements in England by police officers for surveillance purposes, it can be supposed that the Glasgow situation was

¹³⁷ Ewing K., and Gearty, C. The Struggle for Civil Liberties. Political Freedom and the rule of law in Britain, 1914 – 1945, Oxford, 2000, pp.76-77.

similar¹³⁹. This monitoring continued. Van Slingelandt and Macdonald instance the extent to which communist activists were busy. They maintain that their father had observed an instance of communist infiltration of the police service with a view to political agitation. The information, which had been vouchsafed by Emanuel Shinwell, indicated that a Constable Manuel had been recruited by Shinwell and thereafter joined the police under a false identity 'to do a certain job for us'. Macdonald considered 'us' to be Communist Party representatives, and the 'job' some kind of undermining of the loyalty of the force. Manuel had reneged on the promise, and the 'job' remained undone. Some years later Lord Shinwell was contacted by Macdonald *père* asking for confirmation of this conversation at Yorkhill docks during the seamen's strike. Shinwell denied the meeting and the conversation¹⁴⁰. Despite the concern for Communist activity, Allason states that at the time of the General Strike SB activity was a 'routine exercise, who limited their activities to the distribution of an internal news-sheet'¹⁴¹. There had been major operations against communist scions the previous year, but he fails to mention that there had been a strong link between the Metropolitan police and MI5 for some years, who effectively ran the SB. The watching brief was maintained¹⁴².

Irish Political Action

Perhaps the most important Branch activity, certainly until the mid 'twenties, was the continuing Irish situation and the activities of sympathisers on both sides of the political divide in Scotland in general and the Glasgow area in particular. Hart's examination of IRA activities in Britain from 1919 until 1923 considers that the activities of the Republicans were 'much more extensive and effective than assumed'

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, pp.105 -106

¹³⁹ Gordon, *Policing Scotland*, p.53.

¹⁴⁰ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., *A Long Way from Lochaber*, p.50.

¹⁴¹ Allason, R., *The Branch*, p.85.

even if they were somewhat of a sideshow to the 'troubles' in Ireland proper¹⁴³. This itself was enough to cause concern with the UK authorities and instil a certain nervousness with the public. Characterised by the clandestine behaviour of locally based groups, they carried out extensive and successful mainland operations that would not be surpassed for fifty years. There was a brief enthusiasm in Glasgow, with three IRA companies operating in the city by April 1919. However, Michael Collins had to send a certain Joe Vize from Dublin to establish order and discipline. This proved 'elusive'. Edinburgh eventually managed to establish a company by 1920, but despite the grandiose claims of John Cairney that twenty-one Scottish Companies existed by August 1920, this dropped to seven in 1922¹⁴⁴. Recruitment on a UK national basis fluctuated, even in supposed centres of partisan activity including Liverpool and Manchester. In Scotland, at its best in 1920, 600 were said to be committed to the cause, with one hundred in Glasgow. Post-treaty divisions resulted in this falling to 138 in Scotland in 1922 albeit an unquantifiable number of sympathisers, transitory and resident, hovered in the background¹⁴⁵.

Both Patterson and Gallagher recognise the complexity of republican sympathies in the west of Scotland immediately after the Great War. As internecine loyalties waxed and waned the importance of a Scottish involvement with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its various factions changed. Patterson identifies four areas of IRA activity and by definition Special Branch interest during the period 1919 to 1921. These were; sending individuals to fight in Ireland; procuring military equipment (including explosives, and training in how to use them) as well as the means of transporting the arms and equipment to Ireland; to raise funds for the cause;

¹⁴² Emsley, C. *The English Police*, p.130.

¹⁴³ Hart, P. 'Operations Abroad': the IRA in Britain, 1919-23, in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 151 (460), 2000, p.71.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.73.

and to engage in terrorist acts in Scotland as a diversion for the intelligence services in their various forms¹⁴⁶.

Support for the Sinn Feiners was considerable. Gallagher comments 'by 1921 almost every Scottish town with a sizeable Irish presence had its own IRA company.' He quotes the Procurator Fiscal in Glasgow estimating 3,000 recruits in 1920¹⁴⁷. These units were expected to act as sources for material that was to be sent to Glasgow for transporting from the ports of Glasgow, Ardrossan and Stranraer or even the short sea route from Port Patrick to Ireland. Many Irish worked in quarries and mining, a major source of explosives. Raids were carried out on shipyards and territorial drill halls. For example, on 28 October, 1920 Constable Alexander McKay was shot three times and severely wounded when he and his neighbour constable, David Gray discovered by accident a raid in progress on the drill hall in Bothwell¹⁴⁸. Similarly, on 21 May, 1921 a police detective was shot dead outside Duke Street prison in a failed bid to release a Sinn Fein prisoner, Frank Carry of the Sligo Brigade, who had escaped from prison in Derry, but was recaptured in Scotland¹⁴⁹. Hart reports that this was the first deliberate attack on a British Policeman and a 'convulsive police reaction' resulted in mass arrests in the city. Rioting occurred when a priest was arrested in the east end of town and troops were stationed on strategic routes out of the city where traffic was halted in an attempt to find the culprits¹⁵⁰. However, a complex national organisation of sympathisers provided clandestine succour for visiting hierarchy, as well as those requiring shelter.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Patterson, I. D. 'The activities of Irish Republican Physical Force Organisations in Scotland, 1919-1921', in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 72, 1993, p.40.

¹⁴⁷ Gallagher, T., *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, pp.90-91.

¹⁴⁸ *The Glasgow Herald*, 8-9 February 1921.

¹⁴⁹ Gallagher, T., *Glasgow, the Uneasy Peace*, p.92.

¹⁵⁰ Hart, P. 'Operations Abroad' the IRA in Britain, 1919-23, in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 151 (460), 2000, p.85.

Clydeside, as an established core of political activity, figured high in the priorities of the London-based element of the Branch. By 1920, Sir Basil Thomson, head of the department, perceived the potential problems of association between Glasgow-based Sinn Fein sympathisers and trade union activists. In reality there was little evidence to suggest any real collusion. Generally, republican sympathisers preferred to keep their activities quiet seeing Scotland as a source of supply and communication rather than an area of overt activity. Union militancy did not fit this remit. Furthermore, local police, if not fully aware of all activity, were certainly *au fait* with the activities of prominent players in the organisation. Patterson observes three factors handicapping activity in Scotland. Firstly, numbers committed to the movement were small. Secondly, as time went by and the internal division within the organisation deepened, its effectiveness and morale were undermined. Finally, as the intelligence services successfully penetrated the organisation, its effectiveness diminished. Patterson concluded

hardly any individuals went across to fight in Ireland; there was probably a reverse flow of financial assistance; diversionary attacks in Scotland were isolated and infrequent. The only tangible achievement was in the field of supplying arms and ordinance, but even here the impact in the overall effort was highly marginal¹⁵¹.

Hart agrees with this conclusion, considering that the controlling authorities of the IRA in Ireland found the Scottish, or more specifically the Glasgow, companies difficult to control. The decision was made that no acts of terrorism were to be carried out in Scotland or Wales (where there was no IRA unit at all). Michael Collins himself complained 'the Organisation in Scotland seems to be an indefinite

¹⁵¹ Patterson, I. D. 'The activities of Irish Republican Physical Force Organisations', p.46.

thing. We never hear from them.' The IRA, when they acted in Scotland in the early 1920's, did so on their own with little effect¹⁵². This was despite considerable activity in England, including some serious incidents in Liverpool, Manchester and the Metropolitan area.

From 1917 onwards, the effectiveness of the IRA in Scotland had been seriously undermined. In three operations involving passengers on the Ardrossan ferry a number of arrests were made and explosives confiscated. From December 1920, Henry Coyle and Charles McGinn were arrested in possession of a quantity of munitions stolen in Alloa *en route* to Glasgow. Police success continued. Patterson considers that the movement had been successfully infiltrated by this time. The cost of prosecutions in financial terms, and the increased efficiency of the police in finding caches of arms and explosives, severely undermined the IRA's ability to operate with any degree of effectiveness from 1923¹⁵³. Hart observes that of the 423 incidents that he identifies of IRA inspiration between November 1920 and July 1921 (the height of the campaign on mainland Britain) only 37 minor incidents happened in Scotland as a whole¹⁵⁴. He opines that the success of local and national agencies in counteracting IRA insurgency varied. This 'local success and overall failure' could be accounted for by the fact that there were two distinct operational levels of counter-terrorism.

National agencies including the Special Branch and Directorate of Intelligence were responsible to the Home Office, whereas local constabularies operated at a more parochial level, and not without success. Using standard criminal investigation procedures for their investigations, this put a subtle perspective on the operation. In Glasgow, the Chief Constable was concerned more with the catching of a perpetrator

¹⁵² Hart, P. 'Operations Abroad', p.80.

¹⁵³ Patterson, I. D. 'The activities of Irish Republican Physical Force Organisations', p..58.

¹⁵⁴ Hart, P. 'Operations Abroad' the IRA in Britain, 1919-23, in English Historical Review, Vol. 151 (460), 2000, p.93.

than with the control or suppression of a particular organisation. This attacked a local problem, but did not address the wider issue. Liaison with Special Branch agents was close. Although they operated their own system of intelligence gathering, infiltration and arrests, they aided and supervised the activities of local forces¹⁵⁵. Operationally, the City of Glasgow Police handled the situation forcefully, as demonstrated by the Carry escape bid, but the persistent, planned attacks in Liverpool, Manchester and the London area were not repeated in Scotland. Hart concludes that the numerical comparison of the IRA campaign in terms of success of outrages and incidents, compared with like in Ireland as an 'incidents per man' ratio was favourable. By that benchmark, the effort against Irish activists could be deemed 'a success'. However, if the test is one of whether the national activities were instrumental in forcing the treaty of 1921, the idea becomes blurred. The constant vigilance of the police, and the sophistication of intelligence gathering certainly stopped the campaign escalating out of control but, internecine feuding, and changes in political objectives, as well as a desire on the part of the IRA to present a more militaristic *persona* caused confusion that became evident in the lack of overall co-ordination. He states

all these organisations [the various republican organisations] had also internalised a very British sense of localism, with the movement as a whole split at the Scottish border, and further divided between mutually suspicious units in northern England and London¹⁵⁶.

Nevertheless, after 1923, the surveillance of pro-Irish activists continued.

Between the wars, a close watch was kept on the activities of Communists and the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM). Gordon maintains that the

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.* p.98.

latter was probably infiltrated by Special Branch, if the English experience was any comparison and reports of activity sent for collation in London. Plain clothes officers attended public meetings of unemployed. This was not without risk of discovery¹⁵⁷.

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The importance of a latent policing function, initiated at government level, but delegated in a variety of ways has been a feature of the Glasgow police system since its inception. Evidence suggests that the City of Glasgow Police developed its own investigative skills over time in collaboration with authorities centred in London. By definition, the activities of those police involved in this type of operation made no reference to their activities in published material. However, much can be gleaned from tangential sources, and references in official reporting. The inscrutable 'County' perpetuated the mystery, remarking that 'every policeman knows something of what the Special Branch does and the layman does not need to know'¹⁵⁸.

Much has been made of sedition and political activism and its threat to the State. Genuine concerns were expressed at government level over the activities of workers' combinations, Chartists agitators, Reform Bill demonstrators, Fenian sympathisers, and even the suffrage movement. Reaction was often heavy-handed. Nevertheless, writers including Johnstone and Bell, contemporaneously and Porter, McLean and Englander reflectively, make credible argument that much was inflated, or even contrived to paint the blackest picture of political radicalism. This was then manipulated to discredit and prosecute perpetrators. Much dangerous radicalism was controlled, but over-reaction could cause increased hostility, exacerbating situations.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁵⁷ Gordon, *Policing Scotland*, p.53.

¹⁵⁸ 'County', 'The Special Branch', p.204.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Police and Community Regulation

A significant part of police responsibility was the duties conferred by the police legislation in the area of public health. The City of Glasgow Police embraced elements of medical policing that had been developed in Europe since the late eighteenth century.

From the earliest days of policing in Scotland the concept of policing the community in terms of maintaining the quality of the environment and the health of the populace was a mainstay of the system. Carson is clear in his support of this belief, supporting the significant difference between Scottish policing and that in England where the concept of the 'New Police' whose aggressive style of operation engendered feelings of hostility and suspicion in the populace.

[Scottish police acts] do not mark the abrupt arrival of what is often called the 'New Police'. Rather they represent an institutional elaboration of the old police idea.

It seems probable that the history of policing in Scotland differs markedly from that of its English counterpart in this respect. There is no dramatic divide that separates the old from the new¹.

Nevertheless, no matter how altruistic the motives in maintaining a control on certain elements of the environment and the conduct, in the broadest sense, of its inhabitants, the early police acts required these *ad hoc* arrangements to be formalised and controlled. Initially, the commissioners of police in the city of Glasgow were organised into a collection of committees, covering the responsibilities of the organisation.

¹ Carson, W. 'Policing the Periphery', p.211.

White observes that by the end of the eighteenth century, massive industrialisation had necessitated shifts that created huge population centres that had no provision or mechanism for making adequate sanitary provision. The stabilising of social order by the passing of police acts covered 'elementary civic amenities' including lighting, cleansing and paving². Much of the police obligation of protecting the population was involved in maintaining elements of the quality of life and preventing their deterioration. These obligations had been established in 1800 and confirmed as police functions in the police acts thereafter. They were further strengthened in 1866, albeit by this time civilian specialists were exercising the day-to-day expertise increasingly. The police officers' remit had become more of an observation and inspection function supplementing the limited numbers of specialists.

Distinctions were made as to the literal and figurative place of 'civil departments' in the police organisation. 'Senex' cites a report of 1850.

The civil departments of the police establishment, such as those of the superintendents of streets and buildings, lighting, cleansing, and also the treasurer, will have their offices in the north section [of the police buildings in Albion Street] but there is this important feature, that their point of entrance will be entirely distinct from that of the criminal department. The citizens, therefore, who have occasion so often to resort to the civil departments need no longer be under the fear of rubbing shoulders with the criminal and degraded portions of the establishment³.

A clear distinction was drawn between the non-'police' departments and the hugely general 'criminal' part to the building.

Public Health

Adam Smith's views on the concept of police were ambivalent. Having established the Greek origins of the word and its definition as the policy of civil

² White, B.' Training Medical Policemen: forensic medicine and public health in nineteenth-century Scotland' in Clark, M. and Crawford, C. Legal medicine in history, Cambridge, 1994, p.149.

government he qualified his lecture at Glasgow University in the early 1760's by contending

but now it [police] only means the regulation of the inferior parts of government, viz. cleanliness, security and cheapness or plenty. The proper method of carrying dirt from the streets and the execution of justice, though useful, are too mean to be considered by a general discourse of this kind⁴.

Smith observed that the complexities of policing in Paris and its influence on daily life 'are so numerous as not to be comprehended in several volumes; in London there are only two or three simple regulations'⁵.

Over twenty years from 1779 Johann Peter Frank, Professor of Medicine at Pavia and Vienna, published in Mannheim his work *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* (A complete system of Medical Polity [Police])⁶. This approach promoted the adoption of an integral code of law by central government relating to all elements of health designed to not only to maintain but also 'positively promote well-being'⁷. Seen as seminal, Rosen debates that the concept, although Germanic in origin, took hold in Austria, Italy, France and Continental Europe. It was adapted for use in Great Britain and even the United States⁸. Rosen observes that, although Frank was not the first proponent of the idea, he established more rigorously the concepts that were adapted to suit the needs and political climate of the countries of its adoption. In its purest form, Medical Policing was authoritarian and paternalistic in constitution. It was applied to specific problems and the litigation

³ 'Senex', *Glasgow Past and Present*, p.212.

⁴ Cannan, E. (Ed.) *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms delivered in the University of Glasgow by Adam Smith, reported by a student in 1763*, Oxford, 1896, p.154.

⁵ *ibid.*,

⁶ White, B., 'Medical Police. Politics and Police: the fate of John Roberton', in, *Medical History* 1983 Vol. 27, no 4, p.407.

⁷ Rosen, G. 'The Fate of the Concept of Medical Police, 1780 - 1890', in *Medical History* 1983, Vol. 27, p.148.

required to effect their solution. This could not be applied universally. As a result, in countries used to less authoritarian regimes, this dilution centred on areas of public life where government was most easily accepted, 'chiefly in the control of communicable disease and sanitation of the environment'⁹.

Röber defined medical police as the care of the state of health of the populace in the preventative as well as the curative association of ideas. Hebenstreit, in Leipzig offered 'the science which teaches how to apply dietetic and medical principles to the promotion, maintenance and restoration of public health'. Bernt took a slightly different tack, postulating that it was in the interests of the state to see that its citizens were in good health, using an efficient health police or public health mechanism¹⁰. Rosen concludes his assessment of medical policing by declaring that physicians and public officials were addressing three principal areas of concern. They were the maintenance of population growth; to provide sufficient experts, medical and related to effect this; and to enact such legislation as might be necessary to achieve this end. Continental sophistication in the development of medical policing was such that instruction at degree level was offered at some German universities including Leipzig, Göttingen (where Frank himself initiated lectures in 1784), and Heidelberg. Similarly, in Vienna, instruction was included at the Medical School. Anton Mai proposed to the Elector of the Palatinate in 1800 a health code based on Frank's work, which suggested a legislative system, not only intended to maintain, but also to promote health. Sadly, the propositions never came to fruition. Still, his recommendations covered a broad spectrum of social controls including housing and air pollution, the scrutiny of food and drink for contamination, and the health of

⁸ *ibid.*, p.142.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.143.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.146.

specified occupational groups¹¹. It was the ideas of these men that were used as the model for public health reform well into the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century by proponents including Nicolai (1838), and Schurmayer (1848). As late as 1859 and 1863 Hauska and Haeckermann respectively produced work on medical policing¹².

Rosen accepts that the concept of medical police was not recognised in Britain until the end of the eighteenth century, yet the idea was picked up in Scotland and its support and initial adoption attributed to Professor Andrew Duncan of the Institutes (sic) of medicine at Edinburgh University, where he had first lectured on the subject in 1795. At that time he offered the definition of medical police as

the medical precepts which may be of use to the legislature or to the magistracy, relating not only to the welfare of individuals but the property and security of nations, being perhaps the most important branch of general police, since its influence is not confined to those whom accidental circumstances bring within its sphere, but extends over the whole population of the state.

For this work, he had relied heavily on the researches of Johann Peter Frank, whose praises he sang regularly. In 1807 a chair of medical jurisprudence and medical police was founded as part of the Faculty of Law at Edinburgh University. In 1809, John Roberton published the first notable work in English on medical police under its auspices¹³.

White recognises the pioneering work done in Scotland, by Roberton as described by Rosen. Medical Police: or, the Causes of Disease, with the means of Prevention: and Rules for Diet, Regimen etc. adapted particularly to the Cities of

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*, p.150.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.152.

London and Edinburgh and generally to all large towns, published in 1809, was the culmination of Roberton's work. A second edition appeared in 1812. Roberton was a controversial figure who operated as a 'medical entrepreneur who was able to operate on the lucrative fringes of medicine' and was treated with considerable suspicion by the medical establishment. White argues that he was closer to the views of Frank than Duncan¹⁴.

In the meantime, the pervasive sanitary problems of Glasgow were well recognised. Under the 1800 Police Act, responsibility for cleansing of public places and the removal of filth was vested in the police authorities whose somewhat limited resources had the greatest difficulty in maintaining even the most modest of standards. In 1818 Dr. Robert Graham, Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University, described an expedition into the city with one of the district surgeons, a certain Mr. Angus. Having examined the degree of squalor and filth in which he found the inhabitants, he interviewed the proprietrix of a lodging house of the most wretched kind. Concerned 'lest we cause some enquiry to be made to the Police' she intimated that *each family had a bed* and seldom had any guests to sleep on the floor¹⁵. This reference to the police instances the powers vested in the constabulary by the Police Act to inspect ticketed houses for overcrowding. Dr. Graham continued

the police can and ought to do a great deal. They can compel the removal of the dunghills; they can renew the pavement in the closes, or, they may put drains in them; they can compel the cleaning of the closes by the inhabitants themselves, which can

¹⁴ White, B., 'Medical Police. Politics and Police: the fate of John Roberton', p.407.

¹⁵ Graham, R., in Russell, J. The evolution of the function of public health administration : as illustrated by the sanitary history of Glasgow in the nineteenth century, and especially since 1854 : with an exposition of results / by James B. Russell, Glasgow, 1895, p.13.

be no difficult task, as almost everywhere there is one, and sometimes two water-pipes in these places¹⁶.

The support for Robertson's work is not new. Writing in 1932, Comrie recognises the importance of Robertson's contribution, commenting that his Treatise on Medical Police was the first notable publication on public health in English and owed much to Frank's Complete System of Medical Polity¹⁷. Meanwhile, work continued at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. In 1821 Gordon Smith published Principles of Forensic Medicine, which included a definition of Medical Police. This was 'the application of medical knowledge to the benefit of man in his social state'¹⁸.

Ferguson reports that the police acts of 1800 and 1807 for Glasgow contained provision for the cleaning of the streets, removal of filth and the cleansing of tenement closes. This was a requirement repeated in similar legislation for other police acts including those for large towns like Edinburgh and lesser boroughs including Glasgow's neighbours of Calton and Mile-end. The extent of the powers varied from place to place¹⁹.

In 1837 Robert Cowan at Glasgow University considered that the cause of epidemic fever was attributable, by and large, to the want of personal cleanliness among the inhabitants of the meanest areas. He advocated the installation of a system of medical police in the city²⁰.

Before the Municipal Bill for Glasgow is presented to the Legislature, a well-digested system of medical police should be drawn up. Power should be vested in the police to enforce the daily removal of filth of every description and

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁷ Comrie, J. History of Scottish Medicine Vol. II, 2nd Ed., London, 1932, p.626.

¹⁸ Rosen, G. 'The Fate of the Concept of Medical Police, 1780-1890', p.153.

¹⁹ Ferguson, T. The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, A survey from medieval times to 1863 Edinburgh, 1948, p.144.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.56

every measure calculated to promote the general health rigidly enforced²¹.

Writing of Scottish social welfare, Ferguson attributes the impetus for the development of a 'sanitary police' (sic) to Robertson's influence. He cites Cowan, writing in 1840 on the statistical information relating to Glasgow on the matter.

Besides the criminal police of the district a sanitary police is also requisite, and for this purpose much more extensive powers should be vested in the police than they at present possess²².

England and Medical Police

The exact circumstances as to how and when ideas on medical policing arrived in England are disputed. La Berge argues a strong case for similarity with the French public health movements of the 1820's strongly influencing similar movements in Britain in the 1830's. She admits that 'since the late eighteenth century' there had been 'published treatises' considering the relationship between public sanitation and disease. She concludes that the reformer, Edwin Chadwick, working from 1832, was academically indebted to the French 'hygienists' in three ways. Firstly, his public health thesis was strongly influenced by the work of the Frenchman Louis-René Villermé, secondly, his administrative centralisation concepts were not drawn from Benthamite principles, but French models, and his famous Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain of 1842, published in the train of the New Poor Law reforms of 1834, owed much to the ideas of Villermé, Parent Duchâtelet, the Paris Board of Health, and the French Royal Academy of Medicine²³. She maintains that, by the 1820's and 1830's, the French

²¹ Cowan, R. in Russell, J. The evolution of the function of public health administration, Glasgow, 1895, p.15.

²² Ferguson, T. The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, p.143.

²³ La Berge, A. 'Edwin Chadwick and the French Connection' in Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Baltimore, 1988, p.25.

were leaders in public health with its first permanent board of health, journal, and national institution (the Royal Academy). Chadwick recognised this and naturally used this source for ideas. Furthermore, Chadwick used French research methods and statistics gathering as a vehicle for his own research and recommendations, and by extension, formed the basis for his methodology. He relied heavily on this data as a means of proving his often preconceived theories²⁴.

Hennock, in comparing the English and Prussian systems of state imposed legislation on public health, is quite clear. In Imperial Germany (i.e. *post* 1870) there was a tradition of medical policing that was well established. 'In contrast, England and Wales [in the 1830's] lacked both the tradition and administrative structures of a medical police'²⁵.

In 1846 Fraser's Magazine commented on the public health bill then newly enacted, and its potential to compel improvement. This was to be inspired and controlled centrally and actioned through superintendent inspectors in charge of suitably empowered local executive bodies. This last would 'appoint a corps of useful officials'. The act was 'capable of a complete revolution in the disease-smitten towns of England'²⁶.

To be sure, Hamlin contends that Chadwick argued for central government to take on the responsibility of forcing towns to improve their public health provision and enforcement. Early legislation was enabling, rather than compelling in tone and 'did not provide that power to a significant degree'. The amending acts passed in

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.41.

²⁵ Hennock, E. 'Vaccination Policy Against Smallpox, 1835 - 1914: A Comparison of England with Prussia and Imperial Germany', in Social History of Medicine, Vol. 2 pt. 1, 1998, p.49.

²⁶ 'The Public Health Bill: Its Letter and Its Support' in Fraser's Magazine vol 36, 1848, p.43, in Hodgkinson, R. Public Health in the Victorian Age, vol. II Gregg, Westmead, Hants, 1973.

1866 and 1875, included apparatus for compulsion but 'these were rarely applied'²⁷. As the century progressed the colossal amount of work done on public health in England came about despite a resistance by local authorities to being browbeaten into actions that were expensive and also strongly contested by the ratepayers on the same grounds. He concludes that public health improvements were non-standard, locally inspired, often confused and even incompetent in execution. 'The role of the central authorities in alleviating or exacerbating those complications 'is a matter of some debate'²⁸.

The Glasgow Situation

White suggests that the pattern recommended by Duncan of restricting medical expertise to therapeutics and magisterial authority to prevention in Scotland provided a firm base for public health. This format, she maintains

created a pattern sufficiently entrenched to withstand Chadwick's English-based public health legislation in 1848 and one which remained unbroken in some Scottish police burghs until the twentieth century²⁹.

Attempts were made to incorporate elements of control of public health through the legislative system. Russell extends and qualifies this. Accepting that the police acts of 1800, 1807, 1821, 1830 and 1837 contained this provision, *de facto*, there was no mechanism of enforcement to compel proprietors or the local authority to adhere to the regulations. The 1843 Police Act introduced the appointment of an Inspector of Cleansing with powers 'to make regulations for the purpose of disinfection and otherwise promoting the health of the inhabitants'.³⁰ Although a

²⁷ Hamlin, C. 'Muddling in Bumbledon: on the Enormity of Large Sanitary Improvements in Four British Towns, 1855 - 1885', in Victorian Studies, vol. 32 no. 1, 1988, p.56.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.83.

²⁹ White, B., 'Medical Police. Politics and Police: the fate of John Robertson', p.422.

³⁰ Russell, J. The evolution of the function of public health administration, Glasgow, 1895, p.24.

'Committee on Nuisances' had been appointed in 1857 as a result of a Nuisance Removal Act of the previous year, when public health was distinguished as a responsibility of municipal government, it took further police legislation, the Glasgow Police Act of 1862, to establish a Sanitary Committee chaired by Mr. Ure, and the choice of Dr. William Gairdner as the first Medical Officer of Health (MOH). His was a part-time appointment that he discharged for ten years *in tandem* with his Chair in the Practice of Physic at the University. The five District Police Surgeons acted as his assistants and office accommodation was provided in the Central Police Headquarters in Albion Street. In 1864, 'three non-medical officers', i.e. officers of police, were transferred for duties with the department in new premises established in College Street³¹. Gairdner was a keen proponent of the public authority taking a responsibility of intervention on matters of public health. Checkland and Lamb attest to his commitment to the fighting of endemic disease in the city and the use of some form of 'authority' to address the problems of epidemic and squalor. Nevertheless, they make the point that

the police were the only enforcement officers available to the civic authorities. Behind the Police Acts there was perhaps the older more shadowy continental theory of Medical Police (or Polity)³².

Further refinement of the function by the police acts of 1866, 1890 and the Confirmation Act of 1904 established the influence and power of the organisation. The powers were wide-ranging, under the designated responsibilities of a group of specialists including a Master of Works, a number of medical officers, and one or more surveyors. Special officers included an Inspector of Fires, Inspectors of

³¹ *ibid.*, p,32.

Nuisances, Inspectors of Common Lodging Houses, an Inspector of Sewers, an Inspector of Cleansing and an Inspector of Lighting³³. Fundamental to the legislation was that these appointments were fluid and could be amalgamated or changed as the situation demanded. Power was vested in the Police Board and the Chief Constable could designate police officers these duties if he so wished. Checkland and Lamb emphasise that, as with all police legislation in Glasgow, this 'was more of a continuum rather than a sharp break with earlier legislation'³⁴.

Gairdner's enthusiasm for his job, and his organisational zeal earned him no dint of praise in many quarters. However, his increasingly powerful base was seen as an uncomfortable marriage between a part-time commitment and the responsibilities of a university chair. In 1872, after an unpleasant confrontation with the corporation, when he refused a £100 per year consultancy on the appointment of a full-time MOH, he returned to the university and his medical researches. James Burn Russell, who held the post until 1898, succeeded him.

The public health components of police acts were part of a greater whole of legislation, and cannot be seen as the single instrument of reform. For example, the Cholera Act 1832, the Nuisance Removal Act 1846. The Scotch Public Health Act 1867, the Glasgow Corporation Water Works Act 1885, the Housing of the Working Class Act 1890 and Infectious Diseases Act 1890 all contributed to the *corpus* of legal responsibility³⁵.

The principles of medical police were enthusiastically researched and promoted in Scotland where Frank's ideas were not totally unfamiliar in theory as an adjunct to the views of Adam Smith. Scotland never embraced the administrative

³² Checkland, O and Lamb, M. (Eds.) Health care as social history: The Glasgow Case, Aberdeen, 1982, p.4.

³³ *ibid.*, p.7.

³⁴ *ibid.*

absolutism of the Continent that was necessary for a system of medical police, in Frank's understanding of the term, to thrive. White comments that

in Scotland a unique combination of political and cultural circumstances enabled a modified form of medical police, shorn of its central trappings, to take root and flourish³⁶.

From the late 1830's, the idea of medical police was being applied increasingly to the functions of the control of epidemic disease and the installing of sanitary infrastructure. The nomenclature 'medical police' was used in academe until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, by which time 'medical jurisprudence' became synonymous with forensic work, and the terms 'public health' and 'hygiene' entered common parlance³⁷.

The City of Glasgow Police and Public Health

The squalor of the expanding Victorian city throughout the nineteenth century was characterised by successive outbreaks of disease and epidemic. Before the 1866 Police Act, the constabulary had a duty of 'inspection and report' as to the level of cleanliness enjoyed in the city by its inhabitants. Diagnostics were not included in the police training, however, the police surgeon and his district surgeons were, and initial reports were passed to them for investigation and diagnosis. Sometimes this was too late. For example, the Cholera outbreak in 1832 killed more than 3,000 in Glasgow. The lack of civic arrangements to deal with the crisis resulted in vociferous complaints that developed into a public health lobby which demanded more rigorous powers of sanitary control for local authorities³⁸. On 8 January 1849, during another cholera outbreak, the police committee recognised the danger to which

³⁵ Russell, J. The evolution of the function of public health administration, Glasgow, 1895, *passim*.

³⁶ White, B. 'Training Medical Policemen: forensic medicine and public health in nineteenth-century Scotland', p.146.

³⁷ Rosen, G. 'The Fate of the Concept of Medical Police, 1780-1890', p.153.

³⁸ Crowther, M. A, and White, B., on Soul and Conscience the Medical Expert and Crime, 150 Years of Forensic Medicine in Glasgow, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1988, p.13.

officers were exposed. They decided to 'allow wages to such of the officers or servants of the establishment that may be affected by the prevailing epidemic of cholera in their discretion'³⁹. On Christmas Eve 1853 during a further outbreak the committee were moved to action. Inspection and reporting insanitary conditions in such circumstances necessitated

strict attention to cleanliness and to measures necessary for prevention and enforcing it. The instructions to clean out and wash all closes and areas by means of the fire engines and hoses be reviewed and promptly attended to⁴⁰.

To this can be added periodic scares, when massive cleaning operations were undertaken, for example the 48 plague cases in 1900/01⁴¹. The police brief required the inspection and control of areas of activity seen as potential dangers to the public as sources of infection. In 1860 the Superintendent of Police, James Smart, made modest return in his annual report on 'Reports of Water running to Waste' and 'Unsound Butcher Meat &co. exposed for Sale and Seized by the Police'⁴².

The 1866 Police Act redefined responsibilities for the control of 'nuisance'. The importance of the local police for reporting and inspection remained. Under section 245 of the act, inspectors of nuisance and inspectors of common lodging houses were to be appointed by the corporation with the power to inspect premises, seize goods and require compulsory cleaning of infested or infected premises. The Medical Officer could make decisions on the control of disease and infection. This confirmed the employment of a mutually exclusive specialist, scientifically competent body with his own powers of prosecution working with the uniformed police. The 1866 act confirmed and strengthened his powers.

³⁹ 'Minutes of and Instructions Issued by the Police Committee' in City of Glasgow Police Regulations, Orders, & Instructions, Glasgow, 1857, p.7.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.17

⁴¹ Cunnison, J. & Gilfillan, J. (Eds.) The Third Statistical Account of Scotland Vol. V, p.485.

⁴²City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1860, Glasgow, 1861, p.19.

In 1867, Chief Constable Smart was required to collate in his Criminal Returns information on

- Licenses granted to Brokers, Porters, Chimney Sweeps, Retailers of Gunpowder, Drivers of hackney Carriages and Stage Coaches, and lodging Houses.
- Reports to the Inspector of Cleansing of overfull dungsteads.
- Reports of Streets, pavements closes, stairs, dungsteads etc. being out of repair.
- Number of dogs destroyed.
- Number of certificates granted to Hotel Keepers and grocers and dealers in spirits.

In addition, comprehensive returns were made on the nature and cause of fatal accidents⁴³.

In his report of 1866 Smart also pronounced

the Police have made 82,156 visits (increase 24,153) to small houses Ticketed under the Police Act, [Ticketing of houses began in 1864] and 1197 persons have been summoned for overcrowding them. This is a very laborious business; and if to be continued, a separate set of officers would require to be got, as it interferes with the ordinary duty of the officers engaged in it⁴⁴.

From 1872 there was no mention of the inspection of ticketed houses by the police. Nevertheless, prosecutions for overcrowding remained in the Returns. Under the 1866 act (section 66), superintendents and lieutenants could be appointed by the chief constable to carry out this unsavoury duty in addition to or in place of any 'civilian' appointment. The potential number of inspectors, compared with the size of the problem did not suggest an immediate and prolonged purge. Table I indicates the numbers in rank.

⁴³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1867, Glasgow, 1868, pp.20-21.

⁴⁴ ibid., p.4.

Table I Superintendents & Lieutenants in post, 1886 - 1890

Year	1866	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890
Supt.	6	7	7	7	7	8
Lieut.	19	20	25	25	25	24

Source:- City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1866, 1871, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, Corporation of Glasgow. [No 'Police' inspection figures of ticketed houses mentioned after 1870]

White remarks that senior officers were appointed at executive level, with police constables used as 'proto-sanitary inspectors'⁴⁵. The police figures suggest that officers of the force were far from inactive in their duty towards the inspection of houses. Despite a system of 'lookouts' to warn of approaching policemen, thus allowing the timeous removal of extra persons from houses, many inspections were carried out. This must have served as some kind of deterrent. Prosecutions were brought, and not a few were found guilty.

Table II can be no more than a snapshot of the overall situation.

⁴⁵ White, B. 'Training Medical Policemen: forensic medicine and public health in nineteenth-century Scotland', p. 156.

Table II Summonses and prosecutions for Overcrowded Dwelling-houses 1865 - 1898

Year	O/crowding Summs (M)	O/crowding Summs(F)	O/crowd Conv(M	O/crowd Conv(F)	Total
1860	27	7	19	7	6
1865	505	196	488	185	673
1866	664	289	653	280	933
1867	866	331	864	330	1194
1868	787	286	768	249	1017
1869	741	506	738	509	1247
1870	-				
1871	2155	988	2066	943	3009
1872	1066	675	1040	654	1694
1873	688	474	672	465	1137
1874	961	579	907	542	1449
1875	1025	598	1021	596	1617
By the last five years that distinct records were shown on the return, a trade in prosecutions was still in evidence.					
1894	910	398	873	385	1258
1895	686	311	660	307	967
1896	883	338	850	328	1178
1897	845	362	803	315	1118
1898	708	273	692	267	959

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns.

The above figures indicate that, once a summons was issued, conviction was almost certain. The huge increase in summonses in 1871 coincides with the policy adopted by Chief Constable Alexander M'Call to highlight several areas of public concern, including the overcrowding of dwelling houses. Despite the level of numbers prosecuted at this time, taken in the context of the size of the problem in relation to the urban sprawl and the number of people living under the meanest of conditions, at its best this exercise in control could no more than scratch the surface of the situation. For example in 1871, the best year for prosecution, the population of the city stood at over 470,000 souls. By 1898, when the number of prosecutions had fallen to 959, the population of the city was three quarters of a million.

The chances of being taken to court were remote and although regulations for compulsory cleaning and upgrading of property existed, such was the paucity of resources that their efforts could be little more than token, irrespective of the effect in individual cases. It had to be left to the efforts made in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the likes of the City Improvement Trust who, while progressive, were slow to make significant change to the quality of life in the city's meanest quarters.

The quality of prosecutions can be seen in the perspective of the impositions made on offenders. The income in fines from all this effort was derisory. In 1875 £92.2.6 was raised from prosecutions. In 1895, Chief Constable Boyd announced £49.7.0 was the sum raised for the effort. The population of the city, the quantity of poor housing, the resources available to the police, the ease of flaunting the law by landlords, the slight possibility of being caught, the derisory fines, all suggest the police were fighting a losing battle.

There were minor victories. In 1867 there was a *dénouement* for Smart. Since 1864 he had been mounting a campaign to have the responsibility of lighting common stairs transferred to the police board. This was greeted with little or no support. In 1864, 17,472 prosecutions were brought for failing in this duty by tenants. In the nine months of the 'Police Year' to 15 May, 1867 2,369 summonses had been served. It was agreed thereafter that the board should take on the work⁴⁶. As an example of maintaining the common good or expanding police control over daily life this serves to indicate the increasing number of responsibilities placed on the police by higher authorities. Lower in the hierarchy of prosecution included statistical returns for, failure to limewash stairs 'when instructed by the Chief

⁴⁶ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1867, Glasgow, 1868, p.4.

Constable'. 'General nuisance', for example dirty stairs, returned arraignment figures in the hundreds. In 1895 there were 799 summonses for this offence⁴⁷.

Englander considered the general situation. On the one hand

the slums of urban Britain were perceived as an amorphous mass predisposed towards mischief: a seething bubbling cauldron, brutal, ugly, a volatile mixture. After 1890 the slums and their inhabitants were no longer viewed as a threat to the state - just centres of vice, degeneracy and criminality: still an evil, but one amenable to reform⁴⁸.

On the other, the unscrupulous landlord would resort with impunity to getting his rent by any means. Englander gives a Metropolitan example of a landlord's attitude.

I made not paying [rent] so unpleasant to such gentry that they used to pay as being the less of the two evils. Other landlords hearing of my success, gave me their collecting to do⁴⁹.

The meanness of Victorian Glasgow has been comprehensively described. From 1800 the resources at the disposal of the commissioners of police were stretched. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the elegant city so praised by Daniel Defoe and Dr. Samuel Johnson had vanished and the city that Charles Dickens visited in 1847 when he chaired the opening of the Glasgow Athenaeum⁵⁰ bore many a striking resemblance to the metropolis he vividly described elsewhere. J.C. Symons, Assistant Commissioner on the Condition of Handloom Weaver described the scene a decade earlier.

Under the escort of that vigilant officer, Captain Miller, the Superintendent of the Glasgow Police [1836 -1847]. I did not believe, until I visited the wynds of Glasgow that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery and disease existed on one spot in any civilised country. The wynds consist of long lanes,

⁴⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1895, Glasgow, 1896.

⁴⁸ Englander D., Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain, 1838-1918, Oxford 1983, p.33.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.34.

⁵⁰ Oakley, C., The Second City, p.36.

so narrow that a cart with difficulty could pass along them; out of these open the 'closes', which are courts about fifteen or twenty feet square, round which the houses, mostly of three storeys high are built; the centre of the court is the dunghill. In the lower lodging houses, ten, twelve, and sometimes twenty persons, of both sexes and all ages, sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. These places are generally as regards dirt, damp and decay, such as no person of common humanity would stable his horse in⁵¹.

This was not confined to the traditionally malodorous areas. James Pagan wrote in 1849.

When we look at the filthy state of the mews lanes about Blythswood Hill, surrounded on all sides by the dwellings of the rich, and with masses of decaying vegetable matter within a few yards of their houses, it is to be wondered that, during the prevalence of the present epidemic of cholera, the malicious influence should have committed ravages in the very midst of wealth and comfort⁵².

The enormous influx of Irish immigrants, displaced by the potato famines and the highland clearances caused the population to almost double from 255,650 in 1841 to 477,732 in 1871⁵³. Largely unskilled, they were crammed into the deteriorating tenements of the old town to mix, with varying degrees of success, with the indigenous community. Furthermore, as the emergent middle classes moved west a divide was created. In 1867 it was estimated that seventy per cent of the working population were in the lowest income groups, earning less than £30.0.0 per annum. The top ten per cent received nearly half the national income. The intervening twenty, whose incomes ranged from £50 - £100 per year formed the group considered to be

bottom of the middle class and top of the working class. This represents the quintessentially Victorian echelon of the small

⁵¹ Butt, J. In 'Housing' in Cage, R. (Ed.) The Working class in Glasgow 1750-1914, London 1987, p.42.

⁵² Oakley, C., The Second City, pp.57-59.

⁵³ Cunnison, J. & Gilfillan, J. (Eds.) The Third Statistical Account of Scotland Vol. V, p.54.

businessman and skilled craft worker feeling they had much in common with one another but nothing with the poor in the abyss⁵⁴.

Cyclical unemployment caused by economic depressions in 1843, 1848 and 1862 in the primary industries including textiles, chemicals, and pottery put large numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers out of work. In this climate the tenant on slender means, uncertain employment prospects and those on the knife-edge of destitution, whatever the social reason on offer, lived under a draconian system with little sympathy. Englander suggests an 'iron discipline' was imposed to secure the rents. He also declares that Glasgow remained unique in this intransigence, irrespective of the state of the housing market. He produces the following table as illustration.

Table III Summary Ejectment Proceedings, Glasgow - Number of warrants granted, 1875 - 1889

Year	Sheriff Courts	Burgh Courts	Total
1875	1481	2780	4261
1880	1316	6376	7692
1885	1647	8760	10407
1889	1900	10350	12250

Source:- James Nicol, Vital Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1885),138 :idem. Vital social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow (Glasgow 1891) 2332; Presbytery of Glasgow, Report of Commission on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to their Social Condition (Glasgow, 1891), p. 96⁵⁵.

Conflict between landlord and tenant seethed. Landlords had the support of the law when arbitrary increases in rent were imposed. Furthermore, Englander comments on the cumbersome nature of the 'missive' system in Scotland that allowed by statute two moving days⁵⁶. Term days were defined as 26 May (Whit Sunday) and Martinmas. This caused inordinate strain on the system since all removals had to take place on these dates. Consequent to this the attendant services of removal

⁵⁴ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.110.

⁵⁵ Englander, D., Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain, p.39.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.171.

operatives, tradesmen involved in repairs and refurbishing and so on became hugely over-worked. Tenants, if work was to be done at all, might have to camp out in their flat while waiting for work to be done. Nevertheless, police powers existed to require landlords to limewash walls in closes. On the eve of the 1866 act inspections by police themselves were recorded

2,905 closes, 10,954 staircases and lobbies, and 1637 outsides of tenements (increase 4,589) have been limewashed in consequence of notice sent to the landlords or factors by the chief constable⁵⁷.

This service became the province of the civilian sanitary authorities as the department took on an increasing role in the hitherto predominantly uniformed police function.

The Poor and Destitute

Vagrancy and destitution were chronic problems, amply illustrated by the available figures. Appendix XX indicates the numbers prosecuted for begging, those charged with vagrancy, and the numbers of homeless taken into police protection. The data is compared to the population of the city. The quantity of 'projected' homeless gives a clear indication of the strain put on police facilities, establishment and finances. The numbers were not huge. 10,000 'protections' extrapolates to a nightly average of 27; 5,000 to 13.6; 3,000 to 8; 1,500 to 4.

Nevertheless, in 1866 Chief Constable James Smart complained ineffectively against the use of police premises as a repository.

It is desirable that some other accommodation could be found for these destitute people, as they are the means of bringing filth and disease into the various police buildings, where cleanliness is of so much importance⁵⁸.

Obviously, seasonal variations would occur that do not appear in the figures, nor do 'regular customers' who sought protection on a semi-continuous basis become manifest from the raw count. The figures are compared with times of economic

⁵⁷ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1866, Glasgow, 1867, p.4.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

crisis and years when relief works were instigated (Appendix XXI) correlation is obvious with numbers increasing as a reflection of the economic circumstance. Sadly, the official figures giving a breakdown by sex were not continued after 1863. It is noteworthy to that date that significantly and consistently higher figures were recorded for those involving female protection. While the numbers classified as 'beggars' tend to decrease, proportionately to population, if not in numbers, huge increases in destitutes seeking shelter are commensurate with economic disaster. A good example is the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878. Depositors' savings disappeared overnight, causing almost instantaneous hardship. Between 1877 and 1879, the figures triple (Appendix XX) when there was universal and indiscriminate hardship of the most modestly remunerated. In the second half of the 'eighties, the numbers fell. Fluctuations are accountable when compared with economic activity, failure of financial institutions catering for the poor, and even the advent of severe weather (as in 1904/05). Taken as a proportion of the total population, the figures suggest a vulnerable group, with little or no reserves, whose personal prosperity was highly sensitive to the circumstances described above. Similarly, in the second half of the first decade of the twentieth century, as the depression deepened a protracted increase in numbers can be observed. The police responsibility was reactive, having no power to affect the causes of the problem. Nevertheless, the constabulary acted as a clearing house, liaising with charitable institutions and workhouses where more permanent facilities were provided.

Public Nuisance

Despite the effect on local townsfolk, remarkably little seems to have been done in the control of poisonous effluvia. Control of noxious vapours from factory chimneys was covered by the police legislation. Legislation existed under the acts to bring to account industrial premises' discharge of dangerous fumes, smoke and effluent. Pitiably small numbers were summonsed. For the years 1886 to 1890

inclusive total prosecutions were 135, 85, 69, 83, 136⁵⁹. Section 245 *et seq.* of The Glasgow Police Act 1866 is grandly headed

SANITARY OBJECTS - NUISANCES, DISEASES, LODGING HOUSES AND FOOD

Clearly, definitions were established or confirmed from previous legislation however, the appointment of civilian inspectors and provision of premises for scientific examinations as well as the mechanism for prosecution were defined and designated to the 'Police' responsibility. In 1896 Bell and Paton, in referring to the sanitary powers of the 1866 act, declared

the most difficult task of the new [sanitary] department was its recovery of its work from the police, the Master of Works, and the Inspector of Cleansing⁶⁰.

By 1870 the first sanitary inspector was appointed with an executive staff and premises in Cochrane Street. Previous to that, three lay officers, selected from the police under Gairdner, then Medical Officer of Health for the city⁶¹. Circumstances dictated events. Fyfe commented

with typhus fever prevalent in the city and rising every now and again to epidemic proportions, it became obvious to the then chairman of the committee on health, Mr. John Ure (later Lord Provost) that some steps must be taken to combat the overcrowding and consequent filth which were the cause of the continual typhus fever outbreaks⁶².

The chief constable's submission to the corporation continued to include details of police inspections and reports on insanitary conditions in domestic premises and industrial contravention of the regulations regarding animal husbandry, food

⁵⁹ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1886, Glasgow, 1887,p.16.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1887, Glasgow,1888,p.16.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1888, Glasgow, 1889,p.16.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1889, Glasgow,1890,p.16.

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1890, Glasgow, 1891,p.16.

⁶⁰ Bell, J. & Paton, H., Glasgow, Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, p.187.

⁶¹ Fyfe, P. in Municipal Glasgow, its Evolution and Enterprises, p.233.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.234.

hygiene and noxious discharges from various premises. Nevertheless, as the legislation burgeoned and an increasing number of specialist 'non-police' acts were passed related to public health, a police overview was maintained by parliament. For example, the following each contained sections relating to public nuisance and its control.

The Glasgow Police Amendment Act, 1890.

The Glasgow Police (Further Powers) Act, 1892

The Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order, 1904.

The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act 1903 and Amendment Act, 1911 *in re* places for public refreshment⁶³.

Prosecutions resulted from misdemeanours. The huge variety of disposals can be illustrated by example. Wide were the powers of the police, and they were exercised. They influenced many areas of community life. Holders of certificates for the sale of excisable liquors, be they spirit dealers, hotelkeepers or grocers became liable under the act when the terms of their licenses had been broken. Thereafter the range of prosecutions could be immense. A random year, 1881, gives a good example of the variety of cases.

Posting Bills without permission,
Harbouring Prostitutes and Managing Brothels,
Keeping Disorderly Houses,
Eating-houses open after hours,
Publicans Contravening the Terms of their Certificates,
Selling Spirits without license,
Weights and measures cases,
Falsely representing themselves to Hotel-keepers as Travellers,
Failing to report Found Property,
Keeping Vicious dogs at large Unmuzzled,
Selling Coals Unweighed,
Exposing Unsound Meat &co. for Sale.
Conveying slaughtered Carcasses Uncovered,
Violation of Duty as Constables [SIC],
Failing to Limewash Property,
Lodging-house Contraventions,
Overcrowded Dwelling-houses,
Unlicensed Brokers,

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.235.

Brokers contravening the Police Act,
 Pawnbrokers taking in Unfinished Goods,
 Carters contravening the Police Act,
 Contravening Cabmen's Regulations,
 " Chimney-Sweeps' "
 " Porters' "
 " Peddlers' "
 " Stage Carriage "
 " Public Parks "
 " River and Harbour "
 " Bye-laws for Sale of Fire-works,
 " Locomotives Act,
 " Petroleum Act,
 " Sect. 69 of "Education (Scotland)
 Act, 1872",

Factors and Landlords having Property out of
 Repair,
 " " " " " in a filthy
 state,

Obstructing Streets, Footways &co.,
 General Nuisance, Dirty Stairs, Committing Nuisance &co.,
 Smoke Nuisance.

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns 1881, p. 16.

Although extensive, the above list can only be indicative since there were slight variations from year to year, depending on the circumstances of prosecution and the addition or deletion of regulations. Of the prosecutions brought in 1881, many were the result of the duty of inspection. For example, the Criminal Returns indicated inspections of licensed cabs in 1881 numbered 1,816 from which 292, including 7 female, prosecutions resulted. A total of 257 were convicted. Similarly, in 1871, the last year it is mentioned in the police statistics, 69,445 visits were made to houses ticketed under the Police Act, 3,143 persons were summoned on charges of overcrowding. In the same year 68,325 visits were made to licensed piggeries. The police force comprised 897 men at the time⁶⁴.

The effect of the police on public hygiene

⁶⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1881, Glasgow 1882, p. 26
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1871, Glasgow 1872, p.10.

Interpretation of the figures presents certain difficulties not only from the internal assimilation of material, but also the effect of external factors on the operational results of the force. For example, the prosecutions raised against individual landlords for failing to light common stairs. Smart had long considered that it would be more efficiently controlled by the local authorities, centrally, under the police act. Smart therefore proceeded to flood the system with cases against landlords. The point was taken, and under the 1866 legislation, formal permission was given to the local authority for the lighting of closes⁶⁵.

The inspection duties of a 'welfare' or 'sanitary' nature involved considerable expenditure in manpower and cannot easily be judged as to its effectiveness in terms of prosecutions resulting from summonses. The element of deterrent resulting from byelaws is difficult to assess. The limited resources available to address an incalculable problem could barely address much that was endemic in the city. Consequently, just how beneficial the genuinely conscientious efforts of the force were in this area when taken as a greater whole, is difficult to judge.

The effectiveness of the implementation of new byelaws became evident over the period in the dramatic fall in contraventions of the Police Act 1866. Chief Constable McCall, in 1873 accounted for this with the curiously contrary explanation 'that decrease has arisen [sic] principally in matters of a sanitary nature.'

The chronic problems of recurrent typhus, associated with squalid and overcrowded housing, as well as industrial pollution were addressed. The new sanitary department's staff was 51 persons. Powers included controls over regulation of lodging houses, byres and cowsheds and piggeries, condemning of unwholesome and/or contaminated food, 'supervision of offensive trades' and the inspection of cemeteries⁶⁶. The growing effectiveness of the operation is evident in the figures. In 1871, the time of McCall's major incentives throughout the Force, 12,739 summonses

⁶⁵ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1864,1865,1866, Glasgow, 1865,1866,1867, pp.4,4,4. respectively

⁶⁶ Stevenson, J.V., Municipal Glasgow, Its Evolution and Enterprises, pp.287-288.

were issued with 10,667 convictions. By 1890 the figure was 4,718 with 4,273 convictions.

In 1890 The Glasgow Police, (Amendment) Act was passed. It was concerned with extending the powers of inspection and condemnation of food; the control of those suffering from infectious diseases before, during and after cure or demise; inspection of the habitability of premises; collection of refuse; control of provision of water closets; and the control of lodging houses. Required improvements were enforceable through regulation under the byelaws. In spite of Inspectors of Nuisance being employed, a considerable police responsibility remained. Uniformed police were often the first to report contraventions as they inspected their beat areas. The communication system to sergeant and inspector, who may make further inspection, extended to the Inspectors of Nuisance for ultimate adjudication and prosecution.

Research was not unknown into methods of improvement of sanitary conditions. An illustrative example is reported in the police committee minutes.

Having now seen the Tub System for the collection and removal of refuse - recommended in my report of date the 4th of December last - in regular operation in a section of the northern district for two months. An experiment in standardisation of equipment and redesigned working practices found in favour of a new, efficient daily (sic) refuse collection system⁶⁷.

As specialist professionals took on the mantle of inspection, report and even prosecution, so the uniformed police involvement decreased. Comparative examination of Criminal Returns is enlightening. In 1866 the noxious duty of inspecting overfull dungsteads and reporting same to the Inspector of Cleansing by police officers was carried out 12,701 times in the year ending 29.9.67. Ten years

⁶⁷ GCA/E/E1/3, Police Committee Minutes, 4 May, 1877.

later the figure reported was 2,374. By 1887 the number of reports had fallen to 47. In 1897, although the requirement existed that a table be incorporated into the chief constable's annual return on the matter (of matter), the columns are empty. With no police reports made that year, the most recent being a grand total of two in 1895, it is safe to conclude that the city was not now in such a state of pristine cleanliness that the function was obsolete, rather the job was now the responsibility of non-police servants of the system. This gradual handover can be traced to *circa* 1870, as the full effects of the 1866 Act and its successors were felt. By 1914 the civilian sanitary staff was 224 servicing a large organisation with many and varied powers⁶⁸.

However, direct police involvement in the upkeep of infrastructure remained. For example, on 8 November 1886 Superintendent Reid, the commander of 'C' Division, received a memorandum devoted to 'cleaning pavements and washing windows'. There were those who indulged in this practise after 9 a.m., some as late as beyond 11 a.m.. Constables were to be observant and 'the practice should be put a stop to'⁶⁹. This was considered necessary to avoid inconvenience to passers-by who may have to walk on the road to avoid those engaged with long brushes, mops, pails of water and other paraphernalia associated with the job in hand. Superintendent Reid's response is not recorded.

The police function, despite its experiments and recommendations in the area of public health, remained one of containment and control within the restrictions of the resources available and the requirements of the law, local and national. Societies and organisations existed for the succour of the poor, the ill-housed, the feckless, the unemployed. The police offered no proactive or reactive method of solving the social problems of the time. Nevertheless, successive chief constables were not above commenting and drawing the attention of the municipal hierarchy to specific, chronic problems as exemplified above. The combination of MOH and Police Surgeon

⁶⁸ Fyfe, P. in Municipal Glasgow, p.234.

⁶⁹ GCA/SR22/63/4, Camlachie Minute Book, 8 November, 1886.

in the police system was a powerful force that continued into the twentieth century. White concluded that the Scottish Medical Policeman proved very hard to dislodge⁷⁰.

Furthermore, specific institutions were more than aware that liaison with the police in light of their responsibilities for maintaining the common good had to be balanced with provision of facilities for the very poor. The 1896 Municipal Glasgow illustrates the attitude of the time when describing the highly laudable activities of the City Improvement Trust, whose chequered career over the last quarter of the nineteenth century Fraser and Maver describe. Closing and demolishing old privately-owned lodging houses without suitable replacement was soon seen as imprudent.

The existence of a low lodger class could not be ignored, and that it embraced a large proportion of the ordinary customers of the police constable was no reason why the unfortunates should continue to be the prey of harpies worse than themselves⁷¹.

The Improvement Trust was tasked with the establishment of common lodging houses intended for the patronage of the poorest members of society. Conditions were to be humane, affording the lodgers clean surroundings with a regard for their self-respect. The first two were opened in 1870⁷².

The police system of protection was not seen as a replacement for provision for the poor and destitute made by the charitable organisations for example, the church and the Salvation Army, the provision under Poor Law legislation, and public subscription in times of extreme economic hardship. Relief of the poor was not a police responsibility. Cynics suggest a containment function in terms of geography, but the situation was more complex. On the one hand the police were not responsible

⁷⁰ White, B. 'Training Medical Policemen: forensic medicine and public health in nineteenth-century Scotland', p.159.

⁷¹ Fraser, H., and Maver, I. 'Tackling the Problems' in Fraser, H., and Maver, I. (Eds.) Glasgow Volume II, 1830 - 1912, Manchester 1996, p.394 *et seq.*

⁷² Fyfe, P. in Municipal Glasgow, p.227.

for the condition of the poorer classes and their living conditions. On the other, the police acts delegated powers and duties to the constabulary for maintaining sanitary and wholesomeness of buildings and their infrastructure on a day-to-day basis. Separate police acts were required, particularly in the last forty years of the nineteenth century, to reinforce and carry out the intentions of the city fathers in the areas of slum clearance; building control; upgrading of sewage and waste disposal facilities; cheap electricity and gas; public bath and wash-houses; and disinfection facilities.

Successive chief constables readily accepted that efforts were being made to improve conditions in the worst areas and modify the pressures on the police. In 1871 Chief Constable M'Call's uncharacteristically fulsome preamble to the Criminal Returns singled out several pressing issues for particular comment. Improvement in the crime figures was attributed to more positive policing methods in the first instance. M'Call complements these remarks.

I would consider I fell short of my duty in this Report were I not acknowledge that the operations of the City Improvement Trustees and the directors of the City Union Railway have also contributed to the results. The city has been cleared of the foulest dens of crime and profligacy, and their occupants been scattered amongst a population breathing a purer moral atmosphere, thereby affording facilities to the police for bringing the vicious to justice more easily and certainly than when the whole formed a concentrated and combined colony of ruffianism⁷³.

⁷³ Police Criminal Returns, 1871.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Police and Moral Control

The role of the police touched moral concerns in the community and moral panic that affected society from time to time. A central and recurring area was an attempt to control the drunken and promiscuous traits displayed by certain factions.

Temperance

At the start of the nineteenth century ineffective and vague licensing laws and the lowering of the tax on spirits in 1822 furthered enthusiasm for drink among the populace. Many writers have attributed the endemic problems associated with drink to a combination of poverty and squalor¹. Religious commentators, contemporary and present day, identify a degenerate, Godless element in the lower classes whose only salvation lay in abstinence.

Alcoholic drink, made cheap in the early nineteenth century by low duties and increased production, was available to all and consumed in quantity at formal and informal events. Meetings of trade associations were characterised by drink. Lord Newton, a pillar of the Justiciary, King cited as being particularly perspicacious after a night of drinking. *En famille*, births, marriages, deaths, and christenings, were punctuated by drinking. Public holidays were deemed fit times to indulge in the consumption of inordinate quantities of spirits². Launching ships, occasioned considerable alcoholic consumption, apprentices finishing indentures were expected to celebrate with drink. Those who did not adhere to the customs of drink associated with *rites de passage* would be vilified and made to pay in the form of vindictive pranks being played on them. In 1834 William Collins, the publisher, summed up the universal nature of drink in society.

It is employed in making bargains, at the payment of
accounts, at fairs and rousps, it struck its fibrous roots into

¹ Fraser, H., and Maver, I. 'The social problems of the city' in Fraser, H., and Maver, I. (Eds.) Glasgow Volume II, 1830 - 1912, Manchester 1996, p.352 *et seq.*

² King, E., Scotland Sober and Free : the Temperance Movement, 1829-1979, Glasgow 1979, pp.4-5.

everything so deeply, that to tear up the spirit-drinking practices is like tearing up the whole social system of society³.

Ingrained attitudes and the intolerable condition of the dwelling houses in which many lived combined to create an atmosphere of despair. The comparative physical comfort of the public house and its potential for social intercourse at many levels and shades of variety offered release. Pacione observes that, until the nineteenth century, heavy drinking did not attract particular opprobrium. Indeed the situation was such that 1780 Glasgow, with a population c. 77,000, contained 605 licensed premises⁴.

By 1844 Alison was emphatic. Observing that, as huge numbers arrived in Glasgow from the Highlands and Ireland, 'they acquired wealth before they had learned how to use it, and that is, perhaps the most general cause of the rapid degeneration of mankind'. Those who had previously earned three or four shillings a week in the hinterland were now making twenty to thirty shillings as 'cotton spinners, iron-moulders, colliers or mechanics'. Investment in creature comforts including dress, lodging, or furniture, let alone any form of saving, 'was not for a moment thought of'. Vast quantities of this income were spent on food and, disproportionately, drink⁵. Reporting that 'above a million a year is annually spent in Glasgow on ardent spirits' he maintained that the contemporary crime levels had a direct relationship with this trend⁶.

King argues that heavy drinking was an integral, almost acceptable way of everyday life at all levels of society. It was encouraged by employers, inexpensive as a result of government legislation and condoned, albeit tacitly, by the Church of

³ *ibid.* p.6.

⁴ Pacione, M., *Glasgow, The Socio-spatial Development of the City*, Chichester, 1995, p.244.

⁵ Alison, A., 'Causes of the Increase of Crime' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, July, 1844, Vol. 56, p.7.

⁶ *ibid.*

Scotland⁷. Checkland is more forceful, insisting that there was 'some equivocation' among the churches, whose servants, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were noted for their capacity for liquor. It would take until the middle of the nineteenth century before significant 'evangelical piety' appeared⁸.

The loss of working time as a result of commitment to drink was incalculable. This was a fundamental factor that influenced anti-drink campaigners. Dickie quotes the phenomenal rise in national spirit consumption from 2.79 million gallons in 1822 to 5.77 million in 1829/30. This was due in no small way to the reduction of spirit duty from 7/- to 2/10d per gallon in 1822. Dickie furthers her argument by quoting the Report from the Select Committee on Public Houses 1854. 'A spirit shop, like a book shop creates new customers for itself [and] a new circle of drinkers is gradually formed'⁹.

Pioneers in the Temperance Movement, including the aforementioned William Collins, with Robert Smith and John Dunlop saw education and persuasion as the key to solving the problem. They sought to break the social customs, educate the masses and lead them away from temptation. Morris, Dunlop and Kettle promoted fresh air and exercise as an alternative to drink in the '30's and '40's. They had little success. Checkland qualifies this, praising their altruistic intent, especially after 1850. The various styles of temperance movement as they waxed and waned, attracted large numbers of supporters 'at almost all levels of society' but in proportion unspecified¹⁰. Meanwhile, the Home Drummond Act of 1828 backfired. This legislation prohibiting the sale of liquor during Divine Service was interpreted as a permission to

⁷ King, E., Scotland Sober and Free, 4.

⁸ Checkland, O., Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle, Edinburgh, 1980, p.90.

⁹ Dickie, L. 'Drink and the Temperance Movement in Scotland 1829-54, with particular reference to Glasgow and surrounding areas.' Strathclyde University Honours Thesis 1981, pp.4-5.

sell drink on Sunday¹¹. By the 1830's and '40's, escape from the harsh economic conditions by drinking large quantities of liquor, was seen as a major contributory factor to the poverty spiral. Fraser and Maver mention early steps taken by the town council in 1839 to regulate the number of licenses granted. By the 1850's the police had been given considerably improved powers to regulate opening hours. At this time the restricted Sunday regulations for inns and hotels providing sustenance to '*bona fide* travellers' attempted, with varying degrees of success, to restrict consumption on the Sabbath¹².

The seminal Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853 closed public houses at 11 p.m.. Thereafter, arrests for drunkenness fell dramatically, but a contra-indicator was apparent in the growth in the number of shebeens in the city. Nevertheless, the police had the power to enter any pub or house where refreshments were being consumed on the premises¹³.

The control by law of the operation of public houses marked a watershed. Until then the Temperance Movement had relied on 'moral persuasion' to educate people away from abuse of the demon drink. This had failed¹⁴. Appendix XXII includes information on the progress of legislation related to the control of the sale of liquor compared with the number of licensed premises in Glasgow and the proportion of the population arraigned for drunkenness. Disposal of the cases is included. The extensive powers of granting licenses, inspection of premises and prosecution under the police act were widely used by the constabulary. Annual returns contain details of the number of licenses granted and the number of inspections made. The

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.91

¹¹ English, J. "Hard Times" - Some Aspects of the Life of the Poor in Early Victorian Glasgow' Strathclyde University Honours Dissertation, 1969, pp.29-30.

¹² Fraser, H., and Maver, I. 'Tackling the Problems', p.394 *et seq.*.

¹³ Robertson, Sir James, History of the Scottish Police, p.321.

perceived setback experienced in the late 1860's as the numbers of prosecutions increased was controlled over time. It reached a numerical high in 1873 when there was a licensed premises for every 260 of the population. A fall in this number was gradual towards the end of the century. By the eve of the Great War the average was 582 head of population per premises.

Society Perceptions

Parallel to legislation, were a number of pressure groups promoting abstinence. Pioneers in temperance, set up societies in Maryhill and Greenock late in 1829¹⁵. The model was one of education and consideration of the social aspects of drinking with attendant consequences. Church influence became strong and highly supportive as time went by. Although the variety of temperance societies led a far from harmonious existence a dogma of moderation at least, total abstinence ideally or prohibition *in extremis* was promoted in various shades and degrees of enthusiasm. For example, the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, which was founded 1858, advocated 'the suppression of the liquor traffic by the power of national will and through legislative enactment'. While not advocating total prohibition, as per the Maine Liquor Law League in 1853 or if the teaching of the United Kingdom Alliance was supported, abstinence was seen as a moral duty¹⁶. Dickie notes that by the middle of the nineteenth century the temperance movement had achieved few of its aims although a strong and increasingly influential establishment existed. Smout observes that, in the 1830's and '40's, the typical teetotaller was respectable working class with possible radical political views. It took a bit longer for the 'respectable' middle classes and the church to embrace

¹⁴ Dickie, L. 'Drink and the Temperance Movement in Scotland', p.48.

¹⁵ King, E., Scotland Sober and Free, p.7.

concepts of temperance. Even the immaculate Thomas Chalmers, confidante of Collins, was not known to embrace 'The Cause' until late in life.

Those of the Roman Catholic faith were less than convinced, albeit one of the luminaries of the speaking circuit was Father Theobald Matthew who proved to be the exception to the rule. When his evangelical zeal for temperance succeeded in bridging the sectarian divides in Glasgow in 1842, on a three day visit, which included a crowded meeting on Glasgow Green, it was said that over 40,000 newly converted Irish teetotallers took the pledge¹⁷.

From the mid-nineteenth century, until the turn of the twentieth century, consumption of spirits per head remained relatively stable. Thereafter there was a steady decline. Concurrent with this decline in consumption, there were significant changes in the number of licensed premises. From 1860 to 1900 the level of consumption stabilised and the quantity of outlets supplying drink more than halved. Drunkenness remained a problem throughout the period, however its prevalence decreased and its pervasive influence was marginalised. Table I illustrates this

Table I Spirit consumption/publicans' licenses, 1830 - 1929

<u>Year</u>	<u>Proof galls/head of pop./year</u>	<u>Publicans' Licenses/ 10000 pop/census year</u>
1830/9	2.55	72.9
1840/9	2.38	58.4
1850/9	2.16	49.5
1860/9	1.61	38.0
1870/9	1.93	35.9
1880/9	1.69	31.2
1890/9	1.63	16.1
1900/9	1.60	16.1
1910/9	1.00	14.2
1920/9	0.55	12.4

Source: Wilson, G.B. 'Alcohol and the Nation', London 1940, in Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People 1830 - 1950, Collins, London, 1986, p.135.

¹⁶ Checkland, O. Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, p.95.

¹⁷ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, pp.141-2.

Temperance movements can claim a degree of success. King recognises that the association of drink with many aspects of domestic and working life, as vilified by the activities of the increasingly influential temperance movements, was detrimental to standards of living and quality of work.

Ultimately, employers found great advantage in a sober workforce, the working classes found self respect and self improvement in sobriety, the church found support in abstaining congregations and the temperance cause went from strength to strength¹⁸.

Despite the number and dedication of temperance associations, exemplified in Appendix XXII, there is a dearth of evidence to suggest that consumption fell as a result of their efforts in the meanest areas. The intolerable social conditions as the major influence on drinking remained. Checkland considers that the success of temperance initiatives in Victorian Scotland is at best, parenthetic. However, by the end of the nineteenth century the impetus was lost and she concludes that temperance was a cause dominated by the churches and supported by women and children. The days of the male philanthropist 'seeking a cause to espouse, seemed increasingly irrelevant to the problems of Scotland'¹⁹. After the Great War Smout concedes that, following the crushing defeat of a bill for national Prohibition in 1923, 'the temperance cause had suddenly run out of steam'²⁰.

Nevertheless, legislation made attempts to contain the problem. For example, a Royal Commission in 1859 had recommended improved powers for police to enter and search shebeens, a duty enthusiastically carried out as demonstrated by Appendix XXIII. Spirit duty was doubled between 1853 and 1860. The effect of both these measures is evident in Table I as the consumption of liquor fell after the 1850's.

¹⁸ King, E., Scotland Sober and Free, p.9.

¹⁹ Checkland, O. Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, p.100.

²⁰ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.147.

The local veto, the Temperance (Scotland) Act was passed in 1913, allowing for the creation of 'dry' areas by plebiscite. Socialist commentators argued that this was a class measure, since it tended to happen in more affluent areas. Nevertheless, large areas of local authority housing, built during the inter-war years contained no pubs at all. Labour administrations were strongly pro-temperance²¹.

The problems of excessive alcohol consumption continued into the First World War, and the numbers proceeded against remained high at the outset. The decline in prosecutions after 1916 is the result of a combination of factors. Evidence to suggest a sudden rush to temperance is slight. In the 'twenties and 'thirties the number of persons indicted remained low, at a fraction of pre-war levels. The number of licensed premises per head of population continued to fall.

The reason for the decline in prosecutions can attributed largely to the steady increase in the tax on alcohol from 1909. Duty on spirits of 11/- per gallon in 1900 was increased to 30/- in 1918, 50/- the next year and 72/6 in 1920. Table I demonstrates the effectiveness of these measures. Concurrently, as a result of wartime lobbying, opening hours were cut to five and a half hours opening per day from as much as thirteen hours before hostilities began²². The fewer pubs, shorter hours of opening, more expensive spirits and the straightened economic situation of the inter-war years acted collectively in influencing the decline in numbers prosecuted for drunkenness.

Sir Harry Lauder reflected the mood of many. In 1932 he was filmed bemoaning the price of whisky. He sang

Twelve and a tanner a bottle,
That what it's costing today!
How can a fellow be happy
When happiness costs such a lot?

²¹ Checkland, O. Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, p.100.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 147/8

The Glasgow Police and the Problems of Alcohol

A combination of complementary but mutually exclusive factors was employed against the abuse of alcohol. Temperance movements of varying styles and motivations cohabited with policing methods that could be considered almost tolerant with only a modest fraction of offenders being prosecuted. Those that were could suffer a period behind bars. Tactical change resulted in an increase in numbers prosecuted but a decrease in apprehensions. Latterly, the overall trend was down and the numbers detained and prosecuted fell.

Aware that drink was the cause of individual and collective misbehaviour, proactive measures were instituted. For example Friday and Saturday nights were recognised as 'busy' times for officers dealing with intoxicated people. Collective drunkenness was predictable during general election campaigns, public festivals, and latterly with the advent of mass attendance at football matches when large quantities of alcohol were consumed. In expectation of rowdiness and disorderly conduct, the police prepared by organising the presence of extra officers on duty at sensitive periods. This contained the problem to some extent. Cure was not an option open to the police hierarchy and attitudes were realistically pragmatic.

Appendix XXII considers a broad collection of data. Covering the period 1857 to 1919, an examination is made of the numbers of those proceeded against for drunkenness as a function of the population, the number of licensed premises and a proportion per thousand of the population. 'Regular customers', i.e. multiple offenders are not distinguished by the returns. Therefore, the proportion per thousand of the population can be nothing more than an index of intemperance.

Chief Constable Alexander M'Call, in 1875, stated his position.

At the present time, when so much attention is being directed to the causes and effects of intemperance and

drunkenness, when so many remedial measures for the evil are being propounded, and when some of the accounts given of the state of existing matters would lead to the belief that the people are daily becoming more and more intemperate, I have considered it proper to lay before you this following table showing the number of Persons (sic) apprehended or taken into custody in the city during the last ten years²³. (*vide* Appendix XXII)

M'Call's attitude was straightforward. Prior to 1875 the duty officer discharged the vast majority of those taken to the police offices under the dual headings of Drunk and Incapable and Drunk and Disorderly when they had sobered up. From 1875 the tactic changed. Those who would have been discharged under the previous custom were now being brought before the magistrates for disposal. The effect was immediate. The grand total of inebriates brought to police offices in 1873 was 28,814. Under the deterrent of magisterial intervention this fell to 15,905 in 1875, a trend that continued for the next thirteen years. It is naive to imagine that the change was so abrupt. Duty officers exercised considerable discretion, but an element of control is apparent. Increases in numbers in the late eighties with a 'blip' in 1890 when set against population increases indicate an overall decline in the rate of drunken arrests as illustrated by the proportion per thousand of the population index. Imprisonment as a punishment had been falling from favour for some years before 1867. In that year the differentiation between 'disorderly' and 'incapable' was abandoned. The last seven 'disorderlies' served terms in gaol that year. Thereafter it was not used as a sanction.

The Glasgow Police and the Control of drinking

In 1862, Chief Constable Smart reported to the Board of Police that

the traffic in spirits in shebeens or unlicensed premises was nearly put an end to by the vigorous application of Forbes M'Kenzie's Act. This satisfactory result was brought about by

²³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1875, Glasgow, 1876, p.4.

the magistrates, under the advice of the Town Clerk, having convicted on circumstantial evidence, instead of, as formerly, making it imperative on the prosecutor to prove a sale in each case. Little now remains to be done in this matter under either the new Public House Act or new Police Act, either of which is sufficiently stringent to crush any attempts to re-open these dens²⁴.

Within ten years the position had deteriorated to the extent that the central district of the city, stamping ground of the redoubtable Dr. Chalmers, champion of moral rectitude and temperance, boasted no fewer than 200 brothels and 150 shebeens²⁵. A hierarchy of premises existed in this netherworld. Larger establishments consisted of three or four rooms, including reserved space for a favoured few, whereas the stairhead shebeen offered less commodious accommodation. The lowest rank enjoyed shebeens that combined the facilities of illicit drinking with those of prostitution and what Victorians colourfully called 'thieves dens'²⁶. Each was equipped with a system of communication coupled to means, often in the plural, of escape.

Appendix XXIII considers numbers apprehended for shebeening and those prosecuted for being caught in shebeens. Unfortunately, official figures do not determine the dimension hierarchically or physically of the shebeens raided. Embarrassment compounded the situation when it was revealed that 59 Trongate, the Laigh Kirk Close containing no less than twenty brothels and three shebeens was Corporation property²⁷. It became a particular target for police raids. The 'Dark side of Glasgow' reports in the North British Daily Mail that the end of 1870 coincided with a marked increase in police raids on shebeens which had started in 1869 when the number prosecuted had almost tripled from 64 to 169 (Appendix XXIII).

In 1875, Chief Constable M'Call distilled the argument, making two observations. Firstly, he considered that the number of licensed premises (exclusive

²⁴ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 18626, Glasgow, 1863, p.3.

²⁵ Cunnison, J. & Gilfillan, J. (Eds.) The Third Statistical Account of Scotland Vol. V, p.637.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ *ibid.*

of shebeens) far exceeded the requirements of the populace. Secondly, he advocated the establishment of a 'House of Correction' for the detention of those charged with petty assaults, disorderly conduct, and drunk and incapable. He saw this as an alternative to prison which, not having the stigma of such an establishment, would encourage magistrates to use such a facility. This would also take pressure off the gaols²⁸. In 1896 the Inebriates' Act sanctioned this.

The proponents of temperance had considerable political power. McCall's initiatives at this time reflect the attitudes of his political masters. For shebeening, an average of two prosecutions or more a week was common until the end of the century, climaxing in 1895 with 162, thereafter a marked drop is apparent. A slight resurgence in numbers of those prosecuted in 1907/08 marked the start of a relatively low incidence until after the Great War.

Whatever the source of the liquor, cycles of drunkenness were predictable. Weekly charts were calculated over the years to indicate the rise and fall of a tide of drink. Table II gives an example.

Table II Annual Apprehensions for Drunk and Incapable 1910

	M'night to 8 a.m.	8 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon. to 4 p.m.	4 p.m. to 8 p.m.	8 p.m. to 10 p.m.	10 p.m. to M'night	Total
Sun	810	43	103	64	30	69	1119
Mon	18	32	232	511	257	329	1379
Tues	89	55	197	342	205	226	1114
Wed	56	53	168	329	215	207	1028
Thurs	67	38	144	258	172	224	903
Fri	89	42	164	379	263	390	1327
Sat	147	74	461	1386	1240	1851	5159
Total	1276	337	1469	3269	2382	3296	12029

Source:- City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1910, Corporation of Glasgow, (1911), p. 5.

The cycle started at noon on Friday, building to a zenith at midnight on Saturday, then continuing until the sharp drop on Sunday morning. This is not unexpected in light of the wealth of opinion and observation available. The figures indicated that there was no time when arrests were not being made for drunkenness. Furthermore, every day from noon onwards the incidence of apprehensions increased.

²⁸ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1875, Glasgow, 1876, p.4.

In addition to the norm, some annual events were certain to produce large numbers of people in varying degrees of inebriation ranging from the convivial to the stupor. Included were the Monarch's Birthday, the Glasgow Fair and the New Year Holidays. Preparations were made in advance to cope with the expected. For example, on 20 May 1885 Chief Constable M'Call instructed divisional commanders on preparations to be made for the impending Queen's Birthday celebrations. In each division, it was decreed that

the day men will remain on duty after 8 o'clock. The night men will come out that evening at 6 p.m. instead of 8 and continue till 5 o'clock next morning. The half of the Day Force', which upon that afternoon, comes out from Dinner at 2 o'clock, will be relieved when the 5 o'clock day party are upon their break and receive a rest of an hour and a half, then return to duty. In this way all the force will be disposed of by half past six o'clock²⁹.

The instructions indicated that certain dates in the calendar required all officers to be on duty. Whatley's examination of the 'Royal Day, People's Day' suggests that public attitudes to the event were deeply rooted as far back as the mid-seventeenth century and involved celebrations in all the major conurbations. Not only had the event become bacchanalian in tenor, but also riotous in comportment. This was an annual headache that required a proactive response by the police authorities³⁰.

Legislation and a broadening and deepening of police powers; the enforcement of the law; a change in tactics by the police to one of prosecution instead of a free bed for the night; a clampdown on shebeening; the restriction of numbers of licensed

²⁹ GCA/SR22/63/4, Camlachie Minute Book, 20 May, 1885.

³⁰ Whatley, C., 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c.1660-1860' in Mason, R. & Macdougall, N. (Eds.) People and Power in Scotland, Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout, Donald, (Edinburgh 1992), Chapter 8, p.179.

premises; all contributed to a containment of the problem that movements inspired by the intelligentsia on the best of altruistic motives could not.

Laudable as the protracted and various efforts of the temperance advocates were, their influence was limited to certain sections of society, concentrating on the respectable artisan and bourgeoisie. Drink was the opiate for the squalor and social deprivation experienced by the proletariat. Few promoters of temperance offered solutions to the conditions of squalor in which the masses of humanity of what would currently be called the 'inner city' lived. An exception was the Salvation Army, who offered tangible help and support.

The divide to 'respectability' was difficult to cross. Self-help doctrines propounded by firebrand evangelists did not replace the filth and disease of the wynds of the High Street or substitute for the warmth of the pub and cheap oblivion. The Salvation Army offered a degree of comfort and shelter, as well as religious zeal. Statistics suggest a chronic problem that responded best to positive, physical measures. This included the gradual improvement of the environment over time as well as a deliberate, professional police response to a known problem that was deep-set in the National Culture.

Drunkenness in the Force

Fielding, citing Steedman, postulates a somewhat negative view of the provincial English policeman in the middle of the nineteenth century, commenting that the police beatman

was a drinking, working-class man and these facts placed as much limitation on his activity against drunkenness as did the licensing laws or the presence of brewers on a watch committee³¹.

³¹ Fielding, N., The Police and Social Conflict, p.42.

Nevertheless, with drink being seen as the root of 'all general crime' there was an exhortation for all officers of the law to abstain from drink, exude respectability and adopt a position of superior morality³².

As professionals, chiefs of the City of Glasgow Police accepted that drink and its abuse was endemic. Indeed the misuse of alcohol was not unknown among the members of the force and a steady trickle of officers dismissed for drunkenness continued throughout the period.

Glasgow had a chronic problem with the abuse of hard liquor. A problem so pervasive that it affected to a degree the police force that held the responsibility for containing the problem and prosecuting those charged. Details of the turnover of officers of police are considered elsewhere. 'Dismissals', as much as a third of those leaving the police in any given year, included officers whose services were discontinued on account of inebriation. In many cases, dismissal was an ultimate sanction, early offences being punished by fines. For example, the register entry for William McCormack includes eight charges for drunkenness before he was dismissed (Appendix XXIV).

Generally, drunkenness within the Force was treated severely. Chief Constables had no sympathy whatsoever for those discovered and eventually discharged. Instruction Books urged sobriety. In 1893 this document counselled a constable to 'be truthful, sober and temperate in his habits'³³. Stevenson, Chief Constable in 1912, in the edition of the Instruction Book dated that year, wielded something of an iron fist - in a velvet glove.

³² *ibid.*

³³ City of Glasgow Police Instruction Book, Glasgow, 1893, p.29.

He [the constable] is specially warned against drunkenness, which is regarded as a grave offence, involving reduction of pay or dismissal. While total abstinence from intoxicating drink is not compulsory, it is the course recommended as safest and most beneficial³⁴.

Stevenson's successor, Andrew Donnan Smith, was no less emphatic in his attitude to drinking. Van Slingelandt and Macdonald report their father's comments that strict instructions were given each year at Hogmany against the acceptance of drink by policemen on duty. Instant dismissal would result from infringement of the dictat and officers suffered the penalty. Macdonald noted that Smith died in 1932 'in a nursing home in Park Circus of cirrhosis of the liver'³⁵.

Society and Prostitution

Attitudes to prostitution in the early nineteenth century can be classified as those of suppression and condemnation. By the last quarter they had evolved to embrace the more sympathetic ideals of the philanthropic movements of education and reform.

Writing in 1870 Chapman compared the system of suppression and control in 'certain parts of the United Kingdom' with that of continental Europe. Observing similarities in the regulations currently enforced in a number of cities including Paris, Berlin and Brussels he found common denominators. Using Paris as his model, he described the strict regulation of prostitutes by the police via a body named the 'Service of Repression' or 'Active Service'. This comprised twenty-four inspectors organised by three superior officers, working in conjunction with an office '*Le Bureau des Mœurs*', which was responsible for the administration of all regulations. This included regular medical examination that was recorded on a card for each

³⁴ City of Glasgow Police Instruction Book, Glasgow, 1912.

person by surgeons of the sanitary department attached to the *Bureau*, as well as the registration and control of places of business. Clandestine operations were sought out by the Service and miscreants prosecuted when discovered. This was easier said than done as women of all classes of prostitution developed means of alluding police detection. Chapman considered that this increased the importance and status of those women involved³⁶. He challenged the constitutional legality of the system and just how effective it was. Registering prostitutes with the police was difficult to assert and control. The register was started in 1812. By 1820 2,746 women were registered with the police. Paris' population was 713,766 at the time. In 1870 the population was 1,825,000. 3,850 prostitutes were registered, a proportional extrapolation would have suggested *circa* 7,000 in this specialist fraternity. Lacour, the then head of the *Bureau* estimated that there was less than one seventh of *Parisiennes* under 'sanitary surveillance'. In other words the actual numbers of prostitutes in Paris was somewhere in the region of 30,000³⁷. Chapman concluded that the system of repression and police surveillance stigmatised and further degraded those on the register and encouraged a greater degree of defiance of the authorities by the vast majority who remained undiscovered. He challenged the 'baneful superstition' that the surveillance of prostitution by government agency was beneficent³⁸. The Westminster Review, in 1876, was offering the opinion that, having examined the French system of repression, concluded that its success lay in forcing prostitution underground. It was not sanguine about the prospects of success of similar regulation in the United Kingdom.

³⁵ Van Slingelandt, N. and Macdonald, I., A Long Way from Lochaber, pp.64-65.

³⁶ Chapman, J. 'Prostitution: Government Experiments in Controlling it' 1870, in Roberts, M and Mizuta, T. (Eds.) The Campaigners : Women and Sexuality, London, 1994, p.38 .

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.47.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.62.

The policy of Recognition and Forcible Regulation with is now most generally practised in the large cities of the Continent has signally failed to achieve the object of its originators and promoters³⁹.

The draconian Contagious Diseases Acts⁴⁰ in England were designed exclusively, to control the spread of infection in areas where there were concentrations of forces personnel including, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, Aldershot, Colchester and Shorncliffe, where large numbers of prostitutes provided their services. In 1869, on the grounds of the control of disease, the benefits of extending the legislation were mooted. In an extract from a report by the Medical Officer of the Privy Council he recommended

that under a well planned national system, obligatory in its local operation and stringently directed from the centre, with an enormous establishment of lock hospitals, with prostitution universally submitted to strict methodical supervision by police and frequent surgical examination, a great reduction might be made in the present prevalence of venereal diseases⁴¹.

Agitators for reform who upheld suppression by moral pressure or some kind of support of self-improvement, tended to have their efforts concentrated on the female and her slide into the profession. The male's contribution as the essential catalyst was eschewed. Furthermore, Walkowitz observes that while organisations

³⁹ 'Compulsory Medication of Prostitutes by the State' in The Westminster Review Vol. CVI (O.S.) 1876 p.141.

⁴⁰ Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century, Routledge, London 1990, p.138.

⁴¹ Chapman. J. 'Prostitution, its Sanitary Superintendence by the State: an Extract from the Eleventh Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council', in The Westminster Review, Vol. XCII (O.S.) 1869 p.565.

such as the Ladies National Association (LNA) worked tirelessly on the behalf of the 'fallen women', their efforts were not always appreciated and

feminist repealers [of the Contagious Diseases Acts] became morally indignant when confronted with a registered woman who did not desire to be rescued and reformed⁴².

This was an attitude not limited to England.

Suppression of Prostitution

Tobias comments on the findings of the Select Committee on Police of 1816-18 which found that London was peerless, in the opinion of the commissioners, for its prevalence of prostitution, a view supported by Patrick Colquhoun himself. He corroborates this with contributions including those of Fielding and Place as well as Defauconpret, visiting from Paris in 1816. He maintains that observers in the fourth decade of the century suggested a decline in numbers of prostitutes to parity with Paris. Nevertheless, however the numbers varied, the problem remained and by 1908, Holmes was expressing concern about the increased numbers of prostitutes abroad in the Capital and the associated incidence of petty thieving and pick-pocketing⁴³. Jones qualifies and challenges the more general view adopted by Tobias, introducing factors considered to have a direct effect on prostitution and outlining a more considered view of trends from 1800. The role of the prostitutes as 'props of the criminal underworld', acting in consort with thieves is seen as part of the complex mechanism of underworld activity from the late eighteenth century that reached a climax in the early 1840's⁴⁴. Archibald Alison, writing in 1841 expressed

⁴² Walkowitz, J. Prostitution and Victorian Society, Women, Class and the State, Cambridge, 1980, p.132.

⁴³ Tobias, J.J. Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century, London 1967, pp.137-8.

⁴⁴ Jones, D. Crime, Protest, Community and Police in Nineteenth-century Britain, London, 1982, p.25.

his concern. As wealth and material prosperity came to the manufacturing districts of Scotland in the 1830's there was a down side to this. He opined that

this unparalleled flood of material prosperity has been attended by a corresponding and still more fearful inundation of improvidence, sensuality and profligacy, and swelling the dark catalogue of human depravity⁴⁵.

In 1854, Troup made a swingeing attack on morality when associated with the luring of innocent girls by

abandoned monsters, agents of vile enterprise [who] allure the beautiful, the healthy and the uncorrupted and the young from their homes to be treated with ruthless indecency and resistless force.

The price of an indulgence varies between £1 and £20! *The wealthy alone can afford to buy what the damned alone would offer for sale*⁴⁶.

Troup suggested that no real reform could be expected while those responsible for the trade 'escaped chastisement'. He considered three avenues of approach. Firstly, those responsible for seducing should be outlawed; secondly, sympathy should be used in 'balancing the criminality and the misfortune of the fallen'. Finally, a regime of education and improvement of the female psyche should be developed⁴⁷. This firebrand advocated a more comprehensive view of the moral issues, if a somewhat naive view of the overall situation. Nevertheless, in spotlighting the male element as a contributory factor, a certain amount of discomfort could be created among the more hypocritical members of society.

⁴⁵ Alison, A., 'Social and Moral Condition of the Manufacturing Districts of Scotland' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 1841 Vol. 50. p.663.

⁴⁶ Troup, E. 'Our Social Morality' in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. XXI (OS) 1854, p.608.

As national and local improvement acts and the contagious diseases legislation of the 1860's exhorted more formal controls on prostitutes and prostitution, it can be contended that peaks in the numbers of prosecutions of prostitutes in the statistical returns (in the later 1850's, early 1870's and 1890's) could be attributed to pressures being put on police authorities. This was particularly noticeable in London, Manchester, Liverpool and Cardiff. Still, Troup concludes that by the turn of the twentieth century, prostitution was 'on the wane'⁴⁸. Concurrent with this, Taylor alludes to prostitution becoming more 'male controlled' by this time. The casual, occasional practitioner became less prevalent, and a less populous but more organised system of pimps with a group of girls under his control began to dominate⁴⁹.

Taylor considers mid-nineteenth century legislation attempting to outlaw prostitution as further evidence, including supplementing curbs on drunkenness, gambling and breach of the peace in its many forms, of a 'class bias' by government to control the day-to-day behaviour of the working classes. This was the result of 'periodic bouts of public condemnation and police prosecution'⁵⁰. Levine sees the construction of legislation by an 'increasingly interventionist state' as heightening public awareness 'of the vendor herself'. This in turn established and perpetuated definitions that were not wholly accurate. For example, the supposition that prostitution was universally a female preserve and that the reasons for her waywardness were based on lower class mores of 'poverty, idleness, frivolity and alcohol'. A corpus of literature had been produced over the years that was male-dominated, 'penned by doctors, police constables, chaplains and journalists'. He

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.610.

⁴⁸ Jones, D. *Crime, Protest, Community and Police*, p.25.

⁴⁹ Taylor, D. *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1750-1914*, London, 1998, p.69.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.44.

placed the blame firmly at the feet of the predatory woman whose totally unscrupulous behaviour perpetrated the 'social evil'⁵¹.

Levine concedes that, by the 1880's with the discrediting of the Contagious Diseases Acts, a change in stance emerged whereby the emphasis moved to one of sanitary provision and more sophisticated treatment as opposed to outright prosecution. However, the treatment provided in the somewhat Spartan Lock Hospitals and Magdalene institutions was seen by many as another form of imposed detention⁵². She concludes that the law 'defined deviance and asserted control'. This control was refined and 'filtered' by institutional bodies from the church, the medical profession, and the philanthropic movements. 'Controlling prostitution meant controlling women'⁵³. Chalmers offers a gentler view. Accepting that legislation 'to suppress the courtesan' in this and other countries had all failed, he offers an alternative opinion, implicating the male of the species. Suggesting that natural impulse cannot be ruled out of the equation

which develops as the child passes through adolescence to manhood, and with the development of a physiological function which it has been no one's duty in the past to instruct him.

If this development takes place in an atmosphere of moral laxity, 'youth is cast on an uncharted ocean of desire, and may make shipwreck both of his own life and others'⁵⁴. Behind the florid rhetoric, he emphasised that the influence of a bad environment, literal or abstract, can have adverse effects on the populace⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Levine, P., 'Women and Prostitution: Metaphor, Reality, History' in Canadian Journal of History [Canada] 1993 Vol. 28(3), pp.481-483.

⁵² Levine, P., 'Women and Prostitution', p.489.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.494.

⁵⁴ Chalmers, A. The Health of Glasgow, 1818-1925 : an outline, Glasgow, 1930, p.408.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.409.

Bland presents the feminist activist point of view. This challenges elements of Levine's findings, whereby feminist movements including the National Vigilance Association (NVA), and the Women's Temperance Association fully supported such measures as the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 which outlawed brothels, and continued to condemn the women who worked as prostitutes. 'Good work' by activists centred on the 'reform' of prostitutes and persuasion to 'leave their sinful life'. An injunction not always sympathetically received by those concerned⁵⁶.

The NVA and the Public Morality Council, along with the temperance associations, established 'excellent relations with the police', supporting their efforts to prosecute brothel keepers and suppress street soliciting. By 1900 their impetus was spent. Josephine Butler was a leading campaigner for feminist rights and moral reform. She wielded considerable influence in the LNA. However, as late as 1895 she, who had been working tirelessly since the 1870's for the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Acts, was still decrying the 'constitutional iniquity involved in all forms of regulation of prostitution' and arguing the case that 'voluntary' submission by prostitutes for treatment was nothing of the kind and was, *de facto.*, a form of imprisonment without trial. Furthermore, the system of apprehension via formal complaint against the individual was unconstitutional and at the behest of 'a suspecting and accusing government-paid spy-police'⁵⁷.

Bland concludes that the feminist movement in England, which included sincere and committed personalities such as Butler, or Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell in the NVA and Amelia Hicks and Laura Chant of the British Women's Temperance

⁵⁶ Bland, L., 'Purifying the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England', in Women's History Review [Great Britain] 1992 Vol. 1(3) pp.401-402.

⁵⁷ Butler, J. 'The Constitutional Iniquity Involved in all forms of Regulation of Prostitution' 1895, in Roberts, M and Mizuta, T. (Eds) The Campaigners : Women and Sexuality, London, 1994, p.1.

Association worked tirelessly to try and effect change in attitudes from within state bodies like the London County Council. Their success was limited but they cannot be dismissed as 'prying prudes' or 'interfering busybodies'⁵⁸.

The Contemporary Review, deliberated the situation in 1870, considering the stances taken by the various proponents of 'regulation', 'cure' or 'prevention'⁵⁹. Having juxtaposed the arguments and accepted that each had its part to play in the whole and no one could be seen as the universal panacea, it suggested that individuals themselves must take an element of apportioned blame for the situation.

To man's everlasting shame, generosity and affection, which are safeguards against vice in *him*, have been the source of constant danger to woman. The other predisposing causes are vanity, weakness, and want of interest and occupation: and, above all extreme poverty.

By solving the problems of female poverty and unemployment through education and even emigration for 'unfallen' women would be 'far more helpful' and 'the most useful of practical reforms'. In the meantime, let the various movements campaign in its own way without opposing each other⁶⁰.

Despite Levine's staunch efforts to shift the emphasis from the prostitute herself to the male customer, contemporary and current analysis concentrates on the female as the fulcrum for research. The police of the time operated within this frame of reference, coupled with the social perspectives then current.

Prostitution and the Authorities

⁵⁸ Bland, L., 'Purifying the Public World', p.410.

⁵⁹ 'Regulation-Cure-Prevention' in The Contemporary Review, Vol. XIV, 1870, p.221.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, pp.234-5.

The oldest profession was a part of the way of life by the late eighteenth century in Glasgow. Smout raises a quizzical eyebrow at Wardlaw's 1843 contention that in the previous year a total of 1800 prostitutes were operating in Glasgow who, in 450 bordellos, processed 36,000 clients per week. He maintains that claim to this quantity patronage was 'tenuous'⁶¹. Jones compares Glasgow with Manchester and Liverpool, alluding to the marked increase to the early 1840's when prostitutes were 'responsible for up to half the female assaults and a large share of theft, especially from the person'⁶². Whatever the statistics, historians accept that the problem existed, the dangers were substantial, and the diverse ways of tackling the problem, offered by a variety of agencies, difficult to integrate.

Customers transcended social boundaries. However, the concept of the elegant courtesan was not the perceived norm in Victorian Scotland. Many of the girls involved were driven onto the streets by poverty through the route of unemployment and homelessness. Jones supports this thesis⁶³. Taylor is more definite, claiming that poverty 'was the most important factor' that led women into prostitution, but he further clarifies this by suggesting that since employment opportunities for working class women were somewhat limited, prostitution could be an 'almost inevitable phase', especially in times of commercial depression⁶⁴. Walkowitz commented on the Glasgow trend.

A high preponderance of servants were found among mid- and late-Victorian inmates of London rescue homes and lock (venereal disease) hospitals. In Glasgow former

⁶¹ Smout, T. C. A Century of the Scottish People, p.162.

⁶² Jones, D. Crime, Protest, Community and Police, p.25.

⁶³ Ibid, p.106.

⁶⁴ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, p.68.

millworkers entered lock hospitals at the same rate as servants⁶⁵.

Taylor observes that factory workers and servants who had been dismissed for theft or other malpractice also drifted into prostitution, irrespective of the economic climate⁶⁶.

The industry in Glasgow, as with many conurbations, had a section that was highly organised and sympathetic towards the demands of the clientele. While customers could be broadly categorised as anyone with the means to pay, certain groups were considered favoured as a function of season, or geography, or even days of the week.

Walkowitz admits that police returns on 'known' prostitutes and brothels collated in England between 1857 and 1869 are unreliable but give a good general picture of concentration. Commercial ports and 'pleasure towns' returned the highest numbers, whereas low records were seen in hardware towns, and those supporting textile industries⁶⁷. Glasgow was a busy port with a mercantile base.

'Shadow' declared that Wednesday night heralded the end of the weekly trade in cattle and foodstuffs when large numbers came in from the country with time and money on their hands. They are the prey of 'lost and abandoned' women. Trade started by mid-afternoon.

Contrary to general custom, in the blaze of sunlight, to prosecute their pitiable calling. As they pass, flaunting in silks and satins - the vulgar blotches of *rouge* in the place of the

⁶⁵ Walkowitz, J. Prostitution and Victorian Society, p.16.

⁶⁶ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, p.69.

⁶⁷ Walkowitz, J. Prostitution and Victorian Society, 1980, p.22.

once glowing health of beauty. From their desperate condition [they] prowl like vultures on their prey⁶⁸.

Sensationalist crime was associated with the trade, 'Shadow' continued, totally in sympathy with the 'client'.

Anon, we read of direful robberies, and midnight assassinations - of Johnny Raw eased of 75 guineas, or poor Tom Flat robbed of his gold watch and appendages⁶⁹.

The need was supplied by a diverse service offering facilities to suit all pockets and tastes. Smout quotes Logan who drew an analogy with railway carriages. First Class establishments for the 'noblemen, wealthy merchants, military officers, sea captains; Second Class were men in business, clerks, warehousemen, shopkeepers, medical and some theological students; Third Class was for people from the country, mechanics, apprentices, soldiers and sailors'⁷⁰. He made no allusion as to how Mr. Logan, Glasgow City Missionary, collected his data. With prostitution involving all levels of the social scale the police had a thankless task. This involved a combination of tact, diplomacy, medical ethic, and a requirement to uphold the law.

The enormity of the situation, with its attendant dangers of organised crime and disease found in the growing industrial cities a ready location for further consolidation. While a vaguely tolerant, man-of-the-world attitude may have been acceptable in some quarters, as the nineteenth century progressed, the establishment's approach had to change as public values altered, whatever the latent hypocrisies. Mahood identified three approaches to the control of prostitution.

⁶⁸ Harvey, C. (Ed.) Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds, and Dens of the City of Glasgow by 'Shadow', reprint of 1858 edition, Heatherbank, Glasgow 1976, p.60.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

Firstly, a *laissez faire* attitude allowed the sleeping dog to lie - unless those involved committed a crime in the normal run of events. Overt interference in brothels was seldom enacted. Prostitutes were discouraged by the control of street disorder and public drunkenness. The police in Glasgow, as elsewhere, gathered information on the number of brothels and the quantity of streetwalkers as best they could. Apart from a point of information for those involved in 'saving' those who were 'lost', and the obvious criminal intelligence benefits, there was little statutory authority to do. By mid century public pressure became such that the 'leave it alone and it will go away' school of civic control became unworkable⁷¹. Furthermore, a certain lethargy or frustration on the part of the police authorities is evident. Mahood reports that in 1849 the police in Glasgow reported that there were 211 brothels in the city housing 538 prostitutes. 500 were soliciting on the streets⁷². Appendix XXV gives almost identical figures a decade later when official returns were instigated.

As the social problems of prostitution became more defined, including the spread of disease, the way forward was seen to lie in state control of some kind. Under the Contagious Diseases legislation in England, it involved police officers who were answerable only to the Admiralty and War offices identifying prostitutes in the designated areas and forcing their submission to medical examination. The provision of Lock Hospitals providing compulsory confinement for treatment was included in the act. Campaigning against the act started before it was passed and continued in a dilatory way until 1870 when more vociferous action began. The arguments were complex but reduced to the contention that many prostitutes only resorted to this means of finance in desperation when other sources of income had disappeared. As a

⁷⁰ Smout, T. C., *A Century of the Scottish People*, p.163.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

result, the act which assumed a career, or 'life of sin' as contemporary commentators would have it, stigmatised not only publicly but permanently those involved by restricting if not destroying hopes of alternative, 'respectable' employment. Eventually the act was suspended in 1883 and repealed in 1886⁷³. Smith condensed the constitutional arguments of compulsory examination and treatment by the 'antis' (against the acts). The activities of Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler and James Stansfield *et al* were set against bigoted authority. A new attitude was beginning to prevail by the end of the century when

general 'moral' and economic improvements were more effective against infective disease than authoritarian technological intervention against unfranchized individuals⁷⁴.

The third system as examined by Mahood, was not a compromise between *laissez faire* and compulsory incarceration. She states that in Glasgow the arrangements for voluntary treatment in the Lock Hospital and Magdalene Institution were part of a policy designed not to regulate but to suppress prostitution and as such, was perhaps the more draconian than implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts⁷⁵.

Walkovitz described the inmates, stating that

statistics for female inpatients for five lock hospitals and lock wards show them to be young and single. In Glasgow, Liverpool, London Edinburgh and Manchester, they were heavily concentrated in the eighteen to twenty-one age bracket. The most frequently given ages were eighteen and nineteen,

⁷² Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, p.137.

⁷³ Mahood/Walkowitz, *passim*.

⁷⁴ Smith, F., 'The Contagious Diseases Act Reconsidered', in Social History of Medicine 1990 Vol. 3(2), p.215.

⁷⁵ Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, pp.119-20.

which seems to correlate closely with the women's first entrance into prostitution⁷⁶.

Nash reports that the Magdalene Charity in London started its operation on 10 August 1758. It was devoutly committed to the 'reform and rehabilitation of penitent prostitutes'. This early example of philanthropy initiated attempts at reform and rehabilitation and was seen as a replacement for physical punishment that had hitherto been the norm⁷⁷. Conditions, although not luxurious, could be a far remove from the life of a streetwalker and, despite any stigma attached to the inmate, anonymity was seen as an imperative.

A relationship with the forces of law and order was maintained. Nash quotes Reverend Prince testifying to the Committee on Police in 1817 on the situation in the asylum. He stressed the voluntary nature of the residence and the fact that they had no power to compel an inmate to stay. He admitted that they would do their utmost to persuade the person⁷⁸. In reality the regimented routine, the compulsory wearing of uniform with resultant anonymity, incarceration that could last for years and the pressures put on women to stay made a comparison with prison more realistic than that admitted by the administrators of the charity. Nash concedes that this system 'anticipated the technology of social engineering that is best exemplified by the state-run nineteenth century prison penitentiary'. As such, he makes a comment on the contemporary society of the time. This institution was part of a greater whole and

was a device for social control as were the development of the police force, the creation of Sunday Schools; the reform of prisons, and the myriad of charities that were born and

⁷⁶ Walkovitz, J. Prostitution and Victorian Society, p.63.

⁷⁷ Nash, S., 'Prostitution and Charity: the Magdalen Hospital, a Case Study', in Journal of Social History 1984 Vol. 17(4), p.617.

flourished in Hanovarian England [and] contributed to the evolution of social control based on reshaping the minds, as opposed to the punishment of their bodies⁷⁹.

Institutions for prostitutes in Glasgow

The Glasgow Lock Hospital was opened on 7 August 1805 in Rottenrow and remained in operation until the Second World War⁸⁰. Edinburgh had established its own Magdalene Asylum in 1797 as part of the Philanthropic Society House in the Cannongate⁸¹. Distinction must be drawn between the two. Whereas a Lock Ward or Hospital was for the treatment of disease, Magdalene Asylums were seen as places of rehabilitation. As powers taken by local authorities changed, they came to be thought of increasingly as penal institutions, despite the philanthropic protestations of their operators. After initial administrative difficulties, Glasgow's Magdalene Asylum was built on Dobbie's Loan adjacent to the lunatic asylum. It was opened on 9 February 1815. In 1840, as the number of women brought before the magistrates for drunkenness and destitution increased, a House of Refuge for females was proposed. Extending the Magdalene was favoured and the combined operation: the 'Female House of Refuge' commenced operation on 12 October. In 1859 a second Magdalene Society was established with the 'repression of vice and reformation of penitent females' included in its objectives. Two establishments were opened one in Stirling Road for young girls and another at Lochburn in Maryhill. In the latter, a three-year course of rehabilitation was offered⁸². Checkland describes a system and regime similar to the metropolitan institution. Accepting that if 'anything was to be

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.619.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.624.

⁸⁰ Checkland, O and Lamb, M. Health care as social history: The Glasgow Case, p.156.

⁸¹ Checkland, O., Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, p.235.

done [with prostitutes], the residential principle was inescapable'. It supplied a period of convalescence after infection and provided the pious philanthropists with a vehicle to demonstrate the efforts being made on the behalf of the unfortunates within. In addition, society was protected for the duration of the individual's incarceration⁸³. Checkland questions the success of the voluntary presentation of 'penitents' as the ideal of the Magdalene Society and suggests that by the 1860's the organisers themselves were 'less optimistic than formerly'⁸⁴. There was considerable argument and dissension from those who believed that a Magdalene Asylum should be inaugurated to run in conjunction with, if not physically adjacent to the curative treatments offered in the Lock Hospital.

The expansion and modification of police powers over the years broadened and developed the situation in conjunction with the philanthropic institutions and the change in social attitudes. Police involvement was seen to be one of control, based on application of the law of the time and as facilitator/protector to the evangelical enthusiasts who patrolled the meaner areas, as described by 'Shadow'⁸⁵.

The combination of the effects of drink, petty thieving and prostitution on crime produced its own problems. The police acts from the middle of the nineteenth century increased police powers to raid and close houses of ill repute. Also, it directed the apprehension of prostitutes under strictly observed conditions. Checkland argues an 'official pursuit' of the prostitute was sanctioned by legislation included in the General police and Improvement (Scotland) Act 1862, the Glasgow police acts culminating in 1866, and the various acts relative to other Scottish cities,

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ *ibid.*, p.328.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.237

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 241 and Harvey, C. (Ed.) Midnight Scenes.

counties and boroughs. Eagerness in their application by the police varied from place to place and 'they were uniform in their ineffectiveness'⁸⁶.

On 21 July 1881 Chief Constable Alexander M'Call was called to give expert testimony to the House of Commons Select Committee on the Contagious Diseases Acts. He painted a vivid picture of the attitude to prostitution in Glasgow and how it had changed over the past two or three decades since the middle of the century. M'Call informed the committee that Section 171 of the Glasgow Police Act of 1843 stated that

any person within the limits of the act, whether dealing in excisable liquor or not shall knowingly harbour prostitutes, or permit or suffer men or women of notoriously bad fame or dissolute boys or girls to meet or assemble therein, each person so offending shall forfeit for each offence any sum not exceeding 10/-, such offenders to find caution for good behaviour for 12 months under a penalty not exceeding 20/- such security not being found, imprisonment not exceeding 60 days⁸⁷.

The act was endorsed by continuation act in 1862. This gave the section extended powers of entry and search by warrant on 'reasonable' grounds of suspicion. Furthermore, powers of arrest of persons found on the premises were granted under the legislation. The Chief Constable or his agent in the form of a superintendent or lieutenant of police plus at least one other 'not holding any office or situation under the act', were required to make the application quorate. The 1866 Police Act confirmed this legislation.

⁸⁶ Checkland, O. Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland, p.242.

⁸⁷ Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881. (HC 351) VIII.193.

M'Call openly admitted that worthy as the 1843 act was, without powers of search and arrest there was little real power behind the verbiage. This changed in 1862. Coupled with the legal modifications public perspective altered, strongly influenced by the attitudes of the time. In the first half of the nineteenth century soliciting in the streets and the overt advertising of brightly lit bordellos with prostitutes openly disporting themselves in various degrees of undress at the open windows was, for the populace, 'a nuisance they had to submit to'. After 1862, public opinion grew

and I daresay that by 1870 that opinion had matured to such an extent that it was expected the authorities would do their utmost to repress every place and manifestation of prostitution that was possible under the powers [of the Act]⁸⁸.

M'Call strongly suggested that he acted on sanction of parliament, itself reacting to the pressure of the electorate. This duty was imposed upon the police system rather than sought by it. The law was considered a last resort in the absence of effective voluntary or philanthropic agencies. The procedure was elegant in its simplicity. The police could not act without complaint 'by a citizen' about a brothel. This was usually verified on oath by the magistrate. Thereafter a warrant was issued by the official already described. The police had powers to close a brothel after a second conviction⁸⁹.

The new powers confirmed by the Police Act of 1866 set in motion a period of scrutiny of the vice trade in the city and a gathering of information which lasted, according to M'Call, 'two to three years'. Establishing an intelligence network,

⁸⁸ *ibid.*.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*.

collating the information and conducting covert investigation involved careful and expert police work. Preparations continued until 1870 when what M'Call described as 'The Blow' was delivered. A strategy had been formulated and developed. The concerted raids on brothels in 1870 and 1871 when 293 and 337 prosecutions respectively were instigated (Appendix XXV) were the result of a complex surveillance exercise involving 'complaints from citizens' and the backup of the warrant system. A simple but valid test for prostitutes was applied

that the woman is known to be going about the streets by the Police, following no other occupation and earning her livelihood in that way⁹⁰.

Circa thirty-six months preparation prior to 1870 was ample time to establish reasonably accurate figures of those involved. Appendix XXV indicates that before 1868 no arrests were made for importuning. After a modest return in 1868 and a significant increase the following year in 1871 a vigorous campaign was under way to discourage soliciting on the streets. In 1875, when a record 1839 arrests were made, an average of five per day can be extrapolated. Figures are not available to give a chronological picture, for example at weekends and during holidays when arrests would increase. Similarly, M'Call admitted that repeat arrests of regular offenders did not show in the totals. However, the actual number of persons involved was somewhat less than the statistics suggest. Likewise, the deterrent effect of the impending campaign not only in preparation but also in execution could not be ascertained.

Investigations into the activities of those running brothels could be carried out and arrests made when they were raided despite the fact that efficient early warning

systems resulted in single figure totals. Control of streetwalkers who were often semi-professional with no formally established place of business were more difficult to quantify or control. Early attempts to enumerate streetwalkers had proved inconclusive. On 23 March 1849 an estimated 509 prostitutes were walking the streets, complemented by 538 women in 211 'Houses'. The police themselves had little confidence in the accuracy of these figures and no attempt was made to confirm or revise in the coming years. When compulsion was introduced to produce statistical returns in 1857, dusting down the almost certainly obsolete estimates in two successive years as submissions would deceive nobody (Appendix XXV). M'Call admitted that it was impossible to calculate and told the Committee so. 'There was no attempt to ascertain the number of women prostitutes who might be on the streets'⁹¹. Section 149 of the 1866 act covered prosecution of this activity. The Penalty was a 40/- fine or 14 days in prison.

Police operations did not act either on an *ultra vires* principle or in a vacuum. The control of prostitution was no exception. The police worked closely with officials at the Lock Hospital and Magdalene Institution. Well established by mid-century, the numbers applying for admission from 1871 are displayed in Table III.

Table III Admissions to Glasgow Magdalene Institution 1871 - 1880

1871	189
1872	147
1873	146
1874	218
1875	173
1876	242
1877	251
1878	276
1879	221
1880	244

Source: Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881. (HC 351) VIII.193.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*.

⁹¹ *ibid.*.

Admission was on a voluntary basis. After medical examination, admission was granted when those who were 'diseased' were sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment. The social stigma attached to taking this step ensured that only those in the most desperate of circumstances put themselves forward. Mahood suggests an element of coercion on the part of the police; M'Call avers admissions increased in the 1870's as pressure was put on the police to act by the Corporation. Prosecution of offenders coupled with the closure of brothels made life on the streets untenable and economically unprofitable. The truth was probably a mid-point between the two.

The highly influential Repressive Committee of the Magdalene Institution instilled urgency. This body, which was convened from the directors of the establishment, monitored action being taken by the authorities. Mahood relates that the group was active from 1860. Composed of male members from the world of banking, industry and the mercantile world, it acted as a lobbyist on matters relevant to its interest.

Its activities included lobbies for amendments to the Contagious Diseases Acts, campaigns against nude models in Scottish art schools, and the banning of the 'demoralising' influences of working class theatres, public exhibitions, and, most notably, the Glasgow Fair⁹².

Liaison was close with the police and to a certain extent accountability was established although the inner workings of the committee and the overall duties and responsibilities were no concern of the Police Authority. This is a further indication that M'Call's actions were as a result of a number of outside pressures, as opposed to a personal crusade. M'Call hinted at a less than amicable liaison.

⁹² Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, London 1990, p.130.

[The] repressive committee whose business appears to be to see that the authorities are doing their duty, as I conceive, in suppressing street solicitation and brothels and rescuing women from their degraded mode of life.

In any event, the group was informed that by 1878;

the repressive section of the directors [of the Magdalene] have been greatly encouraged by the manner in which our civic authorities have combined to exercise the powers conferred upon them by Parliament⁹³.

In his evidence to the committee M'Call was confident that the measures taken by the City of Glasgow Police were successful. The police measures had drastically reduced the number of brothels and as for street solicitation, he told the select committee 'there has been an end put to that'. The committee members were not convinced and on being pressed on the point disagreed that prostitutes had moved outside the city limits. M'Call had no evidence to support this theory. He declared, 'I am without one single complaint from a respectable citizen that prostitution has gone into more secret or private hands'⁹⁴.

The overall improvement since 1805 was discussed in question 7478 and various specific reasons were offered. Firstly, it was suggested that the 'diseases had become milder in their type' and their 'frequency greatly diminished'. This was in no small way the result of the activities of the institutions where there was a policy of no restriction on entry to the Lock Hospital on the grounds of space being available. Furthermore, early identification of infection meant ease of treatment and an expeditious cure could be made. Finally, since every encouragement was offered to

⁹³Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881, (HC 351) VIII.193.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

seek treatment, quality of patient care was seen as important. 'Patients are kindly treated and spoken to and ample facilities are afforded them for beginning a new life'⁹⁵.

He was pressed as to whether the Criminal Returns, giving details of the campaign and its results were published in the press. Having answered in the affirmative he continued, 'They [the figures] have never been disputed to my knowledge'⁹⁶.

A ready answer was offered when questioned on the increase in the number of brothels in 1880 (Appendix XXV), after a steady decline to that date. Firstly, an influx from Edinburgh, where a similar campaign had recently started, and the fact that new housing developments in the north of the city promoted a new community of people lacking the social dynamic of established communities and thus the propensity for reporting or making complaint. Having settled and the communication system with the police established, complaints would naturally emanate and the system of search and prosecution would begin.

M'Call's evidence is fundamental in providing an insight into attitudes and reactions to prostitution in mid-Victorian Glasgow and setting a standard. The Magdalene Institution in Glasgow did not close until, after a period of internal conflicts, in 1958. Superficially, the 'Glasgow System' was voluntary and sympathetic to the needs of the 'patient'. The reality, particularly from the police viewpoint, would involve heavy 'suggestion' that clients availed themselves of the facilities. Recidivism was not unknown, no matter how kindly the treatment.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

M'Call had no involvement in pastoral care. When asked if he was kept informed or involved as to the day-to-day activities of the institutions, he was clear.

7521 Have you any record of what becomes of those women that have been admitted to the Magdalene Hospital? - No, I have none.

7522 You have nothing yourself to do, as I understand you, either with the Magdalene Hospital or the Lock Hospital? - Nothing whatever; there is no connection whatever between the police and these institutions⁹⁷.

Police responsibility was to operate the law moderated by the City Fathers and adjudicated by the Repression Committee. The constabulary was not to make regulation itself or take any moral stance.

Mahood argues strongly that there were critics who found the Glasgow system far from perfect. She declares that the definition of 'prostitute' could be very loosely applied 'ambiguous to say the least' and that police had 'huge discretionary powers' when it came to the arrest and detention of prostitutes. Furthermore, she cites Blackwell, an ardent critic of the Glasgow system maintaining that

the Police are armed with power to put down 'solicitation'. In other words they have the power to denounce any poor woman as a prostitute and punish her as such⁹⁸.

Blackwell suggested that far from volunteering for admission to the specialist institutions many women were compelled therein.

However, M'Call's evidence includes a definition of a prostitute that, although it might be broad, implies that arresting a 'prostitute' was not a spur of the moment

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Mahood, L. *The Magdalenes*, London 1990, pp.146-7.

decision. **Q. 7517** of the Select Committee evidence states that the arresting constable, having applied the law and made his arrest, knew that he would be examined by the magistrate who would establish that the officer

who has known her for months and it may be for years and has seen her going about at all hours of the night, apparently doing nothing to earn a livelihood.

Q.7518 There is no difficulty, in fact, in finding out whether a woman is a prostitute or not? - **A.** I think not.

M'Call was pressed further.

Q.7519 Have there been any cases in Glasgow in which a respectable woman has been accused of being a prostitute. **A.** There has not: I have not had a single case of complaint on that score in all my experience⁹⁹.

What is vital when examining police attitudes to prostitution is the concept of policing at the time. Alexander M'Call had succeeded the dying James Smart in all but fact some months before his progenitor succumbed to cancer. He was an able and experienced officer, widely respected for his abilities and the standards he demanded from his officers. When Smart had died and his successor was being discussed in the press the Glasgow Herald made its position apparent.

There he is, with all his experience a young man - intelligent, courteous, and with plenty of vigour and resources as has more than once been shown by the way he has handled notorious criminal cases. It is to be hoped, at any rate, that no disposition to military drill will lead to the appointment of a gentleman only qualified to make our police indifferent soldiers and very bad detectives¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881, (HC 351) VIII.193

¹⁰⁰ Glasgow Herald, 2 June, 1870.

As a professional policeman required by the legislation and supported by public opinion to include the suppression of prostitution in his remit, the concept of the common good, this fundamental of Scottish policing, is employed as a matter of course. Three years of investigation preceded action. 'Complaint by a citizen' instigated a police raid on a brothel. However officers of police, as part of their day-to-day duty, were expected to know their beats and the ongoings therein using the communication system they established with the residents. A hierarchy of authority took responsibility for ordering action to be taken.

The police action against prostitution must be set against the wide range of police responsibilities of the time to which the same standard of professionalism was to be applied. To suggest that the action of the City of Glasgow Police combined with a benevolent and caring Magdalene and Lock Hospital system eradicated prostitution in the city from the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century is clearly absurd. No chief constable since the pioneer work done by M'Call claimed that the problem was cured. Each saw the situation as one to be recognised, investigated, prosecuted and minimised, taking into consideration the social and legal pressures exerted by the relevant contemporary institutions. Streetwalkers were a known part of society, patronised at all levels. Overt soliciting was not only illegal but also contrary to an 'acceptable' common good. Proactive arrangements continued. Public holidays and major events were seen as potential attractions and police instructions required a certain vigilance. For example, on 30 April 1888, Chief Constable Boyd warned all divisional commanders.

Whenever the International Exhibition [in Kelvingrove Park] opens, we will have in all probability an influx of

unfortunate females to the City, and as I am desirous of keeping this species of offence under as much as possible and likewise the suppression of brothels, I will feel obliged by you using extra means to have offenders in such cases detected and brought before the court¹⁰¹.

Significantly, great care was to be exercised.

and on no account to interfere with a woman until she is well known to them [the police] as I would much rather that any number of guilty persons would pass unpunished, than that the innocent person should suffer¹⁰².

This is further indication that while a certain problem was recognised and its solution encouraged, wholesale arbitrary suppression or arrest on suspicion was forbidden.

Appendix XXV is a collation of the available figures on prostitution from 1857 to 1922 as published in the various versions of the chief constables' reports. Each incumbent was pragmatic as to the value of much of the information offered. For example the number of prostitutes said to be in brothels is unrealistic. The number of streetwalkers who resorted to prostitution due to transient economic circumstance of occasional necessity is unquantifiable. Similarly, the number of women who worked on their own is not available. Nevertheless, assuming sustained police pressure and an efficient detection system, the figures suggest an overall decline in prostitution for which legal sanction and police activity can be only partly responsible, despite of the growth of the city. Ostensibly, changing moral attitudes moved the profession onto a more discreet plane at one end of the market, while the

¹⁰¹ GCA/SR22/63/4, Camlachie Minute Book, 3 April, 1888.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

evidence of the average rent of an establishment (Appendix XXV) suggests a very poor quality product at the other.

The amount of crime committed in brothels or by prostitutes is nothing more than a total of reported offences which each chief constable admitted gave no valid indication whatsoever. This comment, repeated in 1902, indicates the police frustration.

The majority of thefts are committed under circumstances which afford few opportunities to the police either to detect or prevent. This is notably so of thefts from the person, where both the thief and the victim conspire to elude the police¹⁰³.

Between the extremes of Mahood's draconian police, arresting women on the merest suspicion and the utopian concept of the 'unfortunate' woman volunteering for reform at the charitable institutions where kindly treatment is the order of the day lies a realistic, professional, and imperfect public body working to the best of its ability according to the viewpoint endemic to the system.

Smout recognises that prostitution declined over time but did not disappear.

Legislative measures, in fact, did nothing to touch the factors of supply and demand. As long as there were girls forced to consider prostitution, and men frustrated and irresponsible enough to pay for their services, it was likely to remain a problem¹⁰⁴.

In addition, Smout makes a significant link between economic activity, women on meagre wages in uncertain employment, and economic need in time of hardship,

¹⁰³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1902, Glasgow, 1903, p.3.

¹⁰⁴ Smout, T. A Century of the Scottish People, p.164.

concluding that there was a decline in prostitution during and after W.W.I when trade was booming.

Mahood considers the situation in Glasgow as an example of 'repressive legislation on a community' raising 'interesting questions concerning the difference between police repression as an alternative to state regulation'¹⁰⁵. Chief Constables Alexander M'Call, John Boyd, and James Verdier Stevenson each consider the subject of prostitution and emotive one, to be administered with conspicuous and deliberate care avoiding at all costs unwarranted calumny. Following M'Call's 'Blow' the control of prostitution was continued, commanding no more importance in the official publications of the time than a subsection.

Perspective is important. Each chief constable readily agreed that prostitution was a problem to be tackled and that it was difficult to quantify in precise terms. What figures that are available as illustrated by Appendix XXV do not imply a universal pervasive evil corrupting the city as a whole. Table IV illustrates the numbers admitted to the Lock Hospital from 1860 to 1880. M'Call declared that no applicant was turned away.

Table IV Admissions to Lock Hospital 1860 - 1880

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1860	412	1866	613	1872	393	1878	453
1861	428	1867	624	1873	440	1879	364
1862	389	1868	530	1874	468	1880	414
1863	443	1869	519	1875	446		
1864	494	1870	558	1876	456		
1865	519	1871	431	1877	421		

Source: Report from the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881. (HC 351) VIII.193.

¹⁰⁵ Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, London 1990, p.143.

Tragic as the individual circumstances were and allowing for repeat admissions, the figures do not suggest a significant percentage when considered as a fraction of the total population of the City. This is illustrated by Appendix XXVI. As the number of admissions remained static, the population rose by almost 120,000 (30%). Nevertheless, numbers of patients admitted to the Lock Hospital were governed by the capacity of the institution, rather than the incidence of the problem, therefore relatively static numbers could be interpreted as an indication of continued high demand being serviced by somewhat limited resources.

Recorded incidence of prostitution declined but the activity did not disappear. It became less overt. The reasons for this were attributable in part to the activities of the police. The Industry adapted to suit the circumstance. For example, Smout quotes the Parochial Inspector of Glasgow who, in 1911 declared 'the existence of ice-cream shops which were merely cloaks for indecency'¹⁰⁶. Edward considered the sometimes less than favourable attitudes to these recreational facilities. He found little evidence of hostility toward the Italian community, who were the mainstay in Glasgow of the ice cream and fish and chip shop industry, before World War Two. Nevertheless, animosity did exist in certain quarters. Sabbatarians objected to Sunday opening. This was developed in evidence given to a Parliamentary Committee on Sunday opening in 1906. They described the ice cream shops as 'one of the evils of Glasgow'. They were open from 9 a.m. - 12 midnight on Sunday, as they were every other day. Bad language and bad behaviour were commonplace. The police were far from happy, citing rowdy behaviour and a bad moral tone, engendered by the temptation to gamble on billiard games and football machines. 'It was even suggested that, 'the Italian ice-cream man as a rule tolerates conduct in his

shop that no Britisher would tolerate'¹⁰⁷. Edward points out that, considering Glasgow was noted for its drunkenness, this attack on an alcohol free zone on the grounds of sabbatarian and xenophobic principles, smacks of hypocrisy uncharacteristic of the notionally tolerant and polyglot Glaswegian. Furthermore, although there was a school of thought that ice cream shops were places of assignation, evidence that they were regularly used as rendezvous for prostitution is based on opinions expressed by the Glasgow Parish Council in 1911¹⁰⁸. Easy prey were clients who had been drinking and an immediate association with public houses was made. 'There was in Glasgow at this time [1906] a great deal of drunkenness, and much worse behaviour than anything seen in ice cream shops'¹⁰⁹. As regulations tightened, the risk to the proprietor's license increased. With such high stakes, condoning soliciting on the premises, be it ice-cream shop, public house or billiard room, became a potentially very unprofitable risk.

From the start of the twentieth century, police frustration at its lack of power and resources to tackle the problem of prostitution deepened. Notionally, law existed to prosecute and fine brothel keepers and their staff, but the maximum punishment in the form of fine or imprisonment was no deterrent. From 1904 to 1907 inclusive Chief Constable Stevenson made no bones about the ineffectual nature of the powers at his disposal to combat prostitution.

Punishment of a fine is inflicted only when it is evident when the unfortunate has no intention of giving up her living. Frequently the promise to give up evil ways and go to a home is broken. The magistrates should have power to remove

¹⁰⁶ Smout, T. A Century of the Scottish People, p.164.

¹⁰⁷ Edward, M., Who Belongs to Glasgow? 200 Year of Migration, Glasgow 1993, p.93.

¹⁰⁸ Glasgow Parish Council, Sexual Immorality and Prostitution in Glasgow, 1911 p.4 cited in Mahood, L. The Magdalenes, pp.150-151.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*.

habitual offenders form the streets by committing them to Reformatory Homes for a fixed period instead of sending them again and again to gaol in default of payment of fines.

The low rate of wages paid for female labour tends to lead girls to the streets¹¹⁰.

Irrespective of the opinions held by chiefs of police and their colleagues, they could only operate within the restrictions allowed them by the law. By the following year (1908) Stevenson's concern over the ineffectiveness of the legislation was further expressed when he declared that the 40/- maximum fine (often paid by the brothel keeper) or twenty day maximum prison sentence for the girl and £10.00.00 fine or three months in prison for the keeper, had no effect on those who would continue in this line of business. Stevenson could voice his opinions, but was in no position to change the system or the law until the outbreak of war.

The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), introduced during the First World War, placed further criminal liability on the female. The latter in the form of Regulation 40D, made it an offence for women with venereal disease to consort with members of the armed forces¹¹¹. In 1917 the Venereal Diseases Act formalised procedures for tracing and treating infected persons under the jurisdiction of the Medical Officer of Health. Glasgow, being a major industrial centre and transit facility for military personnel made special medical provision to cope with the economies of scale¹¹².

¹¹⁰ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1904, Glasgow, 1905, p.7.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1905, Glasgow, 1906, p.6.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1906, Glasgow, 1907, p.6.
City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1907, Glasgow, 1908, p.6.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* p.486.

¹¹² Checkland, O and Lamb, M. (Eds.) Health care as social history: The Glasgow Case, Aberdeen, 1982, p.156.

Stevenson's frustration as he neared the end of his stewardship knew no bounds. He considered the brothel keepers themselves, living off the immoral earnings of others, as beneath contempt.

It is a disgusting business and the only adequate punishment for a creature of that type is a whipping. They are a low type of bully and often inflict severe punishment on girls who do not give up the proceeds of their trade¹¹³.

The impotence of the system outraged him.

The courts have no power to send a girl to a Home. Not the home one usually associates with this class of offence, but a bright and cheery place where all that makes for clean, straight living can be taught. Much money is spent on objects less worthy¹¹⁴.

D. Logan observes that 'male-oriented' reformism was limited in its success and that the stigma attached to those persons in lock hospitals or Magdalene institutions had a deterrent effect. Seeking help, whether the person perceived she needed it or not, was a difficult concept to transmit from such institutions in anything but the most moralistic of ways¹¹⁵. Despite these frustrations, the decade from 1923 saw a reduction in the numbers prosecuted and imprisoned for prostitution. Appendix XXVII illustrates this. Chief Constables Stevenson and Sillitoe volunteered no justification for this decrease. There is no reason to suppose that there was an overnight breath of unctuous air pervading the city. Police problems at that time included a dramatic increase in crime levels and commitment to a significant

¹¹³ City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns, 1928, Glasgow 1929, p.7.

¹¹⁴ ibid.

¹¹⁵ Logan, D., 'An "Outstretched Hand to the Fallen": the Magdalen's Friend and the Victorian Reclamation Movement, in Victorian Periodicals Review 1997 30(4), p.369.

force re-organisation in the late twenties which continued into the 'thirties. Management strategy suggested a distribution of scarce resources unsympathetic to prioritising this issue. Percy Sillitoe took over from Stevenson in December, 1931. From 1933 there were no comments offered in the Chief Constable's report highlighting this issue. The priority placed on the prosecution of prostitution in the late nineteen thirties is indicated by the number of prosecutions. In 1935 there were 10 prosecutions, in 1936, 26¹¹⁶.

Chiefs of police, no matter how volubly they voiced their opinions on the matter were custodians and operators of the law. Walkowitz suggests the police were 'reluctant agents of moral reform'¹¹⁷. Attitudes expressed by M'Call and Stevenson support this thesis. Civilian voluntary agencies selected, *i.e.* stratified, morally and socially, those to be offered places in the institutions. The complex, but relatively toothless regulations attempted to control a proclivity that covered all levels of society and hypocrisy. The police were in an invidious position.

Contemporary perceptions of a vice-ridden city under the Draconian rule of a bigoted police are difficult to substantiate. Realities are difficult to determine, however a degree of care was exercised in the investigation of prostitution by the force which was seen as a model to be propounded at national government level. Chief Constables accepted the sensitivity and complexity of the situation, and determined to adopt as professional a stance as possible in light of the various pressures brought to bear by political, religious and philanthropic factions. The degree of success is difficult to evaluate. It is difficult to find evidence in the literature of the deliberate oppression of prostitution nevertheless, there was

¹¹⁶ Chief Constable's Report, 1935, Glasgow, 1936, p.52.
Chief Constable's Report, 1936, Glasgow, 1937, p.44.

containment of an unacceptable situation, controlled by an unscrupulous element of the criminal fraternity. Jones concludes that, although the problems associated with prostitution were not eliminated 'in the later nineteenth century, there was a shift in the concerns of society and the priorities of the police'¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁷ Walkovitz, J. Prostitution and Victorian Society, p.42.

¹¹⁸ Jones, D. Crime, Protest, Community and Police, p.167.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

The development of the City of Glasgow Police can be compared, to a certain extent with Marenin's abstract and highly political examination of policing. In this he makes a close correlation between police systems and their relationships with the state's leaders and its rank and file members. He considers that the levels of autonomy that the police command is directly related to the condition of the 'state' in question. For example, in times of crisis, e.g. civil unrest, the police power to coerce (with or without some degree of physical force) some groups and protect others, increases its autonomy in the community. Similarly, when other structures in a state are not formalised, public health for instance, the police can take a lead, albeit temporarily. Finally, police autonomy can increase when the legitimacy of the 'state' is low or declining. He observes that

the police are mediators between state and society and are grounded in both. They are caught in continual cross pressures and resolve these pressures and distort the transmission of state and social demands by trying to act autonomously¹.

He concludes that the police legitimises the 'linkage' between state and society in many subtle and autonomous ways. The police prioritise and interpret the instructions of the state, i.e. the law, in a unilateral way that can frustrate as well as support². In corollary, the establishment of an institutionalised police service underlined this methodical control of the population.

¹ Marenin, O. 'Police Performance and State Rule, Control and Autonomy in the Exercise of Coercion' in Comparative Politics, Vol. XVIII, part I, 1985, pp.118-20.

² *ibid.*, p.120.

Applying the above, Devine describes the innovation of a police service in Glasgow in the late eighteenth century in the context of the inadequacy of the then local authorities to control the changes in population demographics, concluding that the Police Commission was 'an innovative body whose initiatives did much to create a new range of public services in the expanding city'³. The conflicts with the 'moribund and unreformed burghal authorities' in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century suggest an autonomous police system with unprecedented power, even if its success was variable⁴. Tobias concedes that the 'art of government' was a new learning experience for the expanding urban communities that hitherto had no model on which to work and the devolved responsibility of running a country or a town was often one of observation and subsequently 'inventing solutions'. An accumulation of minor changes over time, i.e. a gradual change, accounted for the improvements in policing from 1800⁵.

This concept of institution of the police as arbiters of social, moral, and to a lesser extent, political control can be found as a common denominator when applied to the diversity of police activities. For example Nash, in his examination of prostitution, sets his discussion in a context of the apparently benign concepts of reform and rehabilitation introduced in the eighteenth century. He considers that they could also be construed as 'more sophisticated methods of social control, disciplining society and exercising authority', as demonstrated by the carceral system adopted for prostitutes and their reform⁶. Dobash and McLaughlin support this thesis, citing Foucault's work on prisons. He, Foucault, suggested that this carceral and

³ Devine, T.M. 'Urbanisation and the Civic Response: Glasgow 1800-30', in Cummings, A.J.G. and Devine, T.M. Industry Business and Society in Scotland since 1700, Edinburgh, 1994, p.188.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Tobias, J. Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century, London 1967, p.242.

disciplined society was necessary to produce the pliant populace 'necessary for industrial capitalism'. 'Individuation' was crucial in this process which included detailed rules to separate, regulate and direct human action and mechanisms for constant surveillance'⁷.

This notion of moral propriety was endemic in bourgeois society by the middle of the nineteenth century. Storch considers the division between the classes developing when he observes the increasing insularity of the middle classes as they divorced themselves from the common pursuits of the lower echelons. This 'disintegration of a common sphere of enjoyment' in which the lower classes were seen to continue to enjoy frolicsome pursuits, usually with attendant alcoholic implications, was eschewed. Traditional gatherings that were previously condoned or even patronised by the middle and upper classes were abandoned in favour of abstinence from participation and more acceptable occupations offered by the local temperance associations and mechanics' institutes.

Storch stated that in a pre-industrialised society local gentry exercised a degree of moral as well as literal control over the populace within each thieftown. The growth of conurbations and the disappearance of 'older and more personal lines of authority and deference' created a vacuum that was filled by a surrogate institution. Obsolete and ineffectual forms of control were totally unsuitable as the means to check an increasingly restless populace. He declared the police became

⁶ Nash, S., 'Prostitution and Charity: the Magdalen Hospital, a Case Study', in Journal of Social History 1984 Vol. 17(4), p.617.

⁷ Dobash, R. and McLaughlin, P. 'The Punishment of women in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Prisons and Inebriate Institutions' in Breitenbach, E, and Gordon, E. (Eds.) Out of Bonds: Women in Scottish Society 1800 - 1945, Edinburgh, 1992, p.65.

a 'bureaucracy of official morality' produced to fill this vacuum and to act as a lever of moral reform on the mysterious terrain of the industrial city's inner core⁸.

The policeman would take on the responsibilities of a local squire in the policing and control of those in his area of operation. Extrapolate this proposition through a hierarchy of officers, senior officers and Police Commissioners and the influence of a police institution, sanctioned by parliament, becomes manifest. Bunyan seeks to elaborate this thinking by challenging Critchley's view that the development of the police is a 'progression from anarchy to civilisation' in the interests of the community. Bunyan takes a more selective view, suggesting that the police act in the interests of a particular class and historically 'oppose the interests of the working class as a whole'⁹. Emsley takes a less spirited and emotional view. He considers that there is no simple explanation for the development of 'professional bureaucratic policing'. The propertied classes saw a growing threat of increased criminal activity from the end of the eighteenth century and popular disorder was perceived as escalating. As the nineteenth century progressed, the ownership of property became the privilege of a flourishing section of society. The police were perceived as the 'ultimate answer to theft and disorder'. Emsley suggests that they were more of a placebo¹⁰.

Taylor expresses concern in trying to quantify the actual levels of crime in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Rather than concentrating on statistical accuracy, he recommends contemporary descriptions and explanations as

⁸ Storch, R. 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England 1850 -1880' in *Journal of Social History*, Summer 1976 Vol. 9 No. 4, p.496.

⁹ Bunyan, T. *The History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain*, p.289.

¹⁰ Emsley, C., *Policing and its Context*, p.162.

invaluable. Despite the faults of the reporters, he submits that several underlying conclusions can be offered. The existence of an extensive criminal class in eighteenth and nineteenth century England is questionable and the number of hardened, professional criminals was small. Furthermore, those who appeared in court were representative, generally, of the population groups from which they came and the wider population contained a demonstrably 'unknowable' number of criminals who were never caught. He concludes that criminals, on the whole, were drawn from those elements of society that were in some way stigmatised by assessors, for example the lower orders of the working classes rather than the more prosperous skilled artisans and bourgeoisie¹¹.

The primary objective of the research was to deliberate the development of the police function and its changing responsibilities in a Scottish context: specifically, an urban experience. This was to be considered in a longitudinal framework to examine the cyclical changes that affected the police in a volatile urban context. The Industrial Revolution had heralded momentous social changes in the emergent industrial centres causing anxieties among the controlling civic hierarchy. The almost feudal system of public control and regulation became impotent as a function of economy of scale and changing political awareness. This fostered the idea of devolving ancient 'police' activities from a haphazard domestic responsibility under common law to a professional body of dedicated officers supported by Act of Parliament. The study would focus on this evolutionary process in Scotland, as opposed to the English system that had developed along parallel but distinctly different lines, based on precepts common to the Scottish culture.

¹¹ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, p.69.

Within Scotland, Glasgow was the city where those comparisons were most striking and which first confronted the need to redefine and formalise this extension of civic responsibility. As industrial, social, cultural and political transitions occurred, the need became urgent to redefine and formalise criteria of civil regulation. The development of a comprehensive system of police in the Scottish sense i.e. an all-embracing maintenance of the 'common good' rather than a reaction to criminal activity is the fulcrum of the research.

The passing of the Glasgow Police Act in 1800 formed the starting point of the thesis. This piece of legislation laid the foundation for the acts that followed and despite major revisions and many extensions of police powers and responsibilities the basic ethic was maintained. In 1877 the amalgamation of the dual systems of police and civic authorities was a logical progression and refinement. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the police function of maintaining law and order had become the dominant purpose of the organisation and lay specialists were undertaking the enormous burden of the more pastoral side of the service increasingly although relationships with the police authorities remained close.

The effectiveness of the police in the control of crime by deterrent or direct action varied throughout the period from 1800 - 1930. As the range of powers and professionalism of the force grew and matured general trends in criminal activity were down. This was not limited to the Glasgow area and cannot be attributed solely to police action. However, the contribution of the police to the regulation of miscreant behaviour must be acknowledged as a major influence on the city during the period.

The police had a fundamental part to play in the moral regulation of the city. Treading a narrow path between operating the law and imposing commonly upheld beliefs and values proved one of the most difficult areas of police operation. The

undertaking of duties that before had been the province of the local laird and, by default, dispenser of legal sanction required a degree of skill and training that could only be acquired over a period of years.

The place of the police as arbiters on local and national issues has been important in the development of the system. While not known for subtlety of approach when faced with congregations of malevolent intent, the City of Glasgow Police was enjoined to be scrupulously neutral on matters of political sensitivity acting as per remit as a protector of property and keeper of the peace.

Internal regulation of the institution by its hierarchy, a function of the person in ultimate authority, was thorough. Nevertheless, as conditions of work deteriorated and wages compared unfavourably with employment elsewhere the quality of recruit could be seen in direct proportion. Despite considerable effort by successive Chiefs of Police, the morale of the police force was on something of a cyclical roller-coaster as conditions of work varied over time.

Judging the effectiveness of statistical data is a problem. Before 1857 accurate and homogenous statistical figures were not required. Within the first five years of the establishment of a universal system of reporting changes in the start of the recording year required slight adjustment of observation. Some statistics were recorded for a short period of time and then dropped for no explained reason. Others were redefined affecting the apparent trends established by the 'old' system. As a result, the picture created by the statistics available must be adjusted to allow for the inconsistencies resultant from change and omission. Contemporary commentators on policing, crime and society, while having the benefit of immediate observation, applied the values and opinions prevalent at their time of writing. This constrained many observers and, consequently, analyses tended to have common denominators

angled at a vilification of 'lower orders' for their non-conformity. Furthermore, although the role of the police in the community was emphasised, its importance as an institutionalised mechanism for the control of the public by the corporation was an ever-present undertone.

Much recent historical writing on British policing concentrates on the English experience. Modern commentaries, while displaying a refreshing depth of analysis in the specialist area of the particular piece were, with few exceptions, committed to the belief that the English system of policing, particularly that of the Metropolis, held a pervasive fascination to the detriment of all others. Academic comment on the Scottish police is relatively sparse. Consequently, with many fundamental differences between English and Scottish policing, the application of principles developed south of the border did not always make a comfortable fit when analytical comparison was necessary.

The system of policing in Scotland and Glasgow in particular was not the sudden imposition of a control of ominous character by a frightened and inadequate civic authority. The City of Glasgow Police confirmed the duties and responsibilities of the City Fathers of watching and warding the populace against those who bore it ill will coupled with the maintenance of the local infrastructure. Furthermore, the haphazard arrangements for civic maintenance, the expense of which was borne by the few and enjoyed by the many, was delegated to a body with considerable powers to upgrade and maintain it.

Despite the high ideals inculcated by the numerous police acts over the years and the degree of responsibility thrust upon the institution a constant problem was one of resourcing. The primary functions of watching and warding and the detection of crime were in stiff competition with the demands made on the constabulary

exemplified by the control of public health, street maintenance and lighting, responsibility for the destitute and the control of prostitution. Figures were produced as to the number of prosecutions brought for the pollution of the air, but still the atmosphere remained foul. Busy as the police authorities were in their condemnation of food unfit for consumption, the problem was not solved. Drunkenness and petty thefts continued. A comment made repeatedly by the Chief of Police was that as the responsibilities of the police service grew the depth of knowledge required by officers increased. The degree to which the front line operatives had to employ their powers of judgement and control was considerable and resources, proportional to the workload, were not available. In short, the funding of the police system did not keep up with the demands made on it. Consequently a succession of crises overtook the force.

The classic image of the Victorian policeman as the local defender of all that was good and wholesome has long been offered as an archetype. This thesis has not examined in depth the concept of how, or indeed why, this was accepted over time, not only within the constabulary itself, but also by certain middle-class sections of society. How this concept was developed and quantified in the City of Glasgow Police is a subject for further consideration.

Individuals hold political opinions, including policemen. The police have always made every effort to remain overtly apolitical. The juxtaposition with political masters is worthy of investigation. This is especially sensitive since the police have a responsibility to investigate political enemies of the state. The concept of a national police force in some shape or form has been propounded almost since the inception of the earliest constabularies. Arguments against this arrangement have been ranged for many years. Many have come from local authorities, desperate to

retain control of their own defenders of the law. To that end the police have been political pawns themselves. The examination of this circumstance could prove most enlightening.

The example of the City of Glasgow Police is not representative of the origin of the majority of Scottish police forces. Much work remains to be done on the establishment of smaller borough and rural constabularies, the agencies that compelled their founding and the reasons behind this compulsion. The examination of Scottish criminal records is in its infancy. Further investigation of the available data would give a much clearer insight into the trends styles and types of miscreant activity from the earliest days of formal policing.

In 1896, an attempt was made to summarise public awareness of the police in Glasgow.

To many good citizens the term Glasgow police means little more than the embodiment of the law and order, the constable, as he walks the streets clothed in the official blue symbol of authority. To these citizens there comes once a year a disagreeable reminder of the Glasgow police in the form of a demand for the due payment of police rates, and that claim being satisfied that ratepayer imagines that there his relations with the police of Glasgow begin and end. Viewed from these two points alone the police of Glasgow cannot be expected to evoke much popular enthusiasm or to be the object of grudging support. At the lower end we descend in the social scale the greater will be found the popular antagonism to the police, till in the shady circles verging towards the regions of filth, vice and crime the very name 'police' is hated as much as it is feared.

For all the departments of municipal activity the police is that which is throughout the most considerate towards the humble,

helpful to the helpless, kind to the sick and afflicted and watchful over the heedless who rush toward danger and temptation¹².

As the City of Glasgow Police approached its first centenary official pride in the organisation knew no bounds despite the recurrent difficulties of maintaining internal standards and fulfilling delegated duties.

Carson discusses this view, commenting on Kinloch's concern in 1857, soon after his appointment as Inspector of Constabulary that the police should be clothed, paid and housed in accordance with their station in society. In 1891 the Ayrshire Police Committee considered that proper housing was important for officers 'as it raises their social position among those with whom they have to deal'¹³. Carson concludes that, as bureaucratic control from the centre increased, the 'respected policeman carried the values of the 'centre', i.e. government, to the populace. Citing Silver the policeman became the intermediary to make these values 'palpable in daily life'. Police action and public cooperation were essential in the execution of their duties, and consequently the development of a 'respectable and 'respected' police service in Scotland was in the interest of both parties. By the end of the nineteenth century the police records 'are absolutely littered with requests from local inhabitants to have a constable located in their town or village'¹⁴. Finally, Carson eschews the more sinister connotation associated with 'surveillance' as a prime role of policing and concludes that

the growth of Scottish policing in the nineteenth century legitimised the policeman as the personification of panopticism¹⁵.

¹² Bell, J. and Paton, J., Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration, pp.111-112.

¹³ Carson, W. 'Policing the Periphery: The Development of Scottish Policing 1795 - 1900', Part II, in The Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology No. 18, March, 1985, p 13.

¹⁴ *ibid*, p.14.

¹⁵ *ibid*, p.15.

When examining the development of policing in the British Isles assumptions based on the Metropolitan model must not be applied to Scotland. The English situation, irrespective of its relative tardiness, was subject to influences not applicable north of the border. Although there had been systems of policing in England from the Middle Ages, the context of the enactment of the 1829 Metropolitan legislation by Central Government bears little similarity to that of Glasgow.

Opposition was strong to the formation of a body of men who were regarded as primarily the enforcers of public order rather than the maintainers of a common good. This perception established a stigma from the outset in the minds of the populace in England. Often, the quality of recruit was not high and many early attempts at integration of the force as a compliment to the structure of urban society were not successful. With direct accountability to Central Government, public anxieties over the political role of the police were not allayed and their position as agents of the political administrators at national level increased suspicion.

The origins of policing in Glasgow, while not totally apolitical, were founded on more altruistic, parochial principles. The system of enfranchisement of voters and the election of a police board was liberal in its concept and recognised the importance of the contribution of an active, committed, able and erudite section of society whose interests were provincial. Nevertheless, the ancient responsibilities of watching and warding adjudicated by a magisterial elite were similar in many ways to the 'pre Peel' English system, and parallels can be drawn with the policing problems created by the rapid expansion of urban areas at the end of the eighteenth century.

Latterly, the squiral system of policing in Scotland failed under the pressures imposed on it by economies of scale. The growth of the towns heralded the increasing influence of an emergent, politically aware and educated middle class who

were enjoying increased prosperity. They demanded a greater say in their destiny. Formalised solutions had to be found to this challenge. This section of the population had become disinclined to undertake policing responsibilities, by this time little more than quaint traditions. The impetus for change was generated proverbially, by the people for the people. Central government did not impose a police system on Glasgow, the permission being sought by Glaswegians to establish an organisation of their own devising. Generally, having accepted the financial implications, reaction from the populace was favourable to the founding of a constabulary. As professionalism grew from uncertain beginnings, while feared by the criminal fraternity, the City of Glasgow policeman became a respected part of the community. This was a role encouraged and fostered by the hierarchy as germane to the police institution. The 'squirrel' personification of the policeman became an important factor in neighbourhood society.

Chief Constables exercised executive control over their organisation but in light of the diverse areas of responsibility they had considerable influence over many aspects of the government of Glasgow. Far from being a servant of a committee, successive chiefs of police were deeply involved in strategic planning and policy formulation. Many Chiefs were charismatic leaders, good examples being Henry Miller, James Smart, Alexander M'Call, and even the redoubtable Sillitoe. The liaison between the operational police, the City Fathers and the general public was not always cordial and dint of personality played no small part in the performance of the police function. Ultimately, Chief Constables were in command of institutions that had to be flexible to circumstances beyond their control that imposed change on the institution. For example, these influences could be political, in the form of legislation; economic, in terms of funding available to the organisation; or social,

according to the mores of the time. Throughout the period they took on the extra burdens of responsibility as dictated by the legislation, albeit unwillingly on occasion. They operated, with difficulty, under the economic constraints imposed upon them and did their best to control expenditure. The status of the policeman in the eyes of the public improved, particularly from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as there was an insistence on a high standard of discipline and behaviour within the force.

It has been postulated that the development of policing in Glasgow was a natural, and sensible progression as the patriarchal system became obsolete. The charismatic figure of the local cop, encouraged to know his beat and the people who lived and operated therein and the dispenser of summary justice could be likened to the squire in microcosm.

Taylor observes that changes in the complex nature of society over the period and the eclectic character of policing resulted in an equally complex and varied response to the police by society, especially the working classes. Consequently a fine balance had to be struck as the officer on duty had to present himself in accordance with the demands of the moment. He concludes that, by the start of the Great War in 1914, such had been the improvement in the quality of policing that the extent of public support was broadened considerably¹⁶. As urbanised society developed in Scotland the need for a strategy of control presented itself. A semi-benevolent format was installed that was encouraged by a middle class whose self-interest cannot be dismissed as insignificant and whose motives were, perhaps, not totally unselfish.

¹⁶ Taylor, D. Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, p.105.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Composition of Board of Police at October, 1846. (Immediately before the 1846 Act.)

The Lord Provost.
The Dean of Guild.
The Deacon Convenor.
Four Bailies.

<u>Ward No.</u> <u>Comments.</u>	<u>Name of Commissioner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Date of Eln.</u>
1.	William C. Pattison	Bookseller 32, Nelson St.	Jly, '44
2.	William Duncan	Cheese Merchant 80, Candlerigg Street.	Jly, '44 Jly '45 r-eletd. By WARD
3.	James Anderson Jnr.	Baker 151, High Street.	Jly, '44
4.	Andrew Paton	Merchant 16, Richmond Street.	Jly, '46
5.	William Cochran	Calenderer Candlerigg St.	Jly, '44
6.	*David Yuile	Commission Agent Miller Street	Jly, '44
7.	William Anderson	Accountant John Street.	Jly, '44
8.	John Forrester	Baker 7, Gordon Street	Jly, '44 Jly, '46 r-eletd. By WARD
9.	George Ross	Shoemaker Trongate.	Jly, '44
10.	Stewart Mitchell	Tobacconist 111, King Street	Jly, '44 Jly, '45 r-eletd. By WARD
11.	Patrick Scanlan	Pawnbroker (no address gvn)	Jly, '44
12.	Hugh Wilson	Engraver J 191, Trongate.	Jly, '45

13.	Robert McTear	Auctioneer 97, Argyle Street	Jly, '44 Jly, '45 r-eletd. By WARD	
14.	Cpt. Charles McArthur	44, Howard St.	Jly, '46	
15.	William Bain	Spirit Merchant 57 Argyle Street.	Jly, '46	
16.	Alexander Kellar	Portioner *** 39 London Street	Jly, '45	
17.	John O'Neil	Clothier Saint Andrews St.	Jly, '44	
18.	James Moir	Tea Dealer Gallowgate.	Jly, '46	
19.	Peter McAra	Grocer Gallowgate.	Jly, '46	
20.	David Gilmour	Portioner ** Graeme Street.	Jly, '46	
21.	Porteous Sutherland	Singer 102, Blackfriars St.	Jly, '44 Jly, '45 r-eletd. By WARD	
22.	David McMichael	Manufacturer 55, Drygate Street.	Jly, '46	
23.	Patrick Rattray	Builder Killermont Street.	Jly, '46	
24.	Robert Miller	Clothier Suffolk Street	Jly, '44	
	James Wilson	Joiner 4, Great Hamilton Street.	Jly, '45	
25.	John Rennie	Glazier (no address given)	Jly, '44	
26.	John Coulter	Tile Maker Gallowgate.	Jly, '44	
27.	Alexander Macdougall 147 votes	Portioner 10, Mitchell St	Jly, '44	Challenged as Macdougall not qualified to stand. Overld. at a
	Daniel Chisholm 9 votes	Carver & Gilder	Jly, '44	

				vote. Chall - enged by Chism. at law
Nominated	Patrick Dougall 1 vote	Merchant Union Street	Jly, '45	
	Daniel Penman	Marble Cutter 11, Renfield St.		by Board.
28.	Cpt. Charles McArthur	20, Main Street	Jly, '45	
29.	Andrew Paton	Drysalter	Jly, '44	
	James Gardner	Perfumer Gardner & Sons 35, Renfield St.	Jly, '46	
30.	William Turner	Flesher Sauchiehall Street.	Jly, '46	
31.	Robert Rankine	Flesher 137, West Campbell St..	Jly, '45	Appointed by Board - no vts being cast .
32.	Donald Rose	Merchant 303, St. Vincent St.	Jly, '45	
33.	Thomas McIntosh	Painter 274. Buchanan St.	Jly, '46	
34.	William York	Builder	Jly, '44	
		Shamrock St. J	Jly, '45	
35.	Hugh M. Blyth	Collector 184 West Nile St.	Jly, '46	
36.	William Martin (declines appt.)	Manufacturer	Jly, '45	Nominated & apptd. - only 9 votes cast for candidate, Jas.Fsr.Glbrth.
	James Steel	Wine & Spirit Mcht 213, Cowcaddens St.	Aug, '45	Appt. by Board.

Resident Commissioners at 11 Aug, 1845

Resident Commissioners were appointed to each ward. However, a minute of 11 August, 1845 reads:-

The Clerk reported that the notices required by the statute of the elections of Resident Commissioners had been duly given and produced evidence thereof. After which the Board proceeded to open the boxes put out this day for the reception of voters tickets and found them all empty excepting those for wards 2nd and 15th.***

<u>Ward No.</u> <u>Comments.</u>	<u>Name of Commissioner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Date of Eln.</u>
1. elected by Board	James Lindsay Donald Mc Kenzie	Merchant 49, Bell St. & 49, Nelson St.	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 re- the Elc. by WARD.
2.	James Mason John Logan	Stationer 12, Bell St.	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 replaces Wm. Gould (rtrs)
3.	James Bell Alexander Forbes	Shoemaker 81, George St. Grocer	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
4.	James Scott Henry McDonald Thomas McGregor	Chemist 156, George St. Hatter 74, George St.	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 re-elected Aug, '45 rpl.Scott (removed)
5.	John Buchanan Robert Wylie	Pattern Drawer Upholsterer 164, Trongate	Aug, '44 elc. by Board. Aug, '45 re-elected
6.	Alexander Graham James Bulloch	22, Argyle St. Tobacconist 68, Argyll St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
7.	William Clark W.E.C.Clark	Tinsmith 44, John Street	Aug, '44 elc. by WARD Aug, '45 elc. by Board in pl. of Jas. Anderson (rtrs)
8.	Andrew Kelly	Watchmaker Argyll Arcade	Aug, '44 elc. by Board 6,

	George Johnston		Aug, '45 re-elected.
9.	James Carlisle	41, Trongate	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
	John Mitchell	31, King Street	Aug, '44 elc. by Board
10.	John Cairns	31, Bridgegate St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board
	John Wilson	158, Saltmarket	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
	Arthur Finnigan	1, Bridgegate St.	Aug, '45 replaced J.C. who declined to accept.
11.	John Ure		Aug, '44 re-elected
	Mathew Anderson		Aug, '45 re-elected
12.	David Dunn	Victualler 151, Trongate St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
	Robert Corbet	Watchmaker 27, Stockwell St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board
13.	John Mitchell		Aug, '44 elc. by Board
	Daniel McAdie	Tailor & Clothier 95, Argyll St.	Aug, '45 re-elected Aug, '44 elc. by Board
14.	James Bell		Aug, '44 elc. by Board
	James McCulloch		Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected

15.	John Kilpatrick William Westwater	Rope & Sailmaker 118, Broomielaw	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 Elc. by WARD rpl. Mathew Browning.
16.	George Smith Snr. David Black	London St. 28, Gallowgate	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
17.	James Howie John Richmond	6, St. Andrews Sq. 36, St. Andrews Sq.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
18.	Robert Webster John Thorburn	Victualler 102, Gallowgate St.	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 re-elected
19.	Alexander Drysdale F.B. Stewart	87, Gallowgate	Aug, '44 re-elected Aug, '45 re-elected
20.	John Kay James Henderson	228, Gallowgate Manufacturer 223, Gallowgate	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected Elc.by WARD 43
21.	Thomas Goodwin James Hunter	228, High St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
22.	Alexander McPherson John Graham	Clerk 250, High St. Victualler 90, Castle Street.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
23.	John Lawson Robert Cooper	Bookseller 119, N. Montrose St.	Aug, '44 <u>selected</u> by Board Aug, '45 re-elected
24.	James Glass John Blair	33, Kent Street 6, Suffolk St.	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected Aug, '44 elc. by Board
25.	Mathew Wilson Walter Stewart	284, Gallowgate 438, Gallowgate	Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected Aug, '44 elc. by Board
26.	David Thomson William Christie		Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '44 elc. by Board Aug, '45 re-elected

27. David Penman Aug, '44 re-elected
(made Gen. Comm., 1845)
Mr. A.R. Wilson Clothier Aug, '45 elc. by Board
67, Union Street.
David Laing Veterinary Surgeon Aug, '45 elc. by Board
76, Union Street. (rplce. Penman)
28. Alexander Miller Aug, '44 elc. by Board
David Leslie Baker Aug, '45 re-elected
Argyll St.
29. Dr. Francis Steel Aug, '44 re-elected
Hugh Fleming Aug, '45 re-elected
30. Alexander Shanks Shoemaker Aug, '44 elc. by Board
49, Sauchiehall St.
Andrew Wilson Aug, '45 re-elected
Thomas Leadbetter Merchant Aug, '45 Lieu of Shanks
112, West Regent St.
31. Alexander Fyfe 124, Douglas Street Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Alexander Forrester Baker Aug, '45 elc. by Board
(Rplc. Rbt Rankin elc. 160 West Regent St.
Gen. Comm.)
32. James Fisken 317 Sauchiehall St. Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Robert W. Mair Aug, '45 re-elected
33. Alexander Gillon 142, Port Dundas Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Wm Arthur 19, Cochrane St. Aug, '44 elc. by Board
James Fyfe Stone Merchant Aug, '45 elc. by Board
(rplc. Gillon) 18, Crawford St.
Port Dundas.
34. Alexander Abercrombie Aug, '44 re-elected
George Outram Ed. Glasgow Herald Aug, '44 (rplc. Dvd.
Buchanan)
17, Scott Street Aug, '45 elc. by Board
35. Charles Cook 173, Cowcaddens Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Aug, '45 re-elected
George Waddell 16, Renfrew Lane Aug, '44 elc. by Board
36. John Russell 152, St. Georges Rd. Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Alexander Edington Founder Aug, '44 elc. by Board
Port Dundas
Hugh Baird Brewer Aug, '45 elc. by Board
(rplc. J. Russell) Canal Basin
Port Dundas.

***29 July 1844.**

Ward 6. The Box for this ward contains one hundred and thirty votes, of which one hundred and twenty three were found to be in favour of David Yuile, Commission Agent, Miller Street and seven in favour of William Yuile, Commission Agent Miller street. The Board, having scrutinised these votes found that there was a large majority of legal votes infavour of the said David Yuile and that he was thus duly elected by the qualified electors, General Commissioner of Police for this Ward.'(sic)

**** Portioner:** The ooccupier of part of a porperty originally divided among co-heirs; the posessor of a small portion of land. (Chambers Scots Dictionary).

2 August 1844

The Board proceeded to open the boxes put out this day for the election of Resident Commissioners and found them all empty except those for Wards No. 7 and 24.

The Board thereafter considered the circumstances of each Ward and declared the following persons to be resident Commissioners...'

14 August, 1843.

The Board proceeded to open the boxes put out this day for the election of Resident Commissioners and found them all empty except the boxes for Wards 1st, 3rd., 20th, 24th, and 35th.

The Board having thereafter duly considered the circumstances of each Ward, declared the following persons to be Resident Commissioners under viz for...

Source:Strathclyde Regional Archives (SRA) E/ Police Commission Board and Department /E1 Proceedings of Controlling Bodies and Committees/ 1 Minutes of Police Commissioners 1800 - 46. SRA/E/E1/1.

APPENDIX II

City of Glasgow Police amalgamations 1800 – 1960

Source:- Chief Constables' (Scotland) Association Centenary, 1870 - 1970, Inverness, 1970, p.32.

ANDERSTON BURGH POLICE (1824)*
 1824-1828 ? ? ?
 1829-1829 John Wilson Superintendent
 1829-1830 John Graham Superintendent
 1830-1832 ? ? ?
 1832-1836 David McKenzie Superintendent
 1836-1836 George Lamb Superintendent
 1836-1837 Daniel McLean Superintendent
 1837-1840 Alex. Findlater Superintendent
 1840-1844 Archibald Wilson Superintendent
 1844-1846 George McKay Superintendent

GORBALS BURGH POLICE (1808)*
 1808-1815 Robert McHenry Master of Police
 1815-1825 Donald McKenzie Superintendent
 1825-1833 John Clark Superintendent
 1833-1839 George Jaffray Superintendent
 1839-1840 Andrew McKerrow Superintendent
 1840-1846 James Richardson Superintendent

CALTON BURGH POLICE (1819)*
 1819-1833 John Hamilton Superintendent
 1833-1834 Bryce Smith Superintendent
 1834-1835 John Gilliland Superintendent
 1835-1846 James Smart Superintendent

CITY OF GLASGOW POLICE (1800)*
 29.9.1800 - 5.9.1803 John Stenhouse Master of Police
 5.9.1803 - 2.9.1805 Walter Graham Master of Police
 2.9.1805 - 5.7.1821 James Mitchell Master of Police
 5.7.1821 - 21.7.1825 James Hardie Master of Police
 21.7.1825 - 1.3.1832 John Graham Superintendent
 1.3.1832 - 24.1.1833 F. G. Denovan Superintendent
 24.1.1833 - 10.4.1836 John Watson Superintendent
 10.4.1836 - 5.4.1847 Henry Miller Superintendent
 5.4.1847 - 10.4.1848 William Pearce Superintendent
 10.4.1848 - 18.12.1848 Henry Miller Chief Superintendent
 18.12.1848 - 15.5.1862 James Smart Chief Superintendent
 15.5.1862 - 7.6.1870 James Smart Chief Constable
 7.6.1870 - 5.4.1888 Alexander McCall Chief Constable
 5.4.1888 - 2.4.1902 John Boyd Chief Constable
 2.4.1902 - 1.4.1922 James V. Stevenson Chief Constable
 1.4.1922 - 1.12.1931 Andrew D. Smith Chief Constable
 1.12.1931 - 1.3.1943 Percy J. Sillitoe Chief Constable
 1.3.1943 - 29.5.1943 David Warnock Chief Constable
 1.9.1943 - 1.1.1960 Malcolm M. McCulloch Chief Constable
 1.1.1960 James A. Robertson Chief Constable

MARYHILL BURGH POLICE (1856)*
 1856-1886 George Anderson Superintendent
 1886-1891 James Beattie Superintendent

KINNING PARK BURGH POLICE (1892)*
 15.8.1892 - 7.11.1905 Charles Harding Chief Constable
 (Also C.C. of Renfrewshire & Bute County Constabularies 1887-1925)

PARTICK BURGH POLICE (1858)*
 26.7.1858 - 10.12.1860 Paul McColl Superintendent
 10.12.1860 - 1892 Andrew Edwards Superintendent
 1892 - 1912 William Cameron Chief Constable

GOVAN BURGH POLICE (1864)*
 1864 - 15.10.1883 David Young Superintendent
 15.10.1883 - 1901 William Hamilton Superintendent
 1901-1912 James Whitecross Chief Constable

APPENDIX III

Density of Population of City of Glasgow 1801 - 1951

<u>Year</u>	<u>Area</u> <u>Density</u> <u>pers/acre</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Acres</u>	
1801	Approx Parl.Bur.ctd.1832	77,058	c.5,063	15
1811	- Do. -	103,224	c.5,063	20
1821	- Do. -	140,432	c.5,063	28
1831	- Do. -	193,030	c.5,063	38
1841	Parliamentary Burgh	255,650	5,063	50
1851	Parl. Burgh (Mun Area)	329,097	5,063	65
1861	- Do. -	395,503	5,063	78
1871	- Do. -	477,732	5,063	94
1881	Municipal Burgh	511,415	6,111	84
1891	- Do. -	565,839	6,111	93
1901	- Do. -	761,709	12,688	60
1911	- Do. -	784,496	12,975	60
1921	- Do. -	1,034,174	19,183	54
1931	- Do. -	1,088,461	29,509	36
1951	- Do. -	1,089,767	39,725	27

Source:- Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan, J.B.S., Third Statistical Account of Scotland, Collins, Glasgow, 1958.

APPENDIX IV			
Officers/Thousand Population			
Year	Estimated Population	Total Police Officers	Police/Pop. ratio
1857	368943	.	.
1860	388863	725	536
1865	437300	781	560
1870	469512	.	.
1875	493052	976	505
1880	508452	1069	475
1885	545000	1083	503
1890	560000	1118	501
1895	695000	1356	512
1900	743000	1360	546
1905	784700	1519	516
1910	796400	1613	493
1915	1074577	1841	735
1916	1095000	1461	803
1917	1106665	1363	868
1918	1112704	1274	861
1919	114656	1292	558
1920	1121842	1997	499
Population Figures			
Sources:-			
1) Census Years - Cunnison & Gillfillan <u>Third Statistical Account</u> .			
2) Tabulated estimate - retrospective, Published 1904 - (1885-1904) in <u>Criminal Returns</u> .			
3) Pre 1884 - Chief Constable's estimate in <u>Criminal Returns</u>			

APPENDIX V Register Entry for Robert Miller

No. In Reg.	Div	Name	Former Occupation	Age	Height	Birthplace	M/S	Child
294 (283) 275	E	Robert Miller	Labourer	22	6' 7/8"	Londonderry D.o.B 20 June, 1871	S M	2

SRA/SR 22/55/15, pages 22, 23.

Present Residence	Date of Appointment, Promotion, Reduction Transfer, Resignation, Dismissal	Date of reports against & remarks in favour	How disposed, if fined, the amount.
95, Gairbraid Street 13, Springbank Street	Aug 30, 1893 Appd. Prob. Const. Jan 9, '94 Prom 3rd Class Const @ 23/10 Sep 8, '94 " " 2nd " " @ 25/- Sep 2, '95 " " 1st " " @ 26/2 Aug 30, '97 pay increased to 27/4 n.s. Jun 1, 1900 " " " 28/4 Sep 10, '00 " " " 29/6 Feb 1, '02 " " " 31/10 n.s. Sep 21, '03 " " " 33/- Jun 1, '11 " " " 35/- n.s. Jun 1, '13 " " " 37/4 n.s. Jun 22, '16 " " " 40/3 n.s. Jun 1, '18 " " " 42/4 n.s. Sep 19, '18 " " " 47/10 n.s. Nov 14, '18 " " " 53/- n.s. (plus 1/4d per week boot money (pensionable)) Apr 1, '19 " " " 95/- Oct 3, '22 Resigned (Police Pension Act, 1922, Sect. 2 (1) (a))	<u>Favour</u> May 1 1905 Apprehending 4 Housebreakers Nov 2 1909 Apprehending 2 Housebreakers	Certificate Certificate

APPENDIX VI Distribution of Police by Nationality						
Year	Number of Scotchmen	Number of Irish	Number of English	Foreigners/ Colonials	Vacancies	Total
1858	503	171	27	3		704
1859	.	.	.	.		.
1860	555	146	3	1		725
1865	587	169	22	3		781
1870	.	.	.	.		.
1875	768	192	13	3		976
1880	812	222	29	6		1069
1885	851	196	31	5		1083
1890	910	178	28	2		1118
1895	1145	182	24	5		1356
1900	1114	223	19	4		1360
1905	1159	329	27	4		1519
1910	1310	260	42	1		1613
1915	1212	233	13	.	538	1996
1920	1908	261	54	4	20	2247
1925	1967	197	67	5	22	2247
1930	2045	146	69	8	22	2290
1935	2051	91	74	10	6	2232

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns/Reports.

APPENDIX VII

SYLLABUS
DUTIES OF RECRUITS
Roll Call at School - 8.30 a.m.

	Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday	
	1st Class	2nd Class	1st Class	2nd Class	1st Class	2nd Class
8.40 a.m. - 9.30 a.m.	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
9.30 a.m. - 10 a.m.	Court	Court	Court	Court	Court	Court
10.a.m. - 11 a.m.	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)
11 a.m. - 12 noon.	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)
2 p.m. - 2.45 p.m.	-	Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training
2.45 p.m. - 3.30 p.m.	-	Police Duties (Catechism)	Arithmetic	Police Duties (Catechism)	Arithmetic	Police Duties (Catechism)
3.30 p.m. - 5 p.m.	-	Arithmetic	Ambulance	Ambulance	Ambulance	Ambulance
6 p.m. - 10 p.m.	Beat Duty	Home Study	Home Study	Home Study	Home Study	Home Study

Source:- The Police Journal, Vol. IV, January, 1931. p. 88.

APPENDIX VII (cont.)

**SYLLABUS
DUTIES OF RECRUITS
Roll Call at School - 8.30 a.m.**

	Thursday		Friday		Saturday	
	1st Class	2nd Class	1st Class	2nd Class	1st Class	2nd Class
8.40 a.m. - 9.30 a.m.	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill	Drill
9.30 a.m. - 10 a.m.	Court	Court	Court	Court	Court	Court
10 a.m. - 11 a.m.	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Dictation)
11 a.m. - 12 noon.	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)	Police Duties (Catechism)	Police Duties (Instruction)
2 p.m. - 2.45 p.m.	-	Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training	-	-
2.45 p.m. - 3.30 p.m.	-	Police Duties (Catechism)	Arithmetic	Police Duties (Catechism)	-	-
3.30 p.m. - 5 p.m.	-	Arithmetic	Swimming	Swimming	-	-
6 p.m. - 10 p.m.	Beat Duty	Home Study	Home Study	Home Study	Beat Duty	Assisting Turnkeys

Source:- The Police Journal, Vol. IV, January, 1931. p. 89.

APPENDIX VIII Staff Turnover

Year	Superannuated	Resigned on Gratuity	Resigned to Army	Resigned to Army	Reservists	Dismissed	Discharged	Transferred	Deserted	Died	Total	Total Police	%age turnover	Vacancies
1854.			102			63			19	20	204	.	.	
1855.			90			49			20	7	166	.	.	
1856.			85			74			24	11	194	.	.	
1857.			142			100			21	10	273	.	.	
1858.			117			122			14	7	260	704	36.9	
1859.														
1860.			145			70			17	6	238	725	32.8	
1861.	1		89			75			20	16	199	750	26.5	
1862.			61			66			13	6	146	705	20.7	
1863.			86			61			13	5	165	744	22.2	
1864.			126			64			10	8	208	749	27.8	
1865.	2		159			71			10	11	253	781	32.4	
1866.	2		142			66			11	8	229	784	29.2	
1867.	2		102			47			6	14	171	834	20.5	
1868.	2		86			46			5	7	146	842	17.3	
1869.	2		98			52			6	22	180	866	20.8	
1870.														
1871.			114			49			6	14	183	897	20.4	
1872.			122			49			6	11	188	910	20.7	
1873.			158			60			9	6	233	922	25.3	
1874.			147			70			6	7	230	951	24.2	
1875.			128			62			4	7	201	976	20.6	
1876.			123			74			5	13	215	1001	21.5	
1877.			110			83			6	8	207	1044	19.8	
1878.			125			89			1	11	226	1046	21.6	
1879.			60			96			3	7	166	1052	15.8	
1880.			97			63			1	13	174	1069	16.3	
1881.			111			40			4	15	170	1069	15.9	
1882.			115			56			4	12	187	1075	17.4	
1883.			139			52			1	4	196	1079	18.2	
1884.			99			44			4	12	159	1079	14.7	
1885.			96			42			2	11	151	1083	13.9	
1886.			80			34				9	123	1089	11.3	
1887.			65			24			1	6	96	1039	9.23	
1888.			67			25				5	97	1098	8.83	
1889.			126			29				7	162	1108	14.6	
1890.			95			37				9	141	1118	12.6	
1891.														
1892.	5	2	67			26				11	111	1347	8.24	
1893.														
1894.	6		44			34				9	93	1355	6.86	
1895.	9		36			45				15	105	1356	7.74	
1896.	11		50			43				7	111	1358	8.17	
1897.	5		71			29				10	115	1365	8.42	
1898.	30		69			59				9	167	1371	12.8	
1899.	27		15			46				9	234	1360	17.2	
1900.	23		223			78				10	334	1360	24.6	
1901.	14		194			66				9	283	1379	20.5	
1902.	18		153			25				8	204	1379	14.8	
1903.	14		103			13				8	138	1454	9.49	
1904.	15		104			38				5	162	1478	11	
1905.	14	2	94			40		2		10	162	1519	10.7	
1906.	22	3	103			20				4	152	1563	9.72	
1907.	24	10	120			22				11	187	1588	11.8	
1908.	15	13	87			23				8	146	1613	9.05	
1909.	27	5	86			25		2		5	150	1613	9.29	
1910.	15	5	129			23		2		11	185	1613	11.5	
1911.	33	5	126			31		7		4	206	1613	12.8	
1912.	29	8	93			9		2		9	150	1996	7.51	
1913.	24	5	150			10		2		15	206	1996	10.3	

1914	13	8	90	275	68	39		3		7	503	1841	27.3	155
1915	27	10	112	310		41		3		8	511	1458	35	538
1916	19	6	39	33		14		1		9	121	1363	8.87	634
1917	23	3	21	46		4				4	101	1274	7.92	723
1918	22	7	10	13		7				13	72	1292	5.57	705
1919	21	10	74			10		5		13	133	1975	6.73	22
1920	39	6	136			1		1		5	188	2227	8.44	20
1921	70	10	90			6	8	3		7	194	2239	8.63	8
1922	80	4	55			4	4	1		9	157	2150	7.3	97
1923	37	6	65			3	2	1		5	119	2222	12.4	25
1924	27	7	49					2		5	90	2234	4.02	13
1925	34	6	42			6	1	1		2	92	2236	4.11	11
1926	43	1	38			3		5		12	102	2275	4.48	9
1927	21	6	32			3		1		10	73	2278	3.2	6
1928	50	9	31					1		6	97	2284	4.24	
1929	59	4	29			2	3	2		9	109	2284	4.72	
1930	47	5	13			1	1	2		6	75	2290	3.27	
1931	57	1	12					1	4	9	83	2292	3.62	
1932	110	3	14			3	2			8	83	2292	6.2	
1933										10		2241		
1934	43	1	10			4	3	1		6	68	2231	3.04	
1935	48	4	20			4				8	84	2232	3.76	
1936	59	5	13					2		8	87	2241	3.88	
1937	55	2	13			3	3	1		11	88	2244	3.92	
1938	66	1	10			1		1		9	88	2322	3.78	
1939	35		14			2		1		3	55	2347	2.34	

Source: Chief Constable's Criminal Returns

APPENDIX IX:- Length of Service Distribution (in years)													
Year	Under 1	1 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	Above 40	Vacancies	Total	Average Service
1858	201	249	134	71	26	12	8	3	.	.		704	5.5
1859	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		.	.
1860	180	285	126	76	28	16	9	5	.	.		725	5.75
1865	203	283	135	72	48	22	8	7	3	.		781	6
1870	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		.	.
1871	199	296	180	98	62	39	14	8	.	1		897	6.83
1875	222	309	204	95	61	48	23	11	2	1		976	7.5
1880	169	393	215	111	74	49	35	16	6	1		1069	8
1885	136	324	249	133	96	68	37	27	11	2		1083	9.5
1890	148	240	265	185	114	73	50	26	15	2		1118	10.5
1895	118	394	227	198	178	114	76	39	10	2		1356	10
1900	231	286	281	155	154	137	76	31	8	1		1360	9.75
1905	176	463	304	195	88	135	101	52	5	.		1519	9.5
1910	167	420	318	232	183	124	95	56	16	2		1613	11.33
1914	272	375	305	280	242	173	112	55	22	5	155	1996	11.08
1915	104	28	205	265	233	166	105	72	17	9	538	1996	15
1916	2	266	200	239	267	135	140	85	17	12	634	1997	14
1917	.	170	201	231	277	133	144	91	18	9	723	1997	15.92
1918	1	98	266	241	282	153	142	81	21	7	705	1997	16.58
1919	425	37	47	308	275	197	147	29	29	8	22	1997	13.25
1920	367	349	471	285	280	219	159	69	22	6	20	2247	11.5
1921	210	642	344	305	267	253	122	82	8	6	8	2247	11.83
1922	95	763	218	357	281	268	106	55	4	3	97	2247	11.5
1923	170	785	134	407	289	274	120	35	6	2	25	2247	11.42
1924	70	714	292	424	285	246	154	40	7	2	13	2247	11.75
1925	80	469	566	388	260	251	177	35	10		11	2247	12.42
1930	106	348	503	419	362	261	193	66	7	3	22	2290	13.5
1935	82	285	406	459	425	327	215	27			6	2232	13.66

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns.

Note:- From 1899, c. 40 ancillaries were excluded (Surgeons, Magazine, Tailors, Waiter, Lamp Trimmers, Female Turnkeys, etc.).

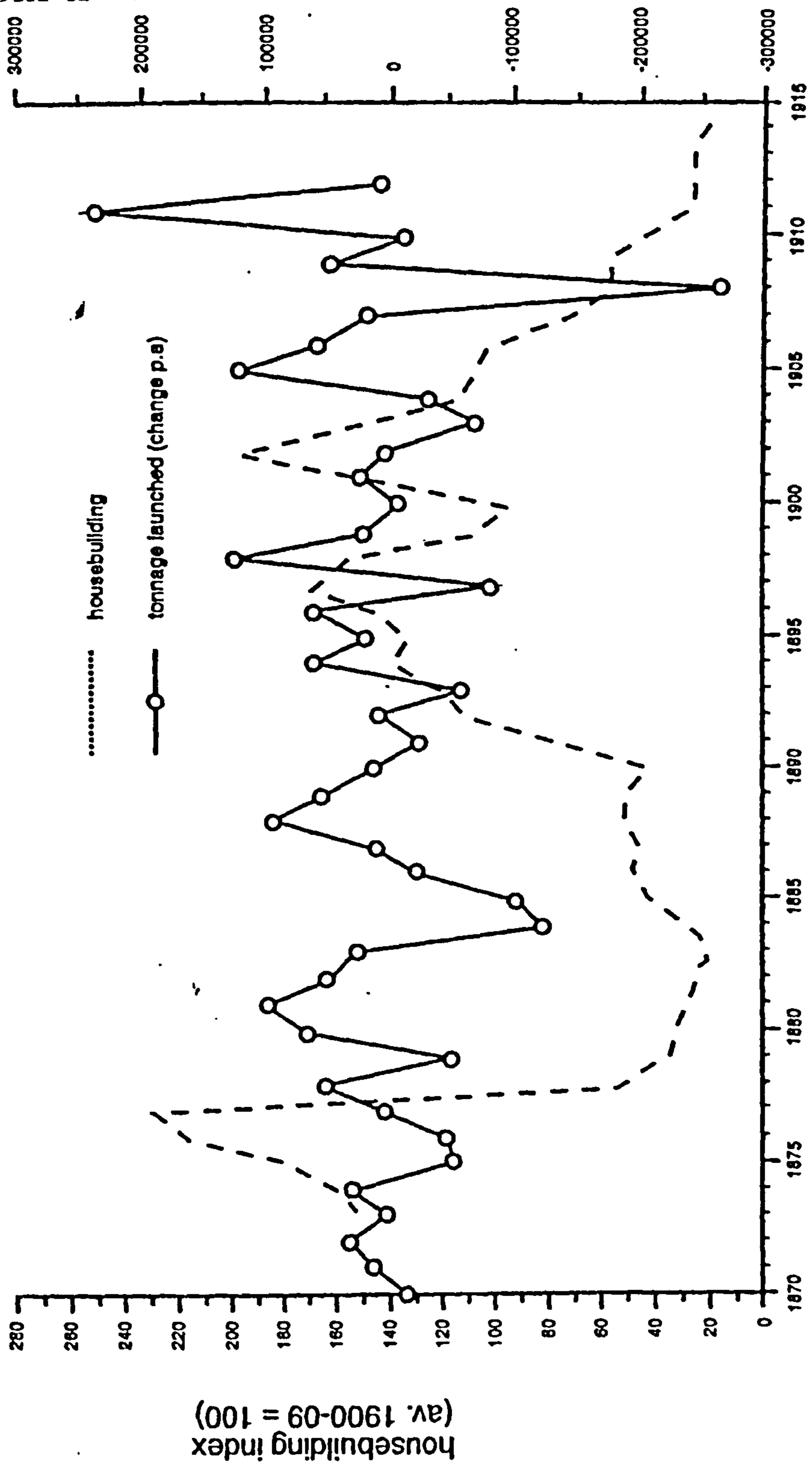


Figure 13 The volatile economy: fluctuations in housebuilding and shipbuilding, 1870-1914.

Sources: Strathclyde Regional Archives: Glasgow Dean of Guild Court Registers, Plans Approved 1873-1914. Data on tonnage launched from Clydeside shipyards supplied by J. Butt.

Source:- Fraser, W. Hamish & Mavor, Irene (eds.), *Glasgow Volume II 1830 to 1912*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996, p. 177.

APPENDIX XI:- Average age related to length of service (in years)												
Year	Under 1	1 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	Over 40	General	Average
											Average	Height
											Age	Ft(°)/Ins(°)
1858	26.3	30.2	33.8	40.4	48.4	48.8	56.5	56	.	.	32.4	5'9.75"
1860	26.5	30.5	34.5	40.8	45.3	50.5	56.5	58.5	.	.	33	5'10"
1865	26	29	35	41	46	51	54	61	62	.	33	5'10"
1871	23	30	36	40	46	50	55	61	.	67	33.8	5'10"
1875	24	32	36	41	48	52	56	60	62	71	33	5'10.5"
1880	24	30	33	38	43	47	55	58	62	61	33.5	5'10.75"
1885	24	30	36	40	45	55	54	60	63	68	37	5'11"
1890	24	27	33	38	44	48	50	57	63	64	35	5'11"
1895	23	28	31	37	42	48	52	56	58	62	33.5	5'11.25"
1900											33	5'10.87"
1905											33.5	5'10"
1910											33.8	5'10.5"
1915											37	5'10.75"
1920											34.2	5'10.5"
1923											34.3	5'10.75"

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns.

APPENDIX XII Wages Comparison - Constables with other workers weekly wages in shillings (-/-)

Year	Constable on appnt.	Constable after five years.	Constable max.	Fitters	Turners	Labourers	Bricklayer	Bricklayer Labourers	Composit	Journeym cabinet makers	Footwear Manfrs	Agricultural Workers Eng & Wales
1858	16	18	21									10.75
1860	16	18	21				30		25	22		10.91
1865	16	18	21									11.25
1866			22	24	25					24	27	11.5
1870.			22				33.25	17.62	27.5	27		11.87
1871	16		23									12.08
1872	20		25									12.67
1873	23		27									13.33
1874	23		27									13.99
1880	23		27				29.75/25.08	19.12/16.12	32.5	34		13.62
1886	23		27				29.75	19.12	32.5	34		13.33
1890	23		27				36.15	23.37	32.5	34		13.5
1892	23.93	28.6	29.66									13.83
1893	23.93		29.66				36.15	23.37/20.16				13.75
1899	23.93		29.66									14.33
1900	25		30.66	36	36		42.5	23.37	34	42.5	25.5	14.83
1906	25		33	36	36		39.18	23.37	34	42.5	29	15.08
1910			33	36	36		39.18			36.13	30	15.08
1914			37.33	38.25	38.25		59.4	23.83	38	42.5	30	16.75
1918			40.33/42.33									30.5
			47.83/53									
1919.	70		95									37.87
1920	70		95	85.8	85.8	68	102.5	85	82.5	81.27	66.5	43.04
1924				56.08	56.08	41	72.6	54.8	77.5	65.5	58.5	28
1926				56.08	56.08	41	69.75	55.91	77.5	72.45	60	31.5
1930			90	58.08	58.08	443	74.4	54.08	77.5	72.45	56	31.62
1931.	65	75	90									31.25
1932.	62.5	72.5	86.5									30.75
1934.	66.75	76.75	90.75									31.45
1935.	70	80	95									32
1938				66.08	66.08	51	76.72	55	77.5	74.4	56	34.66

Source: British Labour Statistics, Historical Abstract 1886 - 1968

Dept. of Employment & Productivity, H.M.S.O., 1971.

Chief Constables' Criminal Returns (passim).

McCall's Rept on Police submitted 6.6.1870

Summer/winter rates shown

Four increases in one year

Backdated to 1 April from 1920 - Desborough Scale

Police Review 20.4.34, p. 286

Police Review 1.7.34 'half cut reinstated'

Police Review 28.6.35, p. 617. Pay cuts restored from 28.6.35

APPENDIX XIII

**Table showing the progress of crime in the British Islands since 1805,
in so far as can be ascertained.**

Figures in 'Criminal Commitments' (1805 - 1842)

Year	England	Scotland	Ireland
1805	4605	89	3600
1806	4346	101	3781
1807	4446	97	3522
1808	4735	124	3704
1809	5330	.	3641
1810	5146	.	3799
1811	5337	.	4162
1812	6576	.	4286
1813	7164	.	.
1814	6390	.	.
1815	7818	.	.
1816	9091	.	.
1817	13932	.	.
1818	13567	.	.
1819	14254	.	.
1820	13710	1486	.
1821	13115	1522	.
1822	12241	1691	13251
1823	1263	1733	14632
1824	13698	1802	15258
1825	14437	1876	15515
1826	16164	1999	16318
1827	17924	2116	18031
1828	16564	2024	14683
1829	18675	2063	15271
1830	18107	2329	15794
1831	19647	2451	16192
1832	20829	2431	16056
1833	20072	2564	17819
1834	22451	2691	24381
1835	20731	2864	21205
1836	20984	3922	23891
1837	23612	3126	24804
1838	23094	3418	25723
1839	24443	3409	26392
1840	27187	3872	23833
1841	27760	3562	20796
1842	31309	3884	.

**Source:- Alison, A. 'Imprisonment & Transportation' in Blackwood's
Edinburgh Magazine, 1844, Vol. 55, p. 534**

APPENDIX XIV CITY OF GLASGOW POLICE CRIME FIGURES 1857 - 1939											
October - September to 1868, January to December 1869 et seq.											
(1869 is 15 month 'year')											
Crime Reports 1857 - 1939											
Year	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Total	Apprhns	Convictns	%age	
											convictions
											to reports
1857	47	109	3193	77	43		3469		1195	34.44	
1858	63	172	2866	156	43	1	3301		1001	30.32	
1859	75	141	2307	166	19	8	2716		905	33.32	
1860	78	487	5316	58	19		5952	3817	1437	24.14	
1861	51	520	5805	67	33	3	6477	4278	1537	23.73	
1862	63	473	5915	77	21	3	6552	4504	1575	24.03	TRADE TROUGH
1863	76	457	6805	105	26		7469	4914	1908	25.54	TRADE PEAK
1864	87	537	8126	98	23	2	8873	5340	2095	23.61	TRADE PEAK
1865	70	420	8219	184	24		8917	5216	2113	23.69	
1866	73	387	8870	176	10	1	9517	4639	2102	22.08	TRADE TROUGH
1867	79	551	10062	194	11	2	10899	5042	2975	27.29	
1868	90	601	9715	164	22	2	10594	4726	2996	28.28	TRADE PEAK
1869	97	443	8640	202	11	1	9394	5228	3122	33.23	TRADE TROUGH
1870	109	459	7877	224	28	5	8702	5077	3000	34.47	
1871	105	390	6793	215	13	5	7521	5046	2872	38.18	
1872	130	849	6748	206	9	4	7946	5287	3128	39.36	TRADE PEAK
1873	117	730	6830	176	10	6	7869	5791	3526	44.8	
1874	112	849	7017	198	10	7	8193	5729	3541	43.21	
1875	108	750	6799	186	7	9	7859	5503	3197	40.67	
1876	105	770	7490	195	5	4	8569	5509	3138	36.62	
1877	162	1167	8463	187	12	7	9998	6576	3431	34.31	
1878	190	1283	7990	195	7	5	9670	7041	3538	36.58	
1879	180	1121	8663	225	16	6	10211	6580	3258	31.9	TRADE TROUGH
1880	211	1037	8011	302	12	8	9581	6207	3394	35.42	TRADE PEAK
1881	29	1048	7829	285	13	8	9452	5993	3148	33.3	
1882	227	1186	7755	321	13	8	9510	6910	3322	34.93	
1883	209	1251	8034	347	20	5	9866	6558	3387	34.33	
1884	243	1401	7497	291	15	5	9452	6220	3467	36.07	
1885	204	1270	7375	228	17	7	9101	5499	3194	35.09	
1886	214	1491	7256	257	9	16	924	5276	3004	32.05	TRADE TROUGH
1887	213	1396	6973	304	13	7	8906	5348	3039	34.12	
1888	223	1457	6554	292	10	3	8539	5557	2167	37.08	
1889	193	1139	5050	270	8	6	6666	4907	2898	43.47	
1890	300	1142	5070	328	10	8	6858	4938	3128	45.61	TRADE PEAK
1891	279	1338	5503	293	9	14	7436	4845	3138	42.2	
1892	243	1370	6410	433	6	12	8474	4911	3221	38.01	
1893	285	1601	6011	485	15	8	8405	4866	3337	39.7	TRADE TROUGH
1894	225	1422	6402	503	2	8	8562	4689	3258	38.05	
1895	218	1264	5981	560	8	5	8036	4439	3132	38.97	
1896	230	1436	5996	666	2	12	8242	4572	3273	39.71	
1897	206	1853	6249	548	10	32	8898	4649	3316	37.26	TRADE PEAK
1898	1536	1782	6494	624	29	12	10477	6217	4375	41.75	
1899	1752	1794	6484	635	14	18	10697	6557	4609	43.08	
1900	1616	2046	6587	653	20	116	11038	7125	5195	47.06	
1901	1622	2577	7202	640	10	196	12247	7621	5584	45.59	
1902	1641	2289	7218	632	16	124	11920	7191	5354	44.91	
1903	1633	2765	7575	670	49	137	12829	7452	5449	42.47	
1904	1503	2701	10562	676	68	160	15670	7557	5504	35.12	START OF TRADE RECESSION
1905	1562	2555	1147	656	45	131	16482	7819	5576	33.83	
1906	1695	2439	12504	651	29	110	17428	7425	5448	31.26	
1907	1670	250	12519	572	12	123	17397	7106	5241	30.1	
1908	1518	2826	11574	495	49	93	16555	7042	4923	29.7	
1909	1057	3033	10582	318	41	93	15124	5905	4028	26.6	

APPENDIX XV				
Crimes per thousand of the population				
October - September to 1868,				
January to December 1869 et seq. (1869 is 15 month 'year')				
Year	Estimated Population	Total Crimes	Crimes per thousand of the pop.	
*1857	368943	3469	9.4	
1858	375583	3301	8.8	
1859	382223	2716	7.1	
**1860	388863	5952	15.3	
1861	395503	6477	16.37	
1862	405950	6552	16.13	TRADE TROUGH
1863	416400	7469	17.93	TRADE PEAK
1864	426850	8873	20.78	TRADE PEAK
1865	437300	8917	20.39	
1866	447750	9517	21.25	TRADE TROUGH
1867	444852	10899	24.5	
1868	453072	10594	23.38	TRADE PEAK
1869	461292	9394	20.36	TRADE TROUGH
1870	469512	8702	18.53	
1871	477732	7521	15.53	
1872	480812	7946	16.52	TRADE PEAK
1873	486892	7869	16.16	
1874	489972	8193	16.72	
1875	493052	7859	15.93	
1876	496132	8569	17.27	
1877	499212	9998	20.02	
1878	502292	9670	19.25	
1879	505372	10211	20.2	TRADE TROUGH
1880	508452	9581	18.84	TRADE PEAK
1881	511532	9452	18.47	
1882	520700	9510	18.26	
1883	530000	9866	18.61	
1884	540000	9452	17.5	
1885	545000	9101	16.7	
1886	550000	924	17	TRADE TROUGH
1887	550000	8906	17	
1888	550000	8539	15.5	
1889	555000	6666	12.01	
1890	560000	6858	12.24	TRADE PEAK
1891	565714	7436	13.14	
1892	670000	8474	12.64	
1893	675000	8405	12.45	TRADE TROUGH
1894	685000	8562	12.49	
1895	695000	8036	11.56	
1896	707000	8242	11.65	
1897	715000	8898	12.44	TRADE PEAK
***1898	725000	10477	14.45	
1899	740000	10697	14.45	
1900	743000	11038	14.85	
1901	760423	12247	16.1	
1902	776000	11920	15.36	
1903	782000	12829	16.4	

1904	782500	15670	20.02			
1905	784700	16482	21			
1906	798800	17428	21.81			
1907	806801	17397	21.56			
1908	801250	16555	20.66			
1909	801250	15124	18.87			
1910	796400	15021	18.86			
1911	784455	15309	19.51			
1912	1010805	16358	16.18			
1913	1032000	18244	17.67			
1914	1055235	18433	17.46			
1915	1074577	15719	14.62			
1916	1095000	16248	14.83			
1917	1106665	15028	13.57			
1918	1112704	14087	12.66			
1919	114656	16436	14.74			
1920	1121842	20146	17.95			
1921	1115230	18770	16.83			
1922	1034174	17940	17.34			
1923	1089000	18188	16.7			
1924	1095969	14840	13.54			
1925	1097841	14677	13.36			
1926	1121546	13605	12.13			
1927	1121546	11993	10.69			
1928	1147108	13478	11.74			
1929	1160720	16272	14.01			
1930	1160720	17040	14.68			
1931	1088417	18633	17.11			
1932	1088461	27525	25.28			
1933	1103357	27492	24.91			
1934	1115590	26735	23.96			
1935	1127823	28716	25.46			
1936	1128977	26639	23.59			
1937	1119863	26040	23.25			
1938	1127421	25854	22.93			
1939	1127825	26534	23.52			
* 'showing number of persons taken into custody.'						
** 'showing the number of crimes reported.'						
*** New statistics introduced.						
Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns/Chief Constable's Reports						
Trade cycle information from:- Gatrell, V.A.C. and Hadden, T.B.,						
Criminal Statistics and Their Interpretation', in E.A. Wrigley, (ed.)						
Essays in the use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data,						
Cambridge, 1972, p369.						

APPENDIX XVI							
Total numbers committed or bailed in Glasgow and Lanarkshire in 1839 - educational status.							
Sub-division			City of Glasgow	Lower Ward	MiddleWard	Upper Ward	
Neither read or write	Male		40	35	0	4	79
	Female		36	27	3	3	69
Read or read and write imperfectly	Male		106	103	31	13	253
	Female		73	41	8	4	126
Read & write well	Male		20	20	18	13	71
	Female		1	2	0	0	3
Superior Education	Male		0	1	2	2	5
	Female		0	0	0	0	0
Total	Male		166	159	51	32	408
	Female		110	70	11	7	198
Grand total			276	229	62	39	606
%age illiterate to literate			27.5	27.07	4.8	17.9	24.42
Source: Alison, A. 'Social and Moral Condition of the Manufacturing Districts of Scotland' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 1841 Vol 50. p.667.							

APPENDIX XVII

City of Glasgow Police Criminal Returns 1857 -1939

Offences

October - September to 1868, January to December 1869 et seq.

(1869 is 15 month 'year')

Year	Offences	Convictions	%ge Convns/ Offences
*1857	13840	5159	37.27
1858	12432	4473	35.97
**1859	9986	8274	82.85
1860	13664	12453	91.13
1861	11566	10619	91.81
1862	11073	10081	91.04
1863	13993	12709	90.82
1864	17820	16279	91.35
1865	19001	16917	89.03
1866	19033	17191	90.32
1867	19078	17402	91.2
1868	20001	17935	86.67
1869	23995	21982	91.61
1870	27362	25053	91.56
1871	26492	23737	89.6
1872	29053	26482	91.15
1873	29062	26682	91.81
1874	32379	29719	91.78
***1875	44673	41492	92.48
1876	39873	36876	92.48
1877	38885	35912	92.35
1878	37964	34761	91.56
1879	31286	28223	90.2
1880	40772	37017	90.79
1881	41555	37317	89.8
1882	42584	38522	65.76
1883	40537	36439	89.89
1884	39276	35252	89.75
1885	35345	31575	89.33
1886	36029	32354	89.79
1887	39510	36039	91.21
1888	42404	38855	91.63
1889	44762	41165	91.96
1890	50073	46386	92.63
1891	47555	43747	91.99
1892	46024	41711	90.62
1893	45779	40951	89.45
1894	46147	43013	93.2
1895	45526	42362	93.05
1896	49156	45960	93.49
1897	44376	41405	93.3
****1898	45774	42365	92.55
1899	54161	37287	68.84
1900	52382	36325	69.34
1901	56298	41172	73.13
1902	52821	38856	73.56
1903	43363	31378	71.79
1904	43707	32004	73.22
1905	45795	33778	73.75
1906	53808	39734	73.84
1907	55771	40957	73.43
1908	53563	39921	74.53

1909	46138	35342	76.6		
1910	39163	29137	74.39		
1911	40912	29979	73.27		
1912	43675	31813	72.84		
1913	53111	37339	70.3		
1914	48958	33661	68.75		
1915	43275	26332	60.84		
1916	37218	2545	67.83		
1917	30224	18285	40.49		
1918	22290	13007	58.35		
1919	28625	19785	69.11		
1920	43695	31100	71.17		
1921	30762	23324	75.82		
1922	30026	24237	80.72		
1923	28783	22688	78.82		
1924	30114	23852	79.2		
1925	32368	25892	79.99		
1926	33556	27583	82.19		
1927	25161	28853	82.05		
1928	35679	29329	82.2		
1929	34956	29111	83.27		
1930	31020	26238	84.58		
1931	29482	25216	85.53		
1932	25605	22166	86.56		
1933	25037	21612	86.52		
1934	30278	26288	86.82		
1935	35947	31783	88.41		
1936	40009	35515	88.76		
1937	42087	36928	87.74		
1938	41324	36049	87.23		
1939	37506	32414	86.42		
* 'showing number of persons taken into custody					
** Reclassification of 'Offences' in 1859/60					
*** Crackdown on drink-related offences.					
**** Reclassification of 'offences'.					
Source:-Criminal Returns/Chief Constable's Reports					

APPENDIX XVIII						
Population (Municipal Boundary) in age groups.						
Year	<15	<20	20-40	40-60	60+	Total
1841	38904	13405	45223	17127	5340	119999
%age tota	32.42	11.17	37.68	14.27	4.45	99.99
1861*	133827	175282	136687	64475	18837	529108
%age tota	25.29	33.13	25.83	12.18	3.56	99.99
1871**	165693	214434	162570	97184	21107	660988
%age tota	25.06	32.44	24.59	14.7	3.19	99.98
1881***	177329	229380	169990	85192	27103	688994
%age tota	25.74	33.29	24.67	12.36	3.93	99.99
1891§	225377	292810	219066	111658	35670	884581
%age tota	25.48	33.1	24.76	12.62	4.03	99.99
1901§§	245136	321563	320813	130755	41250	1059517
%age tota	23.14	30.35	30.28	12.34	3.89	100
Source:- Census Returns						
*p 114. Vol LI						
** Appendix Tables p cxiv Vol LLXXIII						
***Appendix Table LIV p xxii -xiv						
§ Appendix Table XLI						
§§ Appendix Table XXVI p. xiv						

APPENDIX XIX Police Length of Service/Crime														
(In number of men per category)														
Year	Under 1	1 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	Above 40	Vacancies	Total	Average Service	Crimes per thousand of the population
1858	201	249	134	71	26	12	8	3	.	.	.	704	5.5	8.8
1859	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7.1 TRADE TROUGH
1860	180	285	126	76	28	16	9	5	.	.	.	725	5.75	15.3 TRADE PEAK
1861	184	292	136	82	23	18	11	2	2	.	.	750	5.75	16.37 TRADE PEAK
1862	148	296	124	70	36	16	8	5	2	.	.	705	6	16.13
1863	175	276	146	73	40	19	7	6	2	.	.	744	6	17.93 TRADE TROUGH
1864	182	279	132	70	45	23	10	5	3	.	.	749	6	20.78
1865	203	283	135	72	48	22	8	7	3	.	.	781	6	20.39 TRADE PEAK
1866	195	278	141	80	53	16	11	7	2	1	.	784	6.25	21.25 TRADE TROUGH
1867	174	338	137	88	48	30	12	3	3	1	.	834	6.5	24.5
1868	153	342	149	94	57	27	12	4	3	1	.	842	6.75	23.38
1869	168	340	153	92	54	35	15	7	2	.	.	866	6.75	20.36 TRADE PEAK
1870	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18.53
1871	199	296	180	98	62	39	14	8	.	1	.	897	6.83	15.53
1872	201	301	187	94	61	37	20	8	.	1	.	910	7	16.52
1873	223	282	189	89	64	45	19	9	1	1	.	922	7	16.16
1874	225	288	198	99	63	43	19	15	.	1	.	951	7.25	16.72
1875	222	309	204	95	61	48	23	11	2	1	.	976	7.5	15.93
1876	228	344	175	110	61	44	26	10	3	.	.	1	7.25	17.27 TRADE TROUGH
1877	216	371	185	125	66	37	31	9	4	.	.	1044	7.25	20.02 TRADE PEAK
1878	215	378	189	109	70	40	31	9	5	.	.	1046	7.25	19.25
1879	168	412	199	103	71	49	32	10	8	.	.	1052	8	20.2
1880	169	393	215	111	74	49	35	16	6	1	.	1069	8	18.84
1881	143	374	242	122	89	45	30	18	4	2	.	1069	8	18.47
1882	147	362	230	126	94	58	33	20	3	2	.	1075	8.25	18.26
1883	163	341	225	124	96	64	37	22	6	1	.	1079	8.5	18.61 TRADE TROUGH
1884	143	356	220	115	102	70	39	25	6	3	.	1079	9	17.5
1885	136	324	249	133	96	68	37	27	11	2	.	1083	9.5	16.7
1886	107	340	248	154	93	67	47	19	12	2	.	1089	10	17
1887	89	339	248	177	86	69	51	18	15	1	.	1039	10	17 TRADE PEAK
1888	79	330	248	186	94	72	48	22	17	2	.	1098	10.3	15.5
1889	145	244	268	181	111	71	48	24	14	2	.	1108	10.3	12.01
1890	148	240	265	185	114	73	50	26	15	2	.	1118	10.5	12.24 TRADE TROUGH
1891	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13.14
1892	188	394	247	179	169	84	49	34	2	1	.	1347	9.5	12.64
1893	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12.45
1894	121	450	212	200	172	100	55	37	7	1	.	1355	10	12.49 TRADE PEAK
1895	118	394	227	198	178	114	76	39	10	2	.	1356	10	11.56
1896	121	302	308	193	175	124	68	39	25	2	.	1358	10.8	11.65
1897	142	298	327	185	160	127	70	33	20	3	.	1365	10.8	12.44
1898	186	289	345	151	139	147	14	35	13	2	.	1371	9.75	14.45
1899	196	349	264	162	148	142	61	26	10	2	.	1360	9.75	14.45
1900	231	286	281	155	154	137	76	31	8	1	.	1360	9.75	14.85
1901	209	354	173	216	154	139	97	31	5	1	.	1379	9.92	16.1
1902	138	460	166	229	138	115	101	28	3	1	.	1379	10	15.36
1903	182	458	192	232	132	121	103	29	4	1	.	1454	10.8	16.4
1904	174	442	251	207	133	125	96	44	6	.	.	1478	10.5	20.02
1905	176	463	304	195	88	135	101	52	5	.	.	1519	9.5	21
1906	151	454	343	139	186	135	88	62	4	1	.	1563	10.8	21.81
1907	178	434	350	137	200	131	94	59	4	1	.	1588	10.5	21.56
1908	160	465	346	153	209	122	84	67	6	1	.	1613	10.3	20.66
1909	146	462	324	209	196	121	93	51	9	2	.	1613	11	18.87
1910	167	420	318	232	183	124	95	56	16	2	.	1613	11.3	18.86
1911	185	387	307	259	139	154	106	55	20	1	.	1613	11	19.51
1912	319	469	358	330	142	181	125	49	22	1	.	1996	11.6	16.18
1913	253	520	360	328	168	175	103	63	4	2	.	1996	11.9	17.67
1914	272	375	305	280	242	173	112	55	22	5	155	1996	11.1	17.46
1915	104	28	205	265	233	166	105	72	17	9	538	1996	15	14.62

1916	2	266	200	239	267	135	140	85	17	12	634	1997	14	14.83
1917		170	201	231	277	133	144	91	18	9	723	1997	15.9	13.57
1918	1	98	266	241	282	153	142	81	21	7	705	1997	16.6	12.66
1919	425	37	47	308	275	197	147	29	29	8	22	1997	13.3	14.74
1920	367	349	471	285	280	219	159	69	22	6	20	2247	11.5	17.95
1921	210	642	344	305	267	253	122	82	8	6	8	2247	11.8	16.83
1922	95	763	218	357	281	268	106	55	4	3	97	2247	11.5	17.34
1923	170	785	134	407	289	274	120	35	6	2	25	2247	11.4	16.7
1924	70	714	292	424	285	246	154	40	7	2	13	2247	11.8	13.54
1925	80	469	566	388	260	251	177	35	10		11	2247	12.4	13.36
1926	135	394	627	329	292	266	193	27	12		9	2284	11.9	
1927	96	415	656	229	332	287	206	43	13	1	6	2284	12.3	
1928	85	362	770	136	369	262	230	52	8	1	9	2284	12.9	
1929	65	347	610	315	395	255	203	78	8	2	6	2284	13.3	
1930	106	348	503	419	362	261	193	66	7	3	22	2290	13.5	
1931	87	342	449	560	290	268	205	73	8	2	6	2292	13.6	
1932	66	339	463	604	187	314	212	29	2	2	23	2241	13	
1933	88	311	403	725	97	360	205	19			33	2241	13	
1934	88	305	415	602	228	358	209	20			6	2231	13.3	
1935	82	285	406	459	425	327	215	27			6	2232	13.7	

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns/Reports.

APPENDIX XX Vagrancy Figures							
Year	Given 'Protection'			Charged as Beggars	Charged with Vagrancy	Charged with Population	
	Male	Total	Female				
	1857	1814						3661	170		368943	1857 Western Bank failure
1858	1708		3556	274		375583	
1859	.		.	.		382223	
1860	1465		2495	329		388863	
1861	2316		3096	232		395503	
1862	3105		3964	285		405950	1862 Cotton Mills closed by
1863	3837		3477	588		416400	U.S. Civil War
1864		5154		314		426850	
1865		7184		422		437300	
1866		10509		265		447750	
1867		9091		486	77	444852	
1868		10653		584	89	453072	
1869		10087		557	127	461292	
1870		.		.		469512	
1871		5280		272	42	477732	
1872		3489		334	261	480812	
1873		2946		189	64	486892	
1874		4362		255	152	489972	
1875		3842		147	53	493052	
1876		4046		166	125	496132	
1877		3419		258	71	499212	
1878		9379		221	77	502292	1878 City of Glasgow
1879		13377		257	23	505372	Bank fails
1880		7526		949	29	508452	
1881		7394		483	36	511532	
1882		6114		381	31	520700	
1883		4839		322	60	530000	
1884		4502		385	58	540000	1884 - Depression to 1888
1885		4796		371	114	545000	Relief works opened
1886		3876		484	92	550000	84/5, 85/6, 86/7.
1887		3732		797	94	550000	
1888		4705		404	88	550000	
1889		3581		301	64	555000	
1890		3199		239	44	560000	
1891		3536		.	.	565714	
1892		5113		271	124	670000	Relief work opened - 92/3
1893		5304		.	.	675000	
1894		7278		464	225	685000	
1895		10183		321	212	695000	Relief works - poor winter,
1896		4408		307	149	707000	January 1895
1897		3523		342	91	715000	
****1898		3638		176	50	725000	
1899		3132		87	77	740000	
1900		2350		155	195	743000	
1901		2911		270	153	760423	
1902		2772		299	192	776000	
1903		8717		208	210	782000	
1904		20490		266	212	782500	
1905		27725		283	190	784700	
1906		17834		248	287	798800	
1907		14220		233	218	806801	

1908	37459	329	541	801250	
1909	42773	479	816	801250	
1910	25105	294	93	796400	Trade Depression to 1910/11
1911	15638	218	87	784455	Increase caused by
1912	2730	257	135	1E+06	'Severe Spring'. (crim. Rets.).
1913	2515	154	64	1E+06	
1914	3044	110	52	1E+06	
1915	1991	79	6	1E+06	1915 Designation
1916	1220	72	12	1E+06	'Homeless Persons'
1917	959	50	14	1E+06	introduced. (Crim Rets.).
1918	769	51	21	1E+06	
1919	1366	41	27	114656	
1920	3664	93	70	1E+06	
1921	15223	89	146	1E+06	
1922	54595	131	40	1E+06	
1923				1E+06	

Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns.

APPENDIX XXI TABLE SHOWING RELIEF FUNDS 1878 -1895

Cause of Distress	1878 - 80		1884-85	1885-86	1886-87	1892-93	1895
	Depression after City of Glasgow Bank Failure	Weather					
Relief Works Opened	25.11.78, 17.9.79		-	1.12.85	16.12.86	8.12.92	4.2.95
Relief Works Closed	29.3.79, 31.1.80		-	1.5.86	16.4.87	4.3.93	16.3.95
Kind of work provided	Digger work, stonebreaking, scavenging, oakum	Stone-breaking		-	Digger work & Stonebreaking	Digger work	Stone-breaking
Public Subscriptions received	£17,463.10.6, £288.7.9.	£7,205.7.7.		£675.7.7	£24.9.8.	None	£9,586.1.1
Total amount spent on relief and wages	£27,238.9.6, £6,095.3.11	£9,171.9.7 ¹		£12,860.0.7 ²	£6,202.5.0	£3,101.6.0	£9,386.13.3
Value of Work done ³	£7,755.7.0, £5,834,12.1	£1,479.18.4		£11,282.19.7	£5,408.1.4	£996.7.2	£1,894.14.11
Applications for Work	- 2,213	-		4,576	2,202	2,801	3,643
Orders for work given to	- 1,900	-		4,000	1,580	2,528	3,643
Orders for work refused to	- 313	-		576	622	473	None
Highest number working on one day	3,982 526	1,229		1,494	918	870	2,543
Average number working during whole period	- 303	-		-	-	466	2,036
Different occupations of men employed	101 120	-		-	117	110	231

Source:- Bell, J. & Paton, J. Glasgow, its Municipal Organisation and Administration, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1896, p.366.

¹ Including Donations of £500 to Govan and Partick Relief Funds.

² Including Donations of £6.14.11. to Govan and Kinning Park Relief Funds.

³ The value of Digger Work and Scavenging is assumed at actual cost; the value of Stonebreaking is estimated by measurement at current rates.

APPENDIX XXII Persons proceeded against for drunkenness										
October - September to 1868, January to December 1869 et seq. (1869 is 15 month 'year')										
Year	Estimated Population	Discharged by Duty Off.	Proceeded against	Proportion /thousand of pop.	No. who forfeited pledges	Conviction No. of licensed premises	No. of licensed house	Population /licensed	Sent to prison (included in 'convictions')	
1857	368943		7848	21.3	4913	2127	1622	227	234	
1858	375583		6904	19.03	4471	1727	1622	232	87	
1859	382223		6008	15.7	3936	2386	1671	229	101	1859 Royal Commission on Exciseable Liquors
1860	388863		7692	19.08	5257	1923	1707	228	80	
1861	395503		6594	16.67	4572	1671	1752	225	24	
1862	405950		6118	15.07	3997	1762	1742	233	129	
1863	416400		6658	16	4133	1732	1742	239	128	
1864	426850		8909	20.9	5237	2418	1726	247	43	
1865	437300		8083	18.48	4549	3089	1720	248	27	
1866	447750	20192	7501	16.75	4702	2337	1750	255	11	1866 Major reorganisation of Sons of Scotland
1867	444852	18587	5812	13.06	4130	1488	1783	249	7	
1868	453072	17895	3837	8.5	3676	124	1788	253		
1869	461292	19986	6033	13	5734	259	1795	257		1869 Good Templars established in Glasgow
1870	469512	21846								
1871	477732	23724	4999	10.4	4682	271	1819	262		1871 Scottish Band of Hope formed
1872	480812	26056	5901	12.2	5425	444	1846	260		
1873	486892	28814	6429	13.2	5900	482	1869	260		
1874	489972	22261	6345	17	5987	1795	1867	263		1874 Women's Temperance Prayer Union
1875	493052		15905	32.2	5658	7166	1856	265		1875 Policy change all apprehensions brought before Magistrates
1876	496132		14046	28.3	5423	6655	1848	268		No discharges by Duty Officer when sober!
1877	499212		14311	28.7	5655	7162	1822	274		
1878	502292		13877	27.6	5109	7259	1814	277		
1879	505372		10775	21.3	3613	6068	1799	281		1879 Salvation Army
1880	508452		13458	26.4	4224	7811	1799	282		
1881	511532		14688	28.7	4490	8359	1794	285		
1882	520700		14497	28.8	4004	8681	1788	291		
1883	530000		14366	27.1	4078	8761	1778	298		
1884	540000		12751	23.6	3562	9047	1758	307		
1885	545000		12751	23.6	3562	9047	1758	307		
1886	550000		11002	20	2906	7966	1746	315		
1887	550000		12829	23.3	3476	9204	1740	316		
1888	550000		14944	27.1	442	10547	1741	315		
1889	555000		17106	30.8	4892	11985	1736	319		
1890	560000		20904	37.3	6643	13967	1723	325		
1891	565714		19362	29.3	6150	12854	1843	358		
1892	670000		19014	28.3	6227	12115	1819	368		
1893	675000		17245	25.5	5852	10191	1807	373		
1894	685000		17824	26	5840	11655	1783	384		
1895	695000		18572	26.7	4946	13212	1766	393		
1896	707000		19765	27.9	5824	13654	1755	402		
1897	715000		18320	25.6	4887	13190	1756	406		
1898	725000		19013	26.2	6507	12252	1746	415		1898 Inebriate's Act establishes homes for treatment of drunks
1899	740000		19874	26.8	6760	12895	1742	424		
1900	743000		18689	25.1	6162	12239	1739	427		
1901	760423		19571	25.7	6111	13223	1730	439		
1902	776000		17565	22.6	5469	11918	1692	458		
1903	782000		14176	18	4735	9298	1650	473		1903 Licensing (Scotland) Act - controlling Authorities and Certificates
1904	782500		13617	17.4	4510	8936	1644	475		
1905	784700		14309	18.3	4474	9687	1636	479		
1906	798800		19334	24.2	5859	13239	1651	483		
1907	806801		21055	26.1	6567	14295	1631	495		
1908	801250		18615	23.2	5675	12752	1627	492		
1909	801250		14167	17.7	3874	10178	1626	492		
1910	796400		12029	15.6	3081	8644	1609	494		
1911	784455		13147	16.7	3605	9250	1565	501		
1912	1010805		14072	17.1	3841	9925	1786	565		
1913	1032000		17402	16.8	5237	11753	1772	582		1913 Temperance (Scotland) Act authorises local temperance polls
1914	1055235		15929	15.1	5064	10477	1755	601		
1915	1074577		17787	15.8	5687	10961	1727	622		
1916	1095000		11735	10.7	2411	9056	1696	645		
1917	1106665		7244	6.5	1830	5235	1644	673		
1918	1112704		4108	3.6	1309	2741	1621	686		

1919	1114656	9143	8.2	3024	6014	1614	690	
1920	1121842	18709	16.6	6183	12331	1602	700	
1921	1115230	10456	9.3	2857	7440	1534	727	1921 Licencing (Scotland) Act - system of permitted hours
1922	1034174	8001	7.7	1788	6091	1531	675	
1923	1089000	7496	6.7	2135	5238	1521	716	
1924	1095969	7710	7	2277	5257	1519	721	
1925	1097841	7835	7.1	2190	5422	1517	723	
*1926	1121546	7618	7.01	2114	5309	1528	733	
1927	1121546	7964	7.1	2577	5228	1521	737	
1928	1147108	8373	7.2	2643	5615	1519	755	
1929	1160720	8130	7	2456	5566	1511	768	
1930	1160720	6725	5.7	1958	4663	1499	774	
1931	1088417	6445	5.9	1544	4811	1484	733	
1932	1088461	6075	5.5	1172	4786	1480	735	
1933	1103357	5674	5.1	1002	4570	1454	759	
1934	1115590	6230	5.5	1109	5046	1437	776	
1935	1127823	6466	5.7	1254	5144	1424	792	
1936	1128977	7057	6.3	1459	5496	1404	804	1936/1938, City extension adjustments included
1937	1119863	8121	7.3	1716	6315	1411	794	
1938	1127421	7658	6.8	1893	5697	1390	811	
1939	1127825	7641	6.8	266	5302	1391	810	
Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns/Chief Constable's Reports								
1826 Home Drummond Act								
1836 Glasgow Radical Temperance Soc.								
1855 Methylated Spirit Act								
1854 Glasgow Abstinence Union								
1853 Forbes-Mackenzie Act								
1841 First Rechabite meeting in Glasgow								
1844 Scottish Temperance League								
c.1853 Sons of Scotland active.								
Source:- King, E., Scotland Sober and Free : the Temperance Movement, 1829-1979, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Glasgow, 1979.								

APPENDIX XXIII Raids on Unlicensed Premises			
Shebeening/ Selling Liquor without a license			
Year	Apprehended for selling	Apprehended for drinking in Shebeen	
1857	228	.	
1858	100	.	
1860	0	.	
1861	4	.	To 1861 (inc.) classified as
1862	109	6	'selling Spirits w/o license'.
1863	102	93	
1864	86	37	
1865	126	6	
1870	205	.	1870 Shebeening combined
1875	162	84	with hawking liquor on the streets
1880	107	66	
1885	91	61	
1890	156	317	
1895	162	93	
1900	63	40	
1905	70	76	
1910	37	9	
1915	74	18	
1920	98	68	
1921	78	33	
1922	26	7	
Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns			

APPENDIX XXIV

No. In Reg.	Div	No.	Name	Former Occupation	Age	Height	Birthplace	M/S	Chld
572	D	163 144 135	William McCormack	Painter	22	5'11"	Kildartan (?) Armagh	S	-

APPENDIX XXIV (cont.)

Present Residence	Date of Appointment, Promotion, Reduction Transfer, Resignation, Dismissal	Date of reports against & remarks in favour	How disposed, if fined, the amount.
8, West Street	Aug. 6 1884 Appointed Porb. Constable.	Favour	
50, Mathieson Street	Sept. 22 1884 Trans. To 'D' Division.	May 24 1885 arrested 2	7/6
15, N. Wellington St.	Oct. 28 1884 Prom. 4th. Class Const @ 23/-	housebreakers.	
	Aug. 17 1885 " 3rd. " " 24/-	Against	Fined 3/6
	Aug. 30 1886 " 2nd. " " 25/-	Sept. 8 1885 Worse of Liquor	Fined 5/-
	Aug. 1 1887 " 1rst. " " 26/-	Nov. 18 1885 " "	Fined 5/-
	May 16 1888 Reduced 2nd Class @ 25/-	Oct. 24 1886 " "	Fined 7/6
	May 29 1889 Dismissed	Feb. 20 1888 " "	Reduced to 2nd Class Const.
		May 15 1888 " "	Fined 7/6
		June 5 1888 " "	Fined 7/6
		Apr. 3 1889 " "	Dismissed
		May 28 1889 " "	

Source: City of Glasgow Registers of Police.

APPENDIX XXV

INCIDENCE OF PROSTITUTION

Year	Number of Brothels	No. of Prostitutes in Brothels	No. of Prostitutes in Streets	No. of Prostitutes into custody for importuning	Prosecutions for harbouring /managing	Thefts by Prostitutes	Thefts in Brothels	Total rent of brothels	Average rent of brothels
1857	211	538	509						
1858	211	538	509						
1859									
1860						401	125		
1861						449	170		
1862						474	169		
1863						467	264		
1864						569	302		
1865						574	340		
1866						578	405		
1867						554	638		
1868				360		538	708		
1869				1016		625 *463	827 *683		
1870	204	559			293	332	475	1965	9.63
1871	79	181		1639	337	259	199	692.6	8.77
1872	50	103		1509	63	188	39	482.1	9.64
1873	20	32		978	53	256	8	202.3	10.11
1874	24	30		1430	35	271	12	241.1	10
1875	40	57		1839	41	278	9	291.1	7.27
1876	38	71		1203	33	226	12	268.9	7.07
1877	38	72		1284	50	263	7	375	9.86
1878	20	39		1684	62	350	16	213.3	10.66
1879	22	37		1614	41	450	32	208.6	9.48
1880	61	116		1986	46	409	51	604.3	9.9
1881	41	77		1865	67	376	112	524.9	12.8
1882	47	82		1876	69	363	114	576	12.25
1883	42	66		1849	58	305	116	514.8	12.25
1884	29	52		2047	57	277	138	292.3	10.08
1885	57	88		2264	89	286	88	599.3	10.51
1886	43	84		2348	129	414	125	489.5	11.37
1887	31	71		2927	155	344	102	350	11.3
1888	14	16		2631	115	317	113	166.8	11.92
1889	11	14		2842	58	184	68	183.1	16.65
1890	14			2171	80	129	49	177.7	12.69
1891	8	10		2012	89			137.6	17.2
1892	7	9		1915	109	117	20	116.5	16.64
1893	9	11		2421	80			94.55	1.5
1894	11	19		2750	68	175	1	126.4	11.49
1895	9	17		2149	57	174	0	149.5	16.61
1896	13	12		2440	75	161	2	268	20.61
1897	12	12		2202	57	148	2	194	16.16
1898	10	17		2122	52	152	8	140	14
1899	11	23		2098	67	141	15	246	22.36
1900	28	30		2331	67	135	18	337.3	12.04
1901	13	9		2640	50	105	22	163.3	11.56
1902	15	26		2797	54	117	50	147.3	9.82

1903			2339	36	117		47		
1904			2247	79	94		57		
1905			1812	72	124		86		
1906			1624	75	77		56		
1907			2149	110	40		45		
1908			2168	117	39		55		
1909			1182	105					
1910			1437	113					
1911			1309	178					
1912			1339	105					
1913			897	125					
1914			848	105					
1915			610	87					
1916			477	58					
1917			213	66					
1918			228	74					
1919			267	24					
1920			280	18					
1921			318	31					
1922			441	33					
Source:- Chief Constable's Criminal Returns									
*Figures given in 1872 (discrepancy with 1869).									

APPENDIX XXVI		
Admissions to Lock Hospital 1860 - 1880		
Year	Population	Admissions
1860	388863	412
1861	395503	428
1862	405950	389
1863	416400	443
1864	426850	494
1865	437300	519
1866	447750	613
1867	444852	624
1868	453072	530
1869	461292	519
1870	469512	558
1871	477732	431
1872	480812	393
1873	486892	440
1874	489972	468
1875	493052	446
1876	496132	456
1877	499212	421
1878	502292	453
1879	505372	364
1880	508452	414

Source:- Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1881.
British Sessional Papers Vol 8 , p. 576.
House of Commons Papers, p 734 et seq..

APPENDIX XXVII			
Prosecutions and Disposal for Prostitution			
Year	Apprehensions	Convicted and fined	Imprisoned for non-payment of fine
1923	649	546	150
1924	429	341	146
1925	271	196	81
1926	401	292	81
1927	320	235	40
1928	312	262	80
1929	326	254	71
1930	230	184	45
1931	224	177	51
1932	183	144	47
1933	199	139	1

Source: Criminal Returns/Chief Constable's Reports

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