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Undiscovered Country: Towards a History of the Criminal 'Underworld'

Shore, Heather

'UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY': TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE CRIMINAL 'UNDERWORLD'[1]

Heather Shore
School of Cultural Studies
Leeds Metropolitan University

Abstract

The concept of the underworld is a central feature in popular histories of crime and criminal behaviour but one that has tended to be dismissed by academic historians as somewhat nebulous and indefinable. This article seeks to bridge this gap by suggesting that the construction of a chronological history or model of the underworld can further understandings of societal attitudes towards crime and criminality. Drawing on case studies and snapshots of deviant cultures and behaviours from the eighteenth century to the 1960s the discussion highlights the role of the underworld and its relationship with social panics and social network theories in the development of criminal justice.

Keywords Underworld, Crime, Moral Panic, Social Network Theory

Introduction

In 1864 a writer in *The Times* pronounced:

> There are those who derive a gloomy satisfaction from the belief in an underworld of crime and horrors, and insist that deeds are daily perpetrated in this great city of which no one ever hears. The supposed "Mysteries of London" fascinate in prospect many an imaginative schoolboy, and there are publications, we believe, which supply the same demand on the part of female servants and other curious people in the country.[2]

According to the writer, this was a 'fanciful idea of metropolitan wickedness'; thief-takers no longer 'played their desperate game', thieves were no longer 'so gregarious in their habits', and the Common Lodgings-house Act 1851 had 'rooted out some of the more desperate gangs'. Yet, he acknowledged, 'there remains the fact that those who are known to the police as living wholly or partially by crime are numbered by thousands'.[3]

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[2] *The Times*, 9 December 1864. G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London* was published in 1844 as a penny dreadful, following the influence of Eugène Sue's, *The Mysteries of Paris* which had been published between 1842-3. In 1849 Reynolds founded the radical newspaper, *Reynolds Weekly Newspaper*. See Rohan McWilliam, 'The Mysteries of G.W.M. Reynolds: Radicalism and Melodrama in Victorian Britain', in Malcolm Chase & Ian Dyck (eds), *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Scolar, 1996) pp. 182-98
[3] *The Times*, 9 December 1864..

Written just a few years before the passage of the Habitual Criminals Act 1868-9, and within years of the publication of the final volume of Mayhew's, *London Labour and the London Poor, those that will not work*... (1861-2), this was a half-hearted attempt to stem the tide of rhetoric that characterised the social journalism of the mid- and later nineteenth century.[4] The prevalence of these accounts, of criminal biography written by hack Grub street writers in the eighteenth century, and the periodic fashions for 'true crime' in the twentieth century, have tended to obscure historian's ways of dealing with the paradigm of organised and professional crime in history.[5]

Overwhelmingly, the study of crime historically has followed two paths. The first, and most powerful, has been the study of social crime which has sought to place crime in a context of political and economic hegemony.[6] The second has been the arguably more pragmatic study of crime rates, particularly in the context of the changing administrative machinery of the criminal justice system.[7] Organised criminality has little standing in this work. New cultural histories of crime have considered elite perceptions of crime, media representation, and 'moral panics'. These studies have enriched our understanding of the cultural impact of criminality, particularly in the nineteenth century.[8] However, outside of these serious studies exists a parallel popular history of crime. In this history, the underworld is central. Thus in a number of popular texts the existence and identification

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[4] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, vol. iv., those that will not work, comprising prostitutes, thieves, swindlers and beggars by several contributors* (1861-2).

[5] See Andy Croll's recent discussion of the field and commentary on methodological problems in, Andy Croll, 'Who's afraid of the Victorian underworld?', *The Historian [London]*, 84 (2004) pp. 30-35. Philip Rawlings discussion of the intersection between 'true crime' and popular criminology is also useful. Philip Rawlings, 'True Crime', in Tim Newburn & Jon Vagg (eds), *The British Criminology Conferences: Selected Proceedings, Volume 1: Emerging Themes in Criminology. Papers from the British Criminology Conference, Loughborough University, 18-21 July, 1995* (The British Society of Criminology, 1999, e-publication)

[6] For overviews see: James Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (Longman, 1984, new ed., 1999); Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (Longman, 1987, new ed. 2005). For the eighteenth century particularly see, Joanna Innes & John Styles, 'The Crime Wave: Recent Writing on Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century England', in Adrian Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 201-65.

[7] Clearly there are overlaps here, but most distinct is this context is the work of John Beattie and Peter King for the eighteenth century, and David Philips for the nineteenth. Again see Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, and Emsley, *Crime and Society*, for overviews.

[8] For example see Helen Berry, 'Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the Significance of "Flash Talk"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 11 (2001) pp. 65-81; John Marriott, 'Sensation of the Abyss: The Urban Poor and Modernity', in Mica Nava & Alan O'Shea (eds), *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity* (Routledge, 1995), pp. 77-100; John Marriott, 'The Spatiality of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century London', in Tim Hitchcock & Heather Shore (eds), *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (Rivers Oram, 2003), pp. 119-134; Linda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London* (Yale University Press, 2000); Judith Rowbotham & Kim Stevenson (eds), *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social panic, and Moral outrage* (Ohio State University Press, 2005); Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (1990).

of a criminal underworld is described as a 'real' historical and social space.[9] Traditionally, this rendering of the underworld as something that existed informed the work of the earliest histories of crime. Even in the significant early work of John Tobias, the rhetoric of the Victorian establishment was firmly embedded in his narratives.[10] In contrast, many academic historians have viewed the underworld as an essentially literary trope, with little real meaning for the hundreds of thousands of ordinary souls who clutter the criminal records with their petty and mundane crimes. Hence, there is no 'underworld', simply elite constructions of the poor and the working-class; a collection of ideas about crime simply mediated through cultural and legal apparatus. The breach between this popular history of crime and the academic history of crime has often seemed impossible to bridge. The underworld is undoubtedly a nebulous concept and by definition, cannot be fully described or understood. Despite this, the notion of a separate culture, shared by those living outside of the boundaries of normal and respectable society, has long been a truism of popular accounts of crime. My aim in this work has been to survey the shifts that can be identified in accounts of criminality throughout modernity. From the eighteenth century the idea of a criminal underworld becomes more coherent, and becomes more embedded not only in popular culture, but also the broader cultures engaged in by police, journalists and politicians. Indeed it needs to be studied alongside both existing and more recent accounts of crime, criminal justice and modernity. Like these, I believe, it benefits most from the methods and approaches suggested by a history from below.[11] This is a piecemeal process, reliant on case-studies, and on the tantalising glimpses of criminal activity that are available to us in a range of themes, some peripheral and seemingly vaguely related: for example: concerns about gangs; the role of the informer; the relationship between police and criminals; the impact of philanthropy; the role of historical media; the administration of the poor; the magistracy; juvenile justice; the control of vice, prostitution and gambling.

The intention of this article is to explore some of the approaches and methodologies employed towards producing a history of the underworld. I will argue that some attempt to construct a model of the underworld is more useful than simply seeing it as a

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[9] See Kellow Chesney, *The Victorian Underworld* (Temple Smith, 1970); Donald Low, *The Regency Underworld* (Sutton, 2005); Donald Thomas, *Victorian Underworld* (Murray, 1998); Donald Thomas, *An Underworld at War* (Murray, 2003).
[10] John J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society* (Batsford, 1967); John J. Tobias, *Nineteenth Century Crime: Prevention and Punishment* (David & Charles, 1972).
[11] Tim Hitchcock, 'A New History from Below', *History Workshop Journal*, 57 (2004) pp.294-98.

nebulous concept or physical institution. The first part will focus on the conceptual and methodological approaches that have been adopted in the research undertaken for this project. The advantage of considering the idea of the underworld across a wide chronology has meant that continuity and change has always informed this work. No history of the underworld, whatever the chronology, can hope for anything near comprehensiveness. This project has mediated the spaces between individual case histories and broader narratives of changing attitudes to crime and policing. By using a case-study approach, and providing snap-shots of deviant cultures and behaviours, it hopes to provide a more nuanced account of the role of the underworld in the development of criminal justice from the eighteenth century. We know that from this period, the criminal justice system, including law, penality and law-enforcement, was being vigorously re-made. Moreover, cultural production, the texts, literatures and narratives through which the underworld was and is narrated, was also expanding and becoming more accessible to a wider range of society. A social and cultural history – evaluating cultural production alongside archival findings – provides us with a solid empirical basis from which to explore the underworld. Thus a partial reconstruction of poor lives can be mediated through elite sources. Historians can recapture the words of the poor in sources like the Old Bailey Sessions Paper, in the records of the metropolitan police, of the parish vestry, of the criminal biographers, of the hack grub street journalist, and of the investigations carried out on behalf of Parliamentary Select Committees.

However, a model based approach is also useful to consider when issues of chronology and space are involved. Chronologically, this project aims to question some of the orthodoxies about modernity, the state, the rise of public cultures and crime as it is mediated through mass culture. This brings me to mass urban society and the issue of space.[12] Overwhelmingly studies of the underworld have generally focussed on metropolises. In Britain, the unique role of London in the history of crime and law enforcement, has meant that it has come to dominate any discussion, theoretical or methodological, of organised and professional crime. Thus London has historically been seen as the home of the underworld. A number of characteristics explain this siting at the

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[12] Hitchcock, 'New History', p. 296, for a brief discussion of some of the problems of the project of 'modernity'. For spatiality see, Walter Benjamin (trans. by Howard Eiland & Kevin McLaughlin), *The Arcades Project* (Harvard University Press, 1999); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Blackwell, 1991); Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (Norton, 1994); Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder and Women* (Berkeley, 1991).

centre of organised criminal activity. As well as its highly urbanised nature, it also had a busy port, and a highly transient population. During the course of the nineteenth century concerns about immigration (which had always been a feature of London's landscape), disease and public health, added nuance to an increasing ghettoisation, and consequently, a more spatially located underworld. This centrality of London is reflected in the empirical research for this article, which is based wholly on London sources. However, the metropolitan space is a complex one, particularly over the period in question. Demographic change; financial and economic growth; and the role of London as the imperial centre, undoubtedly mean that there can be no simple reading of spatiality.[13] Consequently, this current essay will not focus directly on the spatial underworld.[14] My focus for this article is on two other conceptual planks in the making of the underworld. Firstly is the role of the historical media in this process. Secondly is the place of horizontal criminal networks as constituting forms of 'organised' criminal activity. However, the limited amount of evidence to which historians of the underworld inspire to interpret, is best read against some sort of theoretical and methodological framework if one is to avoid succumbing to the 'true crime' label. In this article, I shall take a 'lightly' inter-disciplinary approach and draw upon the work of criminologists as well as historians, to explore possible conceptual frameworks.

Part I: Approaches and Methodologies

Traditionally, criminologists used a hierarchical structure to understand organised crime. Donald Cressey's seminal work on organised crime in America, *The Theft of the Nation*

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[13] On metropolitan space see: Dana Arnold, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London, 1800-1840* (Ashgate, 2000); Peter Atkins, 'The Spatial Configuration of Class Solidarity in London's West End, 1792-1939' *Urban History Yearbook*, 17 (1990), pp.36-65; Felix Driver & David Gilbert, 'Imperial Cities: Overlapping Territories, Intertwined Histories', in Felix Driver & David Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Metropolis: Landscape, Space and Performance in London, 1850-1950* (Royal Holloway College, University of London, 1997), pp. 1-20; Matt Houlbrooke, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); Simon Joyce, *Capital Offenses: Geographies of Class and Crime in Victorian London* (University of Virginia Press, 2003); Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton University Press, 2004); Colin G. Pooley, 'Getting to know the City: The Construction of Spatial Knowledge in London in the 1930s', *Urban History*, 31:2 (2004) pp. 210-228; J. Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (Yale University Press, 2001); Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*; Cynthia Wall, 'A Geography of Georgian Narrative Space', in Miles Ogborn & Charles W. J. Withers (eds), *Georgian Geographies: Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century*, (Manchester University Press, 2004) pp. 114-29.

[14] The broader study from which this current article is derived will explore the mapping of the spatial underworld; 'Underworlds: Professional and Organised Crime in London since the Eighteenth Century', to be published by Hambledon Continuum.

published in 1969, epitomised this approach.[15] Thus organised crime for Cressey was characterised by a division of labour, which was hierarchically structured, essentially a bureaucratic model following in the much trodden footsteps of Weber.[16] Cressey's research was based on the *Cosa Nostra* families who fitted this bureaucratic model very well, characterised as they are by authority roles (the *Don*), specialisation, and continuity.[17] This hierarchical and bureaucratic model of 'modern' organised crime has been a dominant paradigm in criminology. Nevertheless, not all criminologists have found this approach useful.[18] Not surprisingly, given the inherently 'hidden' nature of organised crime, evidence posed central problems. Thus Cressey's evidence was dismissed as 'hearsay', particularly as evidence from informers was felt to be unreliable. Indeed Alan Block and Henner Hess have questioned the coherence and even existence of *La Cosa Nostra*.[19] Certainly this model of bureaucracy and hierarchies has problems for a historical approach, in that it is inherently linked to the emergence of a market-place. For Dick Hobbs, the development of organised crime in Britain can be linked specifically to the rise of the market economy from the eighteenth century, particularly in London, 'where the marketplace was most affluent and regimentation of the emerging working class was most ineffective'.[20] However, where Hobbs draws analogies between Jonathan Wild's criminal 'firm' and more 'modern' criminal entrepreneurship, I would suggest that any close reading of the sources shows a much more flexible and fluid (and arguably disorganised) set of relationships.[21] If we take the case of Wild as a pivot, his criminal 'career' and that of his confederates seems most markedly characterised by interconnectedness.[22] Hence, roles such as fence or informer or thief are flexible rather

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[15] Donald Cressey, *The Theft of the Nation: The Structure and Operations of Organized Crime in America* (Harper & Row, 1969).

[16] Andre Standing, *Rival Views of Organised Crime* (Institute for Security Studies, 2003) p. 3.

[17] Standing, *Rival Views*, p. 4.

[18] Dick Hobbs, 'Professional and Organized Crime in Britain', in Mike Maguire, Robert Morgan & Robert Reiner, (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Clarendon Press, 1994) pp. 441-468, p. 457.

[19] Hobbs, 'Professional', p. 457. Alan A. Block, *The Business of Crime: A Documentary Study of Organized Crime in the American Economy* (Westview Press, 1991); Henner Hess, *Mafia and Mafiosi: Origin, Power and Myth* (2nd Edn., New York University Press, 1998).

[20] Hobbs, 'Professional', pp. 444-445.

[21] Wild's (6 May 1683- 24 May 1725) metropolitan career spanned from c. 1713, when he became an assistant thief-taker to the Under City Marshal, Charles Hitchen, to his execution at Tyburn in 1725. In 1718, Hitchen turned on Wild in an attempted expose of Wild's criminal activities, *A True Discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers in and about the City of London*. Wild responded by 'outing' Hitchen as an homosexual an frequenter of the metropolis's molly-houses. The same year Wild pronounced himself, 'Thief Taker General of Great Britain and Ireland'. By 1720, the Privy Council were consulting Wild on his crime control methods. The best full account of Wild's 'career' can be found in Gerald Howson, *Thief-taker General: The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Wild* (Hutchinson, 1970).

[22] Indeed I think there is a real danger in using Wild as a starting point. Though the evidence is scarce, I would envisage future research to stress at least some continuities. Indeed work by the historical sociologist John

than occupying a rigid and hierarchical bureaucracy.[23] If evidence is problematic for contemporary criminologists of organised crime, it is clear that empiricism offers fundamental problems for the historian of organised crime.[24] Indeed the growth of a body of material from the early nineteenth century purporting to provide investigations and true accounts of criminal lives, alongside the earlier appetite for 'true crime' accounts of highwaymen and criminal gangs, have somewhat skewed the historians gaze away from the 'reality' of organized crime; as Andy Croll has pointed out, 'Many no longer seem willing to contemplate the underworld as a social reality, preferring instead to conceive of it as a 'mythical', 'imagined' construct'.[25]

A number of historians have at least tentatively drawn on other sociological theory to understand attitudes to the crime and deviance in the past. Stanley Cohen's work on moral panic, originally written in the early seventies as a response to earlier youth conflict between the mods and rockers, has been profoundly influential.[26] While Cohen's model of moral panic relates to responses to a specific event or episode, there are elements of his work that are relevant to understanding the making of the underworld. Arguably the overall underworld paradigm developed through a series of moral panics: about vagrants and gypsies, about highwaymen and street-robbers, about thief-whores and delinquent boys, about smash-and-grab raiders and dope girls. As Geoffrey Pearson has shown us in his study of 'hooliganism' and social fear, the episodic nature of (loosely interpreted) moral panic has an historical basis.[27] Other historians have linked the episodic nature of moral panics, or 'crime waves' to sharp economic shifts or policy

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McMullan in the 1980s, though taking a broadly structural approach, certainly supports these continuities. More recently, Paul Griffiths has focussed on what he terms 'overlapping circles' of crime in sixteenth and seventeenth century London. Paul Griffiths, 'Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545-1645', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester University Press, 2001) pp. 115-133; John McMullan, *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld, 1550-1700* (Rutgers University Press, 1986).

[23] A sense of this flexibility and indeed, disorganisation can be gleaned from the key work (unfortunately un-footnoted) on Wild by Howson, *Thief-taker General*.

[24] See Andy Croll, 'Who's afraid of the Victorian Underworld', *The Historian*, 84 (2004) pp. 30-35, for a useful introductory discussion of methodological and theoretical issues.

[25] For an account of the evolution of such accounts from the later eighteenth century see, John Marriott, 'Introduction', in John Marriott and Masaie Matsumura, *The Metropolitan Poor: Semi-factual Accounts, 1795-1910* (Pickering and Chatto, 1999), pp. xi-l; Croll, 'Underworld', p. 30.

[26] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (Routledge, 2002 edn., Ist edn, 1972). For historical approaches see, Peter King, 'Moral Panics and Violent Street Crime 1750-2000: A Comparative Analysis' in Barry Godfrey, Clive Emsley and Graeme Dunstall (eds), *Comparative Histories of Crime* (Willan, 2003) pp. 53-71; Rowbotham & Stevenson (eds), *Criminal Conversations*; Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester University Press, 1990).

[27] Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (Macmillan, 1983).

change.[28] Cohen himself, in the second edition to his book (published in 1987), was critical of the ways in which historians had used his model, damningly referring to the 'over-facile drift towards historicism'.[29] Cohen was specifically critical of the core 'history from below' approaches, which he saw as reading the history of delinquent subcultures as evidence of 'cumulative historical resistance'.[30] Arguably Cohen missed the complexities of some of this work, and arguably it is the new 'histories from below' that have much more in common with Cohen's language of symbols, labels and cultural politics.[31] Cohen's work is at its most pertinent to the historian in his discussion of the media. In his 'media inventory' of events he identifies three stages: 1) Exaggeration and distortion 2) Prediction 3) Symbolization.[32] While Cohen's social actors are found in a specific episode, the Mods and Rockers phenomenon of the mid-sixties, this pattern is also identifiable in historical media. Part II of this article explores these stages in relation to the historical press.

Contemporary theorists of organised crime have turned to social network theory to build their models of explanation. Social network analysis is drawn from a number of cognitive disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, social psychology and geography.[33] Andre Standing has defined networks as follows, 'a network can be considered as a rather flat, flexible and informal approach to co-ordinating social (or specifically criminal) life. A network denotes interconnectedness between essentially independent entities. Rather than via central authority, unity among the parts is achieved by shared objectives or *trust* – the central co-ordinating mechanism is a *mutual dependency* of sorts'.[34] Thus networks are defined as a series of interconnected nodes. A node is essentially a point on the network that is connected to other nodes in a significant way.[35] Nodes then can be individuals or organisations; more important are the relationships that exist between

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[28] Jennifer Davis, 'The London Garrotting Panic of 1862', in Vic Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker (eds), *Crime and the Law: A Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (Europa, 1980) pp. 190-213; Douglas Hay, 'War, Dearth and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts', *Past & Present*, 95 (1982) pp. 117-60; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Allen Lane, 1991); Rob Sindall, 'The London Garotting Panics of 1856 and 1862', *Social History*, 12 (1987) pp. 351-59.
[29] See the introduction to the second edition, reprinted in third edition. Cohen, *Folk Devils*, p. liii.
[30] Cohen, *Folk Devils*, p. lvii.
[31] Hitchcock, 'New History', pp. 296-297; Steve Poole, 'Tales from The Old Bailey: Writing A New History from Below, *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005) pp. 282-284
[32] Cohen, *Folk Devils*, p. 19.
[33] For a extremely useful and clear discussion of social network theory and its application to criminology see Phil Williams, 'Transnational Criminal Organisations and International Security', in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, (eds) *In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age* (Rand, 1997) pp. 61-97.
[34] Standing, *Rival Views*, p. 7.
[35] Williams, 'Transnational', p. 67.

them. Wasserman and Faust have argued that these relationships can be based on, 'kinship, material transactions, flow of resources or support, behavioural interaction, group co-memberships, or the affective evaluation of one person by another'.[36] Standing underlines this point about relationships, 'This characteristic of informal trade is largely due to the precarious and uncertain nature of the business that means buyers and sellers prefer to work with people they know or to whom they have been introduced by a reliable source. Such introductions and reciprocity form the essence of networked operations'.[37] It is not my intention here to fully lay-out and follow the social network approach, since the scattered nature of the evidence makes application of these models at best superficial. Historians have used social network theory with varying degrees of success.

Perhaps the most empirical approach is that used by Jessica Warner and Frank Ivis, in their work on informing networks in Eighteenth-century London. This is also the most pertinent for my own work given some overlap of personnel.[38] Warner and Ivis have applied network models to their records of gin informers in East London and Westminster, using Privy Council records and calendars of commitments. The result of this is a substantial sample of 81 informers for East London and 88 for Westminster. This data is fairly clean in the sense that it is drawn from lists clearly identifying these individuals as informers under the Gin Act.[39] Trying to use the same approach to criminal networks very quickly runs into problems of definition (although this underscores the characteristic flexibility found in social network theory). Leslie Moch and Rachel Fuchs have used a much looser model of social networks for their research on poor women's networks in nineteenth-century Paris.[40] Although they do not explicitly draw upon criminological theory of networks, they use much of the same language and have particularly attempted to develop the sociologist Mark Granovetter's idea of 'weak ties', 'the links that bridged outside one's quotidian networks of contacts, connecting with

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[36] Cited in Williams, 'Transnational', p. 67. Stanley Wasserman & Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (CUP, 1994) pp. 11-12.

[37] Standing, *Rival Views*, p. 9.

[38] Warner and Ivis's work is on informers under the 1736 Gin Act. Key actors in this network were the Westminster magistrates Thomas De Veil and John Gonson, described as 'self-promoters' by the authors. Certainly in my own work, these two magistrates have stood out in terms of relationship to early eighteenth century criminal networks. Jessica Warner & Frank Ivis, 'Informers and their Social Networks in Eighteenth-Century London: A Comparison of Two Communities', *Social Science History*, 25/4 (2001) pp. 563-587, p. 570.

[39] Warner & Ivis, 'Informers', p. 571.

[40] Leslie Moch & Rachel Fuchs, 'Getting Along: Poor Women's Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *French Historical Studies*, 18/1 (1993) pp. 34-49.

other groups'.[41] Moch and Fuch use a great deal of anecdotal evidence, including autobiographies of working-class women, court records of abortion and infanticide trials, and some institutional records.[42] In other words, a similar methodology to the one I have used in my own research on criminal networks. The aim of part III of this article is to start to identify the 'nodes' in historical criminal networks and the 'ties' and 'relationships' that reflect some of the methodologies of social network theory. Ultimately, Warner and Ivis's rather more rigorous and empirical approach should be aspired to. Whether or not the historian of the underworld can do this, is partly the question that this article seeks to address.

Part II: Representations, 'Media', and the Making of the Underworld

The concept of a subterranean world within the city has become a familiar trope in both criminological and historical texts on crime, as well as in any number of literary crime genres. Moreover, historically, a terminology developed to encompass description of these 'moral regions'. Cohen argues that 'Communication, and especially the mass communication of stereotypes, depends on the symbolic power of words and images'.[43] Thus words and place-names can symbolize complex ideas and emotions. In the twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, the term 'underworld' has gained symbolic power: becoming a dominant construct, and used extensively to describe forms of organised or professional crime activity. Sociologist Ken Gelder has argued that the term is, 'associated in particular with a way of imagining organised criminal activity in the United States'.[44] The characteristics and terminology inherent in these descriptions, have been well explored by other historians.[45] Some credence is lent to this link between 'imaginary constructs' and historical media, when we see that the actual use of the term **'**underworld' in association with criminality was relatively recent. In the later nineteenth century the rediscovery of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, may have influenced contemporaries to draw a symbiotic relationship between Dante's inferno and the growing working class slums both in Britain and North America. It may be particularly associated with the

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[41] Moch & Fuchs, 'Getting Along', p. 58. Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973) pp. 1360-80.
[42] Moch & Fuchs, 'Getting Along', pp. 38-39.
[43] Cohen, *Folk Devils*, p. 27.
[44] Ken Gelder, 'Introduction to Part Five', in Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (eds), *The Subcultures Reader* (Routledge, 1997) pp. 263-7, this quote, p. 263.
[45] A. L. Beier, 'Identity, Language, and Resistance in the Making of the Victorian "Criminal Class": Mayhew's Convict Revisited', *Journal of British Studies*, 44:3 (2005) pp. 499-515; Randall McGowen, 'Getting to Know the Criminal Class in Nineteenth Century England', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 14 (1990) pp. 33-54; Henry Summerson, 'The Criminal Underworld of Medieval England', *Journal of Legal History*, 17 (1996) pp. 197-224

American poet Longfellow, who published his translation between 1865-7.[46]   Certainly, the earliest title usage is the work of the pseudonomic George Ellington, who in 1869 published *The Women of New York; or, The under-world of the great city….* This was followed in 1899 by the work of Helen Campbell, also writing about prostitution, in *Darkness and daylight; or, Lights and shadows of New York life…in the underworld of the great metropolis….*[47] By the early decades of the twentieth century the use of the term had become fairly common in descriptions and accounts of urban criminal milieu in America and Britain, not to mention Paris, Tokyo and Calcutta.[48] In 1912, Thomas Holmes published *The London Underworld,* which seems to have been the first British text to consistently use the term. Holmes was the secretary of the Howard Association that had been formed in 1866, and the author of various publications concerned particularly with habitual criminals.[49] Holmes' *London Underworld* is a largely impressionistic account of his experiences amongst the criminal classes of London; he displays both wonder and a cosy familiarity towards his subjects:

> London's great underworld to many may be an undiscovered country. To me it is almost as familiar as my own fireside; twenty-five years of my life have been spent amongst its inhabitants, and their lives and circumstances have been my deep concern. Sad and weary many of those years have been, but always full of absorbing interest. Yet I have found much that gave me pleasure, and it is no exaggeration when I say that some of my happiest hours have been spent among the poorest inhabitants of the great underworld.[50]

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[46] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Divine Comedy* (1865-7)

[47] George Ellington (pseud.), *The Women of New York; or, T*he *Under-world of the Great City. Illustrating the Life of Women of Fashion, Women of Pleasure, Actresses and Ballet Girls, Saloon Girls, Pickpockets and Shoplifters, Artists' Female models, Women-of-the-Town, Etc…*(New York Book Co., 1869); Helen Campbell, *Darkness and Daylight; or, Lights and Shadows of New York Life…With Thrilling Personal Experiences…in the Underworld of the Great Metropolis…*(Hartford Pub. Co., 1899). For a discussion of this literature see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialisation of Sex, 1790-1920* (W. W. Norton & Co., 1992). More generally on New York low-life see Luc Sante, *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (Granta ed., 1998).

[48] For example see Trevor Allen, *Underworld: The Biography of Charles Brooks – Criminal* (1932); Charles George Gordon, *Crooks of the Underworld* (1921); Billy Hill, *Boss of Britain's Underworld* (1955); Thomas Holmes, *London's Underworld* (1912) (available as an e-text from Project Gutenburg **http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/**); Josie Washburn, *The Underworld Sewer* (1909). On the latter see the most recent edition edited by Sharon. E. Wood (University of Nebraska Press, 1997). As early as the thirties the underworld label was being extended to more exotic locations, as, for example, in James S. Lee's, *The Underworld of the East; Being Eighteen Years' Actual Experiences of the Underworlds, Drug Haunts and Jungles of India, China and the Malay Archipelago* (1935), and Jean Henri Le Roy, *After Thirty-two Years of Bitter Remorse and Nights of Burning Anguish he Leaves the Underworld's Wretched Humanity* (c. 1917). For example on Japan, Christopher Seymour, *Yazuka Diary: Doing Time in the Japanese Underworld* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996) and Robert Whiting, *Tokyo Underworld: the Past Times and Hard Life of an American Gangster in Japan* (Pantheon, 1999). On Paris, Alfred Morain, *The Underworld of Paris: Secrets of the Surete* (1929). On India, Suranjan Das, *The Goondas: Towards a Reconstruction of the Calcutta Underworld* (Firm KLM, 1996), and George MacMunn, *The Underworld of India* (1933).

[49] For example see Thomas Holmes, "Habitual Inebriates", *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 75 (1899) pp. 740-46; *Pictures and Problems from London Police Courts* (1900); *Known to the Police* (1908); "Prisons and Prisoners", *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. 9 (1910) pp. 114-133.

[50] Holmes, *London's Underworld*.

The contrast to the upperworld, as he coins it, was not always negative. Nevertheless, Holmes concern was to elevate the inhabitants of the underworld to citizenship of the upperworld.[51] Yet even prior to the emergence of the term 'underworld', the concept of alternative deviant worlds had a social currency: rookeries, dives, dens, sinks, or more specific terms linked to a sense of place: the Bowery, Hells Kitchen, Alsatia, Devils Acre to name a few.[52] Indeed, Holmes' text followed in a long tradition of social investigators and philanthropists. Like those of his predecessors, this 'underworld' had a detailed iconography. Thus he described an alternative world with a specific language, codes of behaviour, and a distinct geography, much in the way of other literary and semi-literary accounts, through John Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vagabonds* in 1561, through the rogue literature of the early Stuart period, and the thieves articles described in the criminal biography and pamphlet literature of the eighteenth century. However, from the eighteenth century the crossover between such 'literary' representation and media coverage was to increase.[53] Thus, the expanding newspaper industry also contributed to the making of the criminal underworld.

While such 'moral Baedaker's', to use John Marriot's term, helped towards the construction of the underworld myth, the role of the press is also implicit in the making of models of criminality.[54] Press coverage of crime was not always so intense in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Certainly the culture of moral editorials was not a consistent feature of the press in this period.[55] Nevertheless a number of historians have

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[51] For example in his final chapter, 'Suggestions', Holmes wrote, 'The causes of so much misery, suffering and poverty in a rich and self-governing country are numerous; and every cause needs a separate consideration and remedy. There is no royal road by which the underworld people can ascend to the upperworld; there can be no specific for healing all the sores from which humanity suffers', *London Underworld*.

[52] Sociologist Robert E. Park explored the idea of 'moral regions' in the early twentieth century, see Robert. E. Park, 'The City. Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour', cited in Gelder and Thornton (eds), *Subcultures Reader*, pp. 16-27. The Bowery and Hell's Kitchen were parts of New York (though Hell's Kitchen has also been applied to London, for example George Ingram, *Hell's Kitchen: The Story of London's Underworld, as related by the notorious ex-burglar George Ingram to DeWitt Mackenzie* (1930)). Alsatia (north of the Thames, close to Whitefriars monastry) and the Devils Acre (Westminster), were historically areas of London.

[53] Simon Devereaux, 'The Fall of the Sessions Paper: Criminal Trial and the Popular Press in Late Eighteenth-Century London', *Criminal Justice History* 18 (2003), pp. 466-503.

[54] Marriott, 'Introduction', p. xiv.

[55] For crime reporting, editorials and sensation see: Thomas Boyle, *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism (*Hodder, 1990); Deborah James, '"Drunk and Riotous in Pontypridd": Women, the Police Courts and the Press in South Wales Coalfield Society, 1899-1914'. *Llafur*, 8:3 (2002) pp. 5-12; L. Perry Curtis, *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (Yale University Press, 2002); Anne Baltz Rodrick, '"Only a Newspaper Metaphor": Crime Reports, Class Conflict, and Social Criticism in Two Victorian Newspapers', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 29 (1996) pp. 1-18.

tested Cohen's moral panic model against the historical press. These 'panics' are most frequently focussed on sensational crimes like the Whitechapel murders, or the London Monster constructed by the press in the late 1780s, or upon the identification of a particular 'crime wave'. For example, Peter King explored the reporting of the Colchester crime wave of 1765 as a 'moral panic', resulting from a 'crime wave' that was essentially manufactured by the local press.[56] Like the Mods and Rockers phenomenon, this work relates to specific historical episodes. There has been surprisingly little work carried out on more mainstream crime reporting in the eighteenth century, and even in the nineteenth century.[57] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, commentator views about crime and immorality tended to be the subject of pamphlet literature. For example, during the early and mid-eighteenth century Daniel Defoe and the Fielding's produced various pamphlets in which they actively sought to influence policy and opinion on crime.[58] It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that moral commentary erupted in the genre of social investigation published through a variety of media, but strongly associated with the *Morning Chronicle* and the so-called 'investigative journalism' pioneered by Henry Mayhew.[59] By the twentieth century the newspaper was increasingly becoming the home for social journalism, drawing together the elements of older prescriptive literatures, pamphlets and journals into headlines and editorials regularly registering social crisis.

It is unclear whether front-page news had quite the same meaning in the eighteenth century as it does now. In papers like the *Daily Post*, the domestic or London news was often on the front page. This was hardly meaningful since the paper was only two sheets anyway and the second sheet consisted largely of advertisements and lists of trade prices. However, it did mean that reports about criminals, about the sessions of the Old

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[56] Jan Bondeson, 'Monsters and Moral Panic in London' *History Today*, 51:5 (2001) pp. 30-37; Peter King, 'Newspaper Reporting, Prosecution Practice and Perceptions of Urban Crime: The Colchester Crime Wave of 1765' *Continuity and Change*, 2/3 (1987) pp. 423-54; Esther Snell, 'Perceptions of Violent Crime in 18th-Century England: A Study of Discourses of Homicide, Aggravated Larceny and Sexual Assault in the 18th-Century Newspaper', unpublished PhD thesis, Kent University, 2004. See also John Styles, 'Print and Policing: Crime and Advertising in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England' in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain, 1750-1850* (OUP, 1989) pp. 55-112.

[57] For overview of the development of the English press see Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Longman, 2000); Michael Harris & Alan Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986)

[58] Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth Century England* (John Hopkins University Press, 2001)

[59] Mayhew, *London Labour*. See Marriott, 'Introduction', for an overview of this literature. Andrew Tolson, 'Social Surveillance and Subjection: Emergence of a "Subculture" in the Work of Henry Mayhew', *Cultural Studies*, 4 (1990) pp. 113-27.

Bailey or the Guildhall, about executions, were accessible, straight under the news from abroad, and reports on the movements of the aristocracy. For example, during 1730 the Westminster magistrate, Sir John Gonson's campaign against the disorderly-houses was frequently reported. Warner and Ivis have pointed out that Gonson, along with other Westminster justices, particularly Thomas De Veil, actively courted the press, as a way of advancing their careers. De Veil, whose name resonates through the criminal records of the 1730s and 40s, was widely mentioned in press accounts of his cases (particularly at the height of the Gin prosecutions).[60] Arguably this could be described as 'over-reporting', the exaggeration and distortion that Cohen identified as one of his stages.[61] Certainly, in this period, when it could be argued that magistrates like Gonson and De Veil saw themselves engaged in a 'war on crime', the use of symbolic language can be identified across the media, as can 'prediction' in the pamphlet literature and prescriptive texts which sat alongside the newspapers.[62] Both prediction and symbolic images can be found in Plate III of Hogarth's *Harlots Progress*, which was based on events reported in the summer of 1730; complete with references to Gonson and his constables, as well as references to other contemporary criminals like James Dalton, and the rapist and seducer, Colonel Chatteris.[63] At the time of its public reception, like the later products of Victorian social investigation, the engraving would have offered both moral commentary but also sensationalism. The fact of the unreliability of the media, also contributed to the construction of crime. For example, newspapers could present conflicting versions of events. In 1795, the *Oracle and Public Advertisers* description of the cheerful and unconcerned demeanour of the highwayman Jerry Abershaw at his execution was to colour portrayals of him henceforth – as gallant, humorous, and valiant in the face of

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[60] See Warner & Ivis, 'Informers', p. 570. For example, *Daily Journal*, 13 Nov. 1731, 8 Sept. 1732; *Grub Street Journal* 19 August 1731; *Daily Gazetter*, 4 Feb., 16, 22 March 1738; Tim Hitchcock has shown how De Veil exploited the press in the case against the watchman, William Bird in the St. Martin's roundhouse disaster of 1742, 'You Bitches…Die and Be Damned', Gender, Authority and the Mob in St. Martin's Roundhouse Disaster of 1742', in Hitchcock and Shore, *Streets of London*, pp. 69-81.

[61] Cohen, *Folk Devils*, pp. 19-26. Judith Rowbotham and Kim Stevenson, 'Introduction', in Rowbotham and Stevenson, *Criminal Conversations* pp. xxi-xxxii

[62] For further discussion see Hal Gladfelder, *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth Century England: Beyond the Law* (John Hopkins University Press, 2001); Peter Linebaugh, 'The Ordinary of Newgate and his Account', in James Cockburn (ed.) *Crime in England 1550-1800* (Princeton University Press, 1977); Andrea McKenzie, 'Making Crime Pay: Motives, Marketing Strategies, and the Printed Literature of Crime in England 1670-1770', in Greg Smith (et al., eds), *Criminal Justice in the Old World and the New: Essays in Honour of J.M. Beattie* (University of Toronto Press, 1998); Andrea McKenzie, 'From True Confessions to True Reporting? The Decline and Fall of the Ordinary's *Account*', *London Journal*, 30:1 (2005), 55-70

[63] See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: Volume 1, The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732* (Rutgers University Press, 1991), especially pp. 241-52; Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (Faber & Faber, 1997) pp. 193-7, 202-6, 209.

death.[64] Alternatively, *The Times* report for the same day supplied a very different description of the events:

> 'On his way to the executions he swore the most bitter imprecations: previous to being turned off, he threw a Prayer Book which was offered him among the crowd; and afterwards his hat and shoes; and on being drawn from the cart, he called out, "Here goes it". He seemed to struggle very much in dying'.[65]

While there is little evidence for the eighteenth century equivalent of the 'moral' or crime editorial, the press did turn their attention to individual criminals; those that they identified as being key actors in the criminal milieu. The reporting of 'notorious' criminals like Jonathan Wild, Jack Shepherd and Dick Turpin was an important element of the cultural hotchpotch which created these semi-mythological figures.[66] However, far less known individuals also captured the attention of the press. For example, Mary or Moll Harvey, her sister Isabella Eaton, and Mary Sullivan, key protagonists in the Gonsonian raids of the summer of 1730, were frequently mentioned in the press for a period of around eighteen months, described as 'notorious', 'noted', and 'often mentioned in the public prints'.[67] Yet there is evidence that the women's criminal 'careers' continue after their disappearance from newsprint, suggesting that the press had lost interest in the activities of these women once Gonson's campaign had gone to ground.[68] Thus for a time during 1730, there was an inter-relationship between the incidence of crime, the enforcement of order, and the reporting of crime which resulted in heightened knowledge and visibility of criminality (or in this case sexual delinquency). Mary Harvey, a thief, and possible sometimes whore, was, to quote the *Daily Journal*, of August 1730 'frequently mentioned in the News Papers for the Exercise she has given to the Justices of the Peace in Westminster'.[69] Thus Mary, or Moll as she was more commonly known, was labelled, 'The Noted Virago', an appellation that was frequently copied across the London press. Traces of Moll can be found running through the press between about 1728 and 1732, where she is involved in a number of criminal trials but also turns up in the raids initiated by Gonson and his informing constables.

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[64] *Early English Newspaper Collection*, British Library**.** Oracle and Public Advertiser, 4 Aug 1795.

[65] *The Times*, 4 August 1795.

[66] James Sharpe, *Dick Turpin: The Myth of the English Highwayman* (Profile Books, 2004).

[67] There are too many individual references to list, but for these specific phrases see, *Daily Journal* 31 August 1730 ('Mary Harvey, alias Sinclair, alias Phillips, alias MacCaig, a noted Virago, who has been frequently mentioned in the News Papers…'); *Daily Post* 4 Sept. 1730 ('…the House of the noted Mary Harvey…'); *Daily Journal* 16 Sept. 1730 (…sister to the noted Mary Philips…so often mentioned in the publick Prints…').

[68] Harvey is still appearing in Old Bailey Sessions cases by late 1732, see the trial of Mary Sullivan alias Johnson 5 July 1732 and the trial of Jane Murphey alias MacLoughlane 6 December 1732. Isabella Eaton is also mentioned in the trial of Elizabeth Walker alias Mollineux in 16 Dec. 1735.

[69] *The Daily Journal*, August 31 1730.

It is no coincidence that this is the period in which the street-cleansing operations of the Society for the Reformation of Manners were coming to a head. Over-reporting and over-focus on Moll, possible exaggeration and distortion, had used symbols and labels to mould her into a folk devil. The 'Noted Virago' represented much of what was perceived to be wrong with streets of London at this time. She was a thief, she was involved at least peripherally with commercial sex; she fought and bawled with constables on the street, she and her family (a sister and various husbands) were identified as 'disorderly' people. Mary then became the Virago Moll, increasingly targeted by the constables and as a consequence spending much of the 1730s in some form of custody. Clearly, decisions were made about which crimes were to be reported, and while serious violent crime and robbery would always be worthy of column inches, the often quite mundane activities of some individuals were followed quite assiduously. When William Sheen was accused of murdering his child in 1827, for which he was acquitted essentially through a legal loophole, he sealed a long relationship with the press, who over the years followed the delinquencies of Sheen, his family and various associates: a burglary; a violent knife attack on his father; his being charged with keeping a brothel; his assault on the landlord of the City of Norwich public house in Whitechapel; his mother being charged with receiving stolen goods; her death in 1842, which was reported in the *Times* by the Prison Discipline Society.[70]

The interest in cases like Sheen's and Harvey's, illustrate the powerful ability of the press in focussing the attention of the public upon specific individuals, and reinforcing criminal typologies and stereotypes – moving away from the shared experience that may well have characterised the lives of Mary Harvey and the other women and men of her community.[71] Even in the case of Sheen, who originally came to attention because of the notoriety of his original prosecution, one senses how the press warms to the same typologies to be found in contemporary literature, pamphlets and prescriptive texts. In 1827, when his original trial took place, Sheen shared the same column inches as Ikey Solomon, the receiver of stolen goods often cited as the inspiration for Fagin, and possibly a model for Sheen, who moves from the most heinous crime of murder to the more common-and-garden offences of theft, burglary, receiving stolen goods and being

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[70] *The Times*, 12 October, 1842. See also Heather Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London* (Royal Historical Society/Boydell, 1999), pp. 78-80.
[71] For further discussion of Harvey's case see, Heather Shore, 'Crime, Criminal Networks and the Survival Strategies of the Poor in Early Eighteenth Century London', in Stephen King & Alannah Tomkins (eds), *The Poor in England, 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester University Press, 2003) pp. 137-65.

in charge of a brothel.[72] Both Sheen and Harvey can be traced across a range of source material other than the press: for example, official publications, trial records, pamphlet literature, and manuscript interviews with prisoners.[73]

Cases like these help us to say something about the relationship between cultural production and legal process, and the way in which it contributes to the historical construction of criminality. Description of criminal behaviour and criminal types was not just plucked out of thin air. Descriptions of crime were based on real people who had real experiences in the criminal justice system. However, overwhelmingly, the panics and representations that were generated were based on a narrow and limited interpretation of real-life events, and in fact on a very limited number of actual criminals.[74] Indeed this tendency to telescope out from the experiences of small numbers of offenders or atypical offenders can be found across the range of sources. For example, such 'underworld' stalwarts as fences', corrupt policemen, the 'swell mob', and criminal gangs were identified by juvenile criminals interviewed in the 1830s. William Augustus Miles, who was involved in the interviews which took place on the *Euryalus* hulk, presented this as evidence of widespread criminal organisation.[75] Miles himself gave evidence to the Select Committee on Gaols and Houses of Correction in 1835, as well as took a research role in the Constabulary Commission. The files in which the interviews were found containing transcript interviews, secret evidence from Miles (which was deemed too disturbing for official publication), and police reports into crime, which together suggest that evidence from a small number of juvenile boys (who have been fully identified) about a small number of offenders was likely to have passed around a large number of contemporary commentators and practitioners.[76] In turn this raises questions

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[72] John J. Tobias, *Prince of Fences: The Life and Crimes of Ikey Solomons* (Valentine Mitchell, 1974)
[73] As well as the press and the Old Bailey Sessions Papers, Harvey can also be found in an anonymous pamphlet attributed to Daniel Defoe. D. Defoe (attrib.), *An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies* (1731), p. 62. See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: Volume 1, The 'Modern Moral Subject' 1697-1732* (Rutgers University Press, 1991), especially pp. 241-52. William Sheen is mentioned both directly in the press and the criminal records (across various courtrooms in the metropolis), but also by William Augustus Miles in his, *Poverty, Mendicity and Crime* (1839), p. 101, and in the records of the Prison Discipline Society (see the *Times*, 12 Oct. 1742).
[74] Cohen, *Folk Devils*; Sindall, *Street Violence*, especially chapter 4, pp. 44-78.
[75] Much of the original material can be found in the Public Record Office, HO73/16 and HO73/2. The interviews were probably done as part of the research into the Constabulary Commission of 1839, though they were undertaken 1835-37. See William Augustus Miles, *Poverty, Mendicity and Crime* (1839).
[76] PRO: HO73/16: Select Committee on Gaols (secret), box 3, 8.

about both the limitations of the evidence, but also the extent to which apparently far-reaching investigations into crime actually took place.[77]

Part III: Criminal Identities and Criminal Networks

While it is possible to identify short-term moral panics, and elements of Cohen's 'media inventory' in historical press, pamphlet and prescriptive literature, we need to be wary of any wholesale translation of Cohen's model. As appealing as it would be to fit with the 'amplification of deviance', the historian lacks the evidential base to do this in any meaningful way. Criminal networks offer a different way of reading the making of the underworld. As we have seen, historical media was often drawn to the picaresque; to the sharp end of criminal behaviour rather than to the more mundane realities of opportunistic theft, and petty recidivism. Daniel Defoe, novelist, journalist, spy and social commentator, encapsulated the picaresque in his 1722 novel, *Moll Flanders*, which further drew together the strands of concern about the criminal milieu, prostitution, and immorality.[78] Indeed, at several points throughout the period, anxieties about criminal gangs become a key trope in the literature. Social network theory examines the links and patterns of relationships between individuals (or entities) that constitute social structures.

As Phil Williams has argued in his application of network theory to modern organised crime, the individuals in criminal gangs are nodes that are connected in significant ways. The focus for Williams is on 'networks that originate and operate in order to obtain financial rewards through and from illicit activities'.[79] Yet gangs could represent multiple identities, not just criminal identities. For Peter Linebaugh, the gang represented the meeting of class identities, the apparent rules and conduct of the gang, for him, echoed forms of labour organisation.[80] However, Williams also identifies the importance of family and kinship bonds to the connections which make up criminal networks.[81] Similarly, accounts of criminals in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were marked less with the bonds of crime, and much more with the alliances of family and community. Thus Moll Harvey worked mainly with her sister, Isabella Eaton; Sheen's main

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[77] Shore, *Artful Dodgers* pp. 155-157; Heather Shore, 'Cross Coves, Buzzers, and General Sorts of Prigs: Juvenile Crime and the Criminal Underworld in the Early Nineteenth Century', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999) pp. 10-24.
[78] Tina Kuhlisch, 'The Ambivalent Rogue: Moll Flanders as Modern Pícara', in Criag Dionne & Steve Mentz (eds), *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture* (University of Michigan Press, 2004) pp. 337-60.
[79] Williams, 'Transnational', p. 66.
[80] Linebaugh, *The London Hanged*, pp. 149-50.
[81] Williams, 'Transnational', p. 72.

confederates were his elderly, roguish, parents; both operated in well-defined areas – networks of streets.[82] The social network here is constructed from individual family members who are also connected through criminal or deviant activity. It is their relationship that forms the network connections, and these relationships can serve a number of functions.

The extent to which family relationships were a common feature of criminal networks needs to be further investigated. The evidence suggests that they were. Siblings, husbands and wives, children, parents, neighbours and lovers frequently populated the gangs, identified by such gang-busting magistrates as De Veil and the Fielding's in the eighteenth century. For example, the Black Boy Alley Gang, who apparently plagued St. Andrew's Holborn in the 1740s, were bound as much by territorial and familial alignments as criminal organisation. Thus when the Headborough, Alexander Forfar had visited Black Boy Alley to make an arrest, he: 'was assaulted on his return from Black Boy Alley, there were a great many in the gang, both men and women, and children with bludgeons, pokers, tongs, and other things'.[83] Moreover, criminal activity needs to be understood in the context of community, and particularly the makeshift economies of the poor that transformed familial, class or ethnic identity into criminal identity. Thus neighbours and community were also party to the processes that shaped criminal identity. In the disorderly house raids of the early eighteenth century, local people were actively involved in closing down crime and disorder on their streets. The magistrates, the vestrymen, the local businessmen and householders, the apprentices, the poor, and the criminal, led lives that overlapped. In the spring of 1730, when local tradesmen and respectable residents were becoming increasingly intolerant of their neighbours in the Drury Lane area, they petitioned the local magistracy: complaining of the 'frequent outcrys in the night, fighting, robberies, and all sorts of debauchery committed by them all night long to the great inquietude of his majesties good subjects'. As a result, a series of raids organised by the joint efforts of the Westminster magistracy, local 'reforming' constables, and the input of the SRM's, swept through Drury lane making a series of arrests. By mid-July petitions from neighbouring parishes had extended the raids to St. Margaret's, St. Anne's, St. John the Evangelist, St. George's in Hanover Square and St.

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[82] Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300-1348* (Harvard University Press, 1979). See also Arlette Farge, *Precious Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Harvard University Press, 1993).
[83] OBSP, 17th October 1744, trial of Thomas Wells et al.

James. These raids, which resulted in fines and committals to the Bridewell, were based on extensive local knowledge, and indictments generated by neighbours. Strategies to deal with what often started as neighbourhood conflict, was mediated through local knowledge and the face-to-face relationships between the poor and disorderly inhabitants, their wealthier neighbours, the constables, and the magistracy.

In modern analysis of organised crime, the importance of ethnic alliances has been recognised alongside family and community bonds. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, ethnic identities work alongside family bonds, as a predominant factor in gang organisation. Police memoirs from the early twentieth century talked extensively about the problems of gangs, and by this period, as can be seen in Arthur Harding's *East End Underworld*, the focus had particularly shifted to the problem of immigrant gangs, such as the Whitechapel based, Bessarabian's, Russian Jewish refugee's, or after the first world war, the so-called Italian razor gangs.[84] Perhaps most notorious were the Darby Sabini gang who were implicated in protection rackets on and around racecourses in the 1920s. The six brothers who formed the Sabini family were as much Irish as Italian, born and bred in Clerkenwell to an Irish mother and Italian father. By considering these gangs closely we see the importance of other relationships and alliances. These are people bound together by ties of class, community, ethnicity, neighbourhood and family as much as crime. Thus the Sabini brothers and various other relatives and friends involved in violent territorial conflicts often around family-owned business's stood dumbly in the dock at Marylebone magistrate's court, in 1923, when Justice Darling attempted to converse with them in Italian, describing them as direct descendents of Sicilian war-lords.[85] These were often territorial conflicts, many occurring near the place of residence or business of those involved. For example, in November 1923, the Sabini's clashed with another local family, the Cortesis, at the Fratellanza Club in Great Bath Street, Clerkenwell. In a dramatic fight, Darby Sabini was attacked and Harry was shot, by Enrico and Augustus Cortesi. The daughter of the owner of the club, Louisa Doralli, placed herself in front of Harry Sabini, who pushed her aside and was

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[84] Arthur Harding (ed., Raphael Samuel), *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 125-45.
[85] *The Times*, 18 January 1923. As *The Times* reported: 'The Sabini, continued the Judge, were an ancient family. When Rome was founded there was a deficiency of women. The Latins invited all the Sabines to a party and carried off all the women and fancied and married them. It was recorded that the Sabini women made excellent wives. Apparently that resulted, among other things, in the colony which now inhabited Clerkenwell'.

shot in the stomach.[86] The Fratellanza was a club for the Italian community, of which the Sabini's were members, and the Cortesis former members. Both sets of brothers lived within walking distance.[87]

To some extent, it could be argued that a fine line was drawn between sets of events which were read as 'crime' and those events which were construed as public order offences. It may be that the visibility of family and community (or indeed ethnic) ties, such as the case of Sabini's and Cortesi's shaped the authorities reading's of these events.[88] Brian McDonald's populist account of the period, *Elephant Boys*, provides a chart of the various alignments and genealogies of the London gangs which suggests the importance of territory in such conflicts.[89] In many ways these seem to be loose alliances, with men switching allegiances, or groups joining forces when territorial concerns shifted. For example, the East End and Sabini gangs seem to have formed a rough alliance against the Brummagen Boys, who were connected to the Hoxton and Camden Town gangs. When Harry Margulis, a Jewish bookmaker from the East End went to the Nottingham Races in August 1922, he was spotted by Fred Gilbert, the Camden Town leader, and other members of the Birmingham boys, Gilbert told him, 'We have got you on our manor now'; on a later occasion Margulis was threatened by George 'Brummy' Sage, 'We want you bastards to understand that we're going to be top dogs, there's fifty of us tonight and its going to finish, Alf White and the Sabini's will be done for certain'.[90] The White family were Sabini associates, who confusingly wavered in their alliance between the Sabinis and the Hoxton gang. Williams points to the fluid structure of criminal networks, 'Some individuals or even small organisations will drift in and out of networks when it is convenient for them to do so'.[91] Another loose grouping of mainly Jewish gang members came from the East End, and others from Hoxton and Camden Town. The Brummagen boys were a mixed group from Elephant and Castle and from Birmingham, under the leadership of Billy Kimber, a bookmaker from Bordersley Green in Birmingham, who was described by ex-Inspector Tom Divall as 'one

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[86] PRO: CRIM 1/209, Rex vs. Cortesi and others. See *The Times*, November 22, 29, 1922.
[87] Brian McDonald, *Elephant Boys* (Mainstream Publishing, 2000) p. 65.
[88] Arlette Farge's work on crowd violence and conflict amongst eighteenth century Parisian's underlines this point, Farge, *Precious Lives*.
[89] McDonald, *Elephant Boys*, p. 82.
[90] PRO: MEPO 3/366
[91] Williams, 'Transnational', p. 70.

of the best'.[92] The fluid nature of the racecourse gangs is echoed in work on Glasgow in the 1930s by Andrew Davies. Davies used the memoirs of ex-Chief Constable Sir Percy Sillitoe to outline the structure of one of the main Gorbals gangs, the Beehive boys. Sillitoe described an 'inner circle' of housebreakers, and a 'larger group of men who could be called upon to take part in fights, intimidations, and occasionally mob attacks and robberies'.[93] As Davies comments it is likely that the divisions drawn by Sillitoe are much less fixed than his accounts suggest.[94]

A further element of the relationships described in social network theory concerns what are known as boundary spanners. Williams defines this as the relationship between the criminal world and the 'upperworld', 'Perhaps most important of all, however, are the members of law enforcement agencies and government officials whose link to criminal networks involves exchange of information or protection for money'.[95] In this sense, Jonathan Wild's activities in the 1710s and 20s were clearly those of a boundary-spanner. Given the entrepreneurial nature of law enforcement in the eighteenth century boundary-spanning was something of an occupational hazard. The relationship between Wild and the Under City Marshal, Charles Hitchen, was clearly one of criminal corruption. Yet, even less notorious agents of law enforcement: the magistracy, the constable, the watch, the detective, were frequently accused by contemporaries of crossing lines (or spanning boundaries). Of course, pre-modern law enforcers, were often closely engaged in the worlds which they policed, and walked a thin line between legality and illegality, in a context where face-to-face relations, local knowledge and community networks were an essential feature of law enforcement.

Indeed in the decades leading up to 1829, police and magistrates seemed to be caught in a conflict between new forms of policing and older, in some ways more reliable, face-to-face relations. Evidence was compiled about the nature of the crime problem in the metropolis, and the sort of policing it needed. In 1816 the magistrate Sir John Silvester had an annotated list compiled minutely recording names of fences and receivers of stolen goods, their address's and specialisms. [96] Other lists contained the location of

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[92] Tom Divall, *Scoundrels and Scallywags* (1929) p. 200.
[93] Andrew Davies, 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow During the 1930's', *Social History*, 23 (1998) pp. 251-67, p. 255.
[94] Davies, 'Street Gangs', p. 258.
[95] Williams, 'Transnational', pp. 78-79.
[96] British Library, MS Egerton 3710, Sir John Silvester notebook (1816).

Houses of Resort for Thieves of every Description.[97] This collection of evidence reflects anxieties about the institutions of the street; the flash-houses, disorderly houses, and low-lodging houses which both police and criminals were said to frequent. In this period, when law enforcement was being remade into the New Police, the purpose and function of policing was being closely examined. There were continuing questions about corruption, fuelled in 1816 by the case of George Vaughan, a Bow Street officer, who had used his insider knowledge to set up burglaries. The importance of local knowledge was identified by constables and officers. Thus, at the Select Committee of Police in 1817, Bow-street officer, Samuel Taunton was examined, and asked about the flash-houses.

> When you discover any house of this description do you feel it your duty to report it to the magistrates?
> No, we do not; I never have; I have resorted to those kind of places, and have taken thieves out of them.
> Is it your custom when you go there, to sit down at the table with thieves of that description?
> Yes, we do it sometimes; nearly the whole of us, I believe; we obtain many informations in consequence of doing so…[98]

This view was echoed by Queen's Square officer, John Nelson Lavender, who commented of flash-houses, 'They are certainly a necessary evil; if those houses were done away we should have the thieves resort to private houses and holes of their own, and we should never find them'.[99] The practitioner view, which recognised the importance of community, of local knowledge, of face-to-face relationships, and the need for certain levels of discretion, was increasingly at odds with the more formal mission and ideals of the new, professional police force. This may also have been aggravated by the growing distance of the magistrate from the 'real' world of criminality, with the increase of the paid, stipendiary magistracy. Yet I think the importance of local knowledge and local policing remained. For example, in 1822 the Queen Square magistrate Robert Rainsford suggested that each police office should have appointed a number of 'supernumeraries' who should '…be directed by the magistrates to watch the conduct and inquire into the character of the neighbourhood where they particularly

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[97] PRO – HO42/146, microfilm pp. 83-107, 'A List of Houses of Resort for Thieves of Every Description'.
[98] *Select Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis*, 1817, evidence of Mr. Samuel Taunton, pp. 392-3.
[99] *Select Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis*, 1816, evidence of John Nelson Lavender, p. 147.

live'.[100] A set of divisional police reports from 1836 that were part of the wide-ranging researches into the Constabulary Committee, contain evidence from experienced officers who mapped out and located criminal institutions in their specific divisions. [101] To some extent the way such schemes categorised and defined areas for the purposes of supervision was based on a mental map already there, and to some extent this was the one already well-known by the existing Watch, constables and parish vestry.

Arguably, the later establishment of the CID and the Flying Squad marked a continuity with the older forms of law enforcement. Thus, police biographies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comment on their knowledge of 'faces', and easy access to villains, closely echoing Taunton and Lavender. In his 1929 biography, *Scoundrels and Scallywags*, former CID officer, Tom Divall remarked, 'One Saturday night I visited a public house in Newington Causeway, and inside were a lot of lads, who all of a sudden flew out of the house as if it was about to fall down on them…Some time later I met one of them on the quiet and said: "What was up that night at the pub when you rushed out? Was it because I came in? You needn't do like that again, for if I want you I'll soon get hold of you!...".[102] It is important to remember the centrality of the parish as a unit where people lived, worked, thieved, claimed poor relief, consumed…as a result, offenders, magistrates, constables and the watch, had lives which juxtaposed. In the case of Mary Harvey, who we met earlier, there is no doubt that her identification as a threat to order, as a Noted Virago, was partly due to confrontational relationships with law enforcement. Not only did she personally and publicly abuse Justice Gonson, one of the key zealots of the Reformation of Manners campaigns, in a widely reported court appearance. But during 1729 and 1730, she, her sister Isabella Eaton, and other members of the 'Harvey' gang, were repeatedly involved in confrontations with a trio of informing constables named, Thomas, Michael and Robert Willis. The relationship between Harvey and these brothers seems to have been intensely personal and often very violent. When the brothers went to arrest Mary and her sister Isabella, at their house in Windmill Street in October 1729, neighbours and family were drawn into a violent affray, which resulted in Harvey charging two of the brothers with assault. At the

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[100] 'Report on the State of Police, etc', Parl. Papers, 1822, vol. 4, p. 134, cited in Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750*, vol i, The Movement for Reform (Stevens, 1948) p. 407.
[101] PRO – MEPO 3/1, Police Information. PRO – HO73/2 & 16, Constabulary Force, letters and papers, 1835-8.
[102] Divall, *Scoundrels*, pp. 79-80

Willis's trial, James Watkins, giving evidence for the defence, said, 'That he had been several times at the Prosecutor's house (as a constable), and had taken out several disorderly persons; and that once she locked him, and his Assistance in, and took a case-knife, and swore violently, that she would murther the Willis's if she could'.[103] In their relationship with Harvey and her accomplices, the Willis brothers were essentially absolved from any wrong-doing.[104] Elsewhere, at least one of the brothers, Thomas, was accused of attacking an innocent man, Charles Geery, along with 'several informing constables'.[105]

Were informing constables boundary spanners? Or simply opportunistic individuals prepared to do the dirty work for the more elevated magistracy? Informing networks were made up of a number of relationships, between professional informers, informing constables, as well as informing criminals, and the magistrates (and thief-takers) who utilized the information.[106] John Waller's case is a particularly marked example of a professional informer who spanned a number of networks in the 1720s. He clearly saw informing as a way of making a living, to the extent that he was quite prepared to initiate malicious prosecutions. He was also prepared to use force in apprehending his victims, since accusations of assaults and beatings can be found amongst the recognizances.[107] Waller substantially took advantage of the gaps in the twilight world of law enforcement, at different times becoming a bailiffs follower, a solicitor (a career which was cut off by the Acts professionalising the roles of solicitors and attorneys in 1729), a blackmailer, and eventually an informer.[108] Information from Waller led to the prosecution and eventual execution of James Dalton (the notorious criminal whose wig box is portrayed in plate 3 of the Harlot's Progress), who himself had previously given evidence to the

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[103] OBSP, Aug/Sept, 1730, pp. 17-19.
[104] Ibid. See also *Daily Journal*, 31 August, 1730; *Grub Street Journal*, 3 September, 1730.
[105] *Daily Journal*, 13 December, 1731; *The Country Journal or, the Craftesman*, 18 December, 1731. See also, *Looking Glass for Informing Constables; represented in the Tryals of JEREMY TOOLEY, WILLIAM ARCH, and JOHN CLAUSON (Soldiers) for the Murder of Mr. John Dent, Constable…(third edition)…to which is prefix'd The Proceedings at the Tryal of several Informing Constables before the Lord Raymond, December 11. 1731, who were all found Guilty of an Assault on Charles Geery, Esq. on April 23. In King's-Head Court, near Shoe-Lane* (London, J. Wilford, 1733)
[106] In another contemporary case, *The Daily Journal* reported on a constable of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, who had been taken into custody, 'charged with searching Several Houses for disorderly persons, without any legal Authority, and for extorting money from the keepers of several notorious brothels…'. *The Daily Journal*, November 13 1729.
[107] CLRO, SF 652, Sessions File, Indictments and Recognizances, August 1725, Richard Preston, John Clark.
[108] *The Life and Infamous Actions of that Perjur'd Villan John Waller…*(London, printed for W. James, 1732). See 'Act for the better regulation of attorneys and solicitors', 2 Geo. II, ch. 23 (1729). John H. Langbein, 'The Prosecutorial Origins of Defense Counsel in the Eighteenth Century: The Appearance of Solicitors', *Cambridge Law Journal*, 58 (1999), p. 314

Willis brothers, informing in the case of Christopher Rawlins, Isaac Ashley and John Rowden in their trial for highway robbery in 1728.[109] Waller himself, was accused of impersonating one of the Willis's, according to *Parker's Penny Post* in 1726.[110] Waller would eventually reap the consequences of his boundary spanning, when in May 1732, at the Old Bailey, he was convicted of falsely charging three men with involvement in a robbery. He was sentenced to be put in the pillory with his head uncovered for two hours on three days. On the first day, 13 June 1732, at eleven o'clock in the morning, he was almost immediately pulled from the pillory and beaten to death by three men – the main instigator was James Dalton's brother, Edward.[111]

Conclusion

Such interwoven narratives as that of Dalton and Waller offer us snapshots into the complex social and criminal networks that have operated and continue to operate in modernising urban society. Indeed the elements of community and kinship networks, and their links to makeshift economies and to the fight for survival that have been discussed in this article, can surely be identified beyond the metropolis and before the modern. Thus, in her work on medieval England, Barbara Hanawalt drew a relationship between the criminal gang and the family, 'the family was a natural social unit to act as an organisational basis for a criminal association, for it had within its structure all necessary elements'.[112] Yet clearly, while forms of criminal network have a long pre-history, the mutation of those forms into organised and professional forms of crime needs to be sought alongside the onset of modernity. I would argue that intrinsically, organised crime is a nebulous term. Even within the academy, definitions of organised crime, both historically and contemporary continue to elude clarity.[113] A recent government White Paper similarly struggles in its definition:

> 'For the purpose of this paper, we have taken the definition of organised criminals used by NCIS: "those involved, normally working with others, in continuing serious criminal activities for substantial profit, whether based in the UK or elsewhere."

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[109] OBSP, January 1730, May 1728

[110] *Parker's Penny Post*, January 31 1726.

[111] Trial of Edward Dalton, Rich. Griffiths, alias Serjeant, William Belt, alias Worrell, Killing: Murder. OBSP, September, 1732. The case is also described in *The Ordinary of Newgate his account of the behaviour, confession, and dying words, of the malefactors who were executed at Tyburn, on Monday the 9th of this inst. October, 1732.*

[112] Cited in John McMullan, *Canting Crew*, p. 158.

[113] See Michael Levi, 'Perspectives on 'Organised Crime': An Overview' *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37, 4 (1998), p.335-345. See also the White Paper on organised crime, *One Step Ahead: A Twenty-First Century Strategy to Beat Organised Crime* (The Stationary Office, 2004)

This captures the essential point that many organised crime groups are, at root, businesses and often sophisticated ones. In practice, most criminal groups exist on a spectrum of organisation. There is no clear cut-off point at which any group should be categorised as being involved in organised crime. But those at the top end of the spectrum pose a unique threat'.[114]

Yet, as the definitions of organised crime have evolved over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and into the twenty-first, the market, business and borders have inevitably shaped our new knowledges of organised crime. In the mid-1990s, Duncan Campbell saw a direct relationship between modernity and the changing face of organised crime, "In a way, what has happened to British crime parallels what has happened to British Industry. The old family firms… have been replaced by multinationals of uncertain ownership, branches throughout the world, profits dispersed through myriad outlets…".[115] Thus, the peak of 'gangland' in the 1960s; the territorial conflicts of the Kray's and Richardson's, the Great Train Robbery (1963), the idea of the 'family firm', have gained something of the 'picaresque', part of a British 'tradition' of organised crime, which seems far removed the new business of global criminal activity. It seems then that the criminal networks of the post-war period have much more in common with their eighteenth and nineteenth century antecedents. Rather than simply being an argument for continuities, I would posit that between the early eighteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, the structures and processes which I have discussed – the shifting nature of kinship, ethnic and territorial alignments; the relationship between historical media and the making of criminal typologies; between 'real' and 'fictional' underworlds; the 'manufacture of underworlds, and the development of a parasitic host culture and media that looked to crime stories for copy and, what I have not discussed here, the spatiality of criminal networks – show continuities to be found which enable us to build some sort of model of the 'underworld' in this period. Moreover, I would argue that we can do this by integrating the methodologies and approaches of historians, sociologist and criminologists, which enable us to begin to understand the nature of the connections and relationships between individuals, groups and organisations involved in criminal activity in the past. Arguably, since the 1980s and 90s, at least in Britain, organised crime has increasingly become

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[114] *One Step Ahead*, p. 7. The NCIS was the National Criminal Intelligence Service, set up in April 1992, and merged into the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) in April 2006.
[115] Duncan Campbell, *That Was Business, This Is Personal: The Changing Faces of Professional Crime* (Secker & Warburg, 1990), p. 8. See also John Lea, *Crime and Modernity: Continuities in Left Realist Criminology* (Sage, 2002).

divorced from its local context. The ramifications of drug dealing, people trafficking, technology and immigration, now reach far beyond the grass-roots impact (though this is not negligible), and increasingly require a new set of definitions and a new set of methodologies, which reach beyond the historians, and perhaps even the criminologists, remit.