SEETHING CAULDRON OF CRIME: CRIMINALS AND DETECTIVES IN HISTORICAL AND FICTIONAL LONDON

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ABSTRACT

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London during the Victorian Era, 1837-1901, is often presented as a crime laden city shrouded in fog. This sort of imagery has become synonymous with modern day interpretations of Victorian London. Within these foggy streets criminals commit atrocious acts that detectives are then tasked with solving. These criminals, their crimes, and the detectives who investigate them have become ingrained within the popular knowledge of London during this time period. This project examines modern detective television shows and their relationship to opinions and records from the Victorian Era. The analysis is divided into three topics that examine the city, crime, and detectives. Each of these sections analyzes sources from the period in question and compares what appears within the historical record to what is represented within the modern television shows. It argues that these television series depict the opinions and practices connected to crime and detectives from the Victorian Era. This project creates a way for television to be integrated into historical research and education.

The sources for this project include descriptions of the city of London and its inhabitants written during and immediately after the Victorian Era. It also includes memoirs written by detectives who worked for the Metropolitan Police in some capacity during this same time. There is also an examination of *The Proceedings*, which provides information on crime and criminals prosecuted in the London court system. The modern detective television shows analyzed are *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street*. These were all produced by British production companies and focused on Metropolitan Police detectives. By examining all of these sources together a connection is drawn between historical and fictional London, which creates a new way to examine topics connected to this specific city during the Victorian Era.

To the ladies who lunch

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INTRODUCTION

The fog curled about her, clinging to her faded gown, as she walked purposefully down the alley behind the pub. She had gone in to be away from the cloying dampness of the evening and had hoped that maybe, just maybe, one of the patrons would find her pleasing enough to want to spend the evening with her. With no prospects, she had returned to the dimly lit streets merely to go home, deciding that tomorrow night would be better. As she moved deeper into the labyrinthine streets that made up, what was commonly referred to as the slums, she began to feel a sense of unease. She had walked these streets numerous nights, but this was the first time she had felt as though something was amiss. Turning her head she attempted to see anything in the ever present fog, but her eyes could find nothing. As she quickened her pace she heard a faint sound behind her as though someone had just breathed a sigh. In her haste she found herself tripping over the hem of her own dress and landing with a great deal of force upon her hands and knees. Before she could get back on her feet she felt something hard crash against her skull and her world faded to black. In the cool light of day a man in a patched suit, the detective, would examine her. He had seen crimes like this before and sadly he knew that this would not be the last.

A foggy street, a murdered woman, a detective investigating the crime; these are all images that appear in depictions of crime in Victorian England. The question is how frequently did such situations actually occur? Were the streets of London truly full of tragic scenes much like the one presented above? This project is focused on determining the connection between depictions of crime and detectives in the late 1800s and modern day detective television shows. This project will examine opinions held in connection to the Victorian city of London. This will included examining the city itself as well as crime, criminals, and detectives from this same

period. It was necessary to examine the historiography of similar topics before beginning this research. The following section will examine the trends in historiography on crime, criminals, and detectives in order to show how this project adds to this field of research.

Discussions of crime in the Victorian period have appeared since the mid-1800s and fall into two fields. The first of which argued that crime was rising in the Victorian period and the second which argued that crime was instead declining. Both areas made their first appearance in the Victorian period itself and the latter argument has continued to appear in more modern day research of this period. It should be noted that the field of Victorian crime research is very prominent outside of academic research and academic publishing.

The first camp of research appeared during the mid-Victorian era and is demonstrated by Freiderich Engels' *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.* This book discusses the divide between the proletariat, working class, and the bourgeois, upper class, using a Marxist analysis. Engels argues that the upper class forced the lower classes into a state of degradation by keeping their wages at an almost unlivable level. He also discussed how the lower class was not able to gain a diverse education and thus fell prey to vices such as alcoholism and crime. In his discussion of crime Engels wrote that it had been increasing rapidly, new offenders rising most frequently from within the ranks of the lower classes. He asserted the belief that if this current social divide was maintained the crime rate would continue to rise. Engels based his argument that crime was rising upon the annual criminal tables published by the Home Secretary. His analysis focused on arrests for criminal offenses from 1805 to 1842. This use of statistics to examine crime also appeared in later texts discussing Victorian crime and criminals.[1]

[1] Frederich Engels, *The Conditions of the Working- Class in 1842* (New South Wales: George Allen and Unwin, 1943), 131-132.

In 1873 Luke Owen Pike published the first volume of his two volume text focused solely on crime titled, *A History of Crime in England*. The second volume followed three years later in 1876. This work solidly established the second argument by stating that crime had begun to decline as the 19th century was drawing to a close. Pike's work was connected to that of Engels and the first argument, as it also insisted that poverty and crime were closely connected and that this relationship was created through the division of classes. The text then discussed the decline of crime over the span of the Victorian period. Pike argued that the existence of a notable decline in homicide within a country meant that all forms of crime had declined. His reasoning for arguing that crime was declining was based on research into *The Proceedings*. These were published descriptions of court cases prosecuted in the London courts from 1673 until 1913. He argued that this publication showed less criminals being brought before the court over time, which meant that fewer crimes were taking place. Unlike Engels, Pike did not rely on statistical information within his book.[2]

The argument that crime was reducing over the course of the Victorian period was the argument that was espoused in the historiography from the publication of Pike's book forward. One author whose name was prominent within the field of crime history was J.J. Tobias. While he did not publish within academic presses his work was cited by academically published historians and was presented by members of the historical community as being a canonical text within the field of crime history.[3] His book, *Urban Crime in Victorian England* used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and referenced Pike and later Victorian publications that agreed with Pike's overall argument that crime was declining. He then

[2] Luke Owen Pike, *A History of Crime in England, Volume Two* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1873), 470-542.
[3] Stephen Wade, "The Canon: Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century. By J.J. Tobias," *Times Higher Education* 21 January 2010.

expanded upon this by saying that education was actually a key element in the decrease of crime. Tobias did challenge aspects of Pike, and other Victorian writers, by saying that all statistics from the period were flawed, and while this may be the case, he still agreed with their overall arguments.[4]

V.A.C. Gatrell differentiated himself by presenting an additional reason for the decline in crime. In his work "The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England," Gatrell argued that crime was further declining because society was becoming less violent. He insisted that a code of behavior was being accepted by criminals, which led them to interact less violently with each other as well as the police. His chapter does not say how he came to his conclusion, but merely emphasized that he believes this to be true. The work shows statistically that crime was declining and that this decline included violent crime, but his overall conclusion that a less violent society was being created appeared to be more of a personal opinion and not entirely tied to hard evidence.[5]

George Robb's book *White-Collar Crime in Modern England* fit within the second area of research as it argues that crime overall was declining. He presented an additional argument that referenced a rise in levels of economic crime. Robb looked at the rise of railway investment, booming stock purchases, and the creation of new companies as being centers for white-collar crime. Robb emphasized that there were few regulations on how money was to be handled once it was connected with a business or institution, which caused crimes to occur more easily. He drew his analysis from economic publications and Parliamentary audits of companies from the

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[4] J.J. Tobias, *Urban Crime in Victorian England* (New York: Shocken Books, 1972).: Other authors who agreed with Tobias, included Ted Robert Gurr, Clive Emsley, and David Philips.

[5] V.A.C. Gatrell, "The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Crime and Law*, ed., V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1980). : Gatrell has published number of academic texts on various aspects of English history. This text though was published outside of an academic press.

period.[6] Understanding the evolution of arguments connected to Victorian crime in London helped to connect this new research with what had come before it. This specific topic had been discussed not only during the Victorian era itself, but was embraced by modern day researchers. This showed the continued interested held in connection to this field.

As this project focuses not just on crime, but also on detectives, it was necessary to examine a second area of historiography. A great deal less is written about detectives and understanding what has been written emphasized the lack of attention paid solely to English detectives. Much of the research on detectives appeared within broader texts on the history of police; these included the works of Sir Ronald Howe, Philip Thurmond Smith, and T.A. Critchely. Sir Ronald Howe, a former head of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), in *The Story of Scotland Yard* focused upon detectives and their work within the Metropolitan Police. He argued that the CID brought about technological advances in detection and that this had benefited every police force in England. Howe's book was based almost entirely upon his own experiences as a detective.[7] *Policing Victorian London* by Philip Thurmond Smith discussed how the CID grew out of preexisting elements within the Metropolitan Police force. He argued that the detectives were greatly restricted in their practices due to a distrust of plainclothes investigators.[8] T. A. Critchely presented a history of the Metropolitan Police, that also looked at how the public responded to detectives. He emphasized that negative views emerged based on fictional detectives, such as Sherlock Holmes, and that lack of confidence toward the detectives became an issue following the Jack the Ripper murders.[9]

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[6]George Robb, *White Collar Crime in Modern England: Financial Fraud and Business Morality 1845-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[7] Ronald Howe, *The Story of Scotland Yard* (New York: Horizon Press, 1965).
[8] Phillip Thurmond Smith, *Policing Victorian London: Political Policing, Public Order, and the London Metropolitan Police* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).
[9] Thomas A. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales, 900-1966* (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1967).

The most detailed work on detectives has been done by Haia Shpayer-Makov. Her book *The Ascent of the Dectective* presented the evolution of the police department and how the detectives emerged and differentiated themselves from the regular uniformed policemen of the period. She argued that her book was designed to focus more intently upon detectives of England as the historiography was lacking in terms of a focused discourse on detectives. Her work drew from documents located in the Metropolitan Police Archives as well as newspapers and Parliamentary Acts connected to the creation and changes to the English police departments.[10]

Shpayer-Makov has also focused on the topic of the police in popular culture. She used this work to compare detective memoirs to the fictional detective stories published during the Victorian period. This piece emphasizes the divide between fictional private detectives and official CID detectives.[11] Rob C. Mawby argued that television was what people used to understand the work that police do. His work made note of how society used visual images as a means to further their understanding of certain topics. He argued that police were understood, not by how they acted in public, but rather how they were portrayed on television shows.[12]

This analysis will include three British produced television programs, *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street*. Each of these shows focused on detectives of the CID, as a vehicle for looking at crime and detectives in the late Victorian period. This project analyzed each of these programs in relationship to the record of crimes tried in The Old Bailey and the accounts of actual detectives who served within the CID. There are fewer programs about CID detectives produced than those about private detectives and these were the only three television

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[10] Haia Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective: Police Sleuths in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[11] Haia Shpayer-Makov, "Explaining the Rise and the Success of Detective Memoirs in Britain." In *Police Detectives in History 1750-1950,* ed., Clive Emsley and Haia Shpayer-Makov, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006).
[12]Rob C. Mawby, "Criminal Investigations and the Media," in *Handbook of Criminal Investigation*, ed., Paul Mason (Devon: Wilan Publishing Ltd., 2007).

shows that had primary characters who worked as detectives of the CID. It was also necessary to choose a production which had multiple episodes in order to have a more diverse pool of evidence. *Sergeant Cork* was the longest running of these shows and aired on ITV from 1963-1968 with 66 episodes, each running for roughly 50 minutes. The series focuses on the title character, Sergeant Cork, played by John Barrie, and his young partner, Robert (Bob) Marriott, played by William Gaunt. The two characters solve crimes in and around London roughly between 1889 and 1901. *Sergeant Cribb* aired from 1979-81, also on ITV with 14 episodes between one and one and a half hours. This show also aired on American television on *PBS Masterpiece Mystery!* during roughly the same span of time. This series was also the only one based on a series of books of the same title by Peter Lovesey. These books were read and analyzed in connection with their televised counterparts. The main character within this series, Sergeant Cribb, portrayed by Alan Dobie, is a middle aged detective who is similar to Sherlock Holmes, and he often works with his partner, the young, overweight, and bearded, Constable Thackery, portrayed by William Simons. *Ripper Street* aired on BBC One from 2012 to 2014. At the time of this research only 16 episodes had aired. This show was also broadcast simultaneously on BBC America. This series has two primary detectives, Detective Inspector Edmund Reid, played by Matthew Macfadyen, and Detective Sergeant Bennet Drake, played by Jerome Flynn. Both men are middle aged, though Drake is more prone to physical force than his more intellectually minded superior. There is also an American, Homer Jackson, played by Adam Rothenberg, who acts as a coroner and investigative support.

The primary works that were analyzed in tandem with these three programs were *The Proceedings* and detective memoirs. *The Proceedings* were published under various titles from 1673 to 1913 and provided a collection of crimes tried in The Old Bailey. This project used the

years 1889 and 1890 to create a set of comparable statistics. These two years were chosen based on their connection to the television shows. For this two year span there were 24 publications, one for roughly each month of the year. *The Proceedings* presented the variety of crimes brought before the Central Criminal Court. The detective memoirs were from a diverse collection of men. For this project six memoirs were selected as they focused on men who served in some capacity within the CID or as policemen at the end or the Victorian era. These memoirs were written by James Berrett, Francis Carlin, G.W. Cornish, Melville Macnaghten, Frederick Porter Wensley, and John Sweeney. Some of these detectives mentioned cases that occured after the 1800s, but as their work and not their cases was the focus of this project this additional information was a negligible issue. What these memoirs exemplified were detectives' views on their work and how they investigated.

Each of the television shows were primarily set in London and the texts being analyzed cast London as the epitome of English urban life. These depictions analyzed may not have depicted what the city truly looked like, but how the city was represented within these works was important. Much of this work focused on how Victorian perceptions of the world around them influenced modern detective television shows of these same topics. A similarity between the programs and the voices within Victorian texts show an historical influence on their production. To compare the visual works to the written texts particular focus was paid to the appearance of the people and the city of London. Beyond determining how the shows looked, the plots and the types of crime and criminals were also analyzed. These were then compared to crimes mentioned within detective memoirs and other primary sources.

This work is broken into three chapters. The first focuses on the city of London. It argues that upper and middle class fears created an image of the city as a dangerous and polluted place.

It discusses that changes that were taking place within London in connection to growth in size, population and industry. There is also a focus on the fear of the poor and the areas of the city that they lived in. It also examines the fears held in connection to outsider populations, including the Irish and the Jewish. What this chapter shows is that the upper and middle classes created an image of London that was full of criminal activity, which was adopted by modern detective television shows. There is also a discussion of race representations and the lack of non-white characters within the history of Victorian London and the television series.

The second chapter focuses on crime and criminals within popular media. It argues that Victorian publications used murder and crime as the focus of their stories to draw in readers. This use of sensational crime was then adopted by modern television shows. It also examines the connection between the statistics of prosecuted crimes during 1889 and 1890 to the crimes presented in the three television shows. This comparison is divided to look at men and women as criminals and victims within these depictions.

Detectives are the focus of the final chapter. Beginning with a discussion of the history of detectives within the Metropolitan Police Force, it then goes on to examine hiring practices and preferences. It then argues that Jack the Ripper and Sherlock Holmes created a poor public opinion of London detectives, which detectives attempted to alter in their memoirs. The chapter ended by comparing all of these influences to the modern detective television shows, *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street*. This chapter argues that while there are some divisions between detectives who worked for the CID and their fictional counterparts that the television series did show consideration for the men they were depicting.

This research examines not only the crime, criminals, detectives, and London during the Victorian era, but it connects this analysis with what modern audiences have seen on television.

By focusing on the connection between historical work and modern depictions this creates a gateway for connecting with those who are interested in this topic outside of the academic field. This project is designed to be a tool for historians to connect modern culture with historical research to draw in a broader audience. Television can then become a tool for furthering research and broadening the available resources for historians and those they teach.

CHAPTER ONE: THE CITY

Fog-shrouded buildings, the shadow of an unknowable evil, and the stench of polluted river water were considered by observers as attributes of the city of London during the Victorian Era (1837-1901). Those writing for both the intellectual and the popular community within England focused on the contamination and depravity that was believed to have overtaken the capital city. Instead of a place for the middle and upper classes, London was becoming a den for the poor. Those who made up the poorest division of the population were often not just English, but also from immigrant populations. These fears not only influenced popular culture during the mid to late 1800s in England, but have transcended outside of this historical period to influence modern representations of Victorian London.

Over the course of the 1800s London expanded from 22 to 120 square miles as those residents living in, what had originally been considered the city, began moving into more suburban areas. In his 1909 survey of London, *London in the Nineteenth Century,* Walter Besant argued that the alteration of the city was due to the expansion of businesses into areas that had previously been designated as living areas for workers. Besant noted that old garden areas were turned into homes while land across the Thames was developed, which expanded the city geographically. He also stated that the wealthiest members of society, primarily merchants, removed themselves from the city altogether.[13] By leaving the city, the more affluent members of society were physically separating themselves from those they considered to be beneath them socioeconomically. The inner city of London was being turned into a region designated for those who could not afford to commute.

[13] Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), 5.

Between 1881 and 1901 Charles Booth studied different areas of London and his research designated the East End as the section reserved for the poorest classes. This portion of the city had initially been a primary location for inexpensive housing, often described as slums. As the upper classes focused on developing new areas for themselves these already poorly maintained buildings were left to decay further. Families who could not afford to live elsewhere had no way to escape and those who moved to the city were often limited to housing options this area. These were the least expensive housing options in the city, which made them the easiest for lower class families to move into. This created a seemingly constant population of poor people, whom the middle and upper classes felt would lead to London's decline. In his four-volume work, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Henry Mayhew focused primarily on those who lived in the eastern portion of the city in order to show how the poor lived. East London, which included the East End, was the epitome of everything wrong with London by those able to live in cleaner, more newly developed regions.

W.C. Preston wrote in 1883 that "the poor have been growing poorer, the wretched more miserable, and the immoral more corrupt; the gulf has been daily widening which separates the lowest classes of the community from our churches and chapels, and from all decency and civilization."[14] This description of the poor is not without issues as Preston was writing in a hyperbolically disdainful tone, but it does emphasize the discriminatory views that existed within the upper classes in relationship to the lower economic classes. Organizations were created to alleviate the suffering of the poor, but could not help every person living within the slums. These gradually decaying areas of the city were described by Preston as "poisonous" and "malodorous" with sewage and refuse scattered throughout the corridors. He also argued that tens of thousands

[14] W.C. Preston, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor* (London: James Clark & Co.,1883), 4.

were crowded into buildings, referred to as rookeries, which were rotting away beneath them.[15] Besant mentioned rookeries in his survey of London and insisted that while some had been improved, even after the Victorian Era these filthy tenements still existed. Like Preston, he argued that these dwellings had never been cleaned or renovated.[16]

The city grew not only in size, but in population, from two million to five million people.[17] As the population grew one concern that emerged was tied to the gradually increasing number of younger people who were coming of age within the city. In *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture Law and Policy in England 1830-1914*, Martin J. Weiner devotes his first chapter to discussing how industries within the city attempted to gain more workers from the large youth rankings. In this chapter he referenced the concerns of reformers who feared that a manufacturing based society would lead to a large population, under the age of 20, unable to control themselves in the way that previous generations had.[18] By employing younger workers, businesses were moving away from apprenticeships, which had been used to train individuals for a specific job under the guidance of a master craftsman. Factories opened up positions for untrained laborers, who did not have specified training. These workers were creating a new labor force, which did not have the same type of focused education. Employed youth were often connected to the slums, whose residents were already feared by the upper and middle classes. Many were born to poor families, raised within the corrupted rookeries, or if they had not, were forced to live there because of the limited available work. This younger generation was also

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[15] Ibid., 7. : The word rookeries was used to describe the compact multi-family housing units that were prominent within the slums of London. Rookery was used by the English to describe the slums of the city because the slums were perceived as resembling the nesting areas of birds similar to crows, known as rooks. These birds lived in densely populated, crowded nesting areas that were often very noisy and considered to be unclean.
[16] Besant, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, 267.
[17] Ibid., 4,5.
[18] Martin J. Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17-19.

feared as representations of the new industrial age and fundamental changes to the traditional pattern of London society.

Crime festered in these labyrinthine slums and those who considered themselves to be part of civilized society feared that it could not be contained. With decay the rookeries became difficult to navigate as walls shifted and roofs sank. Lighting was also limited and those who tried to examine these buildings could not often see where they were going. Beginning in the 1860s, Henry Mayhew, the earliest investigative journalist in England, published a series of books that focused on the poor of Victorian London, based on his interviews with people from the lowest classes. While many of the people Mayhew interviewed were employed, such as street vendors and street cleaners, Mayhew was more concerned with those who refused to work. He believed that these people lived a life of idleness and were more likely to become criminals.[19] As a white upper class male, Mayhew adopted the views of his period believing the poorer classes inferior based on how they lived. This stereotypical belief was something that permeated the writings of the period, both for academic and popular audiences.

The fourth volume of Mayhew's series of books was a collection of articles written by multiple journalists. John Binny, wrote about a specific section of the population, made up of those who would not work, whom he referred to as "Thieves and Swindlers." Binny believed that adults who did not wish to work sent their children out to steal for them. These children according to Binny were trained only to be criminals as their parents took little interest in any type of formal education. As they grew older Binny believed that these children became proficient and perpetual criminals. When he described these young offenders he described their

[19] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: The London Street Folk* (New York: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967), 48.

tattered clothing and wretched homes.[20] He assumed that all criminal children raised in the slums emerged from homes that could not afford to support them. Charles Booth agreed with Binny and Mayhew and in *Life and Labor of the People in London* published in 1902, he insisted that those prone to criminal behavior came from the poorest circumstances. Similar arguments also appeared in W.C Preston's 1883 book, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry in to the Condition of the Abject Poor* and Walter Besant's survey of the city, *London in the Nineteenth Century*.

Each of these authors believed that London's poor slum dwellers were the most likely to become swayed by the allure of crime. Those who did not wish to work could find a way to survive by either committing crimes themselves or by sending out their children. This fear permeated works such as Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist,* which made child criminals integral to their plots. Dickens created orphaned children working under a surrogate father figure, Fagin, stealing to support their survival. This image of the poor not wanting to work also appeared in *David Copperfield* specifically in the characters Wilkins and Emma Micawber. This belief that abject poverty and a lack of industriousness made a section of the population prone to criminal behavior and thus inferior to the rest of society permeated works on Victorian London written at the time.

There was also a fear held by many contemporary observers that criminal behavior was hereditary. Binny described a family he had investigated in the slums who fit this pattern. The father and mother were both thieves, and their children were also thieves, married to other criminals. Binny believed that this family would continue having children who would be prone

[20] John Binny "Thieves and Swindlers," in *London Labor and the London Poor: Those Who Will Not Work*, ed. Henry Mayhew (New York: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967), 273.

to criminal behavior.[21] The fear of hereditary criminal behavior rising from within the slums also appeared within W.C Preston's *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor* and in Luke Owen Pike's *A History of Crime in England.*

Havelock Ellis' *The Criminal* discusses how this sort of hereditary criminality created a criminal type of physiology, such as specific head, ear, and nose shapes. Ellis believed that criminals could be monitored by finding those who fit these specific physical traits. This argument mimicked ideas from the pseudo-scientific study of phrenology that emerged out of the theories of Franz Joseph Gall. Gall believed that the contours of the skull could help to determine the physical behaviors of a person.[22] Henry Maudsley in his 1874 book *Body and Mind* agreed with Ellis' idea that criminals had a specific physical appearance. Maudsley went farther by arguing that this hereditary would lead to psychological problems. He believed that those who were born from criminal families were more prone to suicide, epilepsy, and imbecility.[23] Francis Galton also agreed with the idea of a genetic psychologically damaged criminal. In 1883 Galton wrote that those who were prone to criminal behavior lacked self-control and had vicious instincts that stemmed from their hereditary deficiencies.[24] These writers agreed that there was a criminal class that was almost impossible to remove without monitoring the reproduction of slum-dwellers.

Not only was the city growing in size, but the growth of industry increased the environmental degradation and travelling difficulties. The London fog was a combination of natural fog and pollution, which caused the city to be shrouded in thick banks of mist, which

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[21] Ibid., 313.
[22] John van Wyhe, "The History of Phrenology on the Web." http://www.historyofphrenology.org.uk/fjgall.html.
[23] Henry Maudsley, *Body and Mind* (New York: D. Appleton and Company,1871), 135.
[24]Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: Macmillan, 1883), 61-65 in *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts*, ed. Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1998), 330-331.

often meant that one traveled through the city with greatly reduced visibility. In Peter Brimblecombe's modern history of London air pollution, *The Big Smoke,* the fog was described as being so prominent within the image of London that those who traveled there expected to see it. The winter months were considered by those living in London as the foggiest season and there were days in which the sun was completely blocked by the pollution surrounding the city.[25] Images of the ever-present fog also carried over into works of literature and art created during this time. Stories like "The Doom of London," *The Poison Belt,* and *The Purple Cloud* all emphasized the destructive power of pollution on society. In each work the city was falling into disrepair, overcome with disease and vice, all of which influenced the populace.[26] This fog gave the city a sinister ambience, which helped to further the fear of a contaminated city.

The fear of corruption from the environment, both from the fog and from the slums, led the upper classes to fear the city itself. Henry Mayhew discussed this in the introduction to the fourth volume of his work, *London Labour and the London Poor*. He wrote that some saw London as a seething cauldron of crime and a charnel-house of impurity with no redeeming characteristics.[27] While he argued against holding such opinions, the upper class bias was rooted within the literature of Victorian England. London became synonymous with decay and pollution. Charles Dickens' work perpetuated this belief. In *David Copperfield*, the title character noted upon his return to London that the city was full of more fog and mud than he had seen in a year and described the buildings as dingy.[28] In another novel, *Bleak House*, Dickens provided an even more detailed description of the fog and soot that showered down from chimneys onto the

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[25] Peter Brimblecombe, *The Big Smoke: A History of Air Pollution in London Since Medieval Times* (London: Methuen and Company, 1987), 117-118.
[26] Ibid., 127-129.
[27] Henry Mayhew, "Introduction," in *London Labour and the London Poor: Those Who Will Not Work*, ed. Henry Mayhew (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967), xiv.
[28] Charles Dickens, "David Copperfield,"*Project Gutenberg*, November 24, 2009, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/766/766-h/766-h.htm, chapter 59.

people and buildings below. He also mentioned mud and mire which made the mere act of walking difficult.

> Smoke lowering down from chimney-pots, making a soft black drizzle, with flakes of soot in it as big as full-grown snow-flakes – gone into mourning, one might imagine for the death of the sun. Dogs, undistinguishable in mire…Foot passengers, jostling one another's umbrellas in a general infections of ill-temper, and losing their foot-hold at street-corners, where tens of thousands of other foot passengers have been slipping and sliding since the day broke (if day ever broke)…Fog everywhere. Fog up the river, where it flows among green aits and meadows; fog down the river, where it rolls defiled among the tiers of shipping and the waterside pollutions of a great (and dirty) city.[29]

Dickens did not restrict his descriptions to traditional slums, but rather created a London that was one large slum. This image born out of the fear of contamination from the city, has been maintained in popular culture into the present even and can be seen throughout television depictions of the period.

The television series *Sergeant Cork* was filmed entirely in black and white. This was done because television programs were still predominantly produced in black and white during the 1960s, but it also aided the visual creation of a shadowy London. While in the offices of Scotland Yard or the homes of the middle and upper classes the show was brighter than in the slums. Sets were designed to appear in whites or light greys and nothing was hidden from the viewer. This made clues or the actions of suspects easier to see, which helped the viewer to follow the investigation. When the detectives were in the city's streets the lighting became subdued and the sets took on a darker coloration. The exteriors of buildings were a very dark grey, and often coated in smudges of black, either dirt or something like the soot described by Dickens. The interiors of pubs and other lower class buildings maintained the darker lighting,

[29] Charles Dickens, "The Project Gutenberg eBook Bleak House," *Project Gutenberg*, August 1, 1997, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1023/1023-h/1023-h.htm, chapter 1.

which made it difficult to see everything taking place within these scenes. These shadowy environments supported depictions of criminality best undertook under cover of darkness.

The streets of Sergeant Cork's London were littered with trash and debris. In some cases there were piles of it shown in the alleyways of lower class areas. People were shown throwing trash out of their homes and into littered streets and there were mentions of rats and other vermin infesting these areas. Characters in these scenes were often portrayed in torn and stained clothing. In some cases there was visible dirt upon their faces or skin, which supported the idea that they were unclean. This series also focused a great deal on the presence of fog within the city. In some episodes the fog was so thick that it would shroud the actions of the characters. This was sometimes used to hide a criminal from the viewer. In many earlier episodes, the fog would even appear seeping into windows and doorways of houses and curling about the feet of the detectives. This series presented a city that fit within the most stereotypical descriptions of Victorian London.

Sergeant Cork also presented the idea that the poor were prone to criminal behavior. For instance consider the themes presented in the episode "The Case of the Slithy Tove." The plot revolved around solving the murder of a poor man. While Sergeant Cork, the rather rotund main character, and his protégé, Robert Marriott, the newly hired detective Cork was training, showed sympathy for the deceased, Inspector Bird, their superior, insisted that this was a common low class murder. He refused to investigate the murder scene beyond looking at the deceased. Bird believed that the crime was committed by another poor person. Bird's insistence that this case needed only minimal investigation encapsulated the upper class belief that criminals existed within the slums and acted beyond rational explanations. As the case continued, the detectives learned that the murderer was a convicted thief, previously sent to Australia. This man had lived

in the slums alongside his victim and throughout the episode, was found to have been involved in a theft from a silver shop.[30] The episode showcased a prevalent concern that crime was rampant among the lower class.

Ripper Street presented the city of London very similarly to the series *Sergeant Cork*. While produced in color, the show still used a great deal of shadow when presenting the city. Crimes took place in areas separated from main streets which meant that natural and any additional light was limited. In areas connected to crimes the lights were often dimmed and the scenery was darker. An example of this appeared in the first episode of the first season, "I Need Light." A woman was murdered in a manner meant to mimic the Jack the Ripper murders. The detectives called to the scene could make out very little detail with their own eyes, and Inspector Edmund Reid, the second highest ranking officer at the Whitechapel station, demanded that a photographer in the alley document the scene for him so it could be examined in detail. While there were people nearby to the murder scene, no one had noticed anything out of the ordinary.[31] This invoked the idea that the murderer was able to move through the shadows of the slums to commit his crime, without being noticed by those around him. Lanterns were used as the primary source of light in scenes, which created even more elaborate shadows. Darkness and fog were used throughout the series to limit what the viewer could see.

People living in the more dilapidated regions of the city were shown in patched and tattered clothing. Dirt was placed not only on their skin, but more detailed work was done to show how unclean they were. Most had portions of their teeth blackened, for instance. Their hair, primarily in the case of men, appeared greasy to imply that they had not bathed. This was

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[30] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Slithy Tove," *Sergeant Cork*, season 2, episode 13, 1963-1964 (Granada Ventures, 2011), DVD.
[31] Richard Warlow, "I Need Light," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 1, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.

contrasted against the clean and well-dressed members of the upper classes. *Ripper Street* also presented the fear of crime within the slums in the second episode of the first season, "In My Protection." This episode again involved the murder of a man, but the crime was connected to a band of children criminals working for an older man. Carmichael, a money lender and professional criminal, ran his organization out of the slums and recruited poor and orphaned boys to go out and commit crimes for him. The boy who committed the murder, revealed to Sergeant Bennet Drake, Reid's more muscular and aggressive partner, that he had committed a number of crimes to ensure that he would have shelter and food. The leader of this gang of children was a tall and lanky man, who seemed to share similar characteristics with the character Fagin from *Oliver Twist.* This man and his gang were also marked as different from accepted society through their visible tattoos. Only the boy who was being protected by the police showed any remorse for his deeds, while the rest of the gang were unwavering in their loyalty toward their leader.[32]

Unlike the previously described series, *Sergeant Cribb* cannot be summarized as easily. Each episode was filmed with varying lighting styles, different sets, and there were multiple episodes set outside of the city. The show itself was not uniform in its presentation of the city. Overwhelmingly the London presented in the series was much brighter and cleaner than it would have been during the late 1800s. The outside areas, including parks and public water, were presented as manicured and clean. Characters were often well dressed and the city they lived in was clean. Even when the detectives were in slum-like areas the environment seemed tidy. There was one episode that did show a slightly dirtier London, "Wobble to Death." This episode was based on a book by Peter Lovesey, but the description given of the city remains the same in both. The episode opened on a foggy street and then moved into a covered dirty fairground. The men

[32] Richard Warlow, "In My Protection," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 2, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD

competing in the "wobble" discussed how animals were previously kept there and the space had not been cleaned up after the animal auction. These men were in dirtier clothes, but they did not have dirt on their bodies. The lighting inside the fairground was much dimmer than in later episodes, but it was still relatively bright. The exteriors of some buildings were shown to be slightly dirty.[33] Sergeant Cribb's London appeared to be a more romanticized reproduction of the city. Everything was properly in place and all crime that emerged seemed to rise like a weed within a rose garden.

Besides the fear of contamination presented by the city there were also fears connected to certain portions of the population. London society was shaped by a patriarchal model in which men were expected to work while women took care of the home. With the rise of industry, women began working and moving away from the home. This created a fear that men were losing control of the city and that women were intruding into spheres previously reserved for men, which would lead to the destruction of the family structure. In *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, Preston described a family where the mother began working, and because she could not care for her children, they became ill and malnourished. Without a female caregiver in the home the children suffered, but this suffering was considered solely the fault of the mother.[34] As women moved away from the home they were no longer seen to be fulfilling their expected social responsibilities.

There was also a concern that women could not handle the stress of the world outside of the home. Sarah Stickney Ellis published a guide for young women, *The Daughters of England: Their Position in Society, Character and Responsibility*, in 1842 which described how proper

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[33] June Wyndham Davies, "Wobble to Death," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD.
[34] Preston, *Bitter Cry of the Outcast Poor*, 21.

women should behave within society. Ellis told women to avoid certain behaviors, including physical labor, philosophical thinking, and living an unorganized life. She avoided mentioning working women for a majority of the book, but when they were presented she described them as the "most pitiable class of human beings, whose pallid countenances, and often deformed and feeble frames, sufficiently attest the unnatural exertions by which they obtain their scanty bread."[35] Ellis' description of these women emphasized the physical wear to the body that would happen if a woman left the protection of her home, they were no longer protected from the damaging influences of society and became physically deformed.

Luke Owen Pike, in *A History of Crime in England,* described women who worked within the city as having lost the protection of men by leaving their homes. Pike argued that as women became more independent of men they opened themselves to temptations.[36] Psychologist Havelock Ellis feared that if women were allowed into the same spheres as men they would begin to adopt more masculine behavior. As his research focused on criminal psychology he believed that women who were treated as men would become more prone to criminal behavior, which was considered to be a male character flaw.[37] Women who moved outside of their expected roles in society were a threat to the society of London, and these new working women were seen as dangerous to the traditional way of life. What each of these writers emphasized was the concern that women would be changed should they be allowed to act like men and their families would suffer.

This fear of working women was presented in two of the three television series being analyzed. *Sergeant Cork* and *Ripper Street* both had episodes which showed women working

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[35] Sarah Strickney Ellis, *The Daughters of England* (London:Fisher, Son and Co., 1842), 366.
[36] Luke Owen Pike, *A History of Crime in England* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1876), 527.
[37] Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal* (London: Walter Scott, 1890), 214-216.

outside of the home who were altered by this new environment. In season one, episode 12 of *Sergeant Cork*, "The Case of Ella Barnes," featured a plot entirely focused on working women. The episode began with the body of Ella Barnes, a young married woman, being identified by her husband after she was found floating in the river. The dead woman was expected to speak out on the conditions in a sweatshop reliant on female labor. During the course of the investigation two women stated that when they had spoken out against labor with Ella, their coworker, that they had been fired and replaced with more complacent women. While they were no longer working in the sweatshop they were still working long hours sewing in order to make a living. At the end of the episode the women confessed to having assaulted Ella because they believed that she had managed to get rehired at the sweatshop, even though she had previously united the women to strike against overworking; they did not kill her. Ella instead committed suicide after the women cut up her face in the assault.[38] These women violated the behavioral norms for women in Victorian society. The way that this crime was presented supported the idea that working women became more masculine in their behavior. Using violence to solve a problem was something that many feared would happen if women were no longer protected by the boundaries of the home.

In *Ripper Street*, women appeared more frequently throughout the series, but the primary example of working women appeared in season two, episode three, "Becomes Man." This episode began in a music hall during a performance. The lights went out unexpectedly and when they came back on a man was missing. At the same time a large cart in the area was stolen from

[38] Ted Willis, "The Case of Ella Barnes," *Sergeant Cork*, series 1, episode 12, 1963 (Granada Ventures, 2009), DVD.

a night soil collection man.[39] Eventually the detectives learned a group of women stole the cart and used it to help to abduct the man from the music hall. The man who was kidnapped was a council member running for re-election against a woman who supported an increase in women's rights. This kidnapping was planned by a woman named Rain, who was the leader of a gang of women who had previously been factory workers. All of the women in her group had been match girls, which had involved constant contact with disfiguring chemicals. Rain herself was not injured, but her sister had slowly died because of the chemicals in the match factory. A lawsuit was settled out of court for a small sum, which Rain felt did not compensate for the damages done to the women. Other men were kidnapped as well, all of whom connected to the factory and the lawsuit. Rain planned to set the men on fire so that they would suffer as the women had. Before she could do this the detectives arrived and arrested all of the women. Rain, who had been in the basement of the group's headquarters, was shot by the coroner, Jackson, while she was being subdued by Susan, who had also been kidnapped because she ran a brothel.[40]

This episode depicted the fear held by many Londoners of women being distorted through work, physically and emotionally. The women who worked in the factory were disfigured, in many cases so severely that they could no longer function in society. One woman had to travel in widow's weeds at all times as her entire lower jaw had rotted away. Other women were missing fingers, portions of their faces lacked skin, and in some cases the chemicals had led to mental decline. These women were also prepared to act violently in order to gain revenge, which, again, was considered by many middle class Victorian-era observers to be a

[39] Night soil was a term used to refer to human waste collected from chamber pots that were dumped out at night. By the year 1890, when this episode was set, this job was not very common, but there were a small group of people still trying to make a living from this type of street cleaning.
[40] Richard Warlow, "Become Man," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episode 3, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.

masculine response. Rain even stated during the episode that she feared she was becoming "like man" in her attempts to get revenge for the women in her life.[41]

Certain ethnicities were also considered to pose a threat to the traditional English upper and middle classes. The fear of the Jewish community did not emerge solely during the Victorian period, but Jews remained a sinister threat to Victorian values. Charles Booth provided the best example of the English opinion toward Jewish Londoners in the third edition of *Life and Labour in London*. While this was technically published after the Victorian period, this work was drawn from previous editions published over the course of the late 1800s. Booth argued that the area of Whitechapel had been affected by an increase of Jewish immigrants; "No Gentile could live in the same house with these poor foreign Jews, and even as neighbours they are unpleasant; and since people of this race, though sometimes quarrelsome amongst themselves, are extremely gregarious and sociable, each small street or group of houses invaded tends to become entirely Jewish."[42] Booth insisted that Jews had overtaken not only Whitechapel's housing, but also the businesses, schools, and organizations, which had previously been controlled by working class Englishmen. This entire section described Jewish people as infestations on the Englishness of London.

Much of this concern centered on the fear that Jewish people would take jobs away from native Englishmen. Booth mentioned the influence that this new population had within the business sector of Whitechapel and other authors, such as Henry Mayhew, echoed this belief that the Jewish were taking over portions of the working class economy. The idea of Jewish influence appeared in *Ripper Street* in both the first and second seasons. The sixth episode of the first

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[41] Richard Warlow, "Become Man," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episode 3, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.
[42]Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, *Third Series, Volume Two* (New York: AMS Press Inc, 1970), 3.

season, "Tournament of Shadows," opened on a group of men on strike. The entire Union membership was Jewish, many of the men were wearing yarmulkes, or made reference to their religious connection. A building blew up and one of the Jewish men working there was killed. The local police force insisted that this organization was used as a cover for a Jewish plot to create a communist regime within England. While the detectives did not agree with this original conclusion a majority of the police force believed that all of the Jewish men in the area were involved in the plot.[43] In the final two episodes of the second season, "Our Betrayal Parts One and Two," a section of Whitechapel was shown to be occupied solely by Jewish-run businesses. The only people shown walking the streets were dressed in traditional Jewish religious attire.[44] What each of these episodes emphasized was the belief that the Jewish population was taking over portions of the city, primarily in connection with the economy.

The Irish population was believed to be more prone to violent behavior and were often perceived as being connected to a larger Irish terrorist group, the Fenian Brotherhood. In the first volume of *London Labour and the London Poor* Mayhew wrote in great detail on the Irish population. He devoted a section to describing Irishmen and how they acted when not working. He quoted an innkeeper who had stated that

> I had rather have twenty poor Englishmen drunk in my tap-room than a couple of poor Irishmen. They'll quarrel with anybody – the Irish will – and sometimes clear the room by swearing they'll 'use their knives, by Jasus;' and if there's a scuffle they'll kick like devils and scratch, and bite, like women or cats, instead of using their fists.[45]

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[43]Richard Warlow, "Tournament of Shadows," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 6, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.
[44] Richard Warlow, "Our Betrayal Parts One and Two," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episodes 7 and 8, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2013), DVD.
[45] Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: The London Street Folk*, 114.

This description of the Irish was in keeping with many other men writing during the period. Such ideas also appeared within Havelock Ellis', *The Criminal*, where he emphasized that the Irish, especially Irish women, were more prone to crime than any other women in society.[46]

The Fenian Brotherhood was an organization that existed in England during the 1800s. This organization was considered a terrorist organization by modern day terminology with a membership who believed that the English government should not control Ireland. They frequently used bombs to forcibly show their desire for Irish independence. John Sweeney, a detective from Scotland Yard, wrote about an attack on London Bridge in 1885 connected to a group of Irish extremists. When he described the extremists he did not differentiate between them and the greater Irish population.[47] He wrote as though all of the Irish in England were related to these extremists merely because they shared Irish heritage.

The idea that the Irish were more violent and possibly connected to organizations like The Fenian Brotherhood appeared in all three of the television series. The first episode of the second series of *Sergeant Cork*, "The Fenian Man," was focused on a group of Irishmen from varying classes planning a large scale attack on upper class men living in London who controlled land in Ireland. They smuggled a Gatling gun into London and were planning on using it at the funeral of a prominent Englishman, whom they blamed for poor conditions in Ireland. Over the course of the episode one of the Fenians murdered a female pickpocket merely for having given information to the police and others killed a number of policemen and a detective when their hideout was discovered. The episode emphasized how violent these men were and Sergeant Cork

[46] Ellis, *The Criminal*, 214-215.
[47] John Sweeney, *At Scotland Yard: Being The Experience During Twenty-Seven Years' Service of John Sweeney*, ed., Francis Richards (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 28-32.

even stated that they would have to use extreme violence to stop them as the Fenians would not stop fighting until they either won or died.[48]

The episode "Invitation to a Dynamite Party" and the book upon which it was based *The Tick of Death* from the Sergeant Cribb series were focused on a bombing attack at Scotland Yard, which was attributed to the Fenian Brotherhood. Sergeant Cribb, the skinny and analytically minded title character, was sent undercover to collect information about those believed to be involved. This was done because the Inspector in charge of his division feared that Constable Thackery, his much younger and overweight partner, was somehow involved as he had been seen frequenting an Irish pub. Over the course of his investigation Cribb learned that Thackery had accidentally given information to a group of Irish radicals while drinking at the pub. Cribb infiltrated the organization, gained the trust of the daughter of the original leader, and was able to learn their ultimate goal. In order to cripple the British Navy, the Fenians planned to blow up a battleship, using a submarine and a large quantity of dynamite. On the day of the attack Cribb's secret was revealed and he was almost killed by the Fenians. Through a series of fantastic heroics, Cribb was able to thwart the attack.[49] The episode and book portrayed the Fenians as a vast network of Irishmen with connections to a variety of classes in London society. Those involved were also violent and did not hesitate to injure or even kill someone if it would ensure their success.

Ripper Street's, "Dynamite and a Woman," season two, episode four, began with an Irish extremist escaping from a prison wagon while he was being transported from one prison to another. This escape involved electrocuting the policeman driving the wagon being through an

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[48] Ted Willis, "The Fenian Man," *Sergeant Cork,* Series 2, Episode 1, 1963-1964 (Granada Ventures, 2011), DVD.
[49] June Wyndham Davies, "Invitation to a Dynamite Party," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD: Peter Lovesey, *The Tick of Death* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1974).

elaborate system using a small electric generator and wet laundry. A group of policemen were sent out to find information about the escaped man at an Irish pub where a large fight broke out. After the fight ended, the escaped convict appeared at the bar to speak to the female barmaid, Evelyn. He insisted that he was her father and that he would be fleeing the country, with the help of some Irish Americans, and he wished to take her with him. He then left the bar and was later shown planting a bomb in the home of a rich Englishman, who in a previous scene was shown speaking out against the Irish. A young detective of Irish descent was asked to go undercover to collect information. While investigating the young detective learned that the escaped convict would be fleeing the country, but the story became more complicated as a second Irishman, who was involved in developing electrical technology, revealed he had helped the convict to escape because he needed someone he trusted to make a bomb. At the end of the episode the escaped convict was killed and the man who freed him electrocuted himself to avoid going to prison.[50] While this episode did not focus entirely on Irish extremist acts against the English, it did show the Irish as a connected network willing to commit acts of murder in an attempt to gain independence. There were also depictions of drunkenness throughout the episode which is important because of the stereotypes about Irish drunkenness.

There is one issue within depictions of Victorian era London that is not discussed within any of the historiography of this period. There was only one direct reference to an ethnic minority within the city between 1889 and 1890. In 1889 a man named Mufta was brought before the court on a charge of feloniously cutting and wounding Samuel Speller. In the description of the accused the court stenographer specifically noted that he was "a black." Speller stated before the court that Mufta had been with three or four other black men who were

[50] Richard Warlow, "Dynamite and a Woman," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episode 4, directed by Tom Shankland, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2013), DVD.

fighting outside of a public house. While Speller insisted he was not involved in the fight, he said that upon leaving the public house he was stabbed twice in the back. Mufta did not speak at the trial, and was found guilty of his crimes.[51] Speller's ethnicity was not stated, which made it logical to infer that he was a white male. This inference was based on the need to define Mufta by his ethnicity within this case. Though other ethnicities may have been tried in lower courts, this singular reference within *The Proceedings* over a two year period, provides some insight into historic works about Victorian London.

Those writing during the 1800s, including Henry Mayhew, Luke Owen Pike, and Charles Booth, did not discuss any non-white populations. This lack of representation has been maintained in the modern era by historians such as V.A.C. Gatrell and J.J. Tobias. While the field of history has worked to include more ethnic representations, this period seems to have been ignored. The English writers of the Victorian era did not acknowledge that those who were not white were actually part of the English population. Different ethnicities might exist, but they were constantly excluded based on the idea that they were not truly part of the English community. The ethnicities that were described, the Irish and the Jewish, were still ethnically white in appearance. They also were still written about as the "others" within society. This sort of exclusion has been maintained within the modern detective television shows. By focusing on the white population of London these histories and depictions create the image of an overwhelmingly white society. England in history and fiction, by ignoring non-white ethnicities, create a whitewashed image of society, which excludes those who do not identify as white. This

[51]Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Clive Emsley, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, *et al.*, *The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674-1913* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 24 March 2012), September 16, 1889, T18890916-764.

type of representation does not take into consideration that there were other ethnicities influencing the culture and society of England.

Each of the television shows had predominantly white casts. All of the detectives within *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cork*, and *Ripper Street* were white males. Beyond that most of the cases that they investigated involved white men and women. There were some exceptions, but these depictions of non-white ethnicities were often flawed. In *Sergeant Cork* there were some references to black, Indian, and Chinese populations. Black men were depicted in two episodes of this series. The first was "The Case of the African Murder" which showed tribespeople living near the English encampment.[52] "The Case of the Simple Savage" was the second example and again the black man was an African tribesman.[53] In neither episode is a black population mentioned in London, but is rather relegated to only existing in Africa. Indians were represented similarly to the black population within this series. "The Case of the Threatened Raja" was set entirely in India. Marriott was send there to investigate threats being made against the Raja within a British controlled area of the subcontinent.[54] This population was shown as prone to violent behavior, much like the black men in Africa were earlier in the series. The only episode that showed a non-white ethnicity within the city of London was "The Dutiful Murderer." Chinese immigrants were the focus of the episode, but the representation was jarring. All of the Chinese characters were played by white actors made up in "yellow face." This type of makeup was similar to the more commonly known "black face" and emphasized stereotypical physical characteristics. In this episode the actors had some form of prosthetic near their eyes to give

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[52] Ted Willis, "The Case of the African Murder," *Sergeant Cork*, series 4, episode 3, 1964 (Granada Ventures, 2012), DVD.
[53] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Simple Savage," *Sergeant Cork*, series 5, episode 3, 1966 (Granada Ventures, 2012), DVD.
[54] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Threatened Raja," *Sergeant Cork*, series 6, episode 3, 1967-1968 (Granada Ventures, 2013), DVD.

them a hooded shape, and their skin was noticeably darkened.[55] This did not help to present diversity, but rather emphasized the cultural divide between the white English population and other ethnicities.

Sergeant Cribb only had one example of an ethnic minority. In "Wobble to Death" a contestant in the walking competition was a black man, in both the show and the corresponding book. He is considered a suspect in the murder of another competitor, but is quickly ruled out.[56] Beyond this one character there were no references made to the black population or to any other non-white group within the city of London. It would be expected that the most recent series, *Ripper Street*, would be the most diverse. Instead there were no representations of the black population in London and only one episode that showed any non-white Londoners. In "Pure as the Driven" Chinese immigrants are shown within a region of the city that resembles a modern day "Chinatown." The plot was focused on Chinese women, who worked as escorts in a men's club and were also working in connection with the Chinese opium trade.[57] While this episode does show a portion of the Chinese population in London, it connected them only to illegal activity.

London was seen as a frightening city full of crime, hidden under the cover of pollution laden fog during the Victorian era. These views were adopted by the creators of modern popular television shows. Both *Sergeant Cork* and *Ripper Street* present a dark and gloomy London. *Sergeant Cribb* had a much cleaner London. The poor of London as well as the city itself were feared by the upper and middle classes and these fears directly influenced how the slums and

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[55] Ted Willis, "The Dutiful Murderer," *Sergeant Cork*, series 4, episode 4, 1964 (Granada Ventures, 2012), DVD.
[56] June Wyndham Davies, "Wobble to Death" *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD. : Peter Lovesey, *Wobble to Death* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1970).
[57] Richard Warlow "Pure as the Driven," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episode 1, directed by Tom Shankland, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2013), DVD.

poor were represented within the modern detective television shows, primarily *Sergeant Cork* and *Ripper Street*. Working women were considered to be a threat to the paternal based society of London. This threat led them to be feared by the upper and middle classes. There was also a fear of the Irish and Jewish populations destroying the lives of the native born English population. Each of these fears was represented within the modern television series and shows how the opinions of the Victorian era has continued to influence descriptions of the city and its inhabitants. Within sources from the 1800s non-white populations were frequently ignored, though the modern television shows did include black and Chinese Londoners. These ethnicities were still limited in their appearance within the shows. *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street* all showed some aspects of the Victorian era fears connected to London and its inhabitants.

CHAPTER TWO: CRIME

Crime is a sensational topic. This has led to its inclusion within popular media for centuries. In Victorian London this subject was presented to the public in news and literature. This chapter will examine the connection between these Victorian writing styles with modern detective television series. The crime presented within these shows will also be compared to those recorded within *The Proceedings* between 1889 and 1890. Victor Neuberg in "The Literature of the Streets" argued that publications that focused on crime were believed to sell the best on the streets of London during the Victorian era. The broadsheets that he described were sensationalized retellings of actual cases. He specifically mentioned a broadsheet titled "The Esher Tragedy," where six children were murdered by their mother. This type of dramatic retelling of a crime was used to draw in readers and was reused by newsmen and publishers throughout the period. The type of crime that sold best was believed to be murder. According to Neuberg those who sold these broadsheets specifically emphasized the word "murder" within their "sales patter" according to Neuberg. As one street seller said, '"There's nothing beats a stunning good murder after all."[58]

Other Victorian authors used of murder to attract readers was also adopted by writers of fiction within Victorian London. Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, focused on crimes and criminals within the city of London. Nancy, a young woman who befriended Oliver, was violently beat to death by Bill Sikes, her lover. The scene depicted Nancy pleading for her life as blood ran down her face, until she was ultimately clubbed to death by Bill.[59] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle also used murder in his Sherlock Holmes stories. "The Boscombe Valley Mystery" from *Adventures of*

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[58] Victor E. Neuberg, "The Literature of the Streets," in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H.J Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1973), 191, 193, 199.
[59] Charles Dickens, "Oliver Twist," *Project* Gutenberg, October 10, 2008, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/730/730-h/730-h.htm, Chapter 47.

Sherlock Holmes focused on Holmes solving the murder of Charles McCarthy. The murdered man was found with his head beaten in by a blunt instrument. Much like Dickens' Nancy, the death of the character was violent.[60] These violent crimes were not only used to attract readers, but made crime something more dramatic than it actually was. This desire for sensational crimes led detectives to tailor their memoirs toward the already existing audience interested in fictional crime.

The memoirs of some detectives were often more focused on murder cases. G.W. Cornish in *Cornish of Scotland Yard* described roughly thirteen murders he had investigated during his time as a detective. The first of these involved the murder of an elder woman named Emily Farmer. He wrote that she had been found "gagged and chocked to death on her bed. Her hands were tied behind her back" deducing that robbery had been the motive.[61] Each murder he recounted became more graphic in nature. The final case involved a charred corpse, identified as John Furnace.[62] Francis Carlin in *Reminisces of an Ex-Detective* titled his first chapter "The Eltham Common Murder." The actual murder does not appear until the nineteenth page of the thirty page chapter. The rest of the chapter discusses how he became a detective and the training he received. By using murder in the title Carlin hoped to draw in a reading public used to sensationalist murder stories.

The modern detective television series, *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street*, all established murder as crucial to their plots within the first episode. *Sergeant Cork* began with "The Case of the Reluctant Widow. The episode involved the investigation into a suspicious death. While at the inquest of a dead man, Cork disagreed with the doctor's

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[60] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Boscombe Valley Mystery" in *The Original Illustrated Sherlock Holmes*, ed. Sydney Paget (Edison: Castle Books, 1976), 54.
[61] G.W. Cornish, *Cornish of Scotland Yard* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), 11.
[62] Ibid., 317-318.

declaration of the death as a suicide. He believed it to be a murder. Robert Marriott was sent by Cork to investigate the man's home, where he had died, and Cork went to question the mother of the deceased. As the investigation progressed it was revealed that the dead man's wife had plotted with the doctor from the inquest, and a local barman, to have her husband killed. With all of the evidence collected, the barman confessed to his involvement and implicated the wife and doctor as the two who had planned the crime. Cork, with Marriott's help, was able to solve the murder in a day.[63] The speed with which Cork and Marriott were able to solve the case was not realistic, but using murder as the first crime established that it would be crucial to later episodes. The writers were presenting a model for other episodes to follow, which showed murder as common within Victorian London, much like previous fictional depictions.

Sergeant Cribb began with the episode "A Case of Spirits," based on a corresponding book of the same title. The plot of this episode involved a con man, who was pretending to be a psychic. He was hired to perform séances for a number people in the upper echelons of society. The plot initially began with an investigation into a series of thefts from these high class homes, a murder became the focus. While Sergeant Cribb and his partner Constable Thackery were monitoring a séance to find the thief, the false psychic was found dead in an electrified chair. This device, while unexpected, was designed to facilitate communication with the spirit world. The investigation followed a circuitous route, as the detectives attempted to tie the murder to the thefts. Ultimately they discovered that the con man was killed by the secretary of a psychic society, who was irate that he had been tricked by a con man.[64] Beyond this episode, eleven of the remaining twelve episodes in the series focused on murder. This series also presented murder

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[63] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Reluctant Widow," *Sergeant Cork*, series 1, episode 1, 1963 (Granada Ventures, 2009), DVD.
[64] June Wyndham Davies, "A Case of Spirits," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD.

within the first episode. By doing this the writers were using the theme of murder to draw in viewers, much like writers of the Victorian era had. It also established murder as a prominent theme within the series by showing it within the first episode.

The final series, *Ripper Street*, opened with a group of well-dressed men and women being led through the dark and dirty alleys of Whitechapel on a Jack the Ripper tour. While their guide was describing the unsolved murders the body of a woman was discovered in an alley. Inspector Edmund Reid and his partner, Sergeant Bennet Drake, had been working undercover within an illegal bare knuckle boxing event, but they were sent for by policemen who were on duty that night. While investigating this murder the two detectives uncovered that this woman was involved in pornographic photography and prostitution, even though she was married. Her husband had allowed her to take part in illegal actions to supplement his meager pay. Reid and Drake discovered that this woman had been killed as part of, in the modern day parlance, a snuff film. When the detectives went to arrest the man who had killed her and the photographer who filmed it, the murderer was stabbed by Sergeant Drake and the photographer found a way to ignite his camera, and himself.[65] After this episode a murder, or at least some form of violent death, was presented in connection to every plot over the course of the two seasons.

While fiction and non-fiction depictions of crime in Victorian London emphasized murder this type of crime was actually declining believed to be declining according to historians. Luke Owen Pike mentioned this decline in *A History of Crime in England* and argued that statistically the rate of homicides had been gradually diminishing since 1860.[66] Modern historians have supported his claim including V.A.C. Gatrell. Much like Pike, Gatrell made

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[65] Richard Warlow, "I Need Light," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 1, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.
[66] Luke Owen Pike, *A History of Crime in England* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1876), 472.

reference to statistics he culled from a combination of sources including *The Proceedings* and case records from the Metropolitan Police Archive. His statistics, he argued, showed that not only murder, but all violent crime was declining over the course of the 1800s, continued into the Edwardian era.[67] This analysis cannot show definitively whether murder was declining, but based solely on *The Proceedings* violent deaths were infrequently prosecuted. Between 1889 and 1890 a combined total of all violent deaths (murder, manslaughter, and suicide) were only prosecuted 111 times. This was out of a total of 2,993 crime charges, this made it less than four percent likely to be prosecuted.[68] Based on the low rate of prosecution it is logical to infer that this type of crime was not occurring as frequently as media and popular culture tend to make it appear.

Theft was also a crime that often appears in representations of Victorian London. Wilkie Collin's *The Moonstone*, published in 1868, has been considered the first detective novel. The story revolved around the theft of the titular item, the moonstone. Collin's plot did not include a murder, but instead focused on different characters responses to the theft of the moonstone.[69] Many Sherlock Holmes stories centered on theft. The story "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle" showed Holmes working to determine how a missing blue carbuncle, belonging to the Countess of Morcar, had made it into a Christmas goose. He discovered that a man named Ryder had worked in connection with the countess' maid to steal the gem. In order to avoid being arrested he had forced a goose, belonging to his sister and her husband, to swallow it. Ryder had been told that he could have any goose of his choosing as a Christmas gift, but the

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[67] V.A.C. Gatrell, "The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Crime and Law*, ed., V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1980).
[68] See appendices for statistical data
[69] Wilkie Collins, "The Moonstone," *Project Gutenberg*, January 12, 2006, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/155/155-h/155-h.htm.

geese had gotten mixed up.[70] In both of these works detectives investigated a theft targeting an upper class member of society. The use of a jewel as the stolen item also added a sensational element. The moonstone and the blue carbuncle were both worth a great deal of money, and while no one died, their thefts threw families into turmoil. This use of theft as a plot device did show a connection to actual Victorian crimes. Even in modern detective television shows theft did appear, though often it was directly connected to murder. By including this type of crime the literature and shows did show an understanding of prosecuted crime in London during this period.

The detectives who wrote about their time within the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) also described theft cases. G.W. Cornish devoted one and a half chapters to what he titled "The Great Pearl Robbery." In his introduction of the case compared the investigation that he undertook to that of a fictional detective. He stated that "it moved from stage to stage, so like the detective thriller of fiction."[71] A diamond merchant had purchased a pearl necklace worth 123,000 pounds and had sent it to an agent in Paris. This agent had said that he had a buyer in mind for the necklace. The prospective buyer did not go through with the purchase and the necklace was sent back to England. When the package was opened the diamond merchant was astonished to find no necklace, but instead lumps of sugar. Men were dispatched to Paris to investigate the crime and it was learned that the crime had actually been committed in England. A massive criminal gang, run by a man nicknamed "Cammi," had been behind the complex deception. They had used a forged seal to create a false package full of sugar. This allowed them to unwittingly use the postal service as a way to switch the worthless duplicate with the

[70] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle," in *The Original Illustrated Sherlock Holmes*, ed. Sydney Paget (Edison: Castle Books, 1976), 95-107.
[71] Cornish, *Cornish of Scotland Yard*, 37

expensive necklace. The pearls were eventually located and the men criminals involved were all sent to prison.[72] This crime involved an expensive piece of jewelry and a subterfuge, even more complex than "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle."

The first and only direct connection between a real crime and fictional crime appeared within an episode of *Sergeant Cork*. It described a case, both in title and plot, which was remarkably similar to the crime from Cornish's memoirs. "The Case of the Great Pearl Robbery." The plot involved a jeweler having a pearl necklace stolen. This storyline followed the details of Cornish's case almost exactly, though a criminal gang was not charged with the theft. Once it was learned that the pearls had not been replaced with sugar in France, but instead in England, the investigation shifted toward the family of the jeweler. Sergeant Cork and Inspector Marriott discovered that the girlfriend of the jeweler had planned the theft, with the help of three male criminals.[73] This similarity between Cornish's memoirs and the series *Sergeant Cork* showed that the detectives from the Victorian era did influence the creators of this show.

Sergeant Cribb presented theft within the previously mentioned episode "A Case of Spirits." This type of crime also appeared within "Wobble to Death." The episode began with a murder investigation at a sporting event. Near the end of the investigation the assistant to the man in charge of the event stole all of the money collected from the safe. He believed that the detectives would be distracted from his actions while they worked to arrest the murderer, his boss. While he believed this the detectives were able to corner him and arrest him, immediately before they arrested the event runner.[74] Murder was still used as a primary plot device within this

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[72] Ibid., 35-70.
[73] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Great Pearl Robbery," *Sergeant Cork*, series 3, episode 11, 1964 (Granada Ventures, 2011), DVD.
[74] June Wyndham Davies, "Wobble to Death," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD.

series, but theft did appear in connection to these more sensational cases. This, again, showed a connection to actual crimes during the late 1800s.

Ripper Street also presented theft as the focus in the episode "The Weight of One Man's Heart." A horse drawn carriage was shown traveling through the city and the horse was shot. This forced the carriage to stop and smoke was used to blind the driver. Jackson, the American coroner, argued that a trained marksman would have been needed to shot a moving horse through the head so precisely. The carriage had contained a safe, which had been blown open. With such high grade explosives and a trained marksman it was believed that military men had been involved. Sergeant Drake had previously served in the military and learned that a colonel he had served under was involved. Drake's military superior was in charge of a group of previously enlisted men who were committing crimes to gain what they believed they were owed. The climax of the episode involved the colonel and his men recruiting Drake to their efforts. This collection of men then used Drake's credentials as a detective to enter a mint. The colonel planned to steal all of the gold within the mint, which also held newly made military medals. Before this crime could be carried out Inspector Reid arrived with reinforcements. The colonel was killed and all of his men, excluding Drake, were arrested. This crime again involved expensive items. The colonel had shown Drake a sapphire to prove how much money he could make if he joined them.[75] If a number of large scale thefts like these had occurred during the Victorian era they would have been promoted in the same way that murder was. *Ripper Street* created more sensational thefts, which fit more closely with the heightened level of death and violence throughout the series.

[75] Richard Warlow, "The Weight of One Man's Heart," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 5, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.

While theft was not the primary focus of these fictional and factual sources, its inclusion does show a connection to actual Victorian crime in London. The most frequently prosecuted crime in 1889 and 1890 was theft. 1058 charges out of a total of 2993 were for some kind of theft. This meant that people were charged with theft in roughly thirty-five percent of cases.[76] While all violent attempts to kill someone would have been heard at The Old Bailey, thefts could be tired in lower summary courts. Theft was still the most frequent type of crime.

For every episode of the modern detective televisions shows there was at least one criminal. Over the entire run of *Sergeant Cork* men were arrested for more crimes than women. Men were also more frequently the victims of these criminals. This higher rate of male criminals and victims could be seen in "The Case of Big Ben Lewis." In this episode a group of men were on strike and while outside their place of employment one of the men was shot. It was initially believed that he had been accidentally killed by one of the military officers, who was there to stop the strike. The dead man was the leader of the union on strike. Letters were written to the press that argued that the union at this work place should go on strike. The press insisted that the letters were from Big Ben Lewis, a rich union supporter. Lewis told Sergeant Cork that he had not written these letters and that he was being set up. As the investigation continued the detectives found out that the letters had been forged. Lewis' secretary had created the letters to get the men to strike. He then incited them to kill their union leader, which would make Lewis look bad. The entire episode focused on men acting criminally. The secretary committed forgery, and incited six other men to kill their friend and coworker.[77] This case showed only men acting

[76] See appendices for statistical information
[77] Ted Willis, "The Case of Big Ben Lewis," *Sergeant Cork*, series 3, episode 3, 1964 (Granada Ventures, 2011), DVD.

criminally. These men also were working together to bring harm to two men. This episode was an ideal example of Victorian crime because of the focus on male criminals and victims.

The series *Sergeant Cribb* also had more men arrested for crimes and more men appeared as criminals. In "The Detective Wore Silk Boxers" the corpse of a man washed ashore. Sergeant Cribb was notified of the body and when he saw it he identified the man as a pugilist. This man had been involved in an illegal bare knuckle boxing ring. Cribb asked a younger detective to go undercover as a boxer and find out how this man had been killed. They learned that two men, with the financial support of a recently widowed rich woman, were recruiting and training fighters. When these fighters began to lose they were killed by the brother-in-law of the widow. The bodies would be thrown in the river to disguise where they had actually been killed. The rich woman was also killed, but the plot of the episode was focused on how men were used and killed by other men. At the end of the episode Sergeant Cribb was able to get a confession from the murderer and subsequently arrest him.[78] This episode again focused on male on male crime. Though a woman was murdered, this was done because of her connection to illegal male sporting events. By showing men as more inclined to act criminally this series was connecting the fictional crimes with actual crime during the late 1800s.

Ripper Street had a slightly higher rate of female arrests for crimes, though men remained the most likely to be victims. The reason for this was directly related to the episode "Becomes Man." In this episode a large number of women were all arrested for their connection to the kidnapping and assault of three men. This large group of women all being arrested in connection to the same crime caused an inflation of the female arrest rate within the series.[79] Even with this

[78] June Wyndham Davies, "The Detective Wore Silk Boxers," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD.
[79] Richard Warlow, "Becomes Man," *Ripper Street*, season 2, episode 3, directed by Tom Shankland, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2013), DVD.

elevation of women as criminals, men still remained more likely to be victims of crime. Men were the primary victims in the previously described episode, but there were other examples within the series. "A Man of My Company" began with the body of a man being fished out of the Thames. This man was the engineer of a shipping company and his death would force the company to be bought out by another firm. The murder was committed by an American under the employ of the owner of the rival shipping firm. Over the course of the investigation a young male policeman was killed by the American to cover up what was being done. Within just this episode two men were killed in connection to a larger corporate conspiracy.[80] This episode was an example of not only men as victims, but men as criminals. Much like in the previous series, *Ripper Street* did show male criminals acting violently toward male victims, which connected it to the rates of prosecuted crime that took place during the period it was representing.

One issue that emerged in connection to criminals and victims was the arrest rate within the modern detective television series. Women who committed crimes in *Sergeant Cork* and *Sergenat Cribb* were almost never arrested. Without an arrest a crime could never be charged, which meant that these women were never identified as criminals legally. For *Sergeant Cork* even with the crimes of women who were not arrested included, men were still the dominant criminals and victims within the series. When these same types of cases were included in *Sergeant Cribb* women surpassed men as criminals, though the victimology did not change. The episode "Something Old, Something New" showed a mother and her two daughters using elderly men to make economic gains. The mother would find husbands for her daughters and after the marriage ceremonies, the men would be constantly fed poisoned food. As these were elderly men their deaths were not immediately investigated. Sergeant Cribb only began his investigation

[80] Richard Warlow, "A Man of My Company," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 7, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.

because the uncle of his partner, Constable Thackery, had married one of these daughters. When he learned what these women had done and were planning to do, he did not charge them. Cribb instead provided the women with an ultimatum. They would not be arrested as long as the new husband was cared for. The women agreed to this, but their crimes were never brought before the court.[81] This decision to keep the criminal women from going to court showed Sergeant Cribb being biased in his view of women. While he found their actions reprehensible he did not want to send them to prison, instead he chose to punish them informally. This sort of bias was apparent within prosecuted crimes. Women were given more lenient punishments and were more often found insane when they committed a murder than men.

The criminals and victims of *Ripper Street* also shifted slightly when cases that did not end with arrests were included. More men in this series were able to avoid being tried for their crimes. In the previously described episode, "A Man of My Company," the man who committed the two murders was not charged and neither were his accomplices.[82] If these men had been included they would have caused the number of male criminals to equal the number of female criminals. While this would have made the totals equal, the inclusion of men who died before they were arrested would have led men to surpass women as criminals within the series. Men as victims within *Ripper Street* still remained the same, even with additional cases included.

Between 1889 and 1890 *The Proceedings* men were more often prosecuted for committing crimes. Out of a total number of 2,993 charges men were prosecuted 2,729 times. This meant that men were charged with roughly ninety-one percent of the total cases presented within the court. Women with 264 charges made up the remaining nine percent of the crimes. In

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[81] June Wyndham Davies, "Something Old, Something New," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD.
[82] Richard Warlow, "A Man of My Company," *Ripper Street*, season 1, episode 7, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.

a breakdown of the 2,993 cases, 1,563 had male victims and 546 had female victims. This meant that men were victims roughly fifty-two percent of the time, while women made up about eighteen percent of the remaining cases. The other 884 cases did not have a victim specifically mentioned, which meant that victimless crimes were tried more frequently than crimes against women during this two year period.[83]

The use of crime as a writing device spread from Victorian news media into literature of the period, and eventually became part of modern detective television shows. While violent deaths were the focus of many of these series, the highest prosecuted crime, theft, was still included. The use of both of these crimes as part of the plots in *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street* showed their connection with the fictional and historical documents of the Victorian period. Beyond that these series still showed men as more prone to criminal activities, though the lack of arrests in *Sergeant Cribb* and *Ripper Street* made this comparison more difficult. These shows though did show an acknowledgment of the history of crime and its appearance within Victorian media and literature in how they represented their crimes and criminals.

[83] See appendices for full statistics.

CHAPTER THREE: DETECTIVES

Over the course of the 19th century London evolved in a variety of ways, including changes in roadways, the growth of the population and the gradually diminishing level of tenements. One of the most significant changes, however, was within law enforcement. The 1700s had seen the creation of the police unit known as the Bow Street Office by Colonel Thomas De Veil and maintained through the successive leadership of Henry and James Fielding. The men of Bow Street were expected to help monitor the city and collect information in connection to criminal activity, but this body was not as formally regulated as an official police department.[84] Agents of Bow Street were maintained as the primary means of monitoring crime until 1829, after which Robert Peel wrote a bill, which passed and created the Metropolitan Police. This entity became the first official uniformed peacekeeping body in London. The rank of "detective" was created in 1842 and existed only at Scotland Yard; over time each division of the Metropolitan Police had its own detective division. These detectives, though, were not all held to the same standards, and in 1878 the Criminal Investigation Department was created as an independent agency within the Metropolitan Police to regulate the practices of detectives. Ten percent of the total number of detectives in England were stationed at the central building of Scotland Yard, which constituted the largest percentage of detectives in one specific department.[85]

Becoming a detective involved a great deal of effort. Those who wished to join the detective department had to apply and be accepted to the Metropolitan Police. Guidelines for

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[84] Terminology for police officers and detectives throughout this chapter will generally use male identifiers. This was done because police forces were overwhelmingly male. Men were considered more able to monitor and control society based on the very gendered views that dominated Victorian Society.

[85] Anthony Babington, *A House in Bow Street* (London: Macdonald and Co Ltd, 1969), 30-31, 216-217; Haia Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 33-34, 39-40.

joining the main Metropolitan Police force (these appear in Haia Shpayer-Makov's book which is the most detailed source on British detective history) included being at least 5 feet 9 inches tall, being able to read and write, having only two children at maximum within his family, being between the ages of 20 and 27, and of British extraction. Those who applied also had to provide testimonials to prove their character and pass a series of examinations to show their literacy and physical fitness.[86] The idea of physical fitness appeared within the memoirs of Frederick Porter Wensley in the section titled "Criminal Investigation". He believed that in order to do their work detectives had to have endurance and the ability to keep up with a suspect should they need to tail them.[87] In more rural branches men who had high standing within the community and were considered to have good character could be hired with some disregard to physicality or educational level. Men who came from rural areas were also considered better candidates for urban police work.[88] Shpayer-Makov argues that senior officers favored rural male hires because they were considered more pliable, obedient, more physically strong, and had lowered economic expectations than those raised in an urban environment.[89]

Once a candidate was accepted into the police force he had to spend time working as a regular police officer before he could apply to become a detective. This application had to be handwritten to prove the educational background of the applicant. Men who wished to apply were also expected to do independent work to increase their general knowledge as well as their knowledge of detective work.[90] CID detective were often believed by the public to have been culled from the ranks of military men who were no longer able to work to their potential as

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[86] Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective*, 81.
[87] Frederick Porter Wensley, *Forty Years of Scotland Yard* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 79-80.
[88] T.A. Critchley, *A History of Police in England and Wales 900-1966* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1967), 59.; Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective*, 83.
[89] Shpayer-Makov, 83.
[90] Ibid., 85.

military officers. H.L Adams in his collected work on the CID argues that while the public may have believed detectives gained their positions by being connected to the military, while the Metropolitan Police hired men based on skill and not military rank.[91] There were some men with military experience who did become detectives, most had spent time as policemen prior to their promotion. Internal connections with higher ranking officers helped policemen get promoted to detective quickly; these men could refer a policeman they felt would make a good detective. Haia Shpayer-Makov states policemen who applied for promotion to the position of detective often gained this new position through approval and suggestion.[92] In John Sweeney's memoir, *At Scotland Yard,* the author recalled that he was suggested for promotion, chosen as part of a group of men sent specifically to Scotland Yard to increase the size of the detective force there.[93] This description of an interior promotion shows a willingness of the Metropolitan Police to allow men to move into the position of detective without following the formal application approval process. By allowing for some leniency in hiring this created a more diverse blend of men within the detective profession. Some of these men might not fit every requirement, but they had been chosen based on their skills or connections with other detectives. This meant that the detectives serving in the CID were believed by their superior officers to be the best men to investigate more high profile crimes.

Men hired to act as both police and detectives had to follow certain regulations in connection with their behavior and interactions with the public. P. Bicknell's *Police Manual* insisted that men should act in a friendly and good-tempered manner to ensure that the public was willing to come to them with information. He also stated that men should present themselves

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[91] H.L. Adam, *CID: Behind the Scenes at Scotland Yard* (London: Purnell and Sons Paulton, 1931), 6.
[92] Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective*, 85.
[93] John Sweeney, *At Scotland Yard: Being The Experience During Twenty-Seven Years' Service of John Sweeney*, ed., Francis Richards (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 16.

with authority and should exude respect and confidence to maintain a highly regarded public standing.[94] Sir Melville Macnaghten described the policemen that he worked with as being "as fine a body of men as can be found in any society" and that to be seen as the finest police in the world that they must have been made up of "pretty good men."[95]

During this period only male applicants were allowed into the Metropolitan Police, which meant only men could be detectives. Another noticeable restriction relates to the term of "British extraction." This could merely refer to someone from Britain or a British locale. There was no specific description of what geographic area was being connected to the term "British extraction" within these sources. The men whose memoirs were analyzed for this work described themselves in relationship to their English identity and were all white men. There were no men of any other racial background mentioned within any of the memoirs published or even in secondary documents about the period. No wording presented within these documents showed an explicit preference for white men. England is often presented as being comprised primarily of white men and women. Non-white races are often ignored or only briefly mentioned, both in fictional and historic representations. By not considering non-white English men and women as part of English society, this meant that they were often excluded from jobs and positions held by their white counterparts.

Though it was not a mandatory condition of employment, being married was one reason to seek promotion to detective. Becoming a detective involved a pay raise which would be helpful for a married man. James Berrett's memoirs demonstrates the change in lifestyle that occurred once a man became married. When he lived with other single police officers in a

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[94] P. Bicknell, *The Police Manual* (London, 1894), 10-11 in David Taylor *The New Police in Nineteenth Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 157-158.
[95] Sir Melville Macnaghten, *Days of my Years* (London: Edward Arnold, 1915), 68.

section house in the Whitechapel area he was a practical joker and troublemaker. Berrett was told that he needed to begin acting more maturely by his Superintendent. Following this lecture he stated that he married soon after. He believed that his change in marital status had helped his detective application to go through more quickly, because it had been part of his change in personality and growing maturity.[96] Sir Melville Macnaghten also mentions marrying prior to his advancement to detective, and that he was given time to prepare his family before officially accepting his position.[97] Though the causation between marriage and hiring cannot be drawn conclusively, the fact that it was the motivating factor in the speed of promotions did appear in some cases.

The CID detectives were tasked with solving higher profile crimes than regular policemen. This division from the average police was evident within the memoirs of the detectives. They primarily described cases that they were involved with that were more sensational, primarily murders. This use of murder as a theme was used to draw in readers, but it also separated detectives from men working a beat. By referencing their more impressive cases these men were emphasizing the increased danger and skill needed to be a detective. The descriptions of these cases showed a focus on questioning and gaining information from those connected to the cases. This showed the work needed to solve a case, which was often not shown in media and literature. These men were further showing how much work was needed to be a successful detective. In Sweeney's memoirs he presented a case of murder involving explosives that were being sent through the post. In this case he and another detective were sent out to investigate who had sent the package based on the postmark. In this retelling he emphasized that they had to question a number of clerks and anyone who could conceivably have been connected

[96] James Berrett, *When I Was at Scotland Yard* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. Ltd., 1932), 63-64.
[97] Macnaghten, *Days of My Years*, 53.

to this package. During the investigation he said that only one person gave them any information.[98] A similar description of questioning those connected with an active case appeared in Macnaghten's memoirs. He again gave a detailed description of a case in which he and his partner went to the home of a murdered woman to gain information from her husband and his mother. While describing this case he mentioned that he had to act in a courteous and polite manner to get any information from the older woman. This related back to the idea of maintaining a certain personal disposition while working as a detective. It also showed that gaining information through questioning was crucial to an investigation. Macnaghten in his description pointed out that the evidence in this case was found through two secondary policemen who had been investigating a home on the behest of the CID. Though the detectives were in charge of the investigation other police were often brought in to assist the detectives due to their limited manpower.[99]

In *My Years At Scotland Yard* Berrett discusses collecting information and clues as well, but he went on to say that as detectives collected this information they had to analyze and formulate theories throughout the course of the investigation. While the other detectives gave detailed descriptions of the crimes that they investigated, Berrett emphasized how much detail and continuous work was needed to solve a case. He stated that proof was crucial at every point and that without proof they could not try a criminal. He then went on to say that in order to gain information detectives had to carry out the wearisome task of asking multiple people the same questions over an extended period of time. What his memoir showed was the tedious work that went into investigation and how solving a crime was not a simple matter. Another important

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[98] Sweeney, *At Scotland Yard: Being The Experience During Twenty-Seven Years' Service of John Sweeney,* 153-154.
[99] Macnaghten, *Days of my Years*, 73-75.

detail that appeared within Berrett's description of cases pointed out that murder was actually an exceptional crime which Scotland Yard rarely dealt with.[100] These detectives created a picture which showed that there were more facets to investigation than many people outside of the Metropolitan police understood. By emphasizing the minutia of detective work, these men were showing that solving a crime was not something that could be done easily by someone without training. These men were asserting their skills as detectives, which the public often dismissed during the Victorian era.

The cases presented in the detective memoirs showed how much time and effort was needed to arrest a criminal. While these men were working there were a number of restrictions on what could be presented in a court of law. Speaking with witnesses and anyone connected to the victim of a crime was crucial to these investigations, but while a great deal of statements were collected in order to find out information these were not often allowed in court. Depending upon how a confession was given to the police a court could find the information inadmissible. Similar restrictions still exist today, but during the late Victorian period there were fluctuations in what was considered an appropriately obtained confession or statement. There were also limitations on the witnesses who could be brought before the court. Women were often not allowed to testify and in some cases, should they be intimately connected to a man being charged, they might be breaking the law by giving evidence. As very few cases could be brought forward based on circumstantial evidence, which is what testimony from witnesses was considered, this meant that detectives had to ensure that everything they wished to bring forward was supported by physical evidence.

[100] Berrett, *When I Was at Scotland Yard*, 8, 11, 28.

This fact is mentioned in Francis Carlin's memoir *Reminiscences of an Ex-Detective* where he stated that he knew a man was guilty of a crime, but had no evidence to prove his theory. He mentioned that he followed the typical protocol of questioning those connected to the victim and that it took him a great deal of effort to look for physical evidence in order to back up his beliefs. While doing this he had to deal with variance in testimonies and all of this made it exceptionally difficult to create a case that could be brought to trial.[101] Carlin's focus on how demanding it was to prove a criminal guilty and showed how trying it was to be able to prove someone was guilty enough to bring them to trial during the Victorian period. Though it may still be difficult to prove a person guilty of a crime in the modern era, the period in which the CID was created and working to solve crimes was one which involved understanding a complex and constantly changing field of investigation and evidentiary proof. Confessions and statements were something that writers during the Victorian period used to explain why a crime had taken place. Many Sherlock Holmes stories used confessions as the reason for an arrest. In "The Adventure of the Copper Beaches" from *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, the title detective does not know all of the details of the case until he is able to question a woman who had been living in the house. Mrs. Toller is asked to explain why the criminal, Mr. Rucastle, had imprisoned a young woman, Miss Rucastle, and attempted to drive her insane.[102] Without the confession, Holmes never would have learned that money was the motive for this torture. This detailed description provided the reader with an understanding of the case, but this sort of statement would not have been sufficient evidence in court.

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[101] Francis Carlin, *Reminiscences of an Ex-Detective* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1927), 21-25.
[102] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Copper Beaches," in *The Original Illustrated Sherlock Holmes*, ed. Sydney Paget (Edison: Castle Books, 1976), 180-181.

While the detectives' descriptions of their work and their departments emphasized the upstanding motivations and work involved in being a detective, the public of the late Victorian period often did not view the detectives as hard working men. This dislike of detectives was connected to a fear of corruption taking root in the newly formed CID. Immediately prior to the creation of the new department a scandal had come to light known as the Turf Fraud Scandal. Following an investigation into turf swindling, or false horse race betting, cases the convicts, in an attempt to gain leniency, named detective and policemen, who had accepted bribes in exchange for their silence. This event was crucial in prompting the passage of an overseeing body to ensure that detectives were monitored by a central department.[103] By changing the structure of the detective departments within the Metropolitan Police those involved in law enforcement could demonstrate that they were working to remove corruption.

In 1888 the chilling Jack the Ripper murders became a topic of great interest in London. The six murders were widely publicized, but no suspect was arrested. The public began to doubt Scotland Yard was competent at their job. A number of theories were presented in the press, and have continued to the present. These included a Polish barber, later identified as Aaron Kosminski; a surgeon's assistant named George Chapman; and even Prince Albert Victor himself. The crimes however remained unsolved. Melville Macnaghten argued that in 1889 and even into 1891 the press continued to ascribe murders to Jack the Ripper, which created a heavy burden for detectives. He insisted that he recalled the nights connected to those murders very vividly and that there were even policemen who attempted to continue focusing on the murders to sell their own memoirs. Macnaghten ended the Jack the Ripper section of the book by saying that he believed that the man who committed the crimes was never caught because he was

[103] Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective*, 38.

arrested on an unrelated crime and locked up within an asylum in November of 1888.[104] His reasoning for why the killer was never found demonstrated a need to prove that detectives did not fail, but rather that they could not have arrested a man who was already imprisoned. In the same vein Frederick Porter Wensley mentions Jack the Ripper, in his memoir. He patrolled Whitechapel, though he was not directly involved with the investigation of the murders. He argues that there was an additional murder that could be connected to the infamous Ripper that had occurred much later. In his retelling of the case he specifically named a man who was tried and found guilty for an assault with a knife, which the judge believed could have escalated into a murder had the criminal been able to finish his plans. [105] By including Jack the Ripper in their memoirs, these men were attempting to correct the negative public opinion that had emerged in 1888. They were trying to prove that while the public was not shown an arrest, that the criminal, Jack the Ripper, had been removed from the streets of London.

By devoting time to discussions of these specific crimes the detectives attempted to alter the historical record as a means to prove their worth as investigators. Following the Jack the Ripper murders the public opinion of detectives found its way into the popular media of the Victorian period, most notably in the works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories CID detectives, primarily of the Scotland Yard branch, were shown asking Holmes to help them with cases they could not solve. This trope of the incompetent Scotland Yard detective was presented throughout Doyle's works, best encapsulated in the character of Inspector Lestrade. In his interactions with the Inspector, Holmes ultimately always proved to be the better detective. In Doyle's fictional world the amount of physical evidence was not crucial in order to gain a conviction. While the memoirs of detectives focused on the amount of work

[104] Macnaghten, *Days of My Years*, 55-62.
[105] Wensley, *Forty Years of Scotland Yard*, 4-6.

and need for concrete evidence in order to arrest a criminal, Doyle's stories focus on Holmes making deductions and quickly solving crimes.

The detective memoirs argue that fictional sleuths do not use proper investigation practices. While they did not actively compare themselves to fictional detective, they took time to point out the flaws in the methods, primarily of Sherlock Holmes. Frederick Porter Wensley argued that successful detectives did not succeed by making "flashing deductions from the scratches on a watch and enmeshing a criminal by the exercise of pure reason."[106] His mention of quick deductions and the use of only reasoning to arrest a criminal provided a specific critique of fictional sleuthing. Sir Melville Macnaghten argued a similar position against the fictional detection. In his memoir the description of English detective fiction stated that they "almost invariably portray [sic] the gentleman from Scotland Yard as being of very mediocre intelligence, thereby making him an incomparable foil for that undefeated sportsman, Mr. Sherlock Holmes."[107] This reference was the most direct critique of Doyle's work and was useful for understanding the deep dislike of Victorian era detective fiction. James Berrrett insisted that in order for the public to understand detectives, they must stop comparing them to Sherlock Holmes, which very clearly marked a division between the realities of actual detective work and fiction.[108]

This idea of the foolish Scotland Yard detective and other tropes created in the Victorian period in many ways still influence modern views of this period. The creators of the television series analyzed here have attempted to add an additional facet to the character of the detective. *Sergeant Cork*, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street* focus on CID detectives and their work and

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[106] Ibid., 68.
[107] Mcnaghten, *Days of My Years*, 225.
[108] Berrett, *When I Was at Scotland Yard*, 231.

appearance can be compared more directly to actual detectives. This section will show that these modern fictional detectives provide a more accurate picture of Victorian detectives than previous fictions.

A primary issue with these series is connected to year that each of them uses as their starting point. *Sergeant Cork* and *Ripper Street* were set in the years following the Jack the Ripper murders; the former following a non-standard time progression from 1889 into the very early 1900s, while the latter dedicated one year to each season beginning in 1889.[109] While both shows make reference to the murders, neither devotes much time to the Ripper murders. While beneficial to the storylines, this absence creates a historical distortion. While *Ripper Street* made reference to the CID and the detectives of this division existing prior to the Ripper cases, *Sergeant Cork* presented the CID as new in the year 1889. This made it appear that this detective department did not exist until after the Ripper murders. *Sergeant Cribb* had an episode set in the year 1879, which showed that the detectives had existed prior to Jack the Ripper. Later episodes, and books, reference the Ripper murders occurring. Lovesey does not have any of his stories set in the year 1888, but he did dedicate an episode to a murder that hinged on a man in power and his attempt to kill his own nephew, who he believed was Jack the Ripper.[110]

The appearances of the detectives in the television shows fell along a broad spectrum of proportions, some of which did not fit within the hiring guidelines that the CID used during the Victorian period. For all three series the primary character had a partner. In *Sergeant Cork* the titular character was an older man, between forty and fifty years old, and rotund. Though not out

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[109] Richard Warlow, *Ripper Street,* directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.: Ted Willis, *Sergeant Cork*, 1963 (Granada Ventures, 2009), DVD.

[110] June Wyndham Davies, "Swing, Swing Together," *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD. :Peter Lovesey, *Swing, Swing Together* (New York:Harper and Row Publishers, 1976).

of shape, Cork was frequently shown eating and while he was still able to physically apprehend and fight criminals, he avoided having to tail suspects or do work that would involve being on his feet a great deal. He instead sent out his younger partner, Inspector Marriott, who was slimmer and slightly taller. Both men were expected to collect clues and information in connection to a case, but Marriott, as the less experienced detective, was often used by Cork to find information or to do research. This was often done in order to give Cork more time to theorize and examine specific clues. Neither man in this series was married and while Cork appeared to wish to remain alone, Marriott was shown flirting and dating a number of women throughout the series. Marriott, though a Victorian gentlemen, would have been relatable to the younger male audience. While Sergeant Cork, as a much larger man, was often shown eating and complaining about physical activity, which would have allowed the audience to poke fun at a character who did not adhere to the strict physically fit image of a detective.[111]

In a similar way the detectives in *Sergeant Cribb* also adhered to the idea of dichotomously different body types. In this case the titular character, Cribb, was thinner and very physically active and in one episode he was shown swimming in order to stay in shape. His partner, Constable Thackery, was taller, overweight, with a large, bushy beard. As this series was also based on a set of books, there are two different characterizations for Cribb and Thackery.[112] In Peter Lovesey's books, Cribb was described in a way that is almost identical to Sherlock Holmes; very tall, often having to duck to enter rooms, with a prominent nose. Constable Thackery, was roughly the same between both works, but in the books he was actually older than his superior officer, having been unable to gain promotion due to his inability to pass certain

[111] Ted Willis, *Sergeant Cork*, 1963 (Granada Ventures, 2009), DVD.
[112] June Wyndham Davies, *Sergeant Cribb*, 1980-1981 (Ontario, Canada: BFS Entertainment and Multimedia Limited, 2011), DVD

mandatory examinations within the department.[113] These included general penmanship and literacy examinations. In the books both men were married, while in the show only Sergeant Cribb's wife is ever mentioned. Thackery, as a much younger man, seemed to be bachelor. The creators of this show seemed to be intentionally working to avoid comparisons to Sherlock Holmes by changing the physical appearance of Sergeant Cribb for their series. Making him the older detective also reinforced traditional hiring practices in which superior officers were older. Sergeant Thackery was also used as a comedic character, often shown over indulging in food and drink, and making foolish decisions.

Ripper Street showed a wider variety of detectives, but the two primary investigators were Inspectors Reid and Drake. Reid was the dominant detective in the partnership, often exhibited through his tailored and expensive clothing. He was taller and appeared to be in good physical shape, but was hiding a physical defect. A large section of his upper torso had been burned while investigating a case and the scar tissue around his left shoulder hindered his ability to use is left arm, which limited his ability to confront criminals physically. Drake, while slightly shorter, was more muscular in his build and was referred to by criminals as a bulldog for his partner. Drake was also more visibly scarred and often had some form of visible facial or hand related injury. The marital status of these two characters altered between the first and second seasons. In the first season Reid was married and technically in season two was still married to the same woman, but she had been institutionalized. He began acting like a bachelor and was often seen in the company of an unmarried woman, Jane Cobden. Drake married a woman at the start of season two, but before this season ended his new bride died.[114] These shows all depicted

[113] This description was compiled by reading the entire book series, which makes a specific footnote difficult. These eight books are listed in the full bibliography, but were all written by Peter Lovesey.
[114] Richard Warlow, *Ripper Street,* directed by Tom Shankland, 2012, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012, 2013), DVD.

different types of detectives, but overall they followed a majority of the hiring practices used by the CID. Most of the men were married and relatively well educated. Excluding Robert Marriott from *Sergeant Cork*, the detectives had all worked as policemen and been promoted based on their investigative skills to the rank of detective. These depictions showed a connection to historical detective practices.

These shows did not have a standard physical appearance for detectives, but they did use common tropes from other fictions. *Sergeant Cork* and *Sergeant Cribb* both used opposing body types within their primary pairings, which echoed a frequent trope within detective works that relate back to the characters of Sherlock Holmes and John H. Watson. This was more prominent in *Sergeant Cribb*, but the characterization was used in reverse for *Sergeant Cribb.* While *Ripper Street* did not use this dichotomy, the main pair fits within the more modern detective characterization of the brain versus brawn dichotomy. Reid and Drake (*Ripper Street)*, Marriott (*Sergeant Cork)*, and Cribb (*Sergeant Cribb*) fit the hiring parameters of police and detectives of the Victorian period. Sergeant Cork physically resembled the detective James Berrett, whose memoirs were used within this work. When other characters in the show described Cork, it seemed that his physical state was overlooked in order to add his intellect to the detective branch. Constable Thackery was the only outlier whose placement within the detective department seemed to violate all parameters of hiring and advancement as he was unable to pass examinations and was also not physically in the shape that would be expected for detectives. These characterizations showed a connection to both actual detectives as well as to fictional detective tropes. The inclusion of both of these character types facilitates in connecting the history of detectives with these fictional depictions. All of these shows can be used to explain hiring practices and the type of men who were likely to become detectives during the late 1800s.

While *Sergeant Cribb* and *Ripper Street* made reference to men having been promoted to detective after working in some other capacity within the Metropolitan Police, *Sergeant Cork* presented a very irregular hiring in the character of Marriott. In the first episode the young man was shown asking that he be hired by the CID branch at Scotland Yard. The head of the department was willing to consider him and placed him in a training position under the experienced Sergeant Cork. At his meeting Marriott presented letters attesting his character, which were expected when applying to be a detective. He lacked any form of training or experience as a policeman. Marriott came from a wealthy family and had done nothing requiring detecting or investigation. He was also not hired as a policeman, but rather as a sort of "detective-in-training" which was not done at any point in time.[115] Marriott would have been able to apply to be a policeman during the Victorian period, but without any experience, he could not have been immediately hired as a detective. This is an inaccurate representation of how detectives were actually hired, but it could be used to examine the divide between popular ideas of detectives and what was actually being done by the CID.

The investigative practices used by the detectives in all of these series did hint at the idea of collecting evidence and interviewing witness and suspects. As the shows frequently focused on one case per episode this process was condensed down. The dramas utilized a lot of spoken explanation, which allowed the viewer to understand what information had been collected and would not lose them in the minutiae of piecing together only visual clues. The best representation of the way Victorian detectives would have worked was in *Ripper Street.* Though *Sergeant Cork* did have some episodes that showed the detectives pouring over a scene to find clues, more episodes showed the detectives formulating their ideas based solely on statements. There was a

[115] Ted Willis, "The Case of the Reluctant Widow," *Sergeant Cork*, series 1, episode 1, 1963 (Granada Ventures, 2009), DVD.

reference to needing evidence to prove someone was guilty, but this was not used as a means to limit arrests by either Cork or Marriott throughout the series. *Ripper Street* had a number of examples of clue collection and the tediousness of this practice, but the most relevant appeared within the fourth episode of the first season. Reid, with the help of Drake and a younger detective, spent hours looking over every inch of a small apartment, even using penknives to check the small gaps between the floorboards, in the hopes of finding some way to locate the murderer.[116] The show also showed the collection of evidence from the corpses, either at the scene or within the autopsy room. One of the most crucial issues for detectives that *Ripper Street* was able to show was how evidence was the only way that a criminal could be apprehended. In the two part finale episode of season two, Reid was thwarted in his attempt to arrest a detective from another division, who he knew had been complicit in a number of murders and robberies. When he tried to bring charges against this man he was told that he could not use merely testimony from other detectives and that without evidence this charge could not go any further. Without evidence the case was useless and while the head of the Whitechapel branch of the CID agreed with Reid in his attempt to remove the corrupt detective, the sergeant was adamant that the case would fail.[117] These examples showed how difficult it was to be a detective. Unlike fictional detectives, primarily Sherlock Holmes, these men could not always bring a criminal to justice. They also had to work much harder to find evidence to tie a suspect to a case, which showed a connection to the work of actual detectives.

While these shows did not present a completely perfect image of the Victorian detective, together they could be used to gain a grasp of the period. Much of society's image of detectives

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[116] Richard Warlow, "The Good of This City," *Ripper Street,* season 1, episode 4, directed by Tom Shankland, 2012 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2012), DVD.
[117] Richard Warlow, "Our Betrayal Part One and Two," *Ripper Street,* season 2, episodes 7 and 8, directed by Tom Shankland, 2013 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2013), DVD.

from any age is created through the use of television and other visual mediums.[118] The images created by these shows though provide more detail and a better image of the detectives than much of the fiction during the Victorian period did. While issues were laid against the detectives within Sherlock Holmes by members of the CID it does not seem too presumptuous to think that these television representations would have been met with slightly more approval. By using these shows to relate the past with the more present form of television it creates a visual means of understanding, which is more likely to be embraced by those interested in the history of this period.

[118] Rob C. Mawby, "Completing the 'Half-Formed Picture?' Media Images of Policing," In *Criminal Visions Media Representations of Crime and Justice*, ed. Paul Mason (Portland: Willan Publishing, 2003), 214-237.

CONCLUSION

The parlor lights reflected off of the night darkened windows. Throughout the room a collection of men and women sat nervously casting sideways glances at each other as they waited. Each minute passed by slower than the last as anxiety seemed to effuse into the air like smoke. With an almost deafening slam the door to the room swung open and in strode a man who was remarkable only in that he appeared so unremarkable. While his appearance would not normally excite an audience, authority radiated from him. Standing before his captive audience he began to speak: "I have gathered you all here this evening to reveal the identity of the killer." The faces of the room collectively paled as he continued, "And this is how it happened." The character Sherlock Holmes seems to be synonymous with Victorian London crime and detectives. Holmes has created a distortion of this subject, which needs to be rectified.

The popular of crime and detectives in England is focused upon Sherlock Holmes. Most assume that these stories can be used as a way to understand Victorian London. Doyle's city and the crime taking place within it were tremendously biased. The crimes Holmes most frequently investigated occurred only within the upper echelons of crime. Doyle showed a disregard for the people of the lower classes, which caused a division between his work and the opinions of the Victorian era. The people that Holmes was interacting with all maintained stereotypical behaviors. Men worked and ensured that their families were cared for and women cared for the home. While some of these characters would act irregularly and commit a crime, primarily male and female stereotypes of the Victorian era were maintained.

Sherlock Holmes also did not truly have to investigate a crime. He did not have to scour for clues within the slums, though this was considered during the late 1800s to be the place that was most overrun by crime. He was able to sit comfortably in either his apartment or at a middle

or upper class home and mull over what he had seen. Doyle did not have his detective work within the city itself. Instead he would use information collected by young children or from newspapers. By not leaving his apartment, unless he was going into less urban environments, Doyle was protecting his character from the feared contamination of the city. This made his character an outlier within the city as he was able to maintain a middle class bachelor life, while relying on a minimal income. Metropolitan Police detectives did not make a great deal of money and as a private investigator Holmes would not have had a steady flow of money.

As he was not tasked with arresting a criminal, he could instead make broad accusations and wait for the perpetrator to confess. Though his scientific mind has been praised in other works of fiction, the investigation skills used by Holmes were in no way representative of actual detective work. Beyond not having evidence, very few criminals were arrested in these stories. If these plots were used as a basis for understanding Victorian London it would seem that criminals were never charged for their violations.

The Sherlock Holmes stories of the late 1800s perpetuated the belief that actual detectives who incompetent. As these stories were evolved and adapted over the years this erroneous view continued to appear. This has led to the consistent use of the "dumb detective" trope within mystery and detective fictions. Beyond this inaccuracy the London created by Doyle was much cleaner and did not show poor or struggling people. This has led to a romanticizing of the Victorian era. Though fog remains consistent, pollution, trash, and dirt were all removed by Doyle and this removal was maintained by more modern authors. The inconsistencies within the Sherlock Holmes stories have created a flawed general knowledge that this research was focused on correcting. By providing less romanticized examples of London detectives, this work seeks to add to the sources that a general audience could use to understand Victorian London.

Detective television shows analyzed here provide alternatives to Sherlock Holmes. Not only did they show the amount of work involved in the course of an investigation, but they also emphasized the intelligence and skills needed to become an actual detective. In these shows the detectives all had to work within the slums and were not able to stay protected from the contamination of the city. These men worked tirelessly to solve cases and risked their lives in the line of duty. In these shows, detective work was dangerous, unlike the arm chair deductions of Sherlock Holmes. They did not just show a more accurate depiction of detectives, but showed representations of Victorian fears in connection to the city and crime.

By examining these shows a viewer could determine how Victorian writers observed their environment. For example by showing the streets as dirty and shadowy in at least one episode these programs emphasized strongly held belief that the city of London was unsafe and unclean. In *Sergeant Cork* and *Ripper Street* the idea that the poor were prone to criminal behavior was discussed and some episodes used examples of poor criminals to discuss divisions within English society within the late 1800s. Historically important events, such as the rise of the Fenian Brotherhood and the growth of industry were shown within these programs as well. While these television productions showed a public constantly threatened by murder, this decisions can be connected back to the sensationalist presses of the Victorian era. What all three of these shows can do is provide a gateway into understanding the opinions and practices of Victorian English society for a modern audience.

Opinions of society and urban cities that were created during the Victorian era have continued to influence what is presented within English popular media. Future research could be done to see the connection between Victorian beliefs and the storylines of modern representations of London society. Not only that, but this research could be expanded to

determine how other television shows could be used to help understand different historical events and time period. By looking at modern productions depict within historical settings an historian could determine what needs to be emphasized to correct inaccuracies held by the general public.

Sergeant Cork, *Sergeant Cribb*, and *Ripper Street* all provide a way to show different aspects of Victorian society, crime, and the detectives who solved those crimes. Using them as a tool to further historical understanding helps to open a bridge to the use popular media in historical research. As people grow more inclined to learn information from what they see instead of what they read, these shows are beneficial to growing the field of history as a whole.

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APPENDIX A: MALE CRIME 1889

Possible Crimes	Male Criminal/Male Victim	Male Criminal/Female Victim	Male Criminal/No Victim	Male Criminal Totals
Arson	10	2	2	14
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	81	37	0	118
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	4	27	0	31
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	1	69	0	70
Bankruptcy Fraud	1	0	3	4
Bigamy	0	27	0	27
Blackmail/ Extortion	10	2	0	12
Breaking and Entering	40	2	9	51
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	8	0	8
Confidence Scheme	49	8	52	101

Conspiracy to Commit	29	0	24	53
Counterfeit	1	0	48	49
Embezzling	22	0	0	22
Flashing	0	0	3	3
Forgery	13	1	136	150
Gambling	0	0	4	4
Libel	8	0	3	11
Murder/ Manslaughter/ Suicide	23	9	0	32
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	1	1
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	9	9
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	12	12
Property Damage	3	0	4	7
Public Nuisance	0	0	2	2
Receiving Stolen Goods	49	10	3	62
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	23	0	0	23

Solicitation to Commit a Crime	2	0	0	2
Theft (From Home)	153	24	6	183
Theft (From Person)	121	13	4	138
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	45	45
Theft (From Business/Church)	149	5	13	167
Theft (From Street)	7	0	1	8
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	3	0	4	7
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	8	8
Total Crimes	802	244	396	1434

APPENDIX B: FEMALE CRIME 1889

Possible Crimes	Female Criminal/Male Victim	Female Criminal/Female Victim	Female Criminal/No Victim	Female Criminal Totals
Arson	1	0	0	1
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	6	5	0	11
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	1	1
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	1	1
Bigamy	3	0	0	3
Blackmail/Extortion	0	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	1	15	16
Confidence Scheme	2	0	2	4
Conspiracy to Commit	2	0	0	2
Counterfeit	0	0	8	8
Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0

Forgery	2	0	9	11
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Libel	2	0	0	2
Murder/Manslaughter/ Suicide	8	10	0	18
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	3	3
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	2	2
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	5	2	0	7
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	1	0	0	1
Theft (From Home)	16	7	0	23
Theft (From Person)	9	1	0	10
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0	0

Theft (From Business/Church)	11	0	0	11
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	0	0
Total Crimes	68	26	41	135

APPENDIX C: MALE CRIME 1890

Possible Crimes	Male Criminal/Male Victim	Male Criminal/Female Victim	Male Criminal/No Victim	Male Criminal Totals
Arson	5	1	0	6
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	74	32	0	106
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	3	36	0	39
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	3	62	0	65
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	3	3
Bigamy	1	28	0	29
Blackmail/ Extortion	4	1	0	5
Breaking and Entering	20	7	10	37
Bribery	1	0	0	1
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	4	0	4
Confidence Scheme	57	7	92	156

Conspiracy to Commit	30	1	18	49
Counterfeit	0	0	52	52
Embezzling	14	0	3	17
Flashing	0	0	0	0
Forgery	5	1	118	124
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Libel	13	0	1	14
Murder/ Manslaughter/ Suicide	25	17	0	42
Noise Complaint	0	0	1	1
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	2	6	8
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	5	5
Property Damage	2	0	0	2
Public Nuisance	0	0	3	3
Receiving Stolen Goods	26	4	5	35
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	36	0	7	43

Solicitation to Commit a Crime	4	0	0	4
Theft (From Home)	114	21	6	141
Theft (From Person)	92	11	4	107
Theft (From Post Office)	2	0	57	59
Theft (From Business/Church)	96	6	24	126
Theft (From Street)	9	0	0	9
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	1	0	0	1
Miscellaneous Charges	2	0	0	2
Total Crimes	639	241	415	1295

APPENDIX D: FEMALE CRIME 1890

Possible Crimes	Female Criminal/Male Victim	Female Criminal/Female Victim	Female Criminal/No Victim	Female Criminal Totals
Arson	0	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	2	1	0	3
Assault (Physical)	12	4	0	16
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0	0
Bigamy	6	0	0	6
Blackmail/Extortion	1	0	0	1
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	1	0	4	5
Confidence Scheme	2	3	5	10
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	2	2
Counterfeit	0	0	14	14
Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0

Forgery	0	0	10	10
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Libel	1	2	0	3
Murder/Manslaughter/ Suicide	9	10	0	19
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	2	0	2
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	1	1
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	4	2	0	6
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Home)	5	9	1	15
Theft (From Person)	7	2	1	10
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0	0

Theft (From Business/Church)	4	0	2	6
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	0	0
Total Crimes	54	35	40	129

APPENDIX E: COMBINED MALE CRIME TOTALS 1889-1890

Possible Crimes	1889	1890	Totals
Arson	14	6	20
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	118	106	224
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	31	39	70
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	70	65	135
Bankruptcy Fraud	4	3	7
Bigamy	27	29	58
Blackmail/Extortion	12	5	17
Breaking and Entering	51	37	88
Bribery	0	1	1
Concealing Birth/Abortion	8	4	12
Confidence Scheme	101	156	257
Conspiracy to Commit	53	49	102
Counterfeit	49	52	101
Embezzling	22	17	39
Flashing	3	0	3
Forgery	150	124	274
Gambling	4	0	4
Libel	11	14	25
Murder/Manslaughter/Suicide	32	42	74
Noise Complaint	0	1	1

Obstructing Justice	1	0	1
Perjury/False Accusations	9	8	17
Possession of Theft Tools	12	5	17
Property Damage	7	2	9
Public Nuisance	2	3	5
Receiving Stolen Goods	62	35	95
Sodomy/Buggery/Homosexuality	23	43	66
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	2	4	6
Theft (From Home)	183	141	324
Theft (From Person)	138	107	245
Theft (From Post Office)	45	59	104
Theft (From Business/Church)	167	126	293
Theft (From Street)	8	9	17
Voter Infringement/Intimidation	7	1	8
Miscellaneous Charges	8	2	10
Total Crimes	1434	1295	2729

APPENDIX F: COMBINED FEMALE CRIME TOTALS 1889-1890

Possible Crimes	1889	1890	Totals
Arson	1	0	1
Abuse of a Minor	0	3	3
Assault (Physical)	11	16	27
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	1	0	1
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	1	0	1
Bigamy	3	6	9
Blackmail/Extortion	0	1	1
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	16	5	21
Confidence Scheme	4	10	14
Conspiracy to Commit	2	2	4
Counterfeit	8	14	22
Embezzling	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0
Forgery	11	10	21
Gambling	0	0	0
Libel	2	3	5
Murder/Manslaughter/Suicide	18	19	37
Noise Complaint	0	0	0

Obstructing Justice	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	3	2	5
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0
Property Damage	2	1	3
Public Nuisance	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	7	6	13
Sodomy/Buggery/Homosexuality	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	1	0	1
Theft (From Home)	23	15	38
Theft (From Person)	10	10	20
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	11	6	17
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/Intimidation	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	0
Total Crimes	135	129	264

APPENDIX G: MALE CRIME IN SERGEANT CORK

Possible Crimes	Male Criminal/Male Victim	Male Criminal/Female Victim	Male Criminal/No Victim	Male Crime Totals
Arson	0	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	0	1	2	3
Assault (Physical)	10	4	0	14
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	1	0	1
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0	0
Blackmail/Extortion	0	1	0	1
Breaking and Entering	1	1	3	5
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	3	0	1	4
Conspiracy to Commit	1	0	0	1
Counterfeit	0	0	1	1

Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0
Forgery	2	0	0	2
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Libel	0	0	0	0
Murder/Manslaughter /Suicide	21	10	0	31
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	1	0	0	1
Perjury/False Accusations	3	0	1	4
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	1	0	1
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	3	0	0	3
Theft (From Home)	0	1	0	1
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0	0

Theft (From Post Office)	1	0	1	2
Theft (From Business/Church)	4	0	48	52
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	1	0	6	7
Total Crime	51	20	63	134

APPENDIX H: FEMALE CRIME IN SERGEANT CORK

Possible Crimes	Female Criminal/Male Victim	Female Criminal/Female Victim	Female Criminal/No Victim	Female Crime Totals
Arson	0	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	0	2	2	4
Assault (Physical)	3	5	0	8
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0	0
Blackmail/Extortion	0	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	4	4
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	3	0	0	3
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	1	1

Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Libel	0	0	0	0
Murder/Manslaughter /Suicide	9	2	0	11
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	1	1
Perjury/False Accusations	1	2	0	3
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	0	0
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	1	0	0	1
Theft (From Home)	1	1	0	2
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0	0

Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	1	0	4	5
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	0	0
Total Crime	19	12	12	43

APPENDIX I: MALE CRIME IN SERGEANT CRIBB

Possible Crimes	Male Criminal/Male Victim	Male Criminal/Female Victim	Male Criminal Totals
Arson	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0
Blackmail/Extortion	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	0	0	0
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	0
Embezzling	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0

Forgery	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0
Libel	0	0	0
Murder/Manslaughter/ Suicide	9	1	10
Noise Complaint	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	0
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	0
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	2	0	2
Theft (From Home)	0	0	0
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	1	0	1

Theft (From Street)	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	2	0	2
Total Crime	14	1	15

APPENDIX J: FEMALE CRIME IN SERGEANT CRIBB

Possible Crimes	Female Criminal/Male Victim	Female Criminal/Female Victim	Female Crime Totals
Arson	1	0	1
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0
Blackmail/Extortion	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	0	0	0
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	0
Embezzling	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0

Gambling	0	0	0
Libel	0	0	0
Murder/Manslaughter/ Suicide	1	2	3
Noise Complaint	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	0
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	0
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	0	0	0
Theft (From Home)	0	0	0
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	0	0	0
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/Intimidation	0	0	0

Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	0
Total Crime	2	2	4

APPENDIX K: MALE CRIME IN RIPPER STREET

Possible Crimes	Male Criminal/Male Victim	Male Criminal/Female Victim	Male Criminal/No Victim	Male Crime Totals
Arson	0	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	1	2	0	3
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0	0
Blackmail/Extortion	0	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	0	0
Counterfeit	0	0	1	1

Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	2	9	0	11
Libel	0	0	0	0
Murder/ Manslaughter/ Suicide	9	1	0	10
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	0	0
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	0	0
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0
Solicitation to Commit a Crime	0	0	0	0

Theft (From Home)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	0	0	1	1
Total Crime	12	12	2	26

APPENDIX L: FEMALE CRIME IN RIPPER STREET

Possible Crimes	Female Criminal/Male Victim	Female Criminal/Female Victim	Female Criminal/No Victim	Female Crime Totals
Arson	0	0	0	0
Abuse of a Minor	0	0	0	0
Assault (Physical)	1	1	0	2
Assault (Sexual; Of an Adult)	0	0	0	0
Assault (Sexual; Of a Minor)	0	0	0	0
Bankruptcy Fraud	0	0	0	0
Bigamy	0	0	0	0
Blackmail/ Extortion	0	0	0	0
Breaking and Entering	0	0	0	0
Bribery	0	0	0	0
Concealing Birth/Abortion	0	0	0	0
Confidence Scheme	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy to Commit	0	0	0	0

Counterfeit	0	0	0	0
Drug Sales	0	0	1	1
Embezzling	0	0	0	0
Flashing	0	0	0	0
Forgery	0	0	0	0
Gambling	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	1	9	0	10
Libel	0	0	0	0
Murder/ Manslaughter/ Suicide	0	5	0	5
Noise Complaint	0	0	0	0
Obstructing Justice	0	0	0	0
Perjury/False Accusations	0	0	0	0
Possession of Theft Tools	0	0	0	0
Property Damage	0	0	0	0
Public Nuisance	0	0	0	0
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	0	0
Sodomy/Buggery/ Homosexuality	0	0	0	0

Solicitation to Commit a Crime	1	0	0	1
Theft (From Home)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Person)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Post Office)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Business/Church)	0	0	0	0
Theft (From Street)	0	0	0	0
Voter Infringement/ Intimidation	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous Charges	20	0	0	20
Total Crime	23	15	1	39