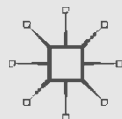


WORLD HISTORIES OF CRIME, CULTURE AND VIOLENCE

A HISTORY OF THE
DUBLIN METROPOLITAN
POLICE AND ITS
COLONIAL LEGACY

Anastasia Dukova



World Histories of Crime, Culture and Violence

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Anastasia Dukova

A History of the
Dublin Metropolitan
Police and its
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Anastasia Dukova
Brisbane, Australia

World Histories of Crime, Culture and Violence

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*For my parents Natalia and Yuri,
and all those who never gave up*

ENDORSEMENT

There is a long-held assumption that the Royal Irish Constabulary provided the model for policing across the British Empire. Dukova confidently and competently challenges this with reference to the towns and cities of the White Dominions. A well-researched and wide-ranging book, this should serve to stimulate more comparative research and to question further the traditional views of police history and development.

- Emeritus Professor Clive Emsley, Department of History, the Open University UK

Dr Dukova is to be congratulated for writing an engaging, thought-provoking and impressively researched book that addresses a salient gap in criminal justice history. It will be essential reading for scholars interested in Irish police history and its colonial legacy.

- Associate Professor David Barrie, Department of History, the University of Western Australia

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I am especially grateful to my family for their encouragement and support throughout these years: my mother, Natalia Talnikova, who never once doubted my abilities; and my father, Yuri Dukov, for his support; my parents-in-law, especially Kirsten L. Marion for her generosity and faith, and Laura J. Selleck, for her tireless and numerous edits; and my husband, K. Sean Jenkins for his love, patience and quiet suffering through the tumults of the writing process.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1/c	First Class
2/c	Second Class
BC	<i>Brisbane Courier</i>
CIB	Criminal Investigation Branch
CSORP	Chief Secretary's Office, Registered Papers
DMP	Dublin Metropolitan Police
GM	Garda Museum
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
IT	<i>Irish Times</i>
JP	Justice of the Peace
MS	Manuscript
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NPA	National Photographic Archive
QGG	<i>Queensland Government Gazette</i>
QPF	Queensland Police Force
QPG	<i>Queensland Police Gazette</i>
QP	Queensland Police Service
QVP	<i>Queensland Votes and Proceedings</i>
RDS	Royal Dublin Society
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary

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PART 1

1780–1880

Police Organisation: Enlightened Thought, Theories and Context

In 1840 James Henry, an Irish writer, published a brief depiction of an organised police and its impact on the order and welfare of a contemporary metropolis, a satirical City of Canton. To better the protection of peace and property, he wrote, Cantoners submitted an imperial legislation requesting new police, which was promptly established. Closely modelled on the metropolitan police of the capital city of Peking, which had been organised only a short while earlier, the new force took to the streets. As the city folk bid farewell to ‘the old watch with their nightcaps and their wooden boxes, in which they used to snore away the night’,¹ they welcomed in their place ‘a most respectable and efficient body of men, constantly on the watch both day and night ... and what is still better, they kept to their duty without any trouble to [them]’.² The ‘new government’ police kept continuous watch over the burghers of the city, but they also carried ‘little books’ and pencils in their pockets, and ‘they wrote down everything they saw and heard, and reported it every night to the superintendent [*sic*], and the superintendent to the chief commissioner, and the chief commissioner to the imperial government at Peking’.³

The first men to walk the beat were initially viewed in equal measure with suspicion and disdain by both the criminal element and the general public. To many the system of ‘round-the-clock’ policing was evocative of government-endorsed espionage, clandestine surveillance and tyranny. The road to acceptance was rocky and winding, further complicated by political and economic upheavals, which pocked the nineteenth century.

The men in blue persevered and, as time progressed, became the embodiment of law and order.

According to the dominant theories of police development in England as in Ireland, ‘resistance to the idea of a police force was powerful and effective in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and even when the principle won more general support there was considerable debate and experimentation surrounding the precise form and nature of the new police’.⁴ The structure of policing that finally came into being ‘was a product of compromise, comprising three distinct systems and philosophies which applied to the Metropolitan Police, the borough forces and the county forces’.⁵ In the historical scholarship on the development of policing and police forces, according to David Taylor three theoretical perspectives apply. Orthodox theory views the new police as a response to the collapse of law and order,⁶ responsible for enforcing the law and maintaining appropriate societal discipline. The revisionist approach, explained by Clive Emsley in *Policing and Its Context, 1750–1870* (1983), examines the details of the social and economic context of historical developments where the new police were seen as agents of social control whose responsibilities transcended the scope limited solely by the basic definition of criminality:

The mission of the new police was a symptom of both a profound social change and a deep rupture in class relations in the first half of the nineteenth century. By this time, both the actions and the ‘language’ spoken by the urban masses were, if intelligible at all, deeply frightening ...

For these reasons the police received an omnibus mandate: to detect and prevent crime; to maintain a constant unceasing pressure of surveillance upon all facets of life in working-class communities – to report on political opinions and movements, trade-union activities, public house and recreational life.⁷

Finally, the more recent synthetic theory argues that the police had succeeded in finding its niche within the social structure and secured a degree of legitimacy. The police, as Robert Reiner in *The Politics of the Police* (2010) states, gained ‘increasing acquiescence from substantial sections of the working class, not only as the result of “soft” service activities, but in their “hard” law enforcement and order maintenance function’.⁸

The case of Irish policing was less straightforward than the English experience. Sources show that though the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) became thoroughly integrated into the social fabric, it never

gained the same degree of ‘acquiescence from the working classes’ as the London Force did. Orthodox and revisionist theories tend to oversimplify police development. These theories view the establishment and subsequent development of the organisation in general terms: crime and lawlessness were endangering the proper functioning of a given community. Consequently, centralised policing was then introduced as an antidote to the ailing society. The complexity and variance of the public response demonstrated that the introduction of the new element of control into the familiar social hierarchy was not at all simple or straightforward, or even welcome. According to Godfrey, Williams and Lawrence (*History and Crime*, 2007): ‘One message from a consideration of the historical evidence, therefore, is that we cannot consider policing as an abstract ideal which can be divorced from the social and, above all, political conditions of the society around it.’⁹

The importance of local cultural, social and political norms is demonstrated in David Barrie’s argument, which in essence questions the existence of a certain typology of police as an all-encompassing concept as it injects cultural and civic identities into the discussion thus adding further complexity to the police development theories. Invoking Scotland as an example, he stresses that ‘experiences in neighbouring burghs and the country’s deep-rooted commitment to the civic tradition and the intellectual discourse that emanated from Enlightenment thought’¹⁰ were integral in shaping the country’s police model’s specific form, setting it apart from the English experience.¹¹ Arguably, the growing homogeneity between English and Scottish municipal police throughout the nineteenth century in response to rapid urban expansion obscured the distinct origins and features of the Scottish model. ‘Ideals of improvement, civic virtue and the common good were by no means a product of, or exclusive to, the Scottish Enlightenment’, Barrie maintains, but ‘they were given a Scottish voice and flavour, with Scottish philosophers locating such ideals in civic rather than republican terms’.¹² In the absence of the indigenous context within the vast body of British crime and policing scholarship there is clear tendency to overgeneralise. Lack of independent Irish municipal policing discussion from contemporary historiography is a principal example of this tendency.

Barrie demonstrates that Scotland, unlike England or Ireland, had no clear divide between the old and the new modes of policing. This observation invariably invites a comparison with the French policing experience,

as both the rural *maréchaussée* of 1536 (the date of the Edict of Paris which some see as the founding date of the *maréchaussée*) and the police of Paris (the creation of the Paris Police is usually set as 1667 by Colbert, a minister under Louis XIV, though there is debate about this ‘foundation’)¹³ also remained effectively intact despite the drastic regime changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The notions of civic duty over factional interests and a man’s right to security and liberty, clearly developed from the Enlightenment ideas, were shared principles governing the respective French and Scottish police organisations. Beccaria’s treatise *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764) stipulated equitable laws, punishments proportionate to the crime and punishment as a deterrent not retribution, all of which crystallised much of the progressive thinking already developing in France.¹⁴ ‘An effective system of police contributed to the certainty of an offender’s apprehension and thus to the certainty of punishment; it also ensured respect for the law, thus assisting in the prevention of crime.’¹⁵ Both Barrie and Emsley recognised the evidence of Europe-wide¹⁶ borrowing among the policing organisations.¹⁷ Civic duty, the pursuit of local needs and interests, and the non-political nature of police authority and law enforcement became key principles behind the new nineteenth-century English and Irish police regulations.

After a series of reforms, the regulations outlined in the 1835 Dublin Police Act reflected the principles derived from the concepts of prevention, utilitarianism and morality postulated by Beccaria, Jeremy Bentham and David Hume, as well as Locke’s treatises of reciprocal obligations. The terms of Locke’s social pact postulated that the citizens agreed to give up some societal freedoms in exchange for protection. In line with this, the new police constable duties were preserving peace, preventing robberies and other felonies, and apprehending offenders against the peace, or, in other words, to enforce the law in return for remuneration footed by the local tax payers, the citizenry. In the early stages of the police organisation, the limitations of authority, a key part of the social contract, was considered to be honoured by few and entirely ignored by many more. Arguably, as time went on, in the minds of a great many, the police continued to walk the thin line between protecting the basic human rights inherent to a civil society, such as the preservation of life, liberty and property, and infringing on them.

The management of crime and the professionalisation of policing in the burgeoning cities of the Atlantic world have been a major theme of nineteenth-century social history. Dublin was one of the largest urban

communities in the British Empire. Naval and particularly railway transportation boomed in the second half of the century, transforming Dublin into a modern metropolis. However, its policing history and the history of crime have attracted little scholarly attention. The existing historiography such as it is has focused primarily on political crime and the social climate of nineteenth-century Ireland, with a heavy emphasis on rural sectarian violence and Fenianism. The extant research predominantly investigates rural crime and political violence, but generally neglects the urban scene. This gives the impression that Ireland was to an overwhelming degree a rural country preoccupied solely with land disputes and religious differences.

The scholarly Irish policing historiography virtually began with Seamus Breathnach's *The Irish Police from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1974) and Stanley Palmer's *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780–1850* (1988). Breathnach traces the origins of policing in the British Isles as far as back as the thirteenth century, placing the administrative and organisational developments of the Irish Constabulary within a rich context of the social and political history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland, enriched with contemporary social commentary. Breathnach introduced Irish policing into a predominantly Anglo-centric historiography. Palmer also recognised that in the period 1780–1850 the new police system was established not only in England but also in British-ruled Ireland.¹⁸ He noted the vital importance of context and comparison for the production of well-rounded historical research work, which all earlier studies of crime and policing lacked. While Palmer's work introduces police in the context of protest and the policed, his main focus remains on the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), leaving the urban Irish policing historiography underrepresented.

Dublin, Derry and Belfast were outside of the Constabulary jurisdiction and policed by their own municipal forces. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Derry and Belfast, however, as Brian Griffin accounts in *The Bulkies: Police and Crime in Belfast 1800–1865* (1997),¹⁹ were deemed inadequate in the face of the sectarian violence and alleged partisanship in the riots of 1864 and 1869. This led to the integration of the Belfast and Derry municipal forces into the Irish Constabulary in 1865 and 1870 respectively. Prior to the integration, between 1816 and 1865, the Belfast Police was responsible for preserving peace and order in the parts of the city which paid their rates, and looked after lighting, paving and scavenging. It was also under a single authority, the police board, until 1844 and a police committee after, and, as such, 'supervision of the Belfast

force by elected civilian committees anticipates the mode of supervision later adopted by the “new” professional, supraparochial police established in English boroughs from 1835.²⁰

Palmer placed Irish policing in the modern historical arena, but like many historians after him, he focused his efforts on the political context of Irish policing and hence the RIC. Donal O’Sullivan’s *The Irish Constabularies, 1822–1922* (1999) fills in the gaps in the service life of these men by providing the reader with an incredibly detailed, if sometimes chaotic, history of the RIC and Ireland generally on a county by county basis, providing thorough accounts of the activities of the RIC men. *The Irish Constabularies, 1822–1922* is brimming with notable occurrences and facts relating to the evolution of the force and its responses to crisis and political pressures. Elizabeth Malcolm’s account of the men who served in the Irish Constabulary, *The Irish Policeman, 1822–1922: A Life* (2006), on the other hand, draws the spotlight from the institution to the men, reminding us that ‘the peeler was undoubtedly “a man on the make”, [as] a career in the Irish Constabulary offered, among many other things, an avenue for upward social mobility.’²¹

O’Sullivan’s and Malcolm’s narratives not only provide exhaustive histories of the RIC from its inception to its disbandment in 1922, but humanise the Irishmen who served in the Constabulary. In mapping the history of the RIC, they show that joining the force was for many the best and possibly the only alternative to migration. The force offered a stable pensionable employment and accommodation, and most of the duties were of a mundane police nature. Except in times of political instability their allegiances had to remain with the Crown, and in opposition to those who championed protest or subversion for an Irish or a Catholic cause. Both works are indispensable in familiarising the reader with the rural character of Irish policing, its history which was tightly intertwined with the political developments and the shifting moods of the country.

The character of urban policing in Ireland remains to be explored. How did the lives and service of beat policemen differ from the experiences of the RIC men? In *The Dublin Metropolitan Police: A Short History* (2001) an amateur historian and former Guard, Jim Herlihy, in part answers this question by offering a brief account of the men who served in the force and the conditions of their service. Overall, given the paucity of larger scale studies of the force as a whole, Nigel Cochrane’s ‘Public Reaction to the Introduction of a New Police Force: Dublin 1838–45’ (1987), Colm

Barry's 'The Policeman's Lot is not a Happy One: Duty, Discipline, Pay and Conditions in the DMP, c. 1833–45' (1987) and 'The Police and Protest in Dublin: 1786–1840' (1991), and Brian Griffin's 'Such Vermin: The Dublin Police Force and the Public' (1995) are by far the most detailed accounts of the formative years of Dublin Police history available—its structure, organisation, administration and recruitment. Initially decried as the instrument of 'an embattled and oppressive aristocracy', in step with proliferating Enlightenment ideas within the first decade of its existence, the Dublin Police 'came to be hailed as the prerequisite of a civilised nation'.²² As David Dickson points out in *Dublin: The Making of A Capital City* (2013), since beginning its operations in 1838 the political reliability of the DMP was never called into question—its efficiency evidenced by relatively low general crime rates for the city in the final decades of the nineteenth century.²³

By focusing largely on the Detective Division, or G Division, of the DMP, in *Inspector Mallon: Buying Irish Patriotism for a Five-Pound Note* (2009) Donal P. McCracken demonstrates that there was more to police work in Dublin than the beat. McCracken's work highlights the service years of the celebrated Dublin detective John Mallon, 'the Great Irish Detective'. *Inspector Mallon* covers the decades of unrest that characterised the later decades of the nineteenth century and the behind-the-scenes relationships between official Dublin and the force, and of the police and the political activists. McCracken explores the impact the G-men had on undermining the political threats and bringing known Fenians and members of the Invincibles to trial.²⁴ The main emphasis is placed on Mallon's reports, the official Dublin Castle²⁵ correspondence, administrative files and, most of all, the detective's contemporary biographer Frederick Moir Bussy's accounts. Mary Scanlon's essay, *The DMP* (1986), continues the history of the force, concentrating on the Detective Division, through the period leading up to the Civil War and the force's amalgamation into the new Civic Guards (later An Garda Síochána) in 1925.²⁶ Scanlon's focus is administrative and political, with little social or comparative comment. The work concentrates heavily on the later years of the force and the role of the special Detective (G) Division in the 'disturbances' of the early twentieth century. An Garda Síochána, a comparatively young police force, 'was born in the early days of Irish independence, in a country brutally damaged by the War of Independence of 1919–21 and hurtling towards civil war'.²⁷ Diverging from previous studies of An Garda Síochána, chiefly by Conor Brady (1974), Gregory Allen and Liam McNiffe (1999), Vicky

Conway, in her work *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland: A History of An Garda Síochána* (2014), contextualises policing experience in the country by examining its history and development in the context of post-colonialism—its impact and lived experiences. As Ireland achieved independence, she argues, ‘time constraints and lack of alternative experience led to retention of many core features of colonial policing’,²⁸ resulting in an organisation ideologically different but practically similar to the Irish forces of the preceding century.

The nineteenth century saw the formation and transformation of policing and legal systems in Ireland, England and in the colonies. In contrast to Irish scholarship, the English criminal historiography is both extensive and rigorous. The leading experts in policing history such as Clive Emsley, Stanley Palmer, V. A. C. Gatrell,²⁹ David Taylor,³⁰ Douglas Hay,³¹ J. M. Beattie, Peter King³² and Robert Storch,³³ along with David Jones, Jennifer S. Davis and Francis G. Snyder lending their expertise to the history of police courts and the police as prosecutors,³⁴ have been the main re-interpreters of the evolution of law enforcement, penal reform and the history of interpersonal violence.³⁵ Emsley, an authority on English policing, has contributed immeasurably to the scholarly discourse: *Crime and Society in England 1750–1900* (1987), *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (1991), *Police Detectives in History, 1750–1950* (2006) and, finally, *The Great British Bobby: A History of British Policing from the 18th Century to the Present* (2009) to name but a few. ‘The traditional story portrays the Bobby as little more than a citizen in uniform’,³⁶ Emsley observes, ‘but the policing institution has shifted gradually, and significantly, from having its primary relationship directly with the local community, to becoming an instrument of the state’.³⁷ In his latest study he estimates that by the turn of the nineteenth century there were over 200 ‘new police’ forces in England and Wales and more than 60 in Scotland. Personnel, both commissioned officers (COs) and non-commissioned officers (NCOs), for these police forces were also drawn from the RIC and, to a lesser extent, the DMP.³⁸ As early as 1839, Emsley notes, the chief constable of the new Gloucestershire police was recruited from the ex-Constabulary ranks, a former commander of County Wicklow Constabulary. In Staffordshire, three years later, 56 out of 210 were Irish, with 13 ex-DMP men.

The more familiar proactive, or preventative, method of policing that we know today is a product of the earlier reactive method perfected by John and Henry Fieldings of Bow Street fame. By the 1770s, they organised a stable group of half a dozen men (also known as the Bow Street

Runners) whose main mission was to investigate offences and to seek to arrest and prosecute serious offenders. In *The First English Detectives: The Bow Street Runners and the Policing of London, 1750–1840* (2012), John M. Beattie maintains that these men ‘were an entirely new element in the policing forces in the metropolis. Their rapid engagement in the effort to apprehend suspected felons distinguished them fundamentally from the existing peace-keeping forces of night watchmen and parish constables who had no such duties’.³⁹ Elaine Reynolds’ sweeping study of the night watch, *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720–1830* (1998), captures the formation and the reforms of the night watch, while challenging the popular perception of the inefficiency of the system of policing.

London and Dublin saw their populations swell over the course of the nineteenth century. During the latter half of the century, as living conditions became harsher, many Irishmen chose to migrate to the New World. The Great Hunger of the 1840s was followed by evictions, the Land War and further industrial decline. Over a million men and women left Ireland and settled in the colonies. The majority of the Irish migrant population emigrated to the United States, England, Wales and Scotland, with a much smaller fraction arriving in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. According to William J. Smyth in *Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (2015), by 1851 a quarter of a century of steady immigration from Ireland had made Toronto the most Irish of all cities in North America, with 37 per cent of Torontonians Irish-born and half as many born to Irish parents, more than 50 per cent of them coming from Ulster.⁴⁰ Inevitably, the heavy Irish presence shaped municipal organisation of the city and its departments, including the local police.

In 1979, David Bayley remarked that to that day there had been only a glimmer of interest in Canadian police institutions.⁴¹ In the decades since, selected works by Helen Boritch, William Jenkins and Greg Marquis remain key sources on Toronto Police,^{42,43} along with William J. Smyth and Mark McGowan on Toronto in the time of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During this period Toronto saw its reputation as a Protestant conservative city worthy of the nickname ‘Toronto the Good’ reinforced. ‘Those arriving would have been aware of a common social conservatism in both Toronto and Belfast’, Smyth notes, ‘there is no denying the potency of the Irish contribution to the stifling moral atmosphere of the city’.⁴⁴ In 1859, following a top-to-bottom re-organisation, Toronto City Police adopted the

general structure and organisation of the metropolitan model. However, despite its re-organisation and a significant number of fresh recruits from Ireland, the Toronto Police was unable to shed the yoke of political partisanship (read power and patronage of the Orange Lodge). 'Toronto the Good' was a conservative and puritanical city with an overtly anti-Catholic prejudice held by the police and the judiciary. Municipal by-laws helped support a strong sabbatarian flavour in city life. As late as the mid twentieth century, the ideology of policing maintained its focus on policing a certain class of people rather than preventing and controlling a certain class of criminality.⁴⁵ As Smyth astutely observed, an abiding sense of dullness characterised the city.

Immigration to Australia was not as considerable as it was to British North America or the United States; by 1890 the latter 'contained nearly two-thirds of the overseas Irish and one-quarter of the Irish natives'.⁴⁶ In 40 years, between 1876 and 1916, approximately 80,000 Irish men and women found their homes in Australia.⁴⁷ In contrast to Upper Canada, Queensland, the second youngest Australian colony (established in 1859), saw large migration of Catholic Irish. Fitzpatrick demonstrates that the post-Famine migration tended to be greatest from Connaught, with gradual expansion down the length of the western seaboard. 'The Australian Irish tended to come from south-western and north midland counties,'⁴⁸ with 'recognisable local links' emerging between Co. Clare and Australia. Likewise, the Roman Catholic Church actively advertised to and targeted potential Catholic settlers. Increasingly agricultural, Queensland sought Irish immigrants for land cultivation and development work. As Queensland separated from New South Wales in 1859, it began the process of re-organising its infrastructure, including the police. Having had previous experience of service either in the RIC or, in a few cases, the DMP, a significant proportion of Irish applicants were readily enlisted into the new police force.

In 1863, three years after the new Queensland Parliament was established, a separate police act was promulgated which took effect on 1 January 1864; it provided for the organisation of the Queensland Police Force. On 1 January 1864, 26 ordinary constables took to the streets. Ross Johnston's *The Long Blue Line: A History of Queensland Police* (1992) documents the history of the force, its constituents (City Police, Water Police, Mounted Border Police, Native Police and Gold Police), its changes and its challenges and developments. The line of duty of the colonial city-beat policeman was as extensive and as diverse as that of a

Dublin or London bobby; it included an array of responsibilities which ranged from enforcing trading hours to traffic control and from carrying out arrests to recovering missing children. Dean Wilson, in his detailed study of Victorian urban force the Melbourne Police, *The Beat: Policing a Colonial City* (2006), successfully depicts the intricacies of police service in the city, the difficulties of beat duty and, more often than not, the precarious nature of the police–public relationship, especially within an urban environment.

The colonial capitals were bustling centres of trade and business, with rapidly expanding populations policed by the metropolitan units of the colonial forces. The Australian colonies as a whole, on the other hand, with Queensland in particular, were predominantly agrarian societies patrolled by mounted paramilitary policing squads. Jonathan Richards' work *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police* (2008) complements the existing scholarship by bringing to light the history of atrocities committed by the Native Police squads in the bush and the critical role the branch played in the dispossession of the indigenous peoples in the colony. Mark Finnane's *Policing in Australia Historical Perspectives* (1987) and *Police and Government, Histories of Policing in Australia* (1994) provide a broad history of policing in the country from its inception in the mid nineteenth century to the corruption scandals of the 1980s and 1990s. His works offer a new perspective on policing as a fundamental responsibility of government, breaking down the police–government relationship into three aspects: police and the executive, police and the public, and police self-governance. Finnane argues that the historical context is key for understanding contemporary arguments about policing in Australia, and takes us back to the roots of colonial policing.^{49,50}

The DMP, the London Metropolitan Police and the Brisbane City, or the Metropolitan Branch, of the Queensland Police are examples of a shared model of policing. A closer inspection of the municipal branch of the colonial force and its urban environment has revealed similarities in the underlying principles behind the policing model adopted to address crime in the colonial capital Brisbane and, to an extent, Toronto. The relatively uniform legal system throughout the British Empire led to parallel developments in the organisation of the legal, penal and law-enforcement institutions. The field of comparative history of crime, however, is fairly new and relatively limited. The recent works by the comparative historian Barry Godfrey, particularly *Crime and Empire 1840–1940, Criminal Justice in Local and Global Context* (2005) and *Comparative Histories of*

Crime (2003) compiled in collaboration with Clive Emsley and Graeme Dunstall, have been vital in helping to define the approach and embrace the importance of the concept. Similarly, Georgina Sinclair and Carolyn Strange furthered the transnational dialogue by establishing a comparative discourse on the historic complexity of identifying Ireland's place within the overarching imperial context.^{51,52} The secondary material available for the study of Irish or colonial Australian urban crime within a comparative framework is promising but limited, however. Although it provides an almost exhaustive perspective on rural social conflict, religious factions, sectarian violence, political unrest and separatist movements, there is little mention of the interaction between the city dwellers.

This study of the four metropolises, long-established Dublin and London and the rapidly growing New World urban centres—Brisbane and Toronto—offers new perspectives on the established concept of international comparative history. The years between *circa* 1780 and 1920 capture the changing environment of the cities. The methods of law enforcement were changing to accommodate the urban population growth, increasing population mobility, industrialisation and the general progress of time. The significant representation of Irish migrants within the forces, between 28 per cent to 61 per cent in Queensland and 76 per cent in Toronto,^{53,54} coupled with the borrowed administrative model, structure and general organisation, linked organisations and encouraged us to explore if and how the Irish policing experience shaped the colonial forces of Queensland and Toronto. The London Metropolitan Police serves as a benchmark and has been examined predominantly in the light of the DMP, Queensland and Toronto forces to a lesser degree.

Most of the quantitative and qualitative data that was processed in this study has been drawn from personal recollections and internal departmental records (registers, regulations and manuals), police and national statistical tables, and newspaper reports. The *Dublin Metropolitan Police Register* and the *Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856-1917* for the Queensland Force were utilised widely for establishing recruitment data for the forces. Extensive work with the *Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856-1917* and *Register for 1879-1924* resulted in a breakthrough and afforded the closest approximation of the number of former RIC and DMP men who enlisted into the colonial service available. The Queensland Police *Register* clearly illustrates the overwhelming number of supernumeraries that listed Ireland as their country of origin. Extensive work with the *DMP Register* allowed for the service history of any given

member of the force to be traced, his previous occupation, transfers and promotions during the service, and in some cases his life after his employment was terminated, either by dismissal, retirement or by voluntary resignation. In a number of instances additional details such as “resigned to immigrate to Australia”, or the like were provided, completing the service history circle.

The newspaper evidence used in qualitatively and quantitatively is extensive, is fairly standardised, and is therefore able to be coded. The approach to quantitative analysis of Irish data consists of comparing the monthly totals of all the cases reported in the *Irish Times* that fall under the category of ‘Assaults against the Person’, sampled quinquennially, to the numbers presented in the *Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan* and the *Judicial Statistics for Ireland*. Likewise, the police courts reports transcribed from the *Brisbane Courier* were matched against the official *Statistics of the Colony of Queensland*, the *Police Courts Deposition and Bench Books*, and the annual *Reports of the Commissioner of Police*. Similarly, police courts cases collected from Toronto’s the *Globe* were compared with the crime data printed in *Annual Reports of the Chief Constable of the City of Toronto*. Lastly, cases taken from the *London Times* were analysed for criminological currents and compared with the *Judicial Statistics for England and Wales* and the *Reports of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis*. The objective was to establish whether the newspaper reports and the official returns were broadly corroborative. The newspapers have also served as valuable material for social observation and as barometers to track the criminogenic environment of the cities at the time.

There are a number of important conclusions about nineteenth-century urban societies that can be drawn from the reports of the *Irish Times*, the *Brisbane Courier*, the *Globe* and the *London Times*. Categorisation of offences against the person (which nearly always specified offender’s residence and the location of crime) has allowed for the criminological topography of the city to be traced, and from this to establish the areas that were most susceptible to crime and the correlation with the socio-economic character of a particular neighbourhood; it has also allowed the exploration of gender relations, and inter- and intra-class interactions of the city dwellers and visitors; and finally it is suggestive of the new types of crime stemming from the expanding transportation system. A significant advantage of the data collected from the *Irish Times* over the numbers drawn from the *Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police*, is that they provide identities to the offenders and their victims, as no original records

detailing Dublin City Police Court minutes survived to this day. Record Treasury of the Public Record Office of Ireland was destroyed by the fire during the Four Courts bombardments in 1922, along with the records of English government in Ireland held in the buildings.

Personal recollections utilised offered subjective views of individual episodes and added dimensionality to the historical study. The recollections of Sir David Harrel, the DMP Commissioner between 1883 and 1893, and of Charles Ryan, a contemporary Dublin legal journalist, proved indispensable for interpreting events of the 1880s; the creation and advancement of the Land League, the associated unrest and arrests, riots, the Police Strike of 1882, and the insurgent activity of the extreme nationalist group the Invincibles. All of the cases quoted in Ryan's notes were traced to the reports in the *Freeman's Journal*. The opportunity to cross-reference the proceedings reported in the *Irish Times* with the trials covered in the *Freeman's Journal* and other various Dublin printed news sources helped to establish the extent to which the court material as reported was accurate. Regardless of the slight variations in choice of cases, the overall material collected from these newspapers was reflective of judicial realities. This was the most reassuring observation as these reports are the only surviving primary records detailing Dublin Police Court business.

Continuous work with government, judicial and statistical documentation allowed for criminological environments of Dublin and Brisbane to be recreated, with Toronto and London to a more modest degree. The parallel investigation of crime as reported in the public press and the statistical data of crime in the registers coalesced into a three-cornered approach to policing and street life in nineteenth-century cities. Secular and seasonal trends within the period have also been explored, and the qualitative evidence drawn from newspapers has been probed to determine changes in the reporting voice, and in attitudes towards offenders and their victims. In addition to the basic statistics, the printed commentary provided many nuanced insights into contemporary bourgeois views on crime and the 'criminal classes'.

The historical evidence revealed more similarities than contrasts between policing in these distinct geopolitical settings, with the exception of Toronto where transplanted sectarianism and pull of political partisanship typical to that of United States jurisdictions proved too strong. It was not uncommon for the skill and practical knowledge of the longer standing institutions to be adopted and integrated into the younger establishments. The London Metropolitan Police drew from the experience

of the original organised peace-preservation force of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Dublin, while the newly re-established police of the city of Dublin clearly used the London Police Act and regulations as the basis for its own local Police Act of 1836. The London Police, and by extension the Dublin force, also lent their rules and regulations to the colonial forces of Victoria, New South Wales and, later, Queensland, and to British North America. Ireland's Royal Constabulary served as a model for the colonial frontier police. The paramilitary training integral to the force was considered optimal for the policing of the hostile frontier area.

As in any comparative study, this approach has its shortcomings, the main limitation being that it incorporates much disparate material into a single study. As a result, some aspects that could have contributed to histories of each individual organisation have to be sacrificed to provide coherence to the comparative framework. Much more work could be done on the lives of beat policemen, including how their personal political convictions influenced their work and how it impacted on their interactions with their colleagues, as these men were required to leave their political sentiments 'at home'. Research in this direction would be especially interesting if placed within an even wider comparative framework. Additionally, as will be demonstrated in this study, to a degree, nationalist and religious tensions and preconceptions were carried over and transplanted onto colonial soil. Consequently, more research is needed to establish how deep-rooted these sentiments were, if indeed they added strain to the police–public relationship and to what degree.

This book presents a comparative history of the Dublin bobby on the beat—his work and daily routine, the conditions of service and his lot, both at home and on the colonial beat. The chapters are organised chronologically, with each chapter more or less coinciding with a major administrative, socio-political change or shift in criminal trends propagated by the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the nineteenth century and conflicts of the early twentieth century. The earlier chapters review the evolution of public opinion towards law enforcement, from the night watchmen, Charlies, to the 'new' policemen, Peelers or Bobbies, and trace the administrative history of Dublin policing from the first organised Day Police to the DMP. The chapters look at recruitment, training and the life and service of a beat policeman, and of course crime. The police court reports and the statistical tables of the DMP spanning 1860–80 help recreate a clearer picture of a predominantly working-class Dublin, where

thousands of men and women found themselves almost daily on either side of the dock.

The 1880s onwards witnessed marked disintegration of local industries, dispossession of tenant farmers and cheap foreign crop imports which crippled Dublin's economy, making larceny of basic necessities commonplace. As Queensland also slipped into a deep economic recession after a significant drop in wool exports, local summary courts mirrored the Dublin trend. Brisbane city police courts disposed of charges for larceny of food and clothing from shops and houses daily. A series of major strikes in addition to a significant rise in theft and vagrancy wore the scant police resources even thinner. The subsequent chapters in the second half of the book review the Dublin police strike and the series of riots fuelled by the political and economic uncertainty in Dublin, Brisbane and Toronto. Continuous evictions, economic depression and general disaffection inevitably fed into nationalist sentiments and radicalisation. The escalating hostility of the time, depressed economic climate and appalling living conditions contributed to the already swelling tide of migrants from Ireland to the colonies.

The significant proportion of Irish migrants, many with previous experience in law enforcement, brought their knowledge and skill with them to the New World, greatly facilitating the process of 'organisational knowledge transfer' between the forces at home and abroad. Interchange of knowledge and experience was prevalent on all levels—administrative, structural and personal—facilitated by exchange of personnel. This, in turn, led to parallel approaches in policing development, while a similar population structure resulted in similar attitudes emerging towards the police.

The post-industrial revolution surge of urban and colonial migration altered the compositional make-up of crime within the British Isles and the colonies. The final chapter of this book explores uniquely urban crime trends, fostered by the growing financial and retail spheres, the expansion of the clerical class, overcrowding and associated criminal poverty, and anonymity in the context of Dublin, London, Brisbane and Toronto.

This book aims to examine the history of the DMP and describe the life of an ordinary policeman, and to do so by approaching the history of crime and policing by avoiding political intrigue, sectarianism and religious tensions. The comparative approach was adopted to achieve this. It will reveal how the life of a beat constable was largely shaped by the rules and regulations of the duties he performed, the limitations imposed

by his service and the environment through which he walked on his daily beat. Inherently, the aspects that shaped an ordinary policeman's life were uniform, despite the differences in the social structure and geographic location of the four forces examined.

NOTES

1. James Henry, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Government Metropolitan Police in the City of Canton*. (Dublin: Hardy & Walker, 1840), p. 5.
2. Henry, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Government Metropolitan Police in the City of Canton*, pp. 5–6.
3. Henry, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Government Metropolitan Police in the City of Canton*, p. 15.
4. David Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth-Century England: Crime, Conflict and Control*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 137
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 141.
7. Ibid., p. 142.
8. Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 65.
9. Barry S. Godfrey, Paul Lawrence and Chris A. Williams, *History and Crime* (London: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 78.
10. David G. Barrie, 'A Typology of British Police: Locating the Scottish Municipal Police Model in Its British Context, 1800–35', *British Journal of Criminology* Vol. 50, no. 2 (2010), p. 274.
11. See also David G. Barrie and Susan Broomhall, *Police Courts in Nineteenth-Century Scotland, Volume 1: Magistrates, Media and the Masses* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014) and *Police Courts in Nineteenth-Century Scotland, Volume 2: Boundaries, Behaviours and Bodies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014); *Police in the Age of Improvement. Police Development and the Civic Tradition in Scotland, 1775–1865* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2008). Reprinted by Routledge, 2012.
12. Barrie. 'A Typology of British Police: Locating the Scottish Municipal Police Model in Its British Context, 1800–35', p. 272.
13. Special thanks to Prof. Clive Emsley for suggested edits.

14. Clive Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 33.
15. Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, p. 33.
16. See Part III of Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe* for discussion of variations of the organisation in the German States, Italy and the Habsburg lands.
17. On exporting further afield see Clive Emsley, 'Marketing the Brand: Exporting British Police Models 1829–1950', in *Policing*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2012), pp. 43–54; also Wilbour R. Miller, *Cops and Bobbies: Police Authority in New York and London, 1830–1870* (Ohio: Ohio State Press, 1977).
18. Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 27.
19. See also Brian Griffin, *Sources for the Study of Crime in Ireland, 1801–1921*. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005).
20. Brian Griffin, *The Bulkies: Police and Crime in Belfast, 1800–1865*. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), p. 46.
21. Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman, 1822–1922: A Life* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 67.
22. Colm Barry, 'Police and Protest in Dublin', in *Common Law Tradition* ed. by J. E. McEldowney (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), p. 159.
23. See also Jacinta Puntý, *Dublin Slums 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999); Brian Henry, *Dublin Hanged: Crime, Law Enforcement and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1994); Joseph O'Brien, *'Dear Dirty Dublin': A City in Distress, 1899–1916* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
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25. Dublin Castle was until 1922 the seat of the British government administration in Ireland.
26. See also Gregory Allen, *The Garda Síochána: Policing Independent Ireland, 1922–82* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999); Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1974); Seamus Breathnach, *The Irish Police: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. (Dublin: Anvil Books, 1974); Liam McNiffe, *A History of the*

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27. Vicky Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland. A History of An Garda Síochána* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 1.
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 29. V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770–1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
 30. Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth Century England: Crime, Conflict and Control; Hooligans, Harlots and Hangmen: Crime and Punishment in Victorian Britain* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010).
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37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3.
39. John M. Beattie, *The First English Detectives: The Bow Street Runners and the Policing of London, 1750–1840*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 2; also Beattie, *Crime and Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
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45. See also Michael Cottrell, 'St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control', in *Histoire Sociale – Social History*, vol. 25, no. 49 (1992), pp. 57–73; Paul Romney, 'A Struggle for Authority. Toronto Society and Politics' and Nicholas Rogers, 'Toronto the Good: the Development of the City Police Force 1834–84', in *Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto*, ed. by Victor L. Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) and *Imposing Goodness: Crime and Justice in 'Toronto the Good', 1793–1953* (Toronto: Toronto Law Society, 1991). See also on Toronto's Irish History Mark McGowan's *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto 1887–1922* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999). On Toronto history told through experiences of the Irish migrants, pre- and post-Famine: Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth. *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); David A. Wilson, *The Orange Order in Canada* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).
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51. Georgina S. Sinclair, 'The 'Irish Policeman and the Empire: Influencing the Policing of the British Empire-Commonwealth'', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 36, no. 142 (2008), p. 173.
52. Carolyn Strange, 'Discretionary Justice: Political Culture and the Death Penalty in New South Wales and Ontario, 1890–1920', in

Qualities of Mercy: Justice, Punishment, and Discretion, ed. by Carolyn Strange (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996).

53. Between 1860 and 1910, the Queensland Police Force absorbed 1,265 recruits who listed Ireland as their country of origin. The peak decades for Irish recruits fell on the 1870s and 1880s, with 75 per cent and 63 per cent per decade respectively. *The Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856-1917*, Queensland Police Service Museum.
54. In 1858, the Toronto Police Force was re-organised following the structure and general organisation of the municipal model. The new chief constable actively sought out Irish recruits, which resulted in significant Irish presence: 47 out of total 62 men on the roll. *Toronto City Council Minutes, 1859*, 782-3.

Peeling a Charley: Evolution of Public Opinion

Public opinion was a powerful tool in the making and in some cases disbanding of police forces. This chapter looks at the evolution of public opinion about the law enforcement bodies of Dublin and London and colonial Queensland using a range of sources that survey the shift in policing from Charlies (night watchmen) to Peelers. As the primary sources available on Toronto City Police are predominantly of a socio-legal character as opposed to popular culture, the public image of a Toronto policeman will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

Since the early 1700s, Dublin had been in severe need of an integrated policing body. The crime rates were rising despite the extensive Bloody Code, a series of offences carrying a death penalty. The prevailing public view of the institution of policing was one of hostility, suspicion and distrust, fuelled by resentment of high taxes (which were expected to rise further) and the fear of a standing army or of any organisation reminiscent of the French

Dogberry – Who think you the most desertless man to be Constable?

Watch – Hugh Oatcake, sir, or George Seacoal.

Dogberry – Come hither, neighbour Seacoal. God hath blessed you with a good name. You are brought here to be the most senseless and fit man to be the Constable of the Watch; therefore bear you the lantern.

– Act 3, Scene 3, *Much Ado About Nothing* quoted in *Sketch and Stories of The Royal Irish Constabulary*, by C. W. Leatham, Late Commissioner, R.I.C., Dublin, 1909.

gendarmerie on English soil. In short, the concept of a police force was regarded with suspicion and seen as inconsistent with English legal principles. Ireland, on the other hand, was traditionally perceived, especially by the Crown, as a more violent and lawless place and in need of firm governance. Throughout the early years, public distrust and scepticism were universal. As time progressed, however, so did the perception of the beat policeman, who came to be viewed as an integral agent of the law. This change was gradual.

The 'new' police force was received with mixed sentiments, both in Dublin and in London. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the popular image of the policeman (promptly given the moniker of Bobby or Peeler, after Sir Robert Peel) had been created in the public mind. It acquired a multitude of stereotypes which made their way into the printed media. Cartoons and caricatures published in *Punch, Or the London Charivari*, among others, presented a colourful series of plates invaluable for following the currents that shaped public opinion. Irish printed media were perhaps to a degree less forthright in developing a caricature image of the Dublin policeman, but were much more vociferous in satire and street ballad. This tradition was carried elsewhere and flourished, especially in the Australian colonies.

The new London policeman was often referred to as an institution rather than 'a man'. As these men were to be the embodiments of English law, expectations were extremely high and discipline was tough. As the London Bobby settled into his niche within the urban scene, public opinion created its own vision of the new force. The majority of contemporary and modern stereotypes of nineteenth-century policing either stemmed from or inadvertently were influenced by the image of the nineteenth-century London Bobby. A continuity existed between the English Bobby, the Irish Peeler or Bobby and the colonial policeman, originally also locally known as a Peeler.

The London Metropolitan policeman and his Dublin counterpart were both descendants of the night watchman. There is hardly a story or an article, contemporary or otherwise, where the poor watchman is not criticised or abused for his ineptness and his overpowering love of sleep and drink, to which he only too readily succumbed. A series of plates by contemporary artists captured the popular opinion. An Irish caricaturist, William Sadler, portrays the watchman as a decrepit drunk. Similarly, in his cartoon titled 'Tom Getting the best of a Charley',¹ the English caricaturist and book illustrator George Cruikshank depicts a man pushing over a sentry box with a watchman propelling out with his hands outstretched and mouth open. The man's companions are shown standing behind

laughing, and another watchman is standing indignantly across from them with his rattle raised ominously. In another contemporary print by William Heath, ‘Michaelmas Day 1829 or the last watchman’, which marked the year the London Metropolitan Police Act took effect, the scene is filled with morbid images of watchmen hanging from a tree, drowning with only a rattle remaining above the water, and their halberds burning in a bonfire. Sir Robert Peel is depicted ‘Peeling a Charley’ or wrenching a coat off a distressed watchman.²

The old watch transitioned into the new police within a fairly short time span. Within an even shorter period, the new police showed that they were also only human. The old stereotypes were quickly transposed onto members of the new institution. In May 1830, Heath released an engraving illustrating a drunken policeman in his new uniform, complete with a shiny top hat, ordering a water pump to move on: ‘Come move on there – it’s time you was in bed young woman, any body with half an eye could see you were in liquor.’³ Throughout the first decade of their existence, and in the first few years especially, the turnover of recruits in the London and Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) forces was substantial. The number of dismissals for liquor offences was staggering. By the mid 1830s, nearly 80 per cent of the original contingent of London police had resigned or had been dismissed.⁴ Besides a drinking ban, the instruction manuals for the new police collectively prohibited members from gossiping on the streets, taking remuneration from grateful citizens, unnecessarily using their batons or flaunting their authority. Contemporary literary and media accounts offer a myriad of recollections, stories and descriptions that provide insight into public–police interactions and perceptions of the new force.

CARICATURES

Punch, Or the London Charivari began publication in 1841. The magazine was at the forefront of political trends and metropolitan opinions and was fast to respond to events and issues with cartoons and caricatures. In his *Pictures of Life and Character from the Collection of Mr. Punch 1842–1864*, John Leech printed a series of engravings depicting the new policemen surrounded by stock images. One of the earlier prints hints at police corruption. The plate titled ‘Pity the Sorrows of the Poor Police’ (1852) depicts a tranquil scene in a stereotypical Victorian middle-class room with a fireplace and plates decorating the wall. A uniformed policeman in a top hat is seen sitting at a table, his contorted face snubbing a generously sized

leg of ham. A stout woman cook leans on the table, listening attentively to the policeman's complaints – 'Lor, Soosan! How's a feller to eat meat [in] such weather as this? Now, a bit o'pickled salmon and cowcumer, or a lobster salad might do.'⁵

Punch's cartoons ridiculed the policeman's love of gossip and the company of the fairer sex, female cooks and servant girls in particular. In 1853, the magazine issue printed a cartoon which hinted that the attraction was mutual: 'What article of dress are Cooks most attracted to?' Following it with the response of: 'The Pelisse.'⁶ In 'A Reflection', *Punch* quizzed: 'Although Policemen are placed at particular spots for the purpose of making omnibuses "move on", they are generally seen chatting, or cracking the friendly walnut with the conductors, to the inconvenience and indignation of the passengers. How is this?'⁷ In the cartoon, a policeman is seen standing leisurely in the street, solemnly cracking a walnut in the company of a conductor, who is leaning on a lamp post next to the road where his omnibus, full of indignant faces, is parked. A barefoot boy-street seller stands next to them, solemnly holding a tray of walnuts. The guardians of the realm were frequently represented as unsophisticated, if not blatantly dim-witted, and unassuming.

The London policemen were armed only with batons, and unlike their colleagues across the Irish Sea, were, on average, of a more modest build. In response to complaints of assaults by the police, *Punch* published a number of plates on the subject, including 'Might Versus Right' and 'Ruffianly Policeman, About to Perpetrate Brutal and Dastardly Assault on the People' (1866).⁸ In the first plate from 1845, a slightly statured policeman is seen ordering a burly seaman, 'Navigator', to move on or he will take him into the station. Looking down unfazed, the man replies: 'ten on you might' means ten qualitatively not quantitatively.⁹ The later print has a lonely policeman, with his hat already knocked off, facing head on an angry mob armed with fence railings and stones mid-air.

Controlling rioting was a regular duty and doubtlessly one of the most unpleasant for the police. These duties were unpleasant also in the sense that regardless of the guidelines and exemplary behaviour of the police as an institution, they never came out of such episodes unscathed. Police involvement in crowd control during the series of riots that shook Dublin throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contributed further to the, albeit gradual, deterioration in public attitudes towards the police. The Phoenix Park (1872) and Sackville Street (1881) riots and the Lockout of 1913 sealed the disil-

lusionment of the Dublin public.¹⁰ Contrary to the London experience, Dubliners never came to view the DMP presence on the streets as an organic part of the social fabric. This was mainly due to the inevitable association of the policing body with Crown control.¹¹ A print from a Dublin satirical magazine *The Leprechaun* (October, 1913), ‘The Real Strikers’, shows an ogre-like policemen charging defenceless women and children with their batons raised ready to strike, trampling anyone standing in the way. The inscription under the image reads: ‘On August 30 and 31 the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the R.I. Constabulary ran “amok” in the City of Dublin. Result: Two men batoned to death and several hundred men, women and children badly beaten, whose ages range from one week to ninety years.’ The Dublin Disturbances Commission report found two men had died and hundreds had been injured.¹²

CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES

In contrast to the London representations and reality, the Dublin policeman was a tall and impressive figure who easily stood out. Men were chosen for their height and strength as much as for their literacy skills or overall health. The height of recruits averaged around five feet nine inches to six feet, with chest measurements of over 35 inches.¹³ The B Division consisted entirely of policemen six feet and over in height. Constable Maurice ‘Big Maurice’ Woulfe was held up as an iconic example of a nineteenth-century Dublin policeman. Maurice James Woulfe (DMP 9716) was 19 when he joined the DMP in 1891. The police register lists his height as six feet and six inches, while correspondence from his Garda Museum file gives his height as an impressive six feet eight inches. A photograph from a contemporary magazine boasted that the tallest bicycle made in Ireland was constructed by the ‘Stevens Cycle for Maurice Woolfe of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, who stood 6 ft 8 inches and weighed 21 stone’.¹⁴

Armed only with batons, the DMP men were deemed formidable enough. The rules, regulations and training regime of the force were designed in such a way as to instil the message of order, respectability and ‘a new system of life, in which they were not only to display good behaviour, but, like Falstaff’s wit, to be the cause of good behaviour in others’.¹⁵ The men were considerably heavier than the slight, active members of the constabulary, and were as similarly dressed as possible to their brothers in London: black hats covered at the top with black patent leather, whale-

bone side-guards covered with the same, blue coats with silver buttons, hard black stocks, blue trousers, black leather waist-belt, boots, and white gloves. The difference was that the figures and letters distinguishing the division and number of each policeman in Dublin were in silver, instead of in white cotton as in London.¹⁶

Charles Ryan

As evidenced by contemporary newspapers and personal accounts, the Dublin Police and their relationship with the public was anything but simple. In 1876, Charles Ryan, a legal reporter for the *Freeman's Journal*, noted in his diary an anti-Sunday closing meeting, which, he described as full of excitement, with fights and horseplay that went on in more quarters than one. After an overture of four free fights in a crowded room—out of which emerged a number of bloody heads—the speaking commenced, but with an undercurrent of disorder. The proceedings concluded with the platform being carried by storm; chairs and tables were broken up and used as missiles until the police charged and dispersed the meeting. O'Brien, Ryan's colleague, got a blow on the hat and a splinter in the face.¹⁷ The meeting virtually concluded with the chairman's observations that at least 'no tradesman in Dublin had gone into the lunatic asylum, or became a policeman, or disgraced himself in any other way ... As the police were pushing about, baton in hand, hunting the people...'¹⁸

James Henry

The ongoing debate on the constitutionality of the establishment, the English control and its effect on the judicial system was freely satirised by James Henry, a contemporary Dublin writer.¹⁹ His short narrative, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Government Metropolitan Police in the City of Canton* (1840), is a satire on the new police of the Dublin metropolis. In his essay, Henry presents a brief account of the new police force established in the city of Canton. The inhabitants of Canton, who had become weary of the old watchmen, applied to the imperial legislature for the new police. This was granted and in the place of the old force Canton received a most respectable and efficient body of men, who went about without arms and did not terrify the city as the old watchmen did with their iron-pointed halberds and rattles, nor did they disturb anyone in the dead hour of night by calling out the time and waking everyone from their sleep.²⁰

As the narrative developed, the positive endorsement proved short-lived, for it turned out that the new police did not see themselves as the ‘servants of the burghers’ but of their Commissioner Vin and the imperial government at Peking. From then on, burghers had to make way, literally, for the new police or be arrested, lodged in the station-house overnight and fined by the magistrate in the morning for obstructing the police. ‘After all’, they said, ‘it is not so inconvenient to take a few steps in the channel, when there is not room on the foot-way; and even if it were, we should not forget that the frequent wetting of our feet, and being now and then run over by the carts and carriages, will accustom us to hardship, and render us better able to bear the strictness of martial law, which, it is not unlikely, will soon be proclaimed in Canton’.²¹

The satire touched on the majority of the most common offences and related police duties, such as drunkenness, obstruction, licensing and trading hours, hackney drivers, stop and search after sundown, street-sellers, vagrants, pickpockets, cruelty to animals, public order, arms registration and obstruction of footpaths and the call to ‘move on’—virtually all aspects of the new Dublin police interactions with the public. In Canton, a burgher charged with any of the above offences was forced to spend the night in a station-house. In the morning, ‘if he was still living’, the defendant was brought before the magistrate and fined or imprisoned. Hackney drivers had a particularly hard time, for any infringement resulted in fines and frequently seizure of their vehicles. The whole class of street-sellers was effectively eliminated, as their stools, tables and baskets had been methodically taken away and their goods such as ‘apples and oranges, nuts and gingerbread, and oysters and cockles, and crabs’ destroyed. The street-sellers were left destitute and vagrant. Vagrants and mendicants were also locked up, fined and sent to the great House of Correction of Canton. When released the citizens found themselves on the streets again, and so they hid and stole, and when caught were either locked up or, at this point, either transported or hanged.

The ‘new government police’ kept continuous watch over the burghers of the city, day and night. They all carried notebooks and pencils in their pockets, and ‘they wrote down everything they saw and heard, and reported it every night to the superintendent, and the superintendent to the chief commissioner, and the chief commissioner to the imperial government at Peking’.²² The new police—in Henry’s essay—only followed orders that came from the imperial government. ‘Yet they were not a standing army, for they had neither drums or fifes, and their

coats were blue and not red, and they were not armed with muskets and bayonets, but only with bludgeons.²³ The imperial legislature decreed all arms in the empire of China to be registered, whether they were firearms or arms with sharp edges or points. The arms that were unregistered were forfeited to the emperor.²⁴ Duly, many were seized and the remainder registered. However, the police examination found many of the arms unsuitably registered, and this led to yet more seizures. As knives and forks really were ‘little swords and spears’, they were all forfeited as well. ‘And from that time forth the burghers of Canton used chopsticks in place of knives and forks; and this was the origin of the use of chopsticks throughout the great empire of China.’²⁵ All weapons were noted in the register of firearms. The register was accessible to anyone wishing to have access to it, including burglars and ribbonmen. Thus ‘when the ribbonmen wanted arms they had no occasion to go about searching what houses had arms, and what houses had not; but they went straight to the registered houses and showed the list from the registry and demanded the arms, one by one, according to the list, just as if they were their own’.²⁶

In search of a surveillance-free life, some of the burghers moved to the Emperorstown (presumably Kingstown/Dun Laoghaire), and so the Metropolitan Police district was extended. The inhabitants were forced to move farther away, to Paris, Rome, Vienna and Naples. The burghers were astonished to see that ‘the burghers of Rome, and of Naples, and of Vienna, and of Paris, walked whatever the way they pleased, and that they had public gardens and promenades ... and that they were noisy, and merry, and that they carried burthens [*sic*] on the footways, and that they stopped to look in at the shop windows...’²⁷ And the burghers of Canton marvelled at the government police who did not ‘interfere vexatiously’, nor drill, nor made them walk sideways following the beat of hurdygurdy played by the police on every corner. Henry’s ‘new police’ is the precise embodiment of the original fear—tyrannical police control. In the satire, the upper caste, the Mandarins, were placed outside of the new police jurisdiction—outside the law. In fact, when a number of Mandarins were arrested for hunting and brought before the magistrates, the latter dismissed the case, ‘and the Mandarins went home with the magistrates, and dined with them that day’.²⁸ Indubitably, in reality many also perceived a Dublin Metropolitan policeman as a ‘government agent placed to command over them’, deaf and blind to the needs of citizens.

Additional scepticism towards the new police stemmed from what seemed like the crumbling of the existing social structure. The majority of the policemen in Dublin were the sons of tenants and farmers, or otherwise working men. The authority vested in them positioned them outside of the long-established social framework, a framework already shifted by the recent Catholic Emancipation, which to many invited abuse and disorder. An overwhelming majority of police recruits came from the lower classes, and this change in status allowed some of their social peers to see these freshly minted members of the force as traitors. Throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century and even more so in the first decades of the twentieth, Irish policemen began to be perceived as men in danger of turning their backs on their people and their country.

Lady Gregory

A question of loyalties dominated the early-twentieth-century Dublin professional and political milieu. What constituted a policeman's duty and allegiances? Was it to the government or to the country and the people? Lady Gregory's play, *The Rising of the Moon*, published in 1903, depicts a Police Sergeant who was faced with precisely the dilemma of choosing between his allegiance to the government or to the nationalist cause. The scene is set on the side of a quay in a seaport town. The dialogue between the Sergeant keeping watch and the suspicious ballad singer leaves the reader in no doubt that the story is set shortly after the Fenian Rising of 1867, but it bears no direct link to any of the Fenian organisers. The inspiration for the play was the escape of Hamilton Rowan a century earlier, and a more recent encounter between a policeman and a Gaelic League Organiser. Hamilton Rowan was a United Irishman, who, in May 1794, had escaped from Newgate Prison in Dublin by bribing a jailer. With help from his wife and a friend 'two smugglers, dismissive of the £2000 reward offered for his arrest, [they] conveyed him to France on a small boat'.²⁹ Upon landing at Roscoff in Brittany, he was promptly arrested as a suspected British spy. Luckily he was recognised at Brest by an Irishman, John Sullivan, an inspector of prisons, who accompanied him to Paris.³⁰ The Gaelic League activist, Tomas O'Conannon, was also in part responsible for *The Rising of the Moon*. O'Conannon had related to Lady Gregory his experience with a policeman who had assisted him in mending his bicycle and 'who seemed to have National sympathies under his tunic'.³¹

In the opening act of *The Rising of the Moon*, the three policemen are shown putting up a notice offering a hundred pounds' reward for a man with 'dark hair-dark eyes, smooth face height five feet five' who had broken out of jail. 'They say he is a wonder, that it's he makes all the plans for the whole organisation. There isn't another man in Ireland would have broken gaol the way he did. He must have friends among the gaolers.'³² The conversation between the three policemen rapidly moves towards the critical question, the moral of the story. Policeman B reasons that apart from the reward there will be a promotion in line for the man who brings the fugitive in. The Sergeant reckons a hundred pounds will be a nice help for a married man. Policeman X raises the critical point that if they get him and bring him in, nothing but 'abuse will follow on their heads for it from the people, and maybe from their own relations'.³³ To this the Sergeant responds that they have to do their duty in the force, as they have the whole country depending on them for law and order: 'It's those they are down would be up and those that are up would be down, if it wasn't for us.'³⁴

Their conversation is disrupted by a sudden appearance of a man trying to slip past. Upon discovering the true identity of the Ragged Man/Balladeer, the Sergeant is faced with the choice of either fulfilling his duty to the force or to his people. The man appeals to the Policeman's love of his country, and when the Sergeant lets him pass, the Balladeer thanks him and reminds him that 'maybe I'll be able to do so much for you when the small rise up and the big fall down ... when we all change places at the rising ... of the Moon'. Prophetic words, indeed, for after the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921 many of the first policemen to walk the streets of the Free State were former Irish Republican Army (IRA) men who formed the Civic Guard and, in 1925, An Garda Síochána.

STREET BALLADS

With mass migration between the 1840s and 1880s, the conflict of loyalties was transplanted onto colonial soil. The colonial policing experience integrated the two main models born out of English and Irish organisations—the metropolitan, urban, and the rural—developing and adapting them based on the demands of particular territories. The lands were vast and conditions were harsh, and the nature of the duties was worlds apart. Jonathan Richards' account of controversial practices adopted by the colonial Queensland Mounted and the Native Police highlighted the harsh

methods of policing the outback. People who lived in large towns had no idea of the tyrannical conduct of police far removed from courts, the harsh overbearing manner in which they executed their duties and how they neglected their responsibilities and abused their powers.³⁵ As a consequence, bush-ranging grew rife. As surviving ballads indicate, many of the bushrangers across the Australian colonies were of Irish or Irish-Australian background, but so too were the police. The old dilemma of duties and allegiances followed these men across the oceans, as there were as many Irish-born policemen as there were Irish-born offenders. Would they be prepared to arrest one of their own? Records show that indeed they were. Few patrolled the streets of the cities, for the majority of police were at the outback ‘policing’ the bush. Among the most notable bushrangers were Jack Donohoe, shot dead in 1830, and Ned Kelly, hanged in Melbourne Gaol in 1880.³⁶

In his Jerilderie Letter, Kelly attempted to set the record straight and give voice to some of the common grievances laid against the police, such as lying at the dock to secure committal and the abuse of authority, for ‘it is no crime in the Police force it is a credit to a Policeman to convict an innocent man but any muff can pot a guilty one’.³⁷ In the remaining pages of his letter, Kelly returned to the dilemma of Irishmen serving as policemen under the British Crown, ‘who for a lazy loafing cowardly billet left the ash corner deserted the Shamrock, the emblem of true wit and beauty to serve under a flag and nation that has destroyed massacred and murdered their forefathers’.³⁸ He thought it preferable to die bravely ‘in servile chains but true to the Shamrock and a credit to Paddys land’; for ‘what would people say if I became a Policeman and took an oath to arrest my brothers sisters & relations and convict them by fair or foul means after the conviction of my Mother and the persecutions and insults offered to myself and people would they say I was a decent gentleman’.³⁹

Bold Jack O’Donahoe

These sentiments were widespread and ran deep. Bushrangers and to an extent ‘larrikins’, flawed heroes in their right, were immortalised in contemporary and modern folklore:

In Dublin town I was brought up that city of great fame
My parents reared me tenderly there’s many did the same
Being a wild colonial boy I was forced to cross the main

And for seven long years in New South Wales to wear a convict's chain...
 As O'Donahoe was walking one summer's afternoon
 Little was his notion that his death should be so soon
 When a sergeant of the horse police discharged his carbine
 And loudly called to O'Donahoe to fight or else resign.

...

Resign to you, you cowardly dogs it's a thing I ne'er will do
 For I'll range these woods and valleys like a wolf or kangaroo
 Before I'll work for Government said bold Jack Donahoe...⁴⁰

The Ballad of Kelly's Gang

The popularity and esteem afforded to Ned Kelly and his mates was extraordinary. Ballads and songs were composed to mark the most notable altercations (of which there were many) between Ned Kelly, his gang and the Victoria Police. These were mainly sung to the tune of *The Wearin' of the Green*. One of the ballads, *The Ballad of Kelly's Gang*, was composed by a gang member, Joe Byrne. It recounted the story of the gang's 'robberies and plunderings' in Jerilderie Town, which they entered at night, and of their taking the local troopers hostage, locking them up and taking their clothes:

Next day being Sunday, of course they must be good,
 They dressed themselves in troopers' clothes and Neddy chopped the wood.
 Nobody suspected them, for troopers they all pass,
 and Dan [Kelly], the most religious, took the sergeant's wife to mass.

...

They destroyed communication by telegraph at last,
 Of robberies and plunderings they had a perfect feast,
 Where they had gone's a mystery, the police they cannot tell,
 So until we hear from them again, I'll bid yers all farewell.⁴¹

Are You There Moriarity?

Over the period of its existence numerous ballads were written about the DMP—some full of praise but mostly criticism and sarcasm. Two that particularly stand out are *Are You There Moriarity*, and *The Peeler and the Goat*. The former tells the story, in a most jocular and perhaps mocking

manner, of a DMP cadet Moriarity, of his arrival at the Depot and of some of the duties:

Whin first I kem to Dublin town
 ‘Twas in eighteen eighty three,
 I wint direct, wid me head erect,
 For to join the D.M.P.
 Me majestic feet woke Kevin Street,
 As I walked up proud an’ free;
 For well I knew they could not do
 Wid out me, MORIARITY!
*I’m a well known bobby of the stalwart squad,
 I belong to the D.M.P.
 And the girls all cry as I pass by:
 Are you there, MORIARITY?⁴²*

And on he went ‘widout accidint’ and saw himself as a limb of the law ‘dressed out like a big Boy in Blue’. This seemingly light-hearted ballad was compiled in the 1880s, the time when the tables submitted by the medical officer of the DMP showed quite an increase in the number of assaults on the police.

One of the numerous duties of a policeman was prosecuting cases in police courts: ‘The Latin I knew in a week or two / And I gave them soon a shock / Whin I hurled a junk av a “quid pro nunc.” / With a “post” and a “propter hoc.” / A “habeas corpus” or “aqua fortis,” / Was all the same to me!’ The image of the dim-witted policeman was widespread and persisted well into the next century. Clive Emsley in his book *The Great British Bobby: A History of British Policing from the 18th Century to the Present* quotes a number of malapropisms that members of the force were reputedly prone to in England. These included ‘foot pedestrian’, ‘throw an accordion round a suspect building’, and ‘great detergent towards crime’.⁴³

As we have seen, both London and Dublin Bobbies shared a weakness for the gentle sex, and according to Moriarity, ‘The ladies too, I very soon knew / Wor smitten, wan and all / For beneath me spell, they quickly fell / And I held them in me thrall / With me handsome face, wid me charm and grace / They thought and they dreamt of me / And whin I’d pass by I could hear them sigh: “Oh, I love MO-RI-AR-I-TY!”’

The ballad concludes with PC Moriarity soaring up into Heaven with Saint Peter greeting him at the gates: ‘Sure, I hope he’ll say, in a kindly

way / “Is it there, Tim, yerself I see / Yer reward you’ve won for yer work well done / Shtep in! MO-RI-AR-I-TY!” As James Henry’s satire demonstrated, Saint Peter’s sentiment was not universally shared.

The Peeler and the Goat

It was not unusual at the time for the term ‘peeler’ to be used interchangeably for a member of either the DMP or the RIC. In this context *The Peeler and the Goat* is a ballad about an RIC officer from Bansha, South Tipperary:

As Bansha peelers were, one night,
On duty a-patrolling, O,
They met a goat upon the road
Who seemed to be a-strolling, O
With bayonets fixed they sallied forth,
And caught her by the wizen, O,
And then swore out a mighty oath
They’d send her off to prison, O.

The peelers go on to threaten the goat with a vagrancy charge, being disorderly and idle. In her retort, echoing the earlier discussion, the goat calls the peelers out on their cowardice: ‘I’m certain if you weren’t drunk / With whiskey, rum or brandy, O / You would not have such gallant spunk, / Or be so bold or manly, O.’ And corruption: ‘You readily would let me pass / If I’d the sterling handy, O / To treat you to a poteen glass O / ‘Tis then I’d be the dandy, O!’ The seditious ballad concludes with a toast to independent Ireland, which was judiciously omitted in its reprint in the *North Australian* on 17 October 1884 in Darwin, Northern Territory:

Come, fill us up a flowing bowl!
We’ll drink a grand libation, O,
And toast a health to each true son
Throughout this grand old nation, O!
We’ll toast brave Ireland three times three,
With pride and acclamation, O;
May all her people be made free
By speedy separation, O!

In the true story of the peeler and a goat, ‘an ex RIC man’ reveals a different, lighter side to rural Irish policing. In *Dereliction of Duty or Matty Martin’s Ghost* by ‘An ex R.I.C man’, the author describes his adventures while in service in ‘Kingdom of Kerry’. During one of the night shifts, the locally whose house they were guarding played a trick on the ‘ex RIC man’ and his superior. An old cemetery was located near the house in question, and the owner, Matty Martin, dressed up his biggest goat as a ghost and frightened the Constables half to death, nearly literally. The young rural constable, 18 at the time of the incident, fainted and had to be removed from the location.⁴⁴

Although the focus of this work is urban policing, there is always something to be learned from these kinds of rural policing stories. A significant number of the members of the RIC were forced to face the dilemma analogous to the one faced by the Sergeant in *The Rising of the Moon*. A good number of these men chose to resign and migrate to the colonies, with peak migration occurring in the early 1880s,⁴⁵ the Land War years. Some of these men went to form the core of the early Australian police forces.⁴⁶ In the absence of outright sectarian or nationalist tensions, in general, the image of an urban colonial policeman was close to that of a London or Dublin Bobby.⁴⁷ Unlike the duties of a frontier policeman, the daily beat of a metropolitan patrol constable was routine and rarely life-threatening. Even though physical and verbal assault of constables on duty was a regular occurrence, it was for the most part of a petty nature.

Suspicion and fear of the new police, of the physical and executive powers vested in them, was a common thread that linked the forces across the oceans. Throughout the first months of the London Metropolitan Police’s existence, the Commissioners’ office and the London newspapers were inundated with complaints from the public of improperly conducted arrests, of assaults and even indecency by the new policemen. As the first wave of fear and dread subsided, the London Bobby won over the law-abiding public and became an integral part of the city’s landscape. Why did the Dublin Bobby never enjoy acceptance equal to that of his London counterpart? Is it due to the fact that the Irish police absorbed and propagated most of the English stereotypes? Dublin Bobby was never fully embraced by the local populace, but rather was viewed as a necessary evil, admittedly not always unwelcome. The duties of the Dublin policeman at times did have a political aspect to them, which inevitably contributed to suspicion and resentment amongst much of the Dublin citizenry.

Within the Australian colonial experience, predominantly Irish police forces were perceived with suspicion and hostility, by the Irish foremost, mildly echoing Ned Kelly's sentiments—that above all the police represented an alien Crown. The instructions and orders were issued locally, and the policing model adapted to local conditions and often amalgamated the two main archetypes, the urban and rural systems, both borrowed. However, suspicions persisted. As Jonathan Richards, Ian Jones and Glen Tomasetti demonstrate, the hostility and resentment were predominantly restricted to the mounted paramilitary police who patrolled the frontier. This mode of colonial policing was most closely modelled on the RIC. In the overwhelming vastness of the frontier bushrangers were in open confrontation with the mounted police, without the constraints of the urban landscape and heightened by hostile wilderness. The relationship between the metropolitan police and the city folk was less volatile. These complexities and intricacies of the workings of the police forces within their respective social settings stand out most when highlighted by the comparative approach, which illuminates aspects otherwise obscured by overexposure of a single site.

NOTES

1. 'Tom Getting the best of a Charley', BMC 14332 1821 I.R. and George Cruikshank, in *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints 1600–1832* by J. A. Sharpe (Cambridge: Chardwyck-Healy Ltd., 1986), p. 276.
2. 'Peeling a Charley', BMC 15862 29 September 1829 William Heath, in *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints 1600–1832* by J. A. Sharpe (Cambridge: Chardwyck-Healy Ltd., 1986), p. 294.
3. 'Come move on there...', BMC 16430 May 1830 William Heath in *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints 1600–1832* by J. A. Sharpe (Cambridge: Chardwyck-Healy Ltd., 1986), p. 306.
4. 'Return, Showing the Number of Men in the Metropolitan Police Force who have resigned, been Dismissed, Suspended, Fined, or reduced in Rank, by the Commissioners, in each Year from 1844 to 1848 inclusive', *Metropolitan and City Police. Return of officers of the Metropolitan and City Police charged with Offences before Magistrates, in each Year from 1844 to 1848 inclusive, with their rank, age, &c.* 20 April, 1849, p. 9.

5. 'Pity the Sorrows of the Poor Police', *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character. From the Collection of 'Mr. Punch' 1842–1846*, p. 13.
6. *Punch*, 1853.
7. 'A Reflection', *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character. From the Collection of 'Mr. Punch' 1842–1846*, p. 170.
8. 'Ruffian Policeman', http://www.punchcartoons.com/Crime-Cartoons/c239/p209/Ruffianly-policeman/product_info.html. Accessed 15 September, 2015.
9. 'Might Versus Right', <http://www.john-leech-archive.org.uk/1846/might-versus-right.htm>. Accessed 15 September, 2015.
10. See Chap. 4.
11. The DMP headquarters were situated in Dublin Castle, the seat of English power in Ireland.
12. *Irish Times*, 1913–14.
13. *Dublin Metropolitan Police Force Alphabetical Register*.
14. DMP 9716 M Woulfe, Garda Museum.
15. Sir Francis Bond Head, *A Fortnight in Ireland* (London, 1852), p. 99.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
17. Charles Ryan, Wednesday, 28 February 1876, *Diary №6* (1876–78), pp. 14–15.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
19. 'Henry, James (1798–1876),' J. A. Richmond in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, (Oxford: OUP, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12974>. Accessed September 1, 2015.
20. Henry, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Government Metropolitan Police in the City of Canton*, pp. 5–6.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
29. 'Rowan, Archibald Hamilton', *Irish Dictionary of Biography*.
30. *Ibid.*

31. 23 April, 1929, *Lady Gregory's Journals*, Vol.2. 21 February 1925 – May, 1932.
32. Lady Augusta Gregory, *The Rising of the Moon, Spreading the News*. (Dublin: Maunsel & Co., 1906), p. 33.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Edward Kelly quoted in Ian Jones and Glen Tomasetti, 'Kelly – the Folk-Hero', in *Ned Kelly Man and Myth* (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1968), p. 99.
36. 'The Kelly Bushrangers. Extermination of the Gang. Their History,' in *The South Australian Advertiser*, Saturday, 10 July 1880, p. 2S.
37. Ned Kelly, *Jerilderie Letter*, 1880, National Museum Australia. http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/collection_interactives/jerilderie_letter. Accessed October 2015.
38. Kelly, *Jerilderie Letter*, pp. 30–31.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.
40. 'Bold Jack Donohoe' (composer unknown), in *The Donahoe Ballads*, by John Meredith (Red Rooster Press, 1982).
41. Ian Jones and Glen Tomasetti, 'Kelly – the Folk-Hero' (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1968), pp. 94–5.
42. 'Are You There Moriarity?!' in *Burt Ives Irish Songs*, by Burt Ives (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1955).
43. Emsley, *The Great British Bobby: A History of British Policing from the 18th Century to the Present*, p. 10.
44. *Dereliction of Duty or Matty Martin's Ghost* by 'An ex R.I.C man' (TCD Ms7378/14).
45. *The Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856–1917*. QPS Museum Collection.
46. Forty-three ex-RIC men and 6 ex-DMP men were sworn into the Queensland Police Force between 1880 and 1890. *The Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856–1917*. QPS Museum Collection.
47. In contrast, as evidenced by *Toronto City Council Minutes, 1845–1860*, Toronto policemen found themselves at the epicentre of sectarian disputes, prior to the 1859 police reform, as active participants, which contributed to growing resentment by Roman Catholic Torontonians, and as mediators after.

The Dublin Police in the Making

‘The Police are the ‘Life Guards’ of the sleeping realm...’
– Lord Denman, Lord Chief Justice of England¹

The Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) took over the city streets in 1836. The first Dublin bobby was a country lad, over five feet and nine inches tall, broad in the chest, armed with a baton and a myriad of rules and regulations. From the first days in the supernumerary class, a future DMP constable was subjected to gruelling studies and drilling routines. The line of duty of a beat constable was extensive and diverse. Due to the intricate and precarious nature of police service in the metropolis, and the police and public relationship, police orders meticulously outlined the duties and definitions of virtually everything a policeman could encounter on the job. Negligence and misconduct were severely reprimanded. So, what was it like to become a policeman? What kinds of sacrifices were made and what was gained by such a career choice? What awaited these men on the streets?

BEFORE THE DMP

Formal attempts to keep the criminal element in check go as far back as the reign of Edward I. The Statute of Winchester or the Fairs and Markets in Churchyards Act, 1285, established the first night watch. The statute, to a point the progenitor of municipal policing, outlined

the primary duties and responsibilities of the elected watchmen; these remained virtually unchanged as late as the 1800s. It provided for a night watch to patrol at times when the city gates of great towns were shut, between sun-down and sun-rise. Nightly ‘from the Day of the Ascension unto the Day of St. *Michael*, in every city six men were kept at every gate,² ‘and if any Stranger do pass by them, he shall be arrested until Morning; and if no Suspicion be found, he shall go quiet; and if they find Cause of Suspicion, they shall forthwith deliver him to the Sheriff, and the Sheriff may receive him without Damage, and shall keep him safely, until he be acquitted in due Manner’.³ In cases of resisting the arrest, ‘Hue-and-Cry’ was levied, to which all men had to respond. In the 500 years that had elapsed since Edward’s *Statutum Wynton*, the system of night watchmen remained unregulated and the men untrained. Contemporaries viewed the city as a true haven for professional criminals and malefactors. The rising rates of offences against property and the inadequate prevention and detection of crime by the nightly watch were oft quoted signs for the need for reform.⁴ In addition to ‘their want of connexion and co-operation with each other’,⁵ the night watch were seen as unfit, insufficient in number and too limited in their sphere of authority.

Before the *Bill for Improving the Police in the District of the Dublin Metropolis* was enacted in 1836, as London the Irish capital was ‘policed’ by watchmen. As demonstrated by contemporary accounts of William Le Fanu and Sir Charles Cameron, Dublin watchmen were also largely deemed inept and incapable. William Le Fanu, a civil engineer, commissioner of public works and a graduate of Trinity College Dublin (1839),⁶ recalled that when he was in ‘college a favourite amusement of the ingenious youth there was tormenting the old city watchmen, or “Charleys” as they were called. They were the only guardians of the city at night; there were none by day; the metropolitan police did not then exist’.⁷ Many of them ‘had in their earlier days been the domestic servants or retainers of the Corporation and of their friends’.⁸ Charlies wore long grey frieze coats, with large capes and low-crowned hats; their only weapon was a crook, a long pole with a spear at the end, and near the spear a crook for catching runaway offenders. The men also carried a rattle, which, when whirled swiftly round, made a loud, harsh and grating sound like the voice of a gigantic corncrake. With this, when in trouble or in danger, they summoned other watchmen to their

assistance. ‘To rob them of these was an exploit not to be despised. In the college rooms of friends of mine – some of them afterwards judges, others eminent divines – I have seen, hanging up as trophies, many a crook and many a rattle.’⁹

However, not all watchmen were equally easy prey. Le Fanu recollects his cousin coming across a sleeping watchmen, who having woken up: “‘Bedad, then,” said the Charley, “I’ll report you first, my boy,” and seizing him by the collar, he sprang his rattle, and held him till two other watchmen arrived’.¹⁰ The unsuspecting prisoner was conveyed to the watch-house and kept there until morning. During the court hearing the watchman swore to assault and attempted theft of his crook, while the other watchmen testified to the prisoner’s violent conduct and use of abusive language as they escorted him to the watch-house. The young man was released with a caution.

The First Dublin Police Acts

The Dublin of the mid 1780s was ravaged by a severe economic recession, which saw crime go up and further tested the watch system. Despite Grattan’s success in the Irish political arena and ‘the promised benefits of “free trade”, the early 1780s had offered little solace to the city’s poor. Wretched harvests in 1781 and 1782 had led to soaring food prices and the arctic winter of 1783–4 ended with the worst city-centre flooding in decades’.¹¹ Only due to the intervention of the Castle and the Dublin Corporation in sourcing grain from overseas was large-scale mortality kept at bay. The subsistence crisis, detrimental post-war effects on commerce following the American War of Independence and the inevitable destitution resulted in increased larceny rates, with Dublin’s hanged count coming close to London’s in this period. London in the post-American War of Independence years was overwhelmed with property crime. Property offences tried at the Old Bailey doubled between 1770–74 and 1783–89—the former period saw 279 cases of robbery and 319 of burglary, while the latter had 546 cases of robbery disposed of and 570 cases of burglary. Shoplifting, theft from a dwelling, picking pockets and horse theft went up from 492 to 1145 cases.¹²

London jails and houses of correction were at their capacity with prisoners and convicts awaiting their transportation in the aftermath of the Gordon riots. In an effort to restore order and discourage fur-

ther disorder, the government announced that the King would refuse pardon to violent offenders, making the mid 1780s the bloodiest years in the century.¹³ Mirroring the English capital crime trends, in Dublin, between 1780 and 1795, as Brian Henry showed, over 80 per cent of those executed were hanged for property offences.¹⁴ In September 1783, the *Hibernian Journal* reported the tragic case of a man who bought a slab of lead from a female receiver. When he noticed the slab bore an inscription from his wife's coffin, he was shocked, as he had buried his wife seven years earlier.¹⁵ Robbery of graveyard for lead coffins was a standard occurrence.

Along with the economic downturn exacerbated by inclement weather and poor harvests, Dublin witnessed a series of demonstrations and protests, which ended with an occupation of Parliament House in College Green. The military had to be called in to restore order. Two years later, after violent disorders in the summer of 1784, a proposal for a radically new policing system for Dublin, closely modelled on plans for a London force rejected a year earlier, was presented to Parliament by John FitzGibbon, at the time Attorney-General for Ireland (1783–89). The 1784 bill proposed an organisation of a force in Dublin comprising 440 Protestant men, armed and uniformed, with powers of entry and arrest who would patrol the streets day and night. Two years later, the 'Act for improving the police of the City of Dublin' (48 Geo III) had set up the Metropolitan Police within the newly established Dublin Metropolitan District. The district covered the area inside the Circular Roads and inside the walls of the Phoenix Park— and far beyond the boundaries of the Dublin City Corporation. The Lord Lieutenant appointed three aldermen magistrates of the City of Dublin to be paid commissioners of police, vested with responsibility for preventing and detecting crime. The new police force was to be funded by an increased household tax and an income from licences. The organisation was responsible for issuing licences, as well as regulating street trade and the sale of alcohol.

Stanley Palmer attributes the first popular usage of a borrowed French term 'police', referring to a body of men, to the Dublin Police Act of 1786.¹⁶ Previously, the concept of a centrally controlled surveillance organisation was seen solely in the French or, worse, Russian context. 'In their opposition to the idea of police, Englishmen constantly cited their historic liberties, and by contrast, deplored French despotism and centralisation.'¹⁷

Ireland, on the other hand, was viewed as a ‘social laboratory’, ‘where the most conventional of Englishmen were willing to experiment on lines which they were not prepared to contemplate or tolerate at home’.¹⁸ In Henry Grattan’s opinion the 1786 Dublin Police Act was a direct contravention of notions of civil society, civic virtue and liberty. Coupled with the increased tax to fund the unprecedentedly expensive force, the organisation was equated with the tyranny of the *ancien régime*. Grattan saw the new force as a massive erosion of citizens’ liberties ‘with more than a whiff of Parisian absolutism’.¹⁹ In *Dublin Hanged*, Brian Henry showed the force was widely unpopular. The organisation was costly, he maintains, and in order to fund the new police, the household tax ‘skyrocketed’ virtually overnight.

It is difficult to define how successful this first organised Dublin policing experience was, especially taking into account the public hostility towards it. Nevertheless, Henry’s analysis demonstrates that in the years following the introduction of the police in October 1786, the frequency of rape and violent assaults showed a marked decline. ‘Dublin in the late eighteenth century was a society where violent crimes against women were frequent and tolerated.’²⁰ Evidence that prosecutions for assault significantly increased after 1876 proves that victims were more willing to seek legal redress. ‘In the eight years between 1780 and 1787, 65 trials were brought on grounds of assault, but in one year, 1788, victims brought 54 trials to court, indicating that new police encouraged the increase in prosecutions.’²¹ In 1795, Camden’s government repealed the Dublin Police Magistrates Act, and an unarmed parish night watch was restored. A few months later a new Police Act was passed, significantly reducing the bureaucratic machinery of the new police and limiting its jurisdiction to day time.

The general duties of the freshly reconstituted night watch were patrolling certain beats, quelling riots, arrest of disorderly characters, and, as before as they walked along the beat, calling out the hour and the state of the weather—‘Past twelve o’clock, and a cloudy night!’ or ‘Past two o’clock, and a stormy morning!’ as the case might be.²² According to Sir Charles Cameron, the long-serving city public health officer, very often after waking from his doze in the box, a watchman would not take the trouble of ascertaining the hour, but would shout ‘o’clock!’²³ Numerous contemporary and modern accounts con-

tinued to depict the night watchmen as old, infirm, completely unfit for the job and always prepared to allow a prisoner to escape on the production of a half-a-crown; ‘they were really of little use in the detection of crime.’²⁴ In 1835, the Dublin Police consisted of a small number of day police ‘somewhat similar to the old establishment of the metropolitan police officers, and a considerable number of watchmen’, all ‘decrepit, worn-out old men’.²⁵ During preparations for a public meeting, Alderman Darley in his communication with Thomas Drummond, Under-Secretary for Ireland, commented on the complete inadequacy of the day police available for the occasion. In response to Drummond’s suggestion to bring out the night watchmen, Darley protested: ‘Oh! It will not do to call out the watchmen; they will excite the ridicule of the people so much, that there would be a risk of their very appearance creating a disturbance. It will not do to show them in daylight.’²⁶

Towards the turn of the century, further attempts were made to re-organise the city’s police force. The new Dublin Police Act 1799 (39 Geo. III) reduced the number of divisions in the metropolitan district from four to two, and the three commissioners were replaced by a superintendent magistrate. The Dublin day police consisted of 100 foot-patrolling constables at 14 shillings per week; 40 horse patrolling constables (28 shillings per week); 37 watch constables; and 600 watchmen salaried at 30 and 20 pounds per annum respectively. The Dublin Police Magistrates Act 1808 (48 Geo. III) provided for the extension of the metropolitan district to cover all places within eight miles of Dublin Castle in every direction and increased the district from two to six divisions. The total police strength was increased as well, to 817 men.²⁷ The Dublin Justices Act 1824 (5 Geo. IV) provided once again for another reduction in the number of districts from six to four: Castle, Barrack, Rotunda and Merrion Square. It also decreased the number of elected and appointed justices from six and twelve to four and eight. ‘The power of appointment of constables, whenever vacancies might exist, was transferred from county magistrates to the Castle.’²⁸

Early Magistracy

In the nineteenth century, Dublin was governed by the lord mayor, the board of aldermen and a common council that was elected mainly by the trade guilds—a bureaucratic hegemony with close ties to the

magistracy, leaving numerous venues for abuse of power. In 1812, a memorial was presented to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by certain citizens of Dublin complaining about the conduct of the police magistrates, such as their connection with gambling houses, with one in particular situated in Exchange-court, 'next adjoining to the House in which the Magistrates of the Head Office of Police hold their Office'.²⁹ The signatories maintained that 'one of the Magistrates of the Police has connected himself with a Person, by whose agency and intervention between him and Persons of vicious habits, [the] said Magistrate has endeavoured to conceal his conduct from Public observations'.³⁰ The petitioners pointed out that the legislature considered gambling houses destructive to morality and productive of vice and licentiousness, corruption and embezzlement, while affording refuge to the nightly plunderer and assassin, and most likely accounted for the numerous robberies and burglaries committed within and in the neighbourhood.³¹ The letter further exposed some of the magistrates' improper use of police horses and supplies, and employment of paid constables as 'domestic and menial Servants, and, that while they were so acting as domestic and menial Servants, the Police institution has been charged as if they were respectively effective Police Men doing duty'.³² A request for precise names and charges was met with a number of the signatories claiming that their signatures were obtained feloniously and had they possessed full knowledge of the content of the letter they would not have lent their support to such complaints.³³ In consequence, even though Thomas Day of Fitzwilliam Place responded, disclosing greater details of names and offences with more notes demonstrating that the previous letters claiming fraudulent pretexts were sent under pressure from the Aldermen and Major Sirr, the investigation and associated correspondence eventually died out.^{34,35} Later, the Police Act of 1836 (Dublin), in an attempt to stop the practice, mandated that 'no person so appointed a Constable shall be or act as domestic or menial servant to any person whatsoever'.³⁶ Abuse of power by police magistrates was by no means unique to Dublin. The Queensland Police Inspector Lewis testified before the *Commission into Management and Working of the Police Force, 1868-69* 'that every police magistrate in the colony' employed constables for their own purposes: 'As I understand, they looked upon it as a right to have a man, as an orderly, to look after their horse and trap, and go [on] messages, and do whatever rounds was wanted.'³⁷ The former

police magistrate of Brisbane, Anthony Brown, had one or two police constables for his private service, who, the evidence showed, did not do any police duty.³⁸

This politicisation of the magistracy and the police was not an uncommon feature of the new policing system. The English Borough forces, along with the Toronto City Police and the Belfast Police, were regulated by either elected council members or a standing committee. In the case of Belfast the force was regulated by the police board consisting of police commissioners and a police committee until 1844, and by a police committee of Belfast Town Council after.³⁹ The committee and the commissioners engaged in a relentless power struggle. In January 1844, the town council's Committee on Police Affairs, all of whose members were elected councillors, took over. Discriminatory recruitment practices by the town's council were viewed as the reason for low Catholic representation in the force. In his research on the Belfast Police, Griffin finds it difficult to believe committee members' claims of their ignorance of an applicant's religion.⁴⁰ 'The belief that the police had an animus against Catholics recurred during the 1864 riots.'⁴¹ Claims that the local police failed to prevent Sandy Row mobs from attacking Catholic women, and in fact encouraged the violence exacerbated pre-existing Catholic hatred of the police. Griffin argues that the charges of sectarianism were exaggerated. However, they were central in 'spelling the end for the force whose members were drawn disproportionately from one section of the community'.⁴² In 1865, the Belfast Police, or the Bulkies as they were known, were disbanded and the metropolitan district absorbed into RIC jurisdiction.

The fate of the Toronto Police unravelled following an analogous scenario. Since its establishment in 1834, Toronto Police, the first professional police force of British North America, was run by the City Council, known for its Orange sympathies. In 1845, a Standing Committee of Police and Prisons was established to govern the force, as previously the committee consisted of the city's Aldermen and Councilmen.⁴³ On 13 July 1855, a riot broke out on the Fair Green; the local police and fire brigade were its most active participants. In the same year, the committee finally came to a unanimous decision that the existing mode of appointing the police was highly objectionable and that the power of appointment ought not to continue to be vested in an elective body such as the council.⁴⁴ The entire Toronto Police including its chief constable were dismissed four years later.⁴⁵

THE DMP

Rules and Regulations

Anxious to shed political association, the new *Bill for Improving the Police in the District of Dublin Metropolis* 1836 (6 Will. IV. c. 24) prohibited political partisanship and banned police justices, officers and commissioners from sitting in Parliament, agitating during elections and voting.⁴⁶ Later amendments (19, 1 Vict. c. 2) barred commissioners from sitting in the House of Commons during the continuance of their appointment, or within six months after quitting office, and from voting for any member to serve in parliament in the Police District and Co. Wicklow, Co. Kildare and Co. Meath.⁴⁷ The ban on political involvement linked the policing systems of Dublin, London, Brisbane and, in principle, post-1858 reform Toronto, as the *Bill for Improving the Police in and near the Metropolis* (London) 1829 (10 Geo. IV) and the *Rules for the Police Force* (27 Vic., No. 11) 1864 (Queensland) all enforced neutrality in political matters.⁴⁸ The avowed apolitical character of the organisations was an important contributor to observed commonalities in criminal trends and public attitudes, regardless of significant variation in geopolitical settings.

A detailed reading of the Dublin and London police acts show that the organisational groundwork, police powers and criminal responsibility were almost identical,⁴⁹ the rules and regulations that served as the foundation for the Dublin force were more or less the same. The conditions of entry, however, were markedly stricter. The physiometric parameters required a Dublin applicant to be at least five feet and nine inches tall, and measure 36 inches across the chest. In his notes, Sir Francis Bond Head observes that 'a candidate for admission must be under 26 years of age, must be able to read and write, and, moreover, must be in height 5 feet 9 inches, without his shoes'.⁵⁰ In fact, the 'whole force average in height 5 feet 11 inches, and they are thus in reality, as they are in appearance, an army of grenadiers, of which the B Division, composed of 190, are all 6 feet and upwards'.⁵¹ However, there was scarcely a Dublin man among them, the Commissioners preferring to enlist country men from all parts of Ireland, without taking much note of their religion (Fig. 3.1).

Each candidate entering the force was employed for a short time in the supernumerary class. The supernumeraries were housed, drilled and received instructions in police duties at the Kevin Street Depot.



Fig. 3.1 Dublin Metropolitan policemen and a boy, 1863 (*Source:* Garda Police Museum)

The supernumeraries were required to attend two hours of drill and two hours of school daily. At the end of the first week, each man was provided with a standard set of articles: one trunk, two shirts, one set of shoe brushes, two pairs of stockings, one razor, two towels and one rack-comb. On Sundays and Thursdays, all men were instructed to change into a clean shirt and a clean pair of stockings.⁵² All supernumeraries,

in addition to their pay, were supplied with the following articles of clothing and equipment when sworn in:

1 great coat	1 stock
1 cape	1 button stick
2 hats	1 armllet
1 button brush	1 instruction book
1 truncheon and case	1 beat book
1 waist-belt	1 book on cruelty to animals
2 blue coats	1 carriage regulation book
2 pair trowsers [<i>sic</i>]	1 Birth, Death, and Marriage Act
1 pair leather leggings	

These items of clothing and equipment remained the property of the Kevin Street Depot. The men were required to have in their possession ‘a respectable suit of plain clothes, two pair of strong boots, three good shirts, and four pairs of stockings’.⁵³ In comparison, a Constable of the London Metropolitan Police in the first year of service was supplied with one great coat, one cape, a badge, a coat, two pairs of trousers, two pairs of boots, a hat cover, a stock, one embroidered collar, one identification number for a hat cover and a button brush along with a stick.⁵⁴ Every man was to keep his plain clothes in good repair and his hair properly cut, and to appear in complete police dress, unless sick or on leave. The rules for the London Metropolitan policemen even advised their men to sleep in uniforms so to be ready to step on duty immediately in cases of emergency.

The training of a supernumerary was extremely regulated. The rules prohibited skylarking, practical joking, swearing ‘or anything of that nature’. A man who was found to be bad-tempered, stupid, negligent or impertinent was discharged. A day of a supernumerary usually started either at seven o’clock in the morning in winter or at six o’clock in summer. The first school hour began at eight o’clock and breakfast followed at nine. Drill continued from ten to eleven, and a quarter of an hour later the cadets were obliged to sit for another hour of schooling. After morning classes, there was a final three-quarters of an hour of drill, dinner at two o’clock and then more school from four to six and eight to nine o’clock in the evening. The supper was at seven o’clock, with the roll call at half nine in the evening.⁵⁵ Promotion to the rank of constable third class depended on the supernumeraries’ knowledge of the instructions, drill and qualifications in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic.^{56,57} Sir Francis Bond

Head, following his visit to the police depot, described the school for recruits as the largest of the buildings, where the men improved their writing and learned by heart a “Catechism,” in which it is very clearly expounded that the duty they owe to their neighbour is to conduct him quietly to the nearest station whenever he is disorderly – carry him there when he happens to be unable to stand – force him there whenever he resists – and handcuff him whenever he is what is professionally termed “violent”.⁵⁸

The conditions of joining and service were onerous personally, socially and financially. Having been promoted into the rank of constable, all men were required to obtain two pairs of boots at 16 shillings each.⁵⁹ This was in contrast to the London Police regulations, where a beat constable was issued a pair of boots, trousers, a coat, a hat and an embroidered collar in his second year of service, in addition to the clothing supplied upon joining.⁶⁰ Following the second promotion into third class, a DMP constable was also required to purchase a watch. Constables who failed to provide themselves with a watch had their pay docked 2*s.6d.* per week by their superintendents until a sufficient sum had been collected for the purchase of one.⁶¹

No married men were admitted into the corps, nor was any member of it afterwards allowed to marry unless he was the possessor of £40. In his usual manner, Sir Francis Bond Head noted, the first thing ‘Cupid has to teach a Dublin policeman is to put by a sixpence, – to repeat the operation sixteen hundred times, and *then* apply for his licence’.⁶² The Commissioners took into consideration the difficulties a Constable had to contend with when marrying young and without sufficient means. They observed that the men frequently ran into debt and thus rendered themselves totally unfit to carry on their duties with ‘zeal and spirit’. Chief Commissioner Colonel Henry Atwell Lake (1871–83) required all men intending to marry to produce 30 pounds and his wife to do the same. This, according to his calculations, would enable them to furnish and keep a house, as all married men were stationed separately from the unmarried, who were quartered in barracks.⁶³ Accumulating such a sum was no easy task, as the regulations proscribed officers or constables from being concerned in any commerce, either through his wife or otherwise. Superintendents were directed to refrain from recommending permission to marry until a constable had reached second rate and had three years’ service.⁶⁴ Marriage without permission from the commissioners was cause for immediate dismissal.

Married men were required to live apart with their families and were responsible for their own accommodation, within the boundaries of the division to which they had been assigned. The evidence given to the commission of inquiry into the conditions of the force in 1872 demonstrated the difficulties these men faced. The pay was insufficient to keep a family and a home. In the twelve months immediately prior to the inquiry, approximately 10 per cent of the force gave their voluntary resignations. In his evidence, Superintendent Richard Corr testified that the 'deariness of provisions' pressed heavily on every member in the force. In 1837, a constable's pay could afford 'the best beef in the city for 3 ½*d.* a pound; mutton was about the same price; and potatoes were only 2*d.* a stone but now', he continued, 'they cost something like 1*s.* or more 1*s.*2*d.*' The married men in the service were 'in fact, in a state of misery', Corr continued; 'I know the case of a married man, with four or five children, and his wife, all of whom live in one room; and he pays 3*s.*6*d.* or 4*s.* for that room, which they all occupy.'⁶⁵ In 1872, the weekly pay of a constable 3/c was 15*s.*6*d.*, and increased up to 19*s.* for a constable 1/c. After the inquiry, the commission recommended a rise to £1 3*s.* and £1 9*s.* respectively, or the level of pay equivalent to the allowance of the London Metropolitan policemen. As the pay did not keep up with the mounting inflation, a decade later the circumstances became even more dire and resulted in a strike.⁶⁶

Single men who resided in police barracks received a special deduction, or stoppage, to cover housing and messing expenses. They were expected to mess together, as this guaranteed they received a sufficient quantity of food and a balanced meal at least once a day.⁶⁷ The men were responsible for the upkeep of the barracks. The administration of both the Constabulary and the Dublin Police consistently demanded pristine conditions in the living quarters. During his inspection of the Kevin Street complex in 1850, Sir Francis Bond Head marvelled at the cleanliness and orderliness of the place: 'The bed rooms were lofty, airy, with floors as clean as women's hands could make them.'⁶⁸ A police constable was required to reside in the section-house appointed, and devote his whole time and abilities to the police service. A Dublin policeman was required to be in complete police dress, unless sick or on leave, and 'at all times to appear neat in his person, correctly dressed in the established uniform, and respectful in his demeanour towards his officers and individuals of every class'.⁶⁹ A man was considered liable for immediate dismissal for unfitness, negligence or misconduct, independent of any other punishment

he might be subject to by law. The commissioners reserved the right to dismiss without clarification.⁷⁰

The regulations were constructed in such a way as to instil obedience and order. The majority of recruits were younger sons of farmers, semi-skilled workers and labourers, occupations that implied an unregulated work day. As a rule, the term ‘labourer’ covered a wide range of employment, predominantly within the unskilled, and often rural, work sector. The *Dublin Metropolitan Police Alphabetical Register* and *Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856–1917* show recruits with ‘labourer’ entered as a previous calling dominated Dublin and Queensland police ranks. These strict rules of service, which allowed little personal time, exhausting duty and the hostility of the general public all contributed to an extremely high turnover rate during the first decade of the forces’ existence.⁷¹

In London, 1830 onwards, charges for ‘neglect of duty’ and ‘drunk and disorderly’—punishable by a fine and, more commonly, dismissal—are repeatedly listed in the returns of removals from the service. This applied to all ranks, including the commissioned officers, as this was ‘a crime which renders them completely unfit for the Police service, and one which cannot and will not be overlooked’.⁷² In April 1830, a complaint was brought against the superintendent of the Brixton division, who was found intoxicated on duty.⁷³ Inevitably, in the *Police Orders*, October 1830, the ‘Commissioners were sorry to have again to express their regret that the pay day has not passed over without some instances of intoxication on the part of the Police Force’.⁷⁴ The men were once more cautioned ‘for their own sake’ to observe temperance. According to the *Return of Officers of Metropolitan Police Force charged with offences before the Magistrate*, in a four-year span, between 1844 and 1848, 3217 men resigned.⁷⁵ In 1848, the total strength of the police stood at 5513.⁷⁶ The yearly breakdown of resignations showed that roughly 10 per cent of policemen resigned in 1848, and another 4 per cent were dismissed, making a total attrition rate of 14 per cent. This rate dropped noticeably in subsequent years. Voluntary resignations and dismissals for inappropriate conduct made up only about 10 per cent in the decade after 1878, while the total strength of the establishment increased (10,477).⁷⁷

The Dublin and Brisbane policemen were just as susceptible to the ‘curse’ of drink. The Queensland Police Force internal investigation records show a policeman was liable to a two pounds fine for the first offence or less depending on the severity of the infringement, three pounds and a warning for the second and dismissal for the third offence. On 5

September 1867, Richard Riley (QP 875, Reg No 187) was fined five shillings for ‘disobedience of orders by bringing liquor into barracks after 11pm and causing a disturbance’.⁷⁸ In 1884, having previously served six years in the Dublin Metropolitan, Constable Joseph Patrick Wyer (Reg No 575) enlisted in the Queensland Police. In March 1891, he was found drunk and asleep on his beat in one of the central Brisbane streets and, in July, he was fined for striking Constable Powell with the back of his hand. Constable Wyer was dismissed two months later.⁷⁹

Duties

There are number of surviving instruction books for the DMP. The earliest copy dates to 1851, a five-part *Dublin Metropolitan Police Instructions, Orders, Rules, and Regulations* compendium compiled by Inspector Benjamin Bradshaw Tydd. Part I provides information on conditions for joining and outlines duties for each rank. Part II defines duties and common offences, and stresses unanimity within the ranks of each DMP division: ‘Constables of the division must act together with goodwill and sincerity – imparting to each other their knowledge and experience in bringing forward cases for adjudication, and the haunts, habits and description of persons of bad character, not permitting any private feeling or jealousy to interfere with the performance of their duty to the public.’⁸⁰ The remaining sections contain police orders and catechetical instructions for supernumeraries, with the final part, Part V, providing crucial information regarding forms and miscellaneous administrative matters. The *Instruction Book* revised by John Ward and published in 1865 is by and large a repeat of the earlier. ‘*Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries*’ (1876), as the title suggests, spells out regulations of the Kevin Street Depot. A revised and extended edition of *Standing Orders and Regulations*, issued under the Chief Commissioner David Harell in 1889, includes an additional compendium of the acts of parliament relating to police duty.

The DMP beat duties were laid out down to a minute. There were 16 station-houses in Dublin, each equipped with a clock. This ensured that at ‘the same instant, sixteen reliefs [were] thrown out over a surface of forty-four square miles’.⁸¹ Originally, the metropolitan district covered only the municipal Dublin City area and consisted of four divisions: A (Castle), B (College), C (Rotunda) and D (Barrack). Later in the century, the district expanded and acquired two more divisions: Donnybrook (E) and Kingstown/Dun Laoghaire (F). The boundaries are minutely outlined in

the *Schedule of a Bill For Amending the Act to the Police in the District of Dublin Metropolis*, 1837.⁸² The area outside of the police district, along with the rest of the country except for Belfast and Derry, was under the jurisdiction of the Irish Constabulary, later the RIC.

A patrol constable was accountable for his beat. When called for duty, he was to take care to be at the appointed place a quarter of an hour before the time of being marched off, assemble with the remainder of his party and wait for his orders. 'After inspection, and having received such orders as may be necessary', he took to his beat.⁸³ Each constable was assigned to a specific section of the beat and equipped with a beat book. A book contained each beat in the subdivision, instructions as to the way it was to be worked and the time allowed for working it, with a calculated speed averaging two and half miles per hour, enabling a policeman to pass every part of his beat at least once in ten to fifteen minutes, 'so that any person requiring assistance, by remaining in the same spot for that length of time, may be able to meet a Constable'.⁸⁴ Continuous presence on the streets was considered optimal for crime prevention. A beat book also included a list of the residences of the turn-clocks and fire-engine keepers, and where the engines were kept.

When proceeding through the streets together, either on or off duty, 'constables were only to walk two abreast, never three, and no more than four uniformed men were to be seen at once'.⁸⁵ Each division had its own beat book, which measured about a quarter of a standard page. The night duty beat was slightly adjusted to accommodate for the shift, with 'all lanes and accessible places to be visited when reached on the line of Patrol'.⁸⁶ A significant emphasis was placed on the total and uninterrupted coverage of all streets and lanes which comprised the metropolitan area. A beat route varied by location and length. College Street station beats (Division B), on average, were significantly shorter than the Lad Lane routes. For example, No. 1 Beat, or Straight Beat of the day duty, included Grafton Street, from the front gate of Trinity College to Stephen's Green north and back to where it commenced, going out on the east and returning on the west. Time allocated for this beat was 30 minutes.⁸⁷ The constables on day duty were advised to keep near the curb-stone, but by night next to houses, while all accessible places be patrolled in due order on night duty.⁸⁸ In a manner similar to his fellow London Metropolitan patrol constable, a Dublin policeman was responsible for checking doors, windows, gratings, cellar flaps and fanlights for unauthorised access.

As Dean Wilson demonstrates, the beat system was adopted widely by the metropolitan districts of the colonial forces. The predictability of the system was its strength as well as its weakness. Habitual offenders, having noted how much time a constable required to walk the distance between fixed spots along his beat, made sure to carry on with their criminal activity in the intervals. As Wilson explains in *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City*, many burglaries in Melbourne's central area occurred at five o'clock in the morning during the changeover of night and day beats. 'One story circulated that a well-known Melbourne criminal had informed a senior constable exactly where and when all the men on the beat in one section of the city could be found at any given time.'⁸⁹ Eventually these shortcomings came to the fore and the system was widely criticised for its inflexibility.⁹⁰ Regardless of the system's drawbacks, universally every effort of the new police was directed to the prevention of crime. The security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquillity and all the other objects of a police establishment were deemed better effected by prevention rather than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he had succeeded in committing the crime.⁹¹ The absence of crime was considered the best proof of complete efficiency of the police.⁹²

However, there were limits to prevention; so, in 1842, a specialised Detective Division, or G Division, was organised within the Dublin force. The G Division was purely investigative, consisted of plain-clothes detectives and was unique to the DMP. Before G Division was established, 'whenever an offence committed by a person not at once given in charge was reported at a station-house, the Superintendent of the Division appointed one or two Constables to trace and detect the offender'⁹³ This was deemed inconvenient and expensive. It also interfered with the preventative or general patrol duties of the force, as a considerable number of constables from each division had to be employed in tracking offenders. The number of constables employed on 'detective' duties increased from 16 in 1838 to 35 in 1842. Instead of having detectives attached to each division, as was the practice in London, the Dublin Police administration established one central office, or G Division, for the whole district at Exchange Court, Dublin Castle. A superintendent, two sergeants and 14 constables were assigned to the Detective Division. A certain number of constables were on duty day and night, while others were exclusively employed in connection with the pawnbrokers' offices. Special attention and continuous watch was kept on the networks of receivers of stolen goods. Constables on pawn-office duty were required to be extremely

vigilant, 'as information thus gained was often the groundwork whereby serious offences were discovered, and the perpetrators traced and brought to justice'.⁹⁴ This line of work proved to be very valuable in bringing not just common thieves to trial but also the organisers behind the Fenian Rising and the Invincibles group. Their members and activities were under the close and constant supervision of G Division.⁹⁵ 'The Detective Office [was] *always* open to receive reports of crime.'⁹⁶ The RIC, lacking a specialist division, frequently had to rely on the services and intelligence collected by the Detective Division of the Dublin Police. The G Division notices regularly appeared in the *Police Gazette or Hue-and-Cry* along with the warrants and suspect descriptions inserted by the Constabulary.

The Detective Division expanded from 17 men in 1851 to an average of 44 in 1888. According to the *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Government and Guidance of the DMP*, approved by the Chief Commissioner David Harrel (1883–93), in 1889, the Detective Division consisted of a superintendent, a chief inspector, three inspectors, 16 sergeants, 10 detective officers and 13 constables.⁹⁷ Despite the re-organisation, the written duty instructions did not change in any significant way, as it was deemed that no general rule could be laid out for the performance of the detective police duties, which necessarily varied with circumstances. A set of guidelines outlining the administrative aspects of a detective's work covered reports, warrants, allowances, transfers and arrests. The regulations already in place prohibited detectives from acting as spies and employing persons for that purpose. When engaged on detective duty they were not to appear in uniform, except at courts of justice, nor to wear any disguises other than plain clothes. In exceptional cases a change of clothing was permitted, but only where private information had been given that a felonious act was contemplated which could not be prevented without the use of a disguise.⁹⁸ Regardless, the methods employed were often subject to criticism. Shadowing, for instance, uniformly considered by the DMP as one of the most efficient ways of preventing crime and bringing known criminals to justice, was regularly condemned by the public.

The DMP had evolved a long way from the mismanaged and unpaid night watch. Order, discipline and catechetical knowledge of the regulations were the basic principles that shaped the force. Tough conditions of service led to sacrifices in personal, social and financial freedoms. The core that filled the ranks was predominantly made up of the sons of labourers and farmers. Police service was seen as a better option though not

necessarily an easier or a safer one, as the duties were numerous, arduous and routine. Drink, famously branded the curse of the working classes, did not spare the men in blue either. The first years saw a considerable turn-over of police constables with a fair share resigning voluntarily, although just as many were dismissed for drink-related offences.

The DPM district covered roughly one-tenth of the London Metropolitan area,⁹⁹ with a population of approximately quarter of a million it had a police presence of roughly one thousand men. London, with a population ten times larger, had a police contingent only five and a half times greater than Dublin. This translates into roughly 250 persons per policeman in Dublin in 1850, and 418 persons per policeman in London. In other words, there were 4 policemen per 1000 in the Irish capital, and only 2.4 per 1000 in London. Factoring in the significantly smaller district area and double the number of police per inhabitant in Dublin, the similar number of arrests being made in the 1850s in both capitals is striking. So was Dublin remarkably more violent than London? Or perhaps this staggering number of arrests is attributable to its markedly greater police-per-population ratio? Or was it due to the much smaller policing district and perhaps the greater zeal of DMP men? As the following chapter will demonstrate, crime was rampant but mostly of a petty nature. The majority of cases the DMP dealt with arose from drink and public disorder offences.

NOTES

1. *Instruction Book for the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Revised by Inspector John Ward.* (Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1865), p. i (title page).
2. Statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. 1 Stat. 2. c. IV, 1285, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
4. 10 Geo. IV. A Bill for Improving the Police in and near the Metropolis, 1829, p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. 'Le Fanu, William Richard', Stephanie P Jones, in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) <http://dib.cambridge.org/view/article/4733>. Accessed 1 September 2015.
7. William Richard Le Fanu. *Seventy Years of the Irish Life: being Anecdotes and Reminiscences* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p. 81.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–2.

10. Ibid., p. 84.
11. David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, (London: Profile Books, 2014), p. 206.
12. Beattie, *The First English Detectives: The Bow Street Runners and the Policing of London, 1750-1840*, p. 136.
13. Ibid., p. 138.
14. Henry, *Dublin Hanged: Crime, Law Enforcement and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century Dublin* pp. 39–40.
15. Ibid., p. 112.
16. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland*, p. 70.
17. Ibid., p. 71.
18. W. L. Burn, 'Free Trade in Land: An Aspect of the Irish Question', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., vol. 31, p. 68, quoted in Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland*, p. 25.
19. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, Ltd., 2014), p. 216.
20. Henry, *Dublin Hanged: Crime, Law Enforcement and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century Dublin*, p. 46.
21. Ibid., p. 51.
22. Le Fanu, *Seventy Years of the Irish Life, being Anecdotes and Reminiscences*, p. 82.
23. Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, pp. 19.
24. Ibid., pp. 19–20.
25. *Report of the Lords Committee on the State of Ireland since 1835 with Respect to Crime and Outrage, which have Rendered Life and Property Insecure in that Part of the Empire: Evidence, Appendix and Index*. IV parts, 1839 (486), p. xi.
26. Ibid., p. xii.
27. *Return of the Police Establishment of Dublin under 48 Geo. III.* (Ireland) HC 1809 (280), p. 1.
28. Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, p. 18.
29. *Papers Relating to the Police of Dublin: viz. I. – Copy of a Memorial, presented to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 7th of April 1812, by certain citizens of Dublin, complaining of the conduct of the police magistrates. II. - Returns to an Order of the House of Commons, of 7 July 1812, for – copies of any correspondence which have taken place, in consequence of a memorial presented to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 7th of April 1812, by*

certain citizens of Dublin, complaining of the conduct of the police magistrates., &c., 1812. Ireland, HC (334), p. 2.

30. Ibid., p. 2.
31. Ibid., p. 2.
32. Ibid., p. 3.
33. (5.) – Copy of a LETTER from Mr. Edward Butler, junior, to Sir Charles Saxton, bart. dated Ormond Quay, 18 April 1812 , p. 6.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that about six weeks since, some person, whose name I do not recollect, presented me a paper to sign, saying it was a Petition to the Lord Lieutenant in favour of Mr. Magee, Proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, in mitigation of damages; I am since informed, that the object of the paper was of a nature materially different from what it was then stated to be; I therefore request Sir (as I understand it is in your possession) you will have the goodness to have my name erased from it.

18th April 1812,

I have, &c.

Ormond Quay.

(Signed) *Edward Butler, jun.*

Sir Charles Saxton, bart.

34. (6.) – Copy of a LETTER from Mr. Thomas Day, to Sir Charles Saxton, bart.; dated 20 April 1812. Fitzwilliam-place North, 20 April 1812., p. 7

SIR,

... Mr. Butler...informed me that Mr. O'Reilly, one other Gentleman who signed the Memorial, called upon him on Friday last, and stated that Alderman Exshaw had mentioned him, Mr. O'Reilly, that he would be destroyed for signing a most scandalous Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, the object of which was to demand an investigation to be made into the conduct of Mr. Alderman King...etc.

35. Copy of a LETTER from Mr. Thomas Day, to Sir Charles Saxton, p. 7.
36. *A Bill for Improving the Police in the District of the Dublin Metropolis. Dublin Police. Ireland.* 6 Will. IV. HC 1836 (116), p. 11.
37. J. A. Lewis, 'On the Management and Working of the Police Force', *Commission into Management and Working of the Police Force, 1868–69*, p. 49.

38. Ibid., p. 49.
39. See Brian Griffin, *The Bulkies: Police and Crime in Belfast, 1800–1865* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997).
40. Ibid., p. 125.
41. Ibid., p. 133.
42. Ibid., p. 135.
43. *Toronto City Council Minutes 1845*, p. 33.
44. *Toronto City Council Minutes 1855*, p. 910.
45. For more details see Chap. 5.
46. *A Bill for Improving the Police in the District of the Dublin Metropolis. Dublin Police. Ireland.* 6 Will. IV. HC 1836 (116), p. 9.
47. ‘Police Commissioners’, in *The Dublin Police Acts with a Practical and Explanatory Notes of Decisions and Index*, by Constantine J. Smyth (Dublin: Andrew Milliken, Bookseller to the Honourable Society of King’s Inn., 1842), p. 3.
48. *A Bill [as amended by the committee] for Improving the Police in and near the Metropolis.* 10 Geo. IV. HC 1829 (245), p. 10.
49. See Chap. 4.
50. Head, *A Fortnight in Ireland*, p. 96.
51. Ibid., p. 96.
52. ‘Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot’, *Instruction Book for the Dublin Metropolitan Police Revised by Inspector John Ward* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1865), p. 3.
53. Ibid., p. 6.
54. *Return of the Amount of Pay and Allowance of the Metropolitan Police Force*, 1 Jun 1830.
55. ‘Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot’ (1865), p. 4.
56. ‘Supernumeraries’, *Dublin Metropolitan Police Instructions, Orders, Rules, and Regulations compiled by Benjamin Bradshaw Tydd, Inspector* (Dublin: G. and J. Grierson, 1852), p. 27.
57. ‘Supernumeraries. Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot’, *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1876), p. 5.
58. ‘Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot’ (1865), p. 99.

59. This was a common disincentive, as many young applicants simply did not have sufficient funds to cover the initial purchases.
60. *Return of the Amount of Pay and Allowance of the Metropolitan Police Force*, 1 Jun 1830.
61. 'Supernumeraries. Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot' (1876), 17.
62. 'Rules to be Observed by Supernumeraries in Kevin-Street Metropolitan Police Depot' (1865), pp. 100–1.
63. 'Question 79, Evidence by Colonel Henry Atwell Lake', *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report* (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. 5.
64. *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot* (1876), p. 19.
65. 'Question 211, Evidence by Superintendent Richard Corr,' *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report*. (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. 9.
66. See Chap. 4.
67. 'Evidence by Colonel Henry Atwell Lake', *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report* (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. 3.
68. *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot* (1876), p. 100.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 However, there was some degree of leniency. When supernumeraries joined their divisions and were reported to the superintendent for trivial faults, no reports were entered against them, except a Commissioner's report, until they had completed two months of duty.
71. In 1830, the total strength of the London Metropolitan Police was 3,314. *Returns Relating to the Metropolitan Police*, 1830, p. 2.
72. 'Police Orders', *Returns Relating to the Metropolitan Police*, 1830, p. 15.
73. The National Archives, Surrey (MEPO 2/9653 1830).
74. 'Police Orders', *Returns Relating to the Metropolitan Police*, 1830, p. 15.
75. 'Return, Showing the Number of Men in the Metropolitan Police Force who have resigned, been Dismissed, Suspended, Fined, or reduced in Rank, by the Commissioners, in each Year from 1844

to 1848 inclusive', *Metropolitan and City Police. Return of officers of the Metropolitan and City Police charged with Offences before Magistrates, in each Year from 1844 to 1848 inclusive, with their rank, age, &c.*, 20 April, 1849., p. 9.

76. *Metropolitan Police. Abstract return of the Number of Divisions into which the Metropolitan Police District is now Divided, etc.*, p. 1.
77. 'Return of Removals from the Service from all causes during each of the Years named', (1877–1885), *Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the Year 1885* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1886), p. 17. [Total authorised strength in 1878 was 10, 477].
78. Riley, Richard, Reg No 187, Record No 875; AF 1525. QPS Museum Collection.
79. Wyer, Joseph Patrick, Reg No 575: 540: 773 (QSA File 1839). QPS Museum Collection.
80. 'Detective Police', *Dublin Metropolitan Police Instructions* (Dublin: Alex Thom, 1852), p. 33.
81. Head. *A Fortnight in Ireland*, p. 98.
82. Dublin Metropolitan District Boundaries: 'From the Sea Beach, opposite the Point where the Barony of Rathdown abuts on the Road leading from Dublin to Blackrock, at Old Merrion Burying Ground; along the Boundary Line between said Barony and the County of the City of Dublin to the Bridge over the Dodder at Donnybrook; thence along the left Bank of said River Dodder to the junction of the Baronies of Uppercross and Newcastle, near Cypress Grove; and thence along the Boundary Line between the Baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross, to the Third Lock from Dublin, on the Grand Canal, near Golden Bridge; thence in a direct Line to the Bridge over the River Anna Liffey at Chapelizod; and from the said Bridge along the left Bank of said River Anna Liffey to the Ferry at the bottom of Knockmaroon Hill; thence along the Line of Road over Knockmaroon Hill to the entrance of the Phoenix Park at Knockmaroon Gate; then by the wall of the Phoenix Park to Ashtown Lodge at the bank of the Under Secretary's House; from thence by the most direct Road over Longford Bridge on the Royal Canal to the Tolka River; and thence along the said River till it falls into the Sea at Annesley Bridge; thence by the Sea Line to the Light House at the termination of the North Wall; from thence across the River Liffey by a

direct Line to the Light House at the termination of the South Wall; and from thence by the low Watermark to the Sea Beach opposite the Point where the Barony of Rathdown abuts on the Road leading from Dublin to Blackrock, at Old Merrion Churchyard, as above described.’

83. *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot*, p. 8.
84. ‘Police Orders’, *Returns Relating to the Metropolitan Police*, 1830, p. 10.
85. *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot*, pp. 8–11.
86. *Beat Book, Lad Lane and College Street Stations* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1874), pp. 10–16.
87. ‘College Street Station. Day Duty. First Section. No 1 Beat – Straight Beat’, *Beat Book, Lad Lane and College Street Stations* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1874), p. 17.
88. ‘Instructions for patrolling of beats’, Dublin Metropolitan Police, *C Division Beat Book*. (Dublin: A. Thom & Co., 1913), p. 3.
89. Dean Wilson, *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City* (Melbourne: Melbourne Publishing Group, 2006), p. 70.
90. ‘Police Orders’, *Returns Relating to the Metropolitan Police*, 1830, p. 10.
91. *A Return of all General Orders, issued by the Magistrates appointed under the Act of 1829*, Whitehall Place, 1 June 1830, p. 4.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
93. ‘Detective Police’, *Dublin Metropolitan Police Instructions, Orders, Rules, and Regulations compiled by Benjamin Bradshaw Tydd, Inspector* (1852), p. 27.
94. ‘Detective Force or G Division’, *Standing Orders and Regulations* (1889), p. 45.
95. Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, p. 131.
96. ‘Detective Force or G Division’, *Standing Orders and Regulations* (1889), p. 39.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
98. ‘Detective Police’, *Dublin Metropolitan Police Instructions* (1852), p. 33.
99. 258, 396 quoted in W. E. Vaughan and J. A. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Historical Statistics, Population, 1821–1971* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 5.

Policing a Capital City

‘The great majority of the men and women who assembled in the courtyard waiting for their cases to be called bore the marks of violence in cut heads, black eyes, and bruised and broken limbs’, while in some instances ‘the faces of the assaulted were fearfully disfigured’.¹ This vivid picture of the proceedings at the Dublin Police Courts, courtesy of its legal reporter, was printed in the *Freeman’s Journal* as ‘a painful evidence’ of the increase of drunkenness and prostitution in the city. ‘A person inspecting the wretched crowd would be almost inclined to believe that a battle had taken place, and that the wounded were brought together after their injuries had been dressed.’²

The Police Court reports and the statistical tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police spanning from 1860 to 1880 help create a clearer picture of a predominantly working-class Dublin, where thousands of men and women found themselves (almost daily) on either side of the dock and charges for drunkenness and assaults dominated the judicial landscape. Analogous to the Dublin topography, criminal hotspots in London, Brisbane and Toronto formed around the commercial centres, industrial houses and overpopulated areas. This chapter explores the topography of the Dublin Metropolitan District, the socio-economic context of its

‘[It is] wonderful to say, the people at the time did not bear any grudge towards the police.’

– Sir David Harrel, *Recollections*, 1926

boundaries and divisions and the administrative and legislative changes, correlating the specific criminal trends associated with them. Drawing on the police court records from Dublin, London, Brisbane and Toronto, the research probes whether and how the urban policing experience varied within and across these cities.

‘LOOSE AND IDLE’

The Victorian middle-class values that prevailed at the time frequently equated ‘loose and idle’ men and women not with unemployment per se, but with an unwillingness to hold steady employment in favour of a life of crime and vice. These views were universally held across Ireland, England and her dominions. Apart from preserving peace and keeping criminals at bay, the new force was there to police morals. The definition of crime and all things criminal was a reflection on the society that produced it and subsequently legislated against it. The criminal classes began to be perceived as dangerous, as their way of life was an antithesis of security, sedentary occupation and respectability.³ It was rarely considered that this irrational and possibly illusory fear was a major contributor to the pre-existing marginalisation.

The conviction that the middle classes were tasked with leading by examples of thrift and virtue was becoming ever more prevalent. After an apparent rise in working-class standards of living, chronic poverty was no longer thought of as the inevitable lot. ‘The evil to be combated was not poverty but pauperism: pauperism with its attendant vices, drunkenness, improvidence, mendicancy, bad language, filthy habits, gambling, low amusements and ignorance.’⁴ In her first visit to Dublin in 1849, Queen Victoria deemed the Irish capital ‘a very fine city’. Dickens in his later visit in 1858, found Dublin a very much larger city than he presumed it to be, and ‘upon whole’ not ‘shabbier than London’.⁵ Nevertheless, as Dickson in *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* demonstrates, if either visitor stayed longer they might have seen through the din of false facades that the city had lost its golden age and was in steady decline since the departure of the Anglo-Irish Ascension following the dissolution of the Irish Parliament in 1801. Dickson isolates four social layers: a predominantly Protestant professions-centred layer; a respectable working class or ‘shopocracy’; further down the socio-economic ladder, a mainly Catholic layer of the city’s productive working classes; and finally ‘the city of the destitute’,⁶ the stratum that filled the police courts on most days.

As the nature of the Dublin labour market was to a large extent seasonal, the employment it offered was casual. Paralleling the London situation, casual poverty and mendicancy were widespread. Henry Mayhew's national estimates for mid-century London are rough but they do reflect the extent of the problem in both capitals. 'Considering how many depend for their employment on particular times, seasons, fashions and accidents, and the vast quantity of overwork in nearly all the cheap trades of the present day',⁷ he estimated that out of the four and a half million people who have to depend on their industry for the livelihood of themselves and their families, 'there is barely sufficient work for the regular employment of half of the labourers, so that only 1½ million are fully employed, while 1½ million are employed only half their time, and the remaining 1½ wholly unemployed, obtaining a day's work occasionally by the displacement of some of the others'.⁸ Casual and seasonal labour took its most dramatic form in London. London dockyards absorbed significant numbers of these 'casually unemployed', who eagerly supplemented their meagre earnings with smuggling. The capital was a universal provider of casual jobs, and as such areas like the docks provided residual employment, which stood as a buffer between ordinary productive industry and the poor house.⁹

The daily publications of the *Irish Times*, *Freeman's Journal* and the *Dublin Evening Mail* exposed Dublin's dark underbelly. As the case reports consistently included personal details, names, addresses, nature and location of the offence, and often the circumstances surrounding the crime, using the information provided it was possible to identify a number of known locations of destitution and criminality in the city. All too commonly offenders stated 'no residence' or 'no known address' in their evidence statements. The quadripartite Dublin division between north-western (D), north-eastern (C), south-western (A) and south-eastern (B) areas of the city coincided with the initial DMP divisional boundaries.

The boundary lines were along the river Liffey and Sackville/Grafton Streets. The north-eastern part (Division C), formerly favoured by the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, saw its original patrons depart after the Act of Union (1801) and the grand Georgian houses transformed into tenancies. Following Sir Thomas Larcom's classification, the buildings made up a fourth-class accommodation, which housed as many families as it could hold. The area surrounding Montgomery Street (Monto) was notorious. 'The 1841 census revealed for the first time a level of overcrowding in Dublin quite unlike that in other UK cities: 46.8 per cent of all city families were living in one-room accommodation, principally in sub-divided

parts of larger houses that were being rented out, usually by the week.’¹⁰ Nearby house values were affected by the contagion effects of neighbouring tenements, essentially undermining them. The north-western and south-western divisions, the Liberties, included the poorest areas of the city. The population density in the south-west quarter of the city was the highest. In 1841, six of eleven parishes had over 2000 persons per acre, forty years later, ‘Wood Quay ward contained 152 persons per acre, at the time when the city average was 66’.¹¹

On the north side the area stretched from roughly North King Street to King’s Inn Quay/Upper Ormond Quay, and from Smithfield to Capel Street. On the south side of the river the Liberties were encased by Thomas Street at its northern boundary and Mill Street (just over from Newmarket) at its southern, with Patrick Street–Back Lane and Pimlico–Bridgefoot Street to the east and west. The two Dublin workhouses, the North and South Dublin Union Workhouses, were situated not far from the rookeries, one on each side of the Liffey River. The living conditions for the nineteenth-century unskilled metropolitan social stratum have been widely described as dangerous and unsanitary. ‘To outsiders, the sensory experience of this poverty was overwhelming: the sight of ramshackle old houses with broken windows and leaking roofs “of the stunted proportions and listless aspects of the adults, and the pale scrofulous, full of precocious knowingness, of the children”.’¹²

Inmates of the workhouses appeared frequently in the police columns. In one such case, Sarah Wilkinson, along with two other inmates, was jointly charged with setting fire to a portion of the workhouse. The same week she was charged with insubordinate conduct and sentenced to one month’s imprisonment.¹³ The apparent chaos and lawlessness of the Dublin and inevitably the London slums reaffirmed the perception of them as the areas inhabited predominantly by ‘the dangerous classes’, the breeding grounds for infectious diseases, vice and crime. The new police instructions manual reflected these concerns. Dublin slums were unprecedented in their social degradation and deplorable living conditions: ‘the smell of unwashed clothes, human excrement in open drains and oozing cesspool, and of pigs on and off the street.’¹⁴ In an effort to curtail the alarming prevalence of contagious diseases in the city, Robert Alcock, Inspector of Nuisances for the Corporation of Dublin, summoned Stephen Redmond, a resident at 42 Westland Row (one of the streets now encircling Trinity College Dublin) for keeping and using the rear of his houses as a pigsty under the 104 section of the 10 & 11 Vic. cap

34 act.¹⁵ Dr. Mapother, Officer of Health, certified the aforementioned pigsty a nuisance and injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Consequently, Redmond was given ten days to clear out the pigs from the premises.

Within the DMP district, the north-western and south-western quadrants, or DMP divisions D and A, Bull Lane and Skinner's Alley, stood out as the 'two places where lawless violence, loathsome vice and crime, seem to reign without let or hindrance'.¹⁶ Skinner's Alley, 'a by-word for prostitution, public drunkenness and petty crime',¹⁷ stretched from Newmarket to Coombe. The area, it said, supplied the greatest number of prisoners to the 'sad gathering'. In one such case, in April 1875, Sarah Burke was committed for trial at City Sessions by Mr Dix, Police Magistrate at the Southern Divisional Police Court, on a charge of having stabbed a woman named Bridget Echlin under the ear with a knife at Skinner's Alley.¹⁸ During the next day's proceedings a woman named Kate Foley of Skinner's Alley was committed by Mr Woodlock at the Southern Divisional Police Court for trial at the City Sessions on a charge of having stabbed a woman named Mary O'Brien, who lived in the same house with her.¹⁹

Bull Lane ran from Pill Lane to Mary's Lane (in Inns Quay ward), and fell under the jurisdiction of the Northern Divisional Police Courts. In August 1865, Mary Ann Glynn was charged by Mr John Philips of 66 Pill Lane with assaulting him by striking him with a glass bottle and tearing his coat while he was endeavouring to put her out of his spirit shop at the above address.²⁰ In the April 1875, an extraordinary case of an obstruction to the public thoroughfare was reported in Pill Lane. Two Frenchmen, described as conductors of animals, were charged with causing an obstruction in Pill Lane by exhibiting a bear. 'The bear, a large sleepy-looking animal of a light brown colour, was led into court by his owners by means of a rope attached to a muzzle fixed upon his head. When the defendant took up a position in the dock, the bear reared upon his hind legs and placed his paws upon the front rail, a proceeding which created considerable amusement.'²¹ The defendants indicated they would leave Dublin in a short time and were consequently discharged. In the next month, Police Magistrate O'Donel presided over an assault case: a young woman named Mary Green was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour for having violently assaulted another young woman, Catherine Martin, in the classic locality of Bull Lane, by striking her on the head with a bottle.²² The same streets frequently came up in the duty diaries of the local beat constables. On 2 October 1864, James Daly, 45D, noted that he arrested

Eliza Webster for being disorderly by cursing at Pill Lane between eleven and twelve o'clock in the evening.²³ Statistical data compiled by the DMP demonstrate the distinct similarity in patterns of distribution of arrests between divisions within the city bounds, particularly in 1865 through to 1870 (Fig. 4.1).

The annual reports of the London Metropolitan Police Commissioners and numerous social inquiries regarded large urban slums as the epicentres of vice and disease, and vociferously equated the marginalised poor inhabiting these overcrowded areas with the spread of vice and crime. Eric Monkkonen in his pioneering work on *Police in Urban America, 1860–1920* has observed that urbanisation and criminal poverty in cities ‘changed the nature of certain offences; for example, theft involving deception and duplicity increased with urban anonymity’.²⁴ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the public concern with the perceived loss of social solidarity and the connection between urban anonymity and the increased opportunity for criminal behaviour mounted, for there was a firm belief in the connection between growing urbanisation and rising rates of crime and poverty. Between 1860 and 1869 the number of persons apprehended annually by the London Metropolitan Police under the Vagrant and Poor Law Acts rose from 2835 to 6969.²⁵ Apprehension rates for begging and ‘having no visible means of support’ were nearly as high in Dublin. The offences included ‘begging’, ‘having no visible means of

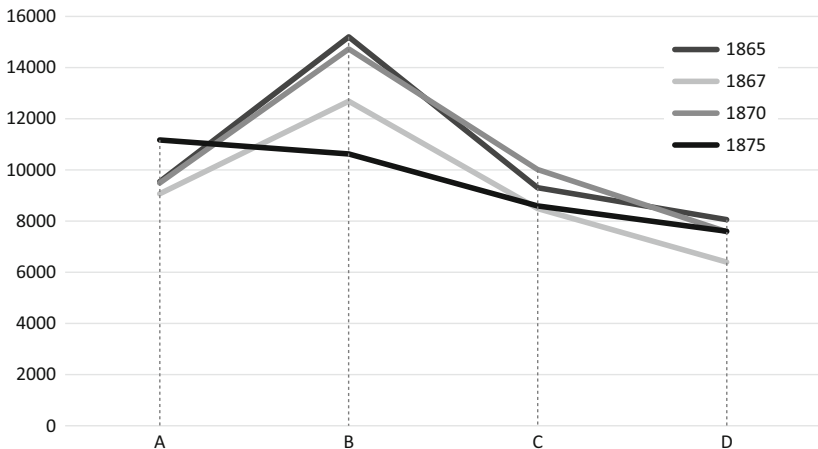


Fig. 4.1 Number of persons proceeded against summarily in Dublin, 1865–75 (Source: Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police)

subsistence', 'incorrigible rogues', disorderly conduct in workhouses and so on. Beggars accounted for nearly half of the total arrests under these acts. Approximately 50 per cent of the charges were tried and convicted summarily. Throughout the later decades committals averaged about 4500 per year. Nearly a third of the yearly totals were convicted summarily on the charge of begging, and another 25 per cent for 'disorderly conduct in workhouses'. The latter offence showed a 90 per cent committal rate.²⁶ In 1875, referencing the evils arising from overcrowding in the dwellings of the poor, the London Police Commissioner Sir Edmund Henderson (1869–86) remarked that 'every form of vice is greatly stimulated and encouraged by the overcrowding of the families, the indiscriminate admixtures of the sexes, and the consequent neglect of all cleanliness and decency'. He went on: 'It is a fertile source of disease, fever being generally to be found more or less in overcrowded courts and alleys, which under circumstances favourable to its development, spreads and attacks less densely populated neighbourhoods.'²⁷ In Commissioner Henderson's opinion the society as a whole was liable to suffer from the existence of the slums, 'it being impossible to confine the evils arising from them within any strict limit', and society was bound to be contaminated by the proliferating disease and vice emanating from 'these wretched haunts.'²⁸

CRIME

The *Criminal and Judicial Statistics for Ireland*, 1875, show the prevalence of offences disposed of summarily in the poorer and more crowded parts of the Dublin Metropolitan district in Divisions B (south-east), 1783, and A (south-west), 1660 per 10,000 of population, where population density per acre doubled that of the city's average.²⁹ The average number of offences for the district was recorded as 1259 for the year, the average for outside of the district was 395 with Limerick and Donegal at the opposing ends, 1100 and 234 offences per 10,000 respectively. Overall, a number of recognisable trends can be distinguished. The DMP statistical tables list offenders by sex, age and degree of literacy, but give no details of the victims or location of the crime. However, statistical data used in conjunction with the details found in the court reports printed daily in the *Irish Times*, allow for a series of patterns and trends to be identified based on nature and location of the offence, and sexes of the victim along with the offender. The second most numerous offence, following an overwhelming number of drink-related charges, was assault.

Assaults

The exercise establishes that on average at least a third of all victims were female, with a discernible rise in the later years. Offences ranged from petty to severe, with injuries resulting in permanent invalidity and rarely death. In one such case heard in the Northern Divisional Court, James Sutton, Hannah Sutton and Ellen Coffey were brought up on remand, charged with seriously assaulting a woman named Jane Jackson in the lodging-house at 59 Arran Street. ‘The beating which they gave her was of so violent a nature that the woman’s life was endangered, and she had a miscarriage. The dispute arose in consequence of the water with which the prosecutrix was washing her room passing through the floor and into that of Sutton’s, who lodged beneath.’³⁰ Sutton brutally assaulted Jackson by kicking her in the stomach and about the body. The two female prisoners and another woman subsequently joined in, while the male prisoner looked on applauding. All three were committed for trial at the City Sessions.

In another case from the Southern Police Divisional Court, a private soldier in the 2nd Queen’s Regiment named Henry Lisle was charged with violently assaulting a young girl named Maria Willis. According to the prosecutrix’s testimony, in the morning on the way home the soldier asked her to take a walk with him, and she consented. ‘When turning the corner of the street the accused struck her a blow, knocked her down and kicked her in the eye while on the ground. He then walked away, but she got up and called for a constable. As she could not find one, she followed the defendant to Essex Street, where he took off his belt and struck her a violent blow with the buckle on the head, which severely cut her.’³¹ Lisle was sentenced to one month’s imprisonment with hard labour. As Henry notes, violence against women in Dublin was prevalent and, until well into the nineteenth century, largely accepted. An entry in Constable William Brennan’s duty diary from 24 March 1852 shows him reporting one PC 54A and escorting him on suspicion of assaulting a female named Anne Cummins in Francis Street between one and two o’clock in the morning, and leaving her on PC171’s beat in Francis Street. Brennan notes he later conveyed her to the Meath Hospital.³² PC 54A got off with a caution from the Commissioner.

As seen in the *Times* police courts reports, similar assault cases frequently featured at the Worship Street Police Court in London’s G division, Finsbury. On 22 February 1850, Richard Pike, a hairdresser in business at Hertford Terrace, was placed at the bar before a police magistrate, charged with having assaulted and wounded his wife, Margaret

Pike, whereby her life had been seriously endangered. Two police constables on duty in the area shortly after three o'clock in the morning were attracted by the sound of crashing glass and stifled cries of 'murder' and 'police' by a female voice. After knocking loudly for admittance without receiving any answer, the policemen burst open the door and proceeded to a room on the first floor, where they found the prisoner's wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, extended upon the floor and held down by the prisoner. Pike was grasping her throat with one hand, while in the other he was brandishing a heavy brass candlestick, with which he had beaten her so cruelly that the blood was pouring out from her mouth and nose. The instant the policemen made their appearance the prisoner threw down the candlestick, and grasping her by both hands round the throat, endeavoured to strangle her; but they dragged him forcibly away, and upon telling him that he appeared to have killed his wife, who lay perfectly senseless, without exhibiting any signs of life, he careless answered that he was glad to bear it, and hoped she was dead.³³

After inspection of the house, the policemen discovered four little children; they appeared to be totally without 'ordinary necessities' and were transferred to be placed under the charge of the parish authorities. During the hearing two medical certificates were produced, from the police and the parish surgeons. The certificates concluded that the victim sustained several severe contusions about the head and other internal injuries, and was in such a dangerous state 'as to wholly preclude her attendance at this court'.³⁴ In his defence, the prisoner stated that his wife had broken the windows of her room and that he had had to drag her to the floor to prevent her from 'throwing herself headlong into the street'.³⁵

In another gruesome case, John Blake, a 'thick-set and powerful young fellow', was charged on 19 March 1855, with assaulting Harriette Powell, 'who reluctantly admitted herself to be an "unfortunate woman"'.³⁶ She stated that she had been for some time acquainted with the prisoner and had been living with him for the previous three weeks. In her statement before the magistrate she described how the prisoner had grasped her by the hair, pulled her head back, thrust his fingers under the ball of her right eye, and pulled it out:

Mr. HAMMILL—What! do you mean to say that he had actually forced one of your eyes out of its socket?

Witness—Yes, Sir; he thrust his finger underneath my eye, and pulled it out; it was lying on my cheek.

Mr. HAMMILL—Does it cause you much pain now?

Witness—No, Sir; I do not feel as much pain now, but I feel very cold in that eye, as if there was nothing there. I was taken as soon as possible to a doctor's in the neighbourhood, but he said he could not attend to a case of that serious kind.

Mr. HAMMILL—Then, what has been done for you?

Witness—Why, I and the prisoner, Sir, were taken to the police-station, where they sent for a surgeon for me, and he bandaged me up as you see.³⁷

Trial reports indicate wife-beaters were regularly fined, or if forfeiting, received one-month imprisonment. It was not uncommon, however, for wives to refuse to prosecute their spouses, including in cases of unspeakable brutality, in fear of future retaliation or destitution. A case of parallel ferocity was heard in the Brisbane City Police Court in the same year. In October 1885, Andrew Foster had been brought up for having assaulted his wife, Catherine Foster, at the beginning of the same month. 'It appears that the accused is alleged to have struck his wife with a bar of iron and fractured her skull.'³⁸ The testimony by the medical expert witness, Dr Jackson, who also attended Mrs Foster's wound stated the following:

On examining the woman he found the wound on the top of the head, somewhat jagged, half-an-inch in length, and the same in breadth; on the bottom of the wound there could be felt with a probe several fragments of the bone, which could be depressed towards the brain; from the parts in and about the wound there was a good deal of pus or matter coming; the woman was suffering from paralysis of the left arm and left leg, which was probably due to the injury of the head...the piece of iron shown him might have caused the wound on the head; the wound could not have been caused by the woman falling over something on the ground...³⁹

A few days later an operation was performed and fractured skull fragments were removed and as the procedure was successful, the victim recovered and soon was able to testify herself. 'On Mrs Foster being examined at the hospital, she distinctly denied that the wound on her head had been caused by her husband, and stated that it was caused by her falling on the ground.'⁴⁰ Albeit, the medical evidence and the neighbour's testimony, the case was discharged, 'the bench being of opinion that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant their committing the accused for trial'.⁴¹ Greg Smith has argued that domestic violence in the Hanoverian metropolis (London) and the habitual abuse of wives by their husbands was com-

monplace and viewed as acceptable, with the trend continuing well into the Victorian era.⁴² *Manual of Police Regulations for the Guidance of the Constabulary of Queensland* (1876) cautioned their men against interfering unnecessarily in domestic affairs, between a man and his wife who are quarrelling, unless it is absolutely necessary to prevent serious violence to either party or public disturbance.⁴³

Assaults on Police

As the statistical tables of the DMP show, assaults on the police were the second most frequent category of assaults recorded. These assaults ranged from hair pulling to severe bodily harm requiring urgent hospitalisation. Duty books were issued to the DMP men in addition to beat books and served as beat diaries. These contained notes of all proceedings during the beat and were kept by the policemen themselves. The first entry in DMP Constable William Brennan's duty book (116D), dated 14 April 1850, stated that between four and five o'clock Brennan arrested a man named John Cullen for being disorderly in Thomas Street, and 'also for violently assaulting me in the Discharge of my Duty at same time and place, brought him to Newmarket Police Office'.⁴⁴ Thomas Street, the northern boundary of the Liberties, as has been shown, was notorious and assumed to be synonymous with poverty.⁴⁵ During the following months, Brennan made notes on infrequent arrests primarily for drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and assaults. Rescue and resisting arrest and obstruction of duty were a daily occurrence. Nearly half of all reported assaults against a person were committed against a police officer on duty (Fig. 4.2).⁴⁶

Severity and types of offences varied. An attempted stabbing was reported on 9 April 1859, where Nicholas Messet was brought up in the custody of 136C, who charged him 'with attempting to stab him in the abdomen' in North Great George Street.⁴⁷ The case of Nicholas Messet was atypical for the time.⁴⁸ In contrast to the later decades, there was little open animosity and violent radicalism on the streets. More often than not, assaults were of a petty nature. In the more typical case of Rose Masterson, however, 'an amiable looking female', when charged with being riotous and disorderly at Bow Street, resisted and bit the tails of Police Constable 154D's coat, and otherwise ill-treated his uniform.⁴⁹ Just under two months later, a man named Patrick Doyle was charged with having wantonly assaulted Police Constable 131D, while in the execution of his duty in Church Street on Saturday last, and tearing his coat.⁵⁰

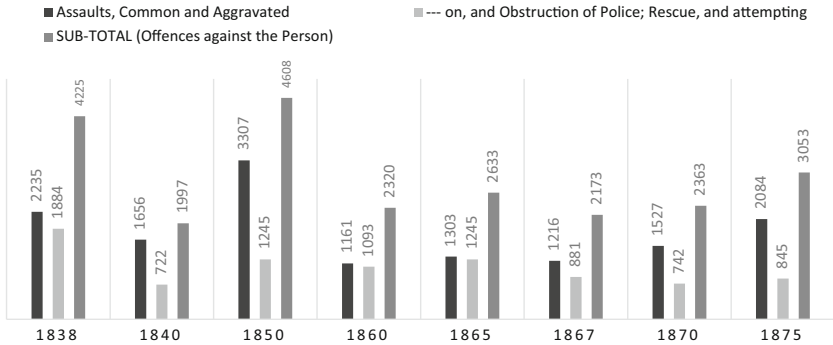


Fig. 4.2 Number of persons apprehended for assaults in Dublin, 1838–75 (*Source*: Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police)

Destruction of a policeman's uniform was just as common on a colonial beat. In fact, an arrest frequently resulted in a damaged uniform. This was a cause of great annoyance to a Queensland policeman and his wife, assuming he had one, for she would bear the responsibility of mending the damage, as no additional allowance was issued to cover a replacement. In 1866, the Queensland Police Force passed a new regulation which made the members of the force responsible for their own clothing, 'instead of its being as heretofore served out by the Government. The constables having to pay for their uniform themselves will no doubt be more careful of it...'⁵¹ It was not always in the constables' power to preserve their uniforms, as 'going down quietly' was hardly ever viewed as a viable option by the majority of offenders. In Brisbane, in May 1864, Edmund McSweeney was charged with drunkenness and also with tearing the uniform of the constable during the arrest, and on being found guilty was ordered to pay 40s., or to go to gaol for 18 hours.⁵² In a similar case in October 1870, one William Edmunds was charged with destroying a police uniform on a Saturday evening, when arrested for being drunk. 'He was ordered to pay 5s., the amount of damage done.'⁵³ Since this was most likely not enough to purchase a substitute garment, the damages done were minor in this case.⁵⁴ In Toronto, due to a notably small police-to-population ratio, policemen saw unprecedented numbers of abuse. In 1865, there were 36 beat constables patrolling the city, and statistical data for the same year report 17 charges for assaults on police or a 47 per cent assault rate for the year.⁵⁵ One of those cases was reported in Toronto's *Globe*: a store-

keeper, Andrew Wright, was shaking a carpet at his door on Yonge Street when Constable Sheehan came up and directed him to desist. In response, Wright flatly struck the policeman.⁵⁶

Spitting, ripping of buttons and biting were popular means of ‘getting back at’ or jostling a policeman. Henry Mayhew in *London Labour, and the London Poor* described analogous initiation rituals of London pick-pockets, which included a series of minor assaults on constables on duty. London’s Whitechapel (Division H), a notorious neighbourhood, squalid, overcrowded and anonymous—a haven it was believed for the criminals and the depraved—had more frequent assaults on the police than any other division.⁵⁷ The trends continued well into the nineteenth century as can be gleaned from the extracts submitted by the Divisional and the District’s Superintendents five and ten years later: ‘The character of the neighbourhood may be judged from the number of assaults on the Police (no less than 270) during the year [1875].’⁵⁸ In 1885, Superintendent Arnold went on to report that in comparison to the previous decades, ‘assaults on Police have been frequent, as must always be the case with the class of persons to be found in the Division. No serious injuries, however, resulted from these assaults’.⁵⁹ The Division H (Whitechapel), as Division G (Finsbury), was entirely a Town Division, and had one of the worst dens on the Metropolis within its boundary.⁶⁰ A significant portion of the population still viewed the new police as a nuisance rather than a source of aid.

So how lawless exactly was Dublin? In terms of manpower, the London Metropolitan Police originally stood at just over 3000 men. In 1848, its contingent rose to 5500 men. The population of the London Metropolitan Police district of the time was somewhat under 2.5 million persons.⁶¹ The official statistics show that the police made 65,500 arrests during the year. 1850 saw a slight increase to roughly 71,000 apprehensions, while the following decade between 1860 and 1870 showed fairly stable numbers varying 63,000–73,000 persons taken into custody on various charges.⁶² On average about a half of those arrested were summarily convicted. The DMP district, was much smaller than London, roughly one-tenth of its size, or 258,396.⁶³ According to the *Statistical Tables of the DMP*, there were over 64,000 persons apprehended in 1850, while nearly the same number of people were taken into custody in London in 1848, and only nearly 10 per cent more in 1850. However, only 750 people (492 males and 258 females) were directed to stand trial.⁶⁴ The majority of the indictable offences constituted property crime, and only 51 individuals (39 men and 12 women) were tried for offences against

the person. Although the number of arrests are quite high, Dublin was no more criminal than London as such, as it had a markedly greater police-to-population presence—nearly double in an area ten times smaller. In plain terms, there were more police to witness crime.

Drunk and Disorderly

Statistical tables of the DMP show that between a quarter and a half of all cases brought before police magistrates were arrests for drunkenness and drink-related charges (Fig. 4.3).

Men were twice as likely to end up in the stand as women. Drink was the catalyst in the majority of resisting arrest and obstruction cases. In one such case heard at Capel Street Police Court, Charles Hamilton was brought up in custody of a DMP Constable 172C on 14 January 1864, charged with being drunk in Jarvis Street on the morning of the 12 January, and with having violently assaulted him when being conveyed to the station. The prisoner was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment.⁶⁵ The following year, James Wooly of 22 Cuffe Street, was brought up in custody of Police Constable Duffy, 35A, charged with having attempted to stab him with a clasp knife and for being drunk on the morning of 11 June at Wexford Street.⁶⁶

Comparably, in London's Bow Street Police Court William Fitzgerald, a private in the City Militia, was charged on Wednesday, 21 March 1855, with drunken and riotous conduct. The 'defendant, after spending his allowance money in drink, sallied forth into Clare Market, fixed his bayo-

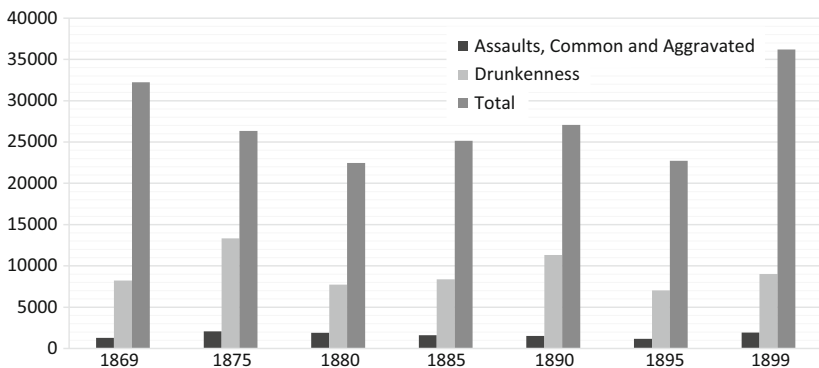


Fig. 4.3 Number of persons, male and female, apprehended for drunkenness in Dublin, 1838–80 (*Source*: Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police)

net, and, to the terror of the passengers in that crowded locality, made a rush at them, literally charging the populace.⁶⁷ The shrieks and cries of women and children alarmed the police and it soon led to the arrest of the prisoner, however not before he succeeded in knocking over a baker and a publican. More so, ‘on being delivered into the custody of Sergeant Cox, F4, he kicked and assaulted him with considerable force.’⁶⁸ In like manner, on Monday, 22 April 1860, John Smith, described as a gentleman, was charged with being drunk and disorderly at the Casino at Holborn (Division E), and violently assaulting two police officers: ‘At about half-past 11 o’clock on Friday night the prisoner, having been turned out of the Casino, made an entirely unprovoked attack on Sergeant Biggood, A13 [Whitehall], who was on day duty at the door, to whom he administered a violent kick from behind.’⁶⁹ Biggood attempted to take the defendant into custody but the prisoner resisted, and only by the assistance of four constables was Smith finally removed to the station. ‘He repeatedly struck and kicked the sergeant and another constable (Venes, F 96, Covent Garden).’⁷⁰ In the aftermath, both prisoners blamed their violent conduct on drink.

Dealing with Brisbane’s drunks was remarkably similar. On the evening of 27 September 1864, Constable Michael McKiernan was on duty in Ann Street, Fortitude Valley, Brisbane. The Fortitude Valley, named after the ship *SS Fortitude*, was settled by Scottish migrants in 1849. The area was a rough and tightly populated place, a location strewn with brothels, gambling dens and unsavoury characters. At half past seven, Constable McKiernan found Edward Underwood lying drunk on the footway. When asked where he lived, Underwood said “any place” and as no further information was given the Constable took him into custody. On the way to the lockup the defendant resisted violently and struck McKiernan with both hands and feet and tore his tunic, waistcoat and shirt. Underwood was very disorderly and remained so in the lock-up. He was later fined 40s. including damages.⁷¹

THE FENIAN RISING

The western half of the Dublin city, home ground of the Liberties and Pill Lane, was the purlieu of Thomas Luby, Peter Langan, a lathe manufacturer of East Lombard Street, and James O’Callaghan, a department store salesman – a few men out of 474 Dublin Fenians, who shared ‘strong association with the western half of the city, the prominence of tailors, shoe-

makers, and on the north-side, metal workers.⁷² In mid-1850s, Luby joined several Confederation veterans, notably James Stephens to found what became the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1858, the IRB, or later the Fenian Brotherhood. The Irish Confederation, a breakaway organisation lead by William O'Brien Smith, MP, emerged following a split from the Repeal movement in 1846, a year before Daniel O'Connell's death. Most of the IRB members took Luby's oath of allegiance 'to the Irish Republic, now virtually established'.⁷³ Fenianism, a separatist and a popular movement, quickly garnered widespread support within Ireland and the United States of America, with Dublin remaining as the centre-stage. The society was organised in circles of 810 men each.

On 24 November 1865, Stephens, the founder and the head of the Irish branch, escaped from Richmond Bridewell. A few days after his initial arrest, two acting Inspectors of the Detective Division, Hughes, the arresting officer of James Stephens, and Doyle, were fired at on their way to the Exchange Court G Division Head Office. Doyle was shot in the back a little below the shoulder blade. Hughes was struck in the back, near the spine. Neither of the bullets penetrated the skin. 'There was no doubt that if there had been the smallest quantity of powder additional in the pistol each shot could have been fatal.'⁷⁴ The perpetrators were never discovered. *The Police Gazette or Hue-and-Cry*, published for Ireland every Tuesday and Friday, offered a £1000 reward to any person providing information on Stephens.⁷⁵ Stephens was a Kilkenny man, described to be of an average height, stout build, with an accent and demeanour of a Frenchman. He was never recaptured.

By 1867, there were close to 50,000 members in the IRB. On 5 March 1867, a thousand assembled in Dublin and marched out of the city to the village of Tallaght. As the night was very dark, the men were delayed. 'The DMP were not only waiting at the docks along the North Wall in Dublin and Kingstown [Dun Laoghaire] but were there in uniform, armed and in large numbers. The result was large-scale arrests at both harbours.'⁷⁶ The Fenians were well supplied with guns and ammunition. There were a total of 265 persons arrested in connection with Fenianism: 'under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, 161 on their arrival at the North Wall Quays, on suspicion of being connected with the Fenian Conspiracy, and 61 on suspicion of being engaged in the Fenian rising at Tallaght on the 5th of March.'⁷⁷

The intelligence concerning the planned rising and the numbers of Irishmen making their way back to Ireland had already been coming into

the detective branch for some time. In 1866 Dublin was proclaimed a disturbed district, *habeas corpus* was suspended. A several waves of arrests followed, with the most successful one in December. Under the White Boy Acts (15 & 16 Geo. III., c. 21 and 1 & 2 Wm. IV., c. 44) all persons armed with fire-arms, or any other weapon, or appearing in any disguise, or wearing any unusual uniform or badge were presumed guilty of a high misdemeanour, and subject to penal servitude, imprisonment, and whipping. The same punishment applied to anyone unlawfully assembling, exciting or tending to excite any riot, or any person aiding and abetting others in commission of these offences. This ensured the courts of the DMP jurisdiction were kept busy. Over half of the Fenians prosecuted between July 1866 and February 1868 were within the area of the DMP district.⁷⁸

Throughout the months of November and December 1865 and January 1866, James Daly's details of duty show that, like many other DMP men, he was assigned to court escort duty. Prisoners were escorted from 'Richmond to Kilmainham', and from Kilmainham Jail to Green Street Court, and judges to the Commission Court and back.⁷⁹ In November, sympathisers James Lyon and John Egan were arrested and charged with obstructing the footpath at Green-street, near the Court House, and assaulting constable 152A when he attempted to remove them.⁸⁰ Thomas Moor was brought up in custody of Police Constable Kelly of the C Division, charged with having thrown a stone at the military and the police in Sackville-Street (O'Connell Street) in the previous evening while they were escorting the Fenian prisoners from Green Street Court House to the Richmond Bridewell, on the Circular Road.⁸¹

In the months preceding the Fenian trials there was a marked increase in offences of a seditious nature, which often culminated in violence against the police. The majority of these cases, however, did not result in actual bodily harm. The *Irish Times* reported a number of charges for singing seditious ballads, such as '*The Bird has Left his Nest*', '*The Green on the Cape*', and '*The General Fox Chase*' which 'alluded to the recent arrests of Fenians, and escape of [James] Stephens.'⁸² A small number were arrested for making use of seditious language while intoxicated. Laurence Coyne was apprehended in Great Britain Street by Constable James Sheridan, 97C, for shouting out, 'Irish people arise! and throw off slavery'. While conveyed to the station-house he cried out several times that her Majesty Queen Victoria had no authority in Ireland. In the station-house he repeatedly avowed that he was a Fenian.⁸³

The political turmoil of the 1860s contributed to the rising numbers of assaults made on the Dublin Metropolitan policemen, albeit slightly. The peak years 1860 (1903) and 1865 (1245) were followed by a gradual but consistent decline.⁸⁴ Assassination attempts on the DMP men were rare, but not inexistent (Fig. 4.4).

There were six assassination attempts throughout the 1860s and early 1870s, with half of them successful. As the criminal statistical data for the years show, these murders, spurred on by the upsurge in Fenian activity, were anomalous for the period. Four of the six intended targets were detectives who remained in the cross-hairs well into the twentieth century. In a presumed attack on John Smollen, a senior acting superintendent from G Division, Constable Charles O'Neill (DMP 2706) was shot on the morning of 29 April 1866 at Charles Street West. Smollen was described by the former Fenian recruiter James Devoy as one of the smartest policemen in G Division.⁸⁵ Richard Kearney was identified as the murderer. *Hue-and-Cry* offered rewards of £100 to any person or persons 'who shall arrest and deliver into safe custody' Richard Kearney, and a further £50 to any person providing private information that would lead to the arrest of Kearney, who was charged with the wilful murder of Police Constable

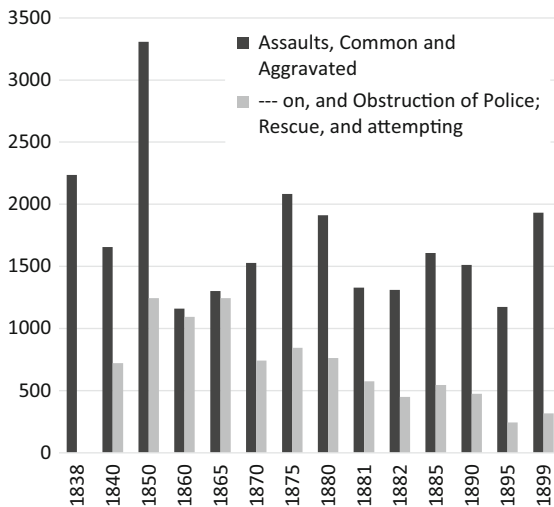


Fig. 4.4 Number of persons taken into custody for committing assaults on police, obstruction and rescue in Dublin, 1850–1890 (*Source*: Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police)

Charles O'Neill.⁸⁶ Kearney was described as a man of about 25 years of age, five feet and five inches tall, stout make, fair complexion, with a tuft of hair on chin—a blacksmith by trade, and a dirty appearance. While apprehending the suspect, Inspector Clarke was almost shot as Kearney attempted to draw a revolver, which was hidden in his pocket.⁸⁷

A year later, on 31 October 1867, Sergeant Stephen Kelly and Constable Patrick Keena were shot while checking a suspect in Eustace Street, Temple Bar. Keena was fatally wounded by a Fenian activist he was questioning.⁸⁸ Both men, each shot in the abdomen, were delivered to the Mercer's Hospital for medical attention. Kelly survived, while Constable Keena died in the hospital on 7 November, aged 22 years old.⁸⁹ Patrick Lennon was eventually identified as the shooter and a member of the United Irish American Assassination Company. The jury returned the verdict of not guilty. He was sentenced to 15 years penal servitude on a treason-felony charge the next day.⁹⁰ In another shooting on the evening of 11 July 1871, an off-duty Head Constable Thomas Talbot was returning home after an evening with some friends. According to the depositions of the case, Talbot was walking up Sackville Street around twelve o'clock in the direction of Hardwicke Street and while he was 'proceeding down the street, Talbot met a man whom he did not know before, or recollect at the moment ... the man fired at him in the head with a bullet from a revolver or pistol.'⁹¹ At first Talbot was only stunned by the shot and was able to pursue the attacker for some distance before he collapsed. During the arrest, the shooter wounded another policeman, James Mullins. The man charged was Robert Kelly. On the way to Kilmainham, 'when the police van was turning into Capel-Street a crowd of persons assembled at the corner ... cheered Kelly loudly, while they expressed a contrary feeling towards the police who were on outside cars'.⁹²

A month before the shootings, Constable Michael Gorry 101D was on duty on Sunday evening, 10 June 1867 at Blacquiere Bridge, Royal Canal. At nine o'clock he observed a crowd assembled on the banks of the canal near Glasnevin. There he found a man with his coat off challenging anyone in the crowd to fight him. As Constable Gorry was taking him into custody, the other men interfered and struck the constable repeatedly in the face with clenched fists. 'The crowd also, which consisted of about 100 persons, attacked the constable, who instantly drew his sword and placing his back against a wall kept the crowd at bay for some time until Sergeant John Day came up.'⁹³ With his help, Joseph Kelly and J. Forrest were finally arrested. Constable Gorr 'received very sad treatment from

the prisoners, his face being cut and disfigured and his body so severely beaten, that he had to be removed to the Richmond Hospital immediately on his arrival at the police station, to get his wound dressed'.⁹⁴

The ripples of the '67 rebellion continued to be felt long after it had subsided. A popular meeting in the Phoenix Park called in to petition Parliament for the release of the Fenian political prisoners culminated in a massive collision with the DMP. As the meeting took place during the Prince of Wales' visit, orders came to disperse it, by force if necessary. Sworn to uphold the law and their duty to the force, the Dublin policemen were caught between a rock and a hard place. The *Freeman's Journal* described the Phoenix Park episode as 'butchery': 'A number of our fellow-citizens who yesterday morning were in the enjoyment of health and strength now lie in our hospital wards wounded and disabled; many of them so grievously that they probably will only leave them for their graves.'⁹⁵ Men, women and children were attacked during the riot. 'The Irish blood was freely shed', according to the correspondent; the riot was 'one of the most desperate collisions between the police and the people that has ever taken place in this country'.⁹⁶ Dublin was entering a new era of nationalist radicalism and agitation.

Battle of Ridgeway

At the time, the Brotherhood maintained two fronts of assault: Ireland and Canada. The strategy was to occupy the English troops in Canada, which would prevent them from fighting against Fenians in Ireland, who were meant to rise simultaneously with the Canadian invasion. The plan involved synchronised advance from points along the American frontier from St Albans in Vermont to Chicago in Illinois at the end of May 1866. The centre at Malone, New York State, with access to the St Lawrence River and railway facilities, was to concentrate men and supplies from the wider interior of the country and distribute them to specified positions on the frontier opposite Canada.⁹⁷ Colonel O'Neil with 5000 men was to cross from Buffalo by Lake Erie or, if transport was available, to go to Port Colborne, the Lake Erie Terminus of the Welland canal. At the Chicago end, General Lynch was to organise and transport what men and supplies were ready in Illinois, cooperate with another force in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and both steam across Lake Michigan via Lake Huron, invading Canada at Goderich, Ontario, the western terminus of the Buffalo and Lake Huron railroad. This was to be the left wing of the Fenian army, with

the Michigan State army supplementing as the right column of the wing. The Cleveland column of 7000 men was to occupy the place between Col. O'Neil's men at Buffalo and the right of the western wing in Detroit, Michigan:

All the invaders from the west, having crossed the line, were to concentrate at Hamilton, London, Toronto and Kingston, where plenty of supplies and large depots of arms for the use of the British troops could have been seized without any fighting, from the smallness of the forces occupying these places. Thus Canada would have been invaded from every available point.⁹⁸

General Sweeney considered that attacking Canada was attacking England at her weakest point, with a frontier difficult to guard. However, the invasion did not go according to plan. As in Dublin, intelligence reached authorities that Fenians were in motion and an extensive raid on Canada was imminent. The despatches brought rumours of men moving northward along the railroads leading to the lake borders. When questioned, these men stated they were going to California to work in the mines.⁹⁹ On 1 June, having received confirmations of the Fenian movements, General Napier despatched the infantry and the cavalry into the region. Canadian forces clashed with the Fenians the next morning, and on the following day, finding their supplies and men cut off by the US Navy on the Niagara River, the insurgent forces attempted to retreat back to Buffalo but were intercepted.

The majority of the Toronto inner city population was Irish Catholic, while the civic government, the law enforcement and the military were overt Orangemen, this presumably should have formed a volatile combination during the time of the Fenian agitation. However, despite the widespread expression of sullen resentment, as Michael Cottrell demonstrated, 'an overwhelming majority of Irish Canadians were reduced to hold themselves aloof from the Irish American 'liberators' by a combination of clerical and lay pressure, instincts of self-preservation and the desire for acceptance in their new homeland.'¹⁰⁰ In Toronto, 1866 saw one of the lowest rates of assaults on the police: only nine men and one woman were apprehended on the charge.¹⁰¹ The Toronto Irish were gradually assimilating and adopting the Canadian identity, a process Mark McGowan termed as the demise of Irish Nationalism in Toronto.¹⁰²

The flourishing criminal scene kept the new Dublin uniformed police occupied. Notorious areas such as the Liberties, the markets, and Monto

supplied a steady stream of transgressors. The statistical tables of the DMP show that in the first decades there were anywhere from 40,000 to 65,000 arrests made annually. On average, a third of the cases were dismissed, the rest for the most part were dealt with summarily by a police magistrate. Indictable offences formed less than five per cent of the totals.

In comparison to Toronto, Fenian agitation did not have a significant impact, for better, as in Toronto's case, or worse, on police assaults rates in Dublin. Although heightened activity of nationalist organisations did not recognisably change Dublin's criminal climate, they resulted in confrontations and arrests which led to a higher degree of resentment of the police. Inspectors Hughes and Doyle were fired at in the days after the closure of the Fenian newspaper *The Irish People* and arrest of James Stephens. Sergeant Kelly was assaulted and Constable Keena fatally wounded by a Fenian activist during their investigation into the organisation. The peak years of nationalist agitation in the 1860s and the 1880s meant anything but ordinary police work for the DMP. Without doubt, the time when people 'did not bear any grudge towards the police' was, indeed, gone.

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PART 2

1880–1925

‘To Thrive Is an Impossibility Now’: Policing Recession and Public Unrest

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, the Irish capital experienced rapid and unexpected social shifts. The rise of Parnellism, the Land League and the Home Rule crises were the critical driving forces behind the marked radicalisation of society. The recession of the late 1870s and early 1880s, followed by years of further industrial downturn, resulted in a structural weakening of the urban economy, and the loss of embedded industries such as shipbuilding to Belfast and places further afield. By 1889, Dublin had lost its title as the largest city in Ireland. Cheap imports of American corn, flour and meat destabilised the Irish farmer. Restrictive legislation ‘choked and crushed’ the once flourishing Irish industries. In his testimony to the Select Committee on Industries in Ireland (1885), Peter McDonald, a Dublin wine merchant, noted ‘the absence of industrial life in the greater part of the country’.¹ McDonald’s personal difficulties were so great that it was almost impossible for him to keep himself alive and to pay his way: ‘To live and thrive is an impossibility now.’² Mass-produced English ready goods filled the vacated niche. Rapid population growth in the hinterland, ruinous and squalid suburbs, and growing discontent owing to the absence of constant and remunerative employment were the apparent consequences of the disappearance of manufacturing industries. ‘There is no other city in Europe that declined so rapidly of late as Dublin.’³ Changes in the economic fortune across the pond were also felt by the colonial police. A series of major strikes during the 1880s, 1890s and the early 1900s along with a significant rise in theft and vagrancy cases stretched the already thin resources of the

forces, within and outside the metropolitan areas. The rise in socialist and unionist activities across Europe and the Commonwealth erupted into social unrest, resulting in clashes with the police and fanning the flames of anti-authority sentiments: ‘The gallant stand made by the police ... was not fully appreciated at the time.’⁴

THE STRIKE

Due to recurring financial constraints, Dublin police numbers did not keep up with the continuous expansion of the city fed by the rural migration as the Dublin Metropolitan area absorbed the new suburbs. In 1881, the population passed the quarter of a million mark.⁵ The authorised strength of the force in 1880 stood at seven superintendents, 26 inspectors, 51 acting-inspectors, 72 sergeants, 94 acting-sergeants and 884 constables (including the detective service). There were seldom over 900 officers and men available for duty. This number comprised the day and night shifts, with each half further subdivided by two to four relief groups. ‘Thus, for part of the twelve hours of the day and night, there could have only been 225 of all ranks on active duty throughout the whole Metropolitan District.’⁶ The night and day shifts rotated monthly.

By this point, the policeman’s lot was not a happy one. The supernumerary allowance was 15*s.6d.*, while the maximum pay after 15 years of service (Constable 1/c) was 30*s.* per week. By comparison, an enquiry into the city’s housing conditions showed an off-season casual workman’s pay to be between 10 and 15 shillings per week. The minimum weekly rate of a constable stood at 20 shillings. Promotion within the service was attained through competition by examination conducted under the immediate direction and supervision of the Assistant-Commissioner.⁷ The examinations were extended to all ranks. A select number of the longer-serving constables on a junior grade seeking promotion to a higher pay scale were nominated to compete for the vacancies, which were few.⁸

The economic downturn of the 1880s was felt in the metropolis as well as in the rural areas. The lack of proper employment, coupled with the still deplorable housing conditions in the city and reinforced by a sense of solidarity with those suffering in the Land War in the country, gave rise to a sharp increase in extremist activities and public unrest in the city. This, combined with inadequate pay and limited opportunities for promotion, resulted in growing resentment, disillusionment and

eventually a police strike in 1882. On Friday 1 September, over 200 Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) were dismissed for attending a meeting the evening before, which had been organised to voice their grievances. In his *Recollections*, Commissioner David Harrel described seeing the Dublin policemen in plain clothes, driving through the Lower Castle Yard to the Castle headquarters of the police.⁹ 'These cars, conveying the Police, continued passing for some hours, they were cheered lustily by a large crowd assembled at the entrance gate to the Castle. Some 500 men on this occasion gave up their Uniform and appointments at the Police Store.'¹⁰ This was the beginning of the Dublin Police strike. There were no police present on the streets that night—their place taken up by RIC and soldiers.

The next day, nearly 700 policemen went out on strike. The Guards and Rifles patrolled Camden Street and Thomas Street, Dragoons took over at Westmoreland Street and Hussars in Sackville Street. There were some special constables, who wherever caught by the populace were hammered.¹¹ The following day, the men held a meeting in the afternoon at the back of the European Hotel, where they were exhorted to give in. On Sunday 3 September, 'there was a good deal of rioting at night, King William's statue was damaged, and a tin crown put on him, windows were broken and the military charged frequently, there being 76 cases of stabs and bruises healed in hospital'.¹² The day after, 'the police have submitted and the resigned men gone back, but the dismissed men have not yet been dealt with'.¹³ The officers, the sergeants and the constables of long service did not join the strikers and were in sufficient numbers to keep the station houses open. 'Up to the time of striking, the Government had not been approached by the Force on the subject of grievances, but it was at once conveyed through the Commissioners of Police and the Senior Officers that if the men returned to duty their complaints would be received and considered.'¹⁴ Within 24 hours after the notification, the men had all returned to take up their uniforms.

Two commissions were appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the grievances. Harrel was invited to act as a member of the RIC Commission. Richard O'Shaughnessy MP and Robert Holmes, the Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland presided over the commission. 'As regards the Police Commissions, general dissatisfaction was expressed by the men that duties had been arduous and continuous, and that pay had become quite inadequate.'¹⁵ The details from *The Report of the Committee*

of Inquiry (1883) showed that the key complaints were low pay, the rising costs of living and a lack of due recognition of the force's role in suppressing the Fenian Rising. The Irish Constabulary was granted a royal accolade and a three-month gratuity for members who had distinguished themselves during the unrest. In October 1882, an address was put forward to the Under-Secretary recommending a gratuity be given to the members of the DMP on the same terms as the one received by the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). The request was denied (Fig. 5.1). The principle of giving extra pay for extra duty, it was deemed, would introduce the 'gravest perplexities' into the conduct of public business – 'public servants must take the rough and the smooth of the service'.¹⁶

The Dublin system of promotions depended upon vacancies. As a rule, a constable would reach the second rate after six and a half years, and the first rate after eight and a half years of service. The London and Liverpool police forces promoted their men after fixed periods. The London constable received his promotion from the third class to the second after three years of service, and a further promotion to the first class after an additional five years. Each promotion came with a raise. The 1883 Report recommended the fixed-term promotion system be adopted in Dublin, with maximum pay granted after seven to eight years of service, instead of existing 15. 'After a constable has remained seven years in the force he may



Fig. 5.1 Dublin Metropolitan Police group photo, 1880 (*Source*: Garda Police Museum)

be considered a fixture; and it is at about this period too that he becomes a thoroughly efficient policeman.'¹⁷ The change in rank and pay were reflected in the Dublin Metropolitan Register. Despite these changes, the committee of inquiry made note of the unusually high number of resignations, which 'were more numerous than the average of all former years'.¹⁸ Indubitably, financially these men were far more secure than the unskilled labouring classes, yet it is worth noting that policemen's wages were lower than those of skilled artisans. Additionally, after the increase in 1883, in contrast to the general wages, policeman's pay remained unchanged well into the twentieth century.¹⁹

RECESSION

The cases printed in the *Irish Times* reflected the endemic hardships evident in the local economy. Even though theft and petty theft charges were always present in the police courts, there was a marked increase in the frequency of charges for larceny of food and scrap materials. Pilfering from the dockyards was widespread. The number of thefts habitually went up as the economy went into recession. As an unusual number of petty thefts took place at the docks, 'a watch was set to discover the thieves'.²⁰ A poor woman named Anne Gaffney was charged with having stolen some pieces of iron and steel from the Customhouse Docks. In May of the same year, a middle-aged woman, very poorly dressed, was charged before the Northern Division Police Magistrate with having stolen some potatoes from the provision shop at Nos. 1 and 2 Barrack Street. Mr Kearns, the proprietor of the shop, stated that on the previous night he saw the woman in his store. From what his daughter told him he believed the prisoner had been stealing some potatoes. 'He had suffered a good deal lately from thefts of this kind. He caught hold of her, and finding quantity of potatoes in her apron, tried to detain her; but she struggled to get away, attempted to bite him, and, getting one of his fingers in her mouth, "nearly took it off"'.²¹ An enquiry into the city's housing conditions confirmed the staggering level of destitution in the city.²² The Dublin slum tenements from 1880, which still housed nearly 40 per cent of the city's population, were already a distinct Dublin feature. A typical labouring family lived in a one-room accommodation, devoid of windows and furnished with only the most basic furniture.

The DMP statistics reflected the rise in petty offences. There were 50,205 offences disposed of summarily in 1880 against 48,334 offences

in 1879. The total for 1875 had been even lower and was estimated at 42,439. The total number of persons proceeded against on charges and summonses before magistrates in 1883 was 42,841, and in 1884, 48,582. The new peak followed in 1888, with 61,243 charges. The 1889 statistics showed a slight decrease of 619 to 60,624. In 1890 there was a further decrease to 58,340.²³

Contemporaneously, in Queensland, financial decline and labour unrest replaced the economic growth of the preceding decades. Parallel to Dublin, the rising numbers of charges for larceny and petty theft reported in the Police Court section of the *Brisbane Courier* reflected the economic change. Prosecutions for larceny of food and clothing items from shops and houses became distressingly frequent. 'The social consequences of the collapse of wool prices included a significant degree of labour conflict, requiring policing intervention.'²⁴ Charges for vagrancy, neglected children and child desertion mirrored the troubling pattern.

Shortly before the economic collapse, as the colonial population grew, in 1884, the Queensland Police contingent expanded to 873 men, including 194 native troopers and trackers.²⁵ Brisbane city maps demonstrate the rapid transformation of the settlement along the Brisbane River.²⁶ The economic upturn of the 1870s and 1880s, when wool exports led to a massive inflow of British capital, coincided with the reconstruction of Victoria Bridge. By connecting Brisbane's southern and northern central suburbs, the bridge facilitated the growth in the city's building trade. The number of buildings almost doubled between 1870 and 1885, from 2983 to 5750, on both sides of the river.²⁷ By 1890, undermined by the recession, Brisbane's population began to drop and the construction of new dwellings was halted. In 1890, 'the organisation of the workers and their demand for better conditions led to the declaration of industrial war upon an extended scale, and the great seaports of Australia became involved in the maritime strike'.²⁸ The year after the members of the Shearers' Union 'refused to sign an agreement submitted to them by a Convention of Pastoralists, and in the turmoil which followed, Queensland was the greatest sufferer of all the Colonies affected'.²⁹

With the main colonial exports crippled, the naval and shearers' strikes were widespread. On 5 September 1894, the Government submitted to Parliament 'An Act for the Better Preservation of the Peace in the Disturbed Districts', the short title being Peace Preservation Act of 1894.

The Act proclaimed western Queensland a ‘disturbed district’, a strategy routinely used in Ireland during the Land League agitations of the late 1870s and early 1880s.³⁰ Sections 5 and 13 of the Act prohibited the carrying of firearms and ammunition of any kind, and suspended *Habeas Corpus* for the following 12 months, giving power to arrest and detain any suspect without trial for 30 days under provisional warrant, and for two months under a special warrant.³¹ In his memoirs, the future Deputy Commissioner of the Force Michael O’Sullivan, who emigrated from Ireland in the 1880s to flee potential repercussions for his pranks on tourists intending to kiss the famous Blarney Stone, described the strike in the Central–West as a serious affair:

The country was well grassed and watered, and a number of the shearers were well mounted and armed, mostly with Winchester repeating rifles. There were four or five police held up at Capella Police Barracks, and although there was no one visible, if any of the police showed out, the sound of a rifle came from the long grass some distance away, with the swish of a bullet flying by.³²

At this stage, ‘there were five hundred men, well organised and partly armed in one camp at Clermont. Matters were developing into warlike conditions in that district. A large number of mounted infantry had been sworn in as special constables and came to the assistance of the police’.³³ The striking shearers’ had no intention of complying with the measures of the Peace Preservation Act.

In addition to the financial downturn, there were climatic problems: droughts of the late 1880s were succeeded by extreme floods. Theft of boots, tools, meat, various articles of clothing and food were prosecuted daily. The *Queensland Police Gazette* shows that in 1871 a total of 44 persons discharged from prisons across the colony had been sentenced for larceny; in 1881 the number increased by more than two and a half times, or 102 cases. The colonial population expanded also by 78 per cent, from 120,104 to 213,525, which in part accounts for the increased number of offences.³⁴ Destitution drove many women to the streets. ‘Joshua Stead, a larrikin, pleaded guilty to assaulting a girl of ill-fame named Susan McGowan. It appears he knocked the girl down and kicked her two or three times. The bench sentenced the prisoner to two months’ imprisonment with hard labour.’³⁵ Two months later, after her first appearance in January, Susan McGowan was assaulted again in March in Margaret

Street: ‘From the evidence for the prosecution it appears that Susan M’Gowan was standing in Margaret-street when the accused came out of a yard and threw a piece of road metal at her, striking in the head and knocking her down; he then went up to her and kicked her once in a face and once in the leg.’³⁶

The *Depositions and Minute Book* showed Ms McGowan’s second assailant appeared on three separate charges that day. Apart from assaulting Susan McGowan, Patrick Brittain was charged with being drunk and disorderly in Albert Street and with destroying police uniform to a value of 2*l*.³⁷ He pleaded guilty on the aforementioned counts, but not to the assault. Unfortunately, particulars of this case were unavailable. Hardly two months passed before another notice mentioning McGowan appeared, in which she was assaulted by Margaret Corkery in the same location, in Margaret Street. ‘From the evidence it appeared that the complainant was severely beaten by the accused. The assault arose out of some ill-feeling created by a recent case. The bench found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced her to two months’ imprisonment.’^{38,39} Susan McGowan appeared in two more assault cases over the months of June and July.⁴⁰

Persons often turned up at the police stations asking to be placed in the lockup for they had nowhere else to go and no money to feed themselves, or were a danger to themselves. John Cowan, a respectably dressed and respectable looking man of 54, was brought up before the Police Magistrate, having been in custody during the previous night for his own protection. The evidence of Constable Hayes went to show that Cowan admitted to him while on the way to the lockup that he had been drinking heavily, and that he had no money. Sub-Inspector O’Driscoll stated that Cowan went to the Roma-street Police Station on the previous day, and reported to Sub-Inspector White that he had tried various means of committing suicide, but did not succeed in effecting the purpose.^{41,42} The arresting Constable in the case, Martin Hayes, joined the Queensland Police Force in March 1890. A Roman Catholic labourer from Ireland, he was 26 years old at entry, and following 32 years of service in the Brisbane Metropolitan area he was superannuated at the rank of Sergeant in 1922.⁴³ Sub-Inspector John Waren White, on the other hand, spend most of his colonial law enforcement career in rural Queensland, dotted with only brief stints in Brisbane. He emigrated from England and joined the police as a cadet at 19.⁴⁴ Prosecuting Sub-Inspector Andrew O’Driscoll, like Hayes, was a Roman Catholic from Ballydehob Co. Cork, having previously served in the Irish Constabulary, he enlisted into the colonial force aged 23 in January 1867, three years after its inception.⁴⁵ The prolific careers

of both officers, one Anglican and one Catholic, demonstrate religious neutrality of the force.

Charges for vagrancy, wife desertion and children taken in as 'neglected' were quotidian. Marian Foster was brought up charged as a vagrant having no visible means of support. 'She pleaded guilty, and asked the bench to send her to the Magdalene Home.'⁴⁶ The presiding Police Magistrate, Mr Pinnock, ruled that he would send the prisoner to the asylum, but was not sure they would accept her, for according to him, 'it was scarcely right to ask the people at the home to support her as she belonged to the Church of England'.⁴⁷ Brisbane at the time was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

By the early twentieth century, Queensland's economy began the upward climb, coinciding with trades and industry workers' mounting attempts to unionise, which finally culminated in the Brisbane tramway employees' strike and violent clashes with the police. Unionism and labour disputes spread across Britain and the British colonies. Dickson shows 'the process of absorption of local trade societies into cross-channel amalgamated unions had proceeded fitfully for decades, with relatively little consequence for the world outside'⁴⁸ The waves of what he terms as 'new unions', which included the London dock strike of 1889, was a demonstration of 'the success of an unskilled labour alliance employing occasionally militant methods'.⁴⁹ These resonated, among other places, in Dublin in 1913. Toronto's Street Railway Company strike in March 1886, was a portent of what was to come in Brisbane and Dublin nearly three decades later.

PUBLIC UNREST

Toronto Street Car Lockout, 1886

For three days from 10 March 1886, the city was in chaos. Anticipating the disturbances, Frank Smith, the owner of the Toronto's Street Railway Company called on the police for assistance, which extraordinarily backfired. On 11 March, Mayor William Holmes Howland (1886–87) forwarded Smith a stern letter condemning his actions and holding him in strict accountability for violating the agreement between the city and the Company's charter, which required Smith to run his cars for 14 hours per day; for any injury that might come to any citizen or any policeman in connection with disturbances arising out of his actions towards the Company's employees; and for any injuries of the property belonging to

the city or to any citizen.⁵⁰ In the Mayor's view, Smith's request for police protection was to be considered a deliberate attempt to lock out a large number of his employees for wishing to exercise a legal liberty in joining a lawful body of society.

On the morning of 12 March, the North Toronto car was attacked on Adelaide Street, the driver and the conductor being swiftly overpowered. 'The mob unhitched the horses and drove them off, the police being utterly helpless. The excited crowd hurled missiles at the car, teetered on it and derailed it. Then they put it back in its place on the track and catching hold of the empty traces rushed off with it down the street.'⁵¹ All this time several blue coats were distinguished here and there in the crowd:

Eventually a squad of police arrived and deploying surrounded the car. Under direction of their superior officers they lifted the car back upon the rails attached a team of horses, and amid frantic hooting, jeering, hissing, and excitement they escorted the unfortunate vehicle back to the stables. Several attempts were made by sympathising teamsters to run their wagons and carts in front of the car to prevent its passage along the street, but in every instance a policeman led the obstructing conveyance off the track, and quietly, but determinedly, the escort proceeded on their way.⁵²

As Detective Cuddy attempted to arrest one Eugene Moran, a baker of 209 King Street East, for throwing a brick, he was met by violent resistance from the prisoner and the bystanders. Several policeman intervened but the mob grew larger and more audacious, and had not a squad of mounted men ridden up the man would have been 'freed': 'People scattered to escape being trampled down, some running into hallways, jumping on fences, or clinging to the bars on shop windows.'⁵³ Another car started up on George Street. In this instance the police used their batons freely and 'not a few of the aggressive member of the mob went home with sore heads.'⁵⁴ In the aftermath of the skirmish, twelve people were charged at the police court the next morning; offences ranged from shouting 'scabs' and 'rats' to assault on police.⁵⁵ Two civilians were injured—one man by a police baton on Front Street and one by a block on King Street. The author could not trace reports suggesting any police were seriously injured in the fracas. The available contemporary sources, such as the *Globe* reports and the *Toronto Police Force: Brief Account of the Force Since its Re-organisation in 1859 up to the Present Date*, prepared to accompany a photograph of the force to be sent to the Colonial Exhibit to be held on London in May 1886, both commended the conduct of the force 'under very trying circumstances'. Two days' extra leave was granted that year to

every officer and constable of the force in recognition of his recent duty and 'as a slight encouragement for the future'.⁵⁶

Brisbane General Strike, 1912

The general strike broke out in Brisbane between January and February 1912. Similar to the Toronto incident, it started out as a tram strike and quickly escalated to 20,000 workers withholding labour. The dispute initially arose out of the attempts by employees of the Brisbane Tramway Company to organise a union in parallel to Toronto. These attempts were strongly opposed by the manager and owner of the General Electric Company, an American, Joseph Stillman Badger. In Melbourne and Adelaide tramway employees were facing similar opposition and were banned from wearing any sign of membership of the union, such as badges. Nevertheless, the badges arrived at Brisbane in January 1912. 'It was decided they should be worn on the 18th, and large crowds of sightseers appeared in Queen Street, especially near the G.P.O. At the appointed time most of the tramwaymen on the cars donned the badge.'⁵⁷ Union sympathisers cheered on the wearers. At the tram depot, Badgers met the workers with an ultimatum: no badge or no work. As the majority chose to wear the badge, the company was forced to suspend the tram service after 7 o'clock in the evening due to a severe staff shortage.

The same day, 18 January, a crowd of 10,000 gathered in Market Square to hear speeches from the union leaders; more meetings followed over the next few days (Fig. 5.2).

In anticipation of major unrest, Queensland Police Commissioner Cahill began transfers of extra men stationed in the area. 'For the first two days the Brisbane police, with a little reinforcement from nearby stations, had to face what came their way.'⁵⁸ Inspector Michael O'Sullivan,⁵⁹ originally from Grenagh, Co. Cork, suggested mounted police be utilised for crowd control, as a 'squad of a mounted police could break up a mob numbering thousands, amongst whom three hundred foot police would be impotent and almost lost'.⁶⁰ A meeting in Turbot Street resulted in congestion of the area and though the police were present on the scene they found themselves powerless. As a result, mounted men were called in; the traffic flow was restored in under 20 minutes. Following the success of mounted police in crowd managing, every mounted policeman from within two hundred miles of Brisbane was called in to the city. Within 48 hours there were mounted police patrolling main city streets in pairs.⁶¹ In addition to



Fig. 5.2 1912 general strike, Market Square (King George Square), Brisbane, 1912 (*Source*: Queensland Police Museum)

the mounted police, mounted bushmen concentrated in Brisbane in large numbers. O'Sullivan noted them as 'a splendid lot of fellows "itching for a scrap" ... their enthusiasm was at times rather embarrassing, as harsh and unnecessary use of force is very undesirable in industrial disputes.'⁶² Three thousand special constables were also sworn in, 'almost every business house in Brisbane was represented in this little army'.⁶³ The first significant fracas occurred at North Quay when, according to the recollections of Constable O'Driscoll,⁶⁴ another Irishman from Bantry, Co. Cork, was being arrested by the police who were attacked by a threatening crowd.⁶⁵

Eventually, on 30 January, the Combined Unions Strike Committee brought Brisbane trade and commerce to a halt. Within a few days the Strike Committee became an alternative government. No work could be undertaken in Brisbane without a special permit from the Strike Committee. This Committee organised 500 vigilance officers to keep order among strikers and set up its own Ambulance Brigade. Government

departments and private employers needed the Strike Committee's permission to carry out any work. The Strike Committee issued strike coupons that were honoured by various firms. Red ribbons were generally worn as a mark of solidarity, not only by people but also on their pet dogs and horses pulling carts.⁶⁶

An application by the Strike Committee for a permit for a march on 2 February 1912, however, was refused by Police Commissioner Patrick Cahill. On the day, a double file of police with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets were in close formation across the road in Albert Street from the Methodist Church to the Roma Street Barracks on the expected route of the procession. The footed men in turn were backed up by a formidable array of mounted police, in the charge of the Commissioner himself, and a further body of mounted men supported on the left flank. 'Police dispositions were made to nip the procession in the bud.'⁶⁷ Despite the refusal of a permit, as anticipated, by 10 o'clock in the morning about 20,000 people were already gathered in the area of the Trades Hall in Turbot Street—5000 outside the Hall alone and the rest distributed in Albert Street and Roma Street nearby. The crowd, instead of dispersing by the open road, turned the corner and was confronted by the police. 'Immediately the mounted men were upon them, and they were flung back by the chests of the horses', eerily mirroring the Toronto experience.⁶⁸ However, as soon as the crowd was broken up it formed again. When the footmen came into the fray dull blows descended in all directions:

In a mad chase up George-street six men went down in a heap, but soon were up again, and running as if for their lives ... larrikins never displayed such activity ... they were hunted of every hole and corner, and received a sound whack when dislodging. One of the strikers said confidentially that he was simply disgusted with the conduct of police.⁶⁹

The appearance of the special constables added fuel to the fire, 'and as the crowd swept into the [Market] Square missiles started to fly and women added to the pandemonium by screaming opprobrious epithets at the police. The demonstrators were determined and hostile and they looked really dangerous then'.⁷⁰ The procession of women was caught between the opposing groups. Their attack was led by Mrs Miller 'an aged little lady, who could almost be blown over by a puff of wind'.⁷¹ Mrs Miller, a Labour stalwart, proved herself in battle and gained notoriety by using a hatpin on Commissioner Cahill's horse which got him thrown off. The

date of 2 February 1912 became known as Black Baton Friday for the savagery of the police baton charges on crowds of unionists and supporters. The ambulances treated quite a few casualties from both sides.

DUBLIN LOCKOUT, 1913

A year later, from February 1913 to February 1914, violence surrounding labour unrest reached Dublin. Just during August and September 1913 alone there were 15 distinct and separate riots, with a number of them resulting in large-scale clashes with the DMP. Twelve of these occurred on Saturday 30 August and Sunday 31 August—five and seven per day respectively. The findings of the Dublin Disturbances Commission established that only a few of these riots had their origin in organised tram-car attacks, while the remainder predominately originated from organised attacks on the police. Two men died and hundreds were injured.

The relationship between the DMP and the public was charged for some time. This state of affairs had been escalating for months before erupting into the series of major riots. Dublin newspapers printed daily court proceedings of assaults on the police on duty. There was tension and inevitable hostility between the DMP ranks and the people. Inquiries made in early September determined that there were 910 policemen on duty in Dublin in connection with the strikes. The force was comprised of 500 DMP men (nearly half the total strength) and 410 men from the RIC drawn from various places all over the country. In the aftermath of the labour disturbances, between August and December, a total of 656 people were apprehended, with 416 of them imprisoned. The inquiry into the disturbances concluded that these riots were not confined to working men only, for in all of them the worst element was supplied by those who seldom or never work, and who may be described as the corner-boys and criminal class in the city.⁷² Roughly half of the interned men held previous convictions.

These events divided society not only into unionists and ‘scabs’, but placed the civic police force on the other side of the barricades from the community it was meant to serve. Since its inception, the objective of the DMP was to prevent crime and preserve peace (Fig. 5.3).

The vice regal commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of the police during the riots found that the DMP men did precisely that and

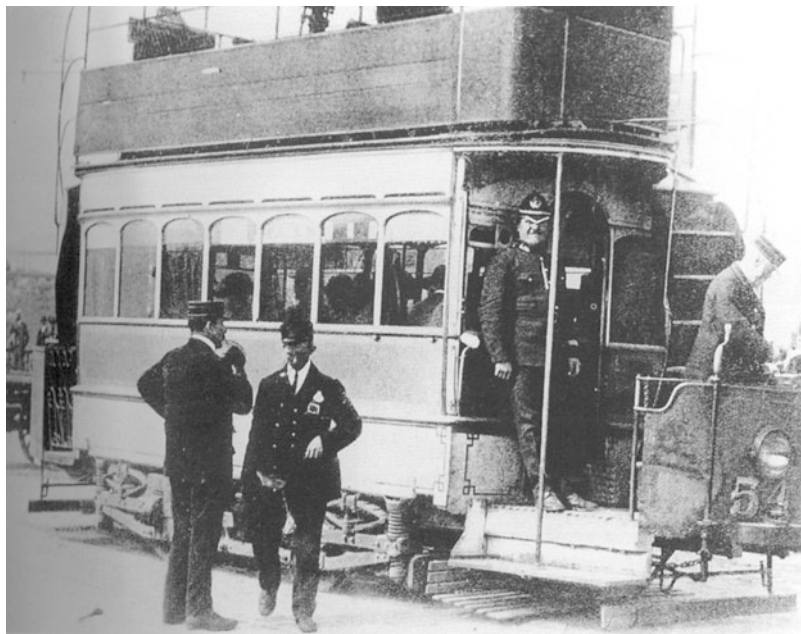


Fig. 5.3 Dublin Metropolitan policeman on a tram *c.*1913 (*Source:* Garda Police Museum)

discharged their duties with courage and patience. The total number of constables injured in the riots exceeded 200.

The press coverage of the day provides conflicting evidence, however. Reports quoted witnesses whose testimonials swore of unprovoked violence from the police armed with batons, indiscriminately charging at the crowds. Likewise, during a cross-examination, two witnesses swore on oath that they saw the police attack Liberty Hall, the Head Quarters of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, without any provocation. The Liberty Hall was set up in the long-abandoned Northumberland Hotel beside the Custom House in 1912.⁷³ A witness, Charles McDay stated that he saw the police rush across and clear the square in front of the 'Hall'. He then saw other police come down from O'Connell Bridge and on running towards Eden Quay he witnessed James Nolan being struck by 224C with a baton on the side of the head near the ear. James Nolan was one of the

two men killed during the riots. Nolan sustained a fracture of the skull, which resulted in his death at Jervis Street Hospital on the morning of Sunday 31 August, the day after he sustained his injury during the night riot.⁷⁴ The post-mortem examination found that the injury was caused by the blow of a baton. Accounts printed in the *Irish Times* stated that the police retaliation was in response to the showers of stones that rained on them from the windows of the surrounding buildings. Stones, bricks and bottles were thrown by the crowd. The riot in this locality went on for a long time, and while it lasted the throwing of stones and bottles was almost continuous and, according to the inquiry into these disturbances, many injuries were inflicted.

The DMP constables, working men themselves, were placed in a precarious situation. The orders to provide protection to William Martin Murphy's Tramway Company in running their cars notwithstanding, the strike created greater resentment against the police. Jim Larkin's rhetoric was to the effect that a non-unionist worker, or a scab, is a traitor to his class, a deserter who goes over to the enemy in time of war to fight against his own people. The Liverpool-born James Larkin, was 'a man of rare energy and tactical guile and a public speaker whose magnetism was reminiscent of John Mitchel [a co-leading Confederate with William Smith O'Brien, and a key player in the success of the *Nation* and *United Irishman*]'.⁷⁵ Even though the policemen were inadvertently made into accomplices in this 'war', an overwhelming majority of the DMP recruits were of the labouring stock themselves. Many of them enlisted to secure modest but stable incomes for their families.

Undoubtedly, these men were financially more secure than the unskilled labouring classes. Still, the policemen's wages were significantly lower than the wages of the skilled artisans. Moreover, in contrast to the general rise in workmen's wages, 10 per cent in skilled labour and 20 in unskilled, policeman's pay remained constant from 1883, while by 1914 Dublin rents had increased by a quarter. As it stood, Irish policemen had been under financial strain for some years. In the popular mind, however, during the Lockout these men seemingly sided with 'capital' against 'labour', which naturally fuelled fervid resentment and eventually violence. The scale of it was striking but not incomprehensible, for there existed prejudice in the minds and bitterness in the hearts of all entangled in the conflict.

CRIME

The number of non-indictable offences remained high for the remaining decades of the nineteenth century, but with a distinctive dip in violent offences and especially so against the police. The socio-political sentiments of the time, one would have assumed, would have fostered hostility towards the authorities. In Dublin, in 1875, there were 845 assaults and obstruction charges, 746 in 1880 and 545 in 1885. In 1890, there was a further decrease to 475 and to 244 (192 males and 52 females) in 1895, while the metropolitan district population remained more or less constant, fluctuating at just over 260,000 (Fig. 5.4).⁷⁶

As the number of arrests for obstruction of justice and assaults on arresting constables declined, the assaults became more brutal and sophisticated. In the rescue cases there developed a distinct tendency to ‘gang up’. In April 1882, a labourer named John Martin was brought up in the custody of Constable Reilly, 203A, charged with having been drunk and disorderly in Francis Street: ‘He resisted arrest, and struck the constable in the face and cut him. The constable also stated that he kicked him, butted him in the stomach, and struck him on the head, and he so ill-used his helmet that it was damaged in this respect to the amount of 7s.6d.’⁷⁷ In addition to this ‘Constable Keating, 81A, who came to the assistance of his brother of the force, was also assaulted. Martin struck him a blow on the nose, and caused the blood to flow freely.’⁷⁸ Martin was sentenced to a month’s imprisonment for assaulting Constable Reilly and an extra fortnight for the assault on Constable Keating.

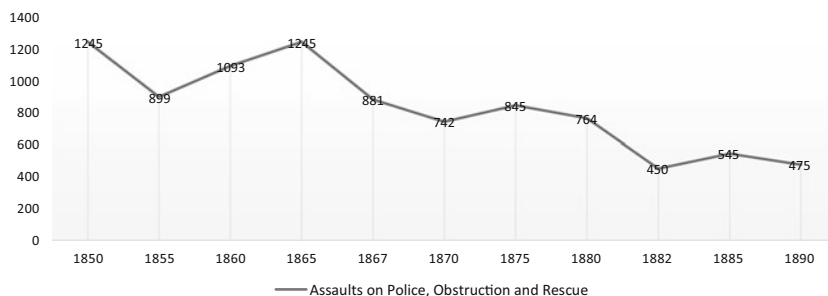


Fig. 5.4 Number of persons taken into custody for committing assaults on police, Dublin, 1850–90 (*Source*: Statistical Tables of the DMP)

A month later, in the Southern Divisional Police Court, four young men were charged with having been members of a disorderly crowd that obstructed the thoroughfares and assaulted the police. According to the testimonies, a large crowd had assembled on Thursday (4 May) night at the Corn Market, where they lit a bonfire to celebrate Davitt's release. Michael Davitt, founder of the Irish [Land League](#) (1879), which advocated for resistance to absentee landlordism, fixed tenure, fair rent and free sale of the tenant's interest, was released in 1885 after three years' imprisonment for seditious language. 'The police attempted to put out the fire, but they were hissed, hooted, and attacked with stones. Even the staves of the burning tar barrels were thrown at them, and some people in the crowd cried out to make a general assault on the constables. The prisoners were amongst the crowd.'⁷⁹

In May 1885, within a span of two days, there were three cases of arrests and attempted rescues in Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire). A young man named Michael Egan was charged with having been drunk and disorderly in Patrick Street and with assaulting arresting Constable 111F. During the arrest, four young men attempted to rescue Egan, 'and called on the crowd to assist them'.⁸⁰ The next day, Thomas Hurley, a parcel porter at Kingstown, was remanded to the district court on a charge of having used abusive language to Detective Officer Johnston, 'and after arrest he assaulted the officer and the constables who came to his assistance'.⁸¹ The same day the Chief Magistrate disposed of another case in Kingstown. Seven young men were put forward in custody charged with having rescued a prisoner from the custody of Constable 68E. 'The Constable stated he was conveying a drunken man to the station when the prisoners met him and rescued the prisoner and assaulted him.'⁸² The prisoners were remanded to Kingstown Police Court.

Apart from the dynamite campaign of 1891–93, the final decades of the century saw little fluctuation in offences against the person, and, according to the *Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police*, the annual totals did not exceed 2000 persons. In fact, the *Criminal and Judicial Statistics, Ireland* (1890) noted an overall improvement in the numbers of offences of a more serious nature, such as indictable offences. 'In the Reports for each year since 1882 with the exception of 1886, continued through last year, the number of cases [shows] a decrease of nine per cent, as compared with that for 1889, and being both absolutely and in proportion to the estimated population lower than the number for any of the ten years 1880–89, and much below the average for that period.'⁸³

Distribution of the more serious offences throughout Ireland demonstrates that the DMP district, in absolute terms, had the highest number of reported offences under all listed categories: against the person, against property with violence, against property without violence, malicious offences against property, forgery and against currency. The rate of serious offences against the person was 10.3 per 10,000 of Dublin's population in 1891, while the average for the whole of Ireland was 2.3.⁸⁴ The DMP district covered roughly 30 square miles out of nearly 32,500 square miles of the island's land mass. The population of the District in 1891 was 352,277, or just over 10 per cent of the total Irish population.⁸⁵ The effective strength of the force in the same decade averaged around 1217 in 1895 and 1212 of all ranks in 1899.⁸⁶ A total of 941 constables patrolled the streets of the District, or an equivalent of roughly 10 per cent of the total number of the RIC contingent at the time (9547).⁸⁷ Proportionately, the police-to-population ratio within the DMP district was about the same as in the rest of the country. The metropolitan district area, however, was approximately one-thousandth of the total land mass. In other words, there were more people to commit crimes within the DMP area, and a higher concentration of policemen per square mile to witness it. This in part accounts for the much higher reported crime rates within the metropolitan district compared with the rest of the country.

The 1890s saw a further decrease in offences, both indictable and summary. Even with the changes in classification of some offences from non-indictable to quasi-criminal, 1895 saw 2118 indictable offences, from which 1838 constituted offences against property without violence and only 85 instances of offences against the person. The total number of persons dealt with summarily for the same year was 22,730, a truly remarkable drop from 50,000 to nearly 60,000 average recorded for the 1880s, while the DMP district population saw little fluctuation between 1885 and 1899, 359,000 and 352,000, rising from 337,000 in 1880 and peaking in 1890 (362,000).⁸⁸ Dublin City alone registered a population increase between 1891 and 1901, by 18.6 per cent, from 245,001 to 290,638, the first instance of significant population growth in the last half-century.⁸⁹ The newly introduced quasi-criminal proceedings included magistrate's orders for matters involving sureties, maintenance, stolen goods, employers and workmen, children, Sanitary Law, small tenements (orders for possession) and the like. These amounted to 12,296, but if combined with the non-indictable offences the total number was still significantly lower than the numbers recorded five to ten years previously. The sole exclu-

sion to the general downward trend was drink-related offences, which showed a sharp increase by 13,040 arrests during the final five years of the century.⁹⁰

Marked disintegration of local industries, dispossession of tenant farmers and cheap foreign crop imports crippled the Dublin economy. Agrarian agitation and campaigns to reduce rents furthered rising discontent and radicalism in Ireland. The economic recession led to an increase in the theft of basic necessities and food. As statistical evidence demonstrates, assaults, particularly assaults against the police, were waning. Nonetheless, the policeman's lot did not ease. A significant decrease in the number of assaults was 'compensated' for by increased brutality and a generally sullen hostility from the public, which was manifested in a rise of charges for obstruction and rescue. Additionally, the pay rise granted following the 1882 police strike had little long-term impact on police living standards and morale.

Continuous evictions, economic depression and general disaffection inevitably fed into nationalist sentiments and radicalisation of the latter. A series of politically and economically fuelled riots plagued Dublin and Brisbane well into the twentieth century, testing the strength and resolve of the local forces while further fostering anti-police sentiments. The surge in nationalist activity invariably impacted the lives and duties of the DMP. The level of hostility and violence directed at the Dublin Police had never reached the degree of the sectarian violence and animosity witnessed by the RIC men, however, and as the following chapter will show, the darkest hour before the dawn was yet to come.

NOTES

1. Mr. Peter McDonald, 'Minutes and Evidence', *Report from the Select Committee on Industries (Ireland)*. HC/PP1884-95 (288), p. 544.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 545.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 552-73.
4. Mick O'Driscoll, *Notorious Crimes and Criminals* (QPS Museum, 1949), p. 18.
5. 'Population by Counties and Provinces, 1821-1911', in *Irish Historical Statistics, Population, 1821-1971*, by W. E. Vaughan and J. A. Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 5.
6. 'Police Force', *Statistical Returns of the DMP for the 1880*, p. xii.

7. 'Police Force', *Statistical Returns of the DMP for the 1880*, p. xiii.
8. The subjects were almost entirely confined to the field of police duties in the street, the public-house and the licensing laws, and the carriage and traffic acts. The candidates had to be able to read, to spell, to write legibly, and be capable of drafting an intelligent report.
9. David Harrel served as the Commissioner from 1883 to 1893.
10. David Harrel, *Recollections and Reflections by The Right Honourable Sir David Harrel*, p. 61.
11. Charles Ryan, Diary №9 (1882–4), TCD Ms10352, pp. 41–2.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Harrel, *Recollections and Reflections by The Right Honourable Sir David Harrel*, pp. 62–3.
15. Ibid., p. 63.
16. *Dublin Metropolitan Police. Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1883* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1883), p. 1.
17. Ibid., p. 7.
18. Ibid., p. 3.
19. *Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police. Appendix to the report of the committee of inquiry, 1914. containing minutes of evidence with appendices. 1914–16* [HCPP Cd. 7637].
20. 'Thefts, Police Intelligence', in 'Law Intelligence', *Irish Times*, 6 January 1880, p. 3.
21. 'Theft, Police Intelligence – Yesterday', in 'Law Intelligence', *Irish Times*, 7 May 1880, p. 3.
22. *Royal Commission on the House of the Working Classes (Ireland)*, 1884.
23. *Statistical Returns of the DMP, 1880–1890*.
24. M. Finnane, 'The Varieties of Policing: Colonial Queensland, 1860–1900', in *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830–1940*, ed. by D. M. Anderson and D. Killingray, D. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 37.
25. 'Report of the Commissioner of Police for the Year 1885', *QVP* 1886, p. 1.
26. W. Ross Johnston, *Brisbane: The First Thirty Years* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1988), p. 257.
27. 'Statistics of the Colony of Queensland for the Years 1870 and 1885', *QVP* 1871 and 1886.

28. Harry C. Perry, *A Son of Australia: Memories of W.E. Parry-O'keden*, I.S.O. 1840–1926. (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson, & Co., 1928), p. 243.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 44.
31. Ibid., p. 248.
32. O'Sullivan. *Cameos of Crime*, p. 93.
33. Ibid.
34. 'Historical Tables, Population, 1823–2008', Office of Economic and Statistical Research Queensland Treasury.
35. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Tuesday, 13 January 1885.
36. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Thursday, 19 March 1885.
37. *Depositions Book No 42* (January 1885–March 1885) QSA ID 970965, pp. 50, 491.
38. Susan McGowan's offender in the previous cases was ordered three months' imprisonment.
39. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Friday, 8 May 1885.
40. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Friday, 5 June 1885 and CPC, BC, Saturday, 4 July 1885.
41. Presently the head quarters of the Queensland Police Service.
42. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Friday, 31 October 1890.
43. Hayes, Martin, Reg No 741; 316, QSA file 3484, QPS Museum Collection.
44. White, John Warren, QSA file 2347, QPS Museum Collection.
45. O'Driscoll, Andrew, Reg No 212 (dob 1844, height 6'2"), QPS Museum Collection.
46. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, Monday, 3 November 1890.
47. Ibid.
48. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, p. 426.
49. Ibid.
50. 'Street Car Lock-Out', *Globe*, 12 March 1886, p. 8.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. 'Street-Car Troubles: The Men to Resume Work this Morning', *Globe*, 13 March 1886, p. 16.
54. Ibid.
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The DMP in Transition

In the early 1880s, the economic depression enveloped the Irish capital and the country. The ‘No Rent’ manifesto, which called for a national tenant farmer rent strike, could not have been declared at a more opportune time. Social unrest walked hand in hand with the economic downturn. As has been rightly observed by one contemporary, a man who is content with his situation will not cause discontent on the larger scale.¹ Shaken by the activities of the Land League and a new extremist group, the Invincibles, Dublin of the early 1880s witnessed weekly deaths and shootings in the city and the countryside. Since the early winter of 1880, the state of the country had worsened; the newspapers reported landlords and agents being shot; a police sergeant stoned to death, during the attack the party shot two of their assailants. The number of people under police protection in and around the city increased. Requisitions were made by sheriffs and bailiffs for police assistance, ensuing in large-scale police deployments to distant areas. As a result, police were harassed and too frequently absent from their own Districts.² Police protection of all Dublin judges and prominent government officials, who were as a rule escorted by two constables in plain clothes, armed with revolvers,³ further taxed the police resources. An emergency requisition to the Admiralty for the temporary services of 200 marines, in addition to nightly patrols by small troops of military followed.⁴

On Monday 3 April 1882, Charles Ryan, a legal reporter for the *Freeman’s Journal*, recorded: ‘The usual Sunday murder took place yester-

day.⁵ The entry marked the day of the assassination of Mrs Maria Smyth, the sister-in-law of a Westmeath landlord. ‘Mr W. B. Smythe who lives near Mullingar was fired at on his return from church, the shot missed him but Mrs Smythe was shot dead.’⁶ The Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) suspected involvement of the Invincibles. ‘Dublin was at this time panic-stricken by the frequency of these outrages.’⁷ The Home Secretary in agreement with Lord Lieutenant Spencer had Dublin declared a proclaimed area.⁸

The arrests of Parnell, Dillon, Sexton and other Land League leaders had led to ‘feverish excitement’ in the city as Harrel described it—the forces of disorder were daily becoming stronger, and unrest reached its zenith in October 1881 with a collision between the DMP and a political demonstration. What became known as the Sackville Street riot further eroded the relationship between the police and the public, and damaged the force’s already dwindling *esprit de corps*. In his report for 1881, Thomas Nedley, the medical officer, reported that 82 men had suffered ‘dangerous assaults’, compared to 25 the previous year, 30 in 1879 and 37 in 1878.⁹ The number totally overshadowed occupational hazards such as acute rheumatism, and extremely contagious typhoid fever.

The manner in which the Dublin Police handled the extensive rioting that erupted on Sackville Street became a matter of deep controversy. The confrontations came in the wake of Parnell’s arrest earlier in the day and his removal to Kilmainham gaol. Charles Stewart Parnell, the founder of the Irish Parliamentary Party and a Land Leaguer, was imprisoned under the Coercion Act for sabotaging the Land Act by signing the No Rent Manifesto. The *Irish Times* reported that scenes of an abuse of authority and an excessive use of police force had taken place. These in turn drew even larger crowds:

The frenzy of the police, which began to exhibit itself near midnight on Saturday was at its height about seven o’clock yesterday evening, and Sackville street and the neighbourhood became the spot where the outrage was perpetrated. Numbers were batoned, hustled, or thrown down, and the brutality of the onslaught could hardly be exaggerated. The affair was so astounding, so unlike the Dublin police, that the perplexity of those that escaped was as great as our own is in attempting to account for such an event.¹⁰

Captain George Talbot, Chief Commissioner of the DMP (1877–1883), who stood with his men on Sackville Street, was sickened by the violence

and indeed ordered his men ‘to put up’ their batons and disperse the mob without them. ‘But many of the big DMP men were set to finish the job and put their batons up their sleeves rather than their tail-coat pockets, so that a seemingly innocent bang with the forearm would become as momentous as the kick of a mule.’¹¹ The police that night exchanged their greatcoats before coming out, making identification difficult should there be subsequent enquiries. There were no winners in the violent encounter, and nearly half of the people who received hospital attention were policemen.

The reaction from Westminster came in the form of over 5000 cavalry, artillery and infantry who were deployed to Dublin, with 1000 horses and 16 guns. Each sentinel was provided with 20 rounds of ball cartridge and a large store of ammunition. A detachment of the Royal Engineers arrived from the Curragh camp to be added to the Dublin flying column, and the 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade dispatched a reinforcement of 200 non-commissioned officers and men with officers to the metropolis. Another 30 non-commissioned officers, in addition to Foot Guards and Royal North Lancashire Regiment, were all quartered within the city,¹² such was the perceived threat to public order.

As detachments of cavalry, artillery, infantry and flying columns were posted to Dublin, throughout the early to mid 1880s the high concentration of military presence resulted in an increase in assaults of and by soldiers. Thousands were mobilised and quartered in barracks around the city.¹³ This increased military presence, in the relatively confined space of the Dublin area, resulted in occasional displays of force and misdirected violence. In July 1885, Joseph Preston, a private of the Highland Light Infantry, was charged in the Northern Divisional Police Court by Constable 142C with ‘being drunk in Lower Gardiner Street and pushing and pulling the passengers off the footway. When the constable remonstrated with the prisoner he struck him in the face and resisted all the way to the police station. The prisoner said he had nothing new to say in explanation of his conduct’.¹⁴ A few months earlier, two soldiers named Wilson and Adams, both privates, were arrested and charged with robbing a woman in Southern Division. The evidence showed that the two men stole a parcel and a bag containing 5*s.9d.* from a woman named Brady. Brady stated that on Saturday night she was drinking with the two prisoners and another man. The latter paid for some porter, and then left them. The prisoners then asked her to get them drinks, and she took out a bottle of whiskey which she had in her bag and gave it to them. ‘They drank

the contents of the bottle in the street. She was afterwards going home through Poolbeg Street when Wilson snatched the bag out of her hand and also the parcel, which contained stays, and ran away.¹⁵

In September of the same year, James Bryan, a private in the 19th Hussars, was charged with assaulting Private James Barry, of the Garrison Military Police.¹⁶ The case was heard in the Southern Divisional Police Court. It was alleged that Bryan knocked Barry down, kicking him, and striking him in the face with a riding whip. Bryan was further charged with the theft of the complainant's forage cap, belt and cane. A month later in the Northern Division, two privates of the 1st Battalion Scots Guards, named McClean and Jackson, were charged with having seriously assaulted James Doyle of the Dublin Fusiliers several nights previously. 'It appeared that the assault was of an aggravated nature, that Doyle was knocked down, kicked about the body, and struck on the head with a soda water bottle. The accused were caught in the act by Police Constable 180C. The prisoners said they had been robbed in a house in Elliott Place [the same street the assault took place].'¹⁷ Finally, on 19 October, a private in the Cornwall Regiment was charged with assaulting another soldier named Pegler in Sackville Street: 'Inspector Fleming, who arrested the prisoner, stated that the prisoner had informed him that Pegler hit him in the eye, and he [the prisoner] then knocked him down. The belt the prisoner wore last night bore marks of blood.'¹⁸ Pegler was removed to the Dr Steeven's Hospital, where he remained for some time in critical condition.

PHOENIX PARK MURDERS

Following a six-month incarceration in Kilmainham, Parnell negotiated a political deal, known as the Kilmainham Treaty, 'that promised to de-escalate the Land War, and in early May 1882, the League Leadership emerged as heroes out of jail. A new and more reform-minded team, led by Earl Spencer, was appointed to take over the Irish government'.¹⁹ On Saturday, 6 May 1882, following Spencer's swearing in, the newly appointed Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish and Under-Secretary Thomas H. Burke were ambushed and murdered as they walked in Phoenix Park. The murders were carried out by two men, Tim Kelly and Joe Brady, aided by two accessories. The men were members of the advanced nationalist assassination group the Invincibles, a breakaway group of city Fenians.

It is believed that the original target of the assassination plot was Burke, the Irish-born and long-serving head of administration in Dublin Castle.

Lord Cavendish was assumed an unwanted witness. The two men were ‘stabbed and slashed’ with surgical knives previously smuggled from London. As the evidence showed, the Chief Secretary put up a fight with his umbrella, which was recovered, badly damaged, next to his body. The following excerpt from Charles Ryan’s diary best captures the events of the seven days surrounding the murders:

May 5th Friday

The release of Davitt was announced last night in the House of Commons.

Lord Spencer – Lord Lieutenant; Frederick Cavendish – Chief Secretary

May 6th Saturday

This afternoon the new Lord Lieutenant Earl Spencer and his Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish entered Dublin in state. Before night fell the Chief Secretary and the Under Secretary were both lying corpses with their throats cut, having as far as the meagre information that has yet arrived shows, been attacked near the Chief Secretary’s Lodge in the Park by four men and stabbed to death.

Monday May 8th

No event of modern times has caused so much horror and even despair as the tragedy of Saturday evening, Davitt who was liberated that morning, Parnell and Dillon have issued a manifesto, and every public body of every town in Ireland in meeting to denounce the outrage.

Lord Frederick Cavendish was about 7 o’clock walking along the main road when he was joined by T.H. Burke. A boy who was birdsnesting saw a car with four men drive up [Joe Brady, Thomas Caffrey, Patrick Delaney and Timothy Kelly], the men got off and attacked the two gentlemen, he thought it was a wrestling match the gentlemen fell, the men got in a car and drove away. Two bicyclists were the next on the scene. Lord Frederick was dead being dreadfully gashed and stabbed, Burke had his throat cut but breathed. The corpses were taken to Steevens Hospital. The men are believed to be American Fenians. It is said Lord Spencer saw the struggle from the Viceregal Lodge but believed it to be a wrestling match. It is probable Burke alone was the object of attack.

Wednesday May 10th

Meetings to protest against the Phoenix Park murders are being held all over the country.

Sunday May 14th

There was a meeting of car owners in the Park to express indignation at the recent murders, thousands of people were in the Park gathered round two bare spots on the grass where Lord Cavendish and Mr Burke are believed to have died.²⁰

The post-mortem report published in the *British Medical Journal* (13 May 1882) posited that all wounds were puncture wounds inflicted by the same weapon, nine or ten inches long and ‘exceedingly keen and well-tempered’.²¹ The report presumed the men were attacked simultaneously in front and from behind. The description of the wounds clearly indicated the ferocity of the attack, as nearly each strike penetrated through to the bone. While attempting to defend himself, Lord Cavendish’s left forearm was cut. The gash exposed the muscle and the bone, which was fractured and a portion of it was sliced away, while one of Mr Burke’s neck wounds extended all the way through to the spine. Parnell, Davitt and Dillon condemned the attack as ‘cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger’, further adding that ‘until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke are brought to justice, that stain will sully our country’s name’.²²

The Coercion Act was passed soon after the Phoenix Park murders. The Act allowed imprisonment without trial, trial without jury, and stop and search to be carried out. Superintendent John Mallon of the G Division, DMP, led the investigation. Within a week, Mallon knew from informers the names of those who had assassinated Cavendish and Burke in Phoenix Park. However, as the Act lapsed in September all suspects interned in July had to be released. Attacks on civilians continued.

On 11 November 1882, an attempt was made to shoot Judge Lawson. He was saved by the constable protecting him, who managed to arrest the assailant before he could fire the shot. In his *Recollections*, Harrel identified the prisoner as Patrick Delany. He was eventually tried as an Invincible, and one of the actual murderers of Lord Cavendish and Mr Burke. Harrel’s account deviates from Frederick Moir Bussy’s, a contemporary writer and unofficial biographer of famed Detective John Mallon. Bussy identified the assailant, who was convicted of an attempt to shoot Judge Lawson as Daniel, not Patrick, Delaney. Delaney was sentenced to death for his involvement with the extremist group, but having turned informer his sentence was commuted.

Nearly two weeks after the attempted shooting, one Mr Field, a Dublin merchant who had acted as juror in a prominent case in which Francis Hynes was tried for a murder of a herdsman in County Clare, was stabbed in a quiet street close to his own home. On 27 November, while on his way home to dinner he was met in North Frederick Street by ‘a car containing two men, one of whom jumped off and stabbed Field in six places with a sword’.²³ Field was stabbed in the arms, chest and cheek. During

the attack ‘he seized the weapon and broke it. The men then knocked him down and wounded him in the back, after which they jumped on the car and told the jarvey to drive quick “for heaven’s sake”.’²⁴ The assailants drove off in the direction of Drumcondra. Field complained that several persons saw him as he lay on the ground, but did not offer assistance. Once again involvement of the Invincibles was suspected. Later, the trial confirmed it. Two members, Joseph Mullett and Lawrence Hanlon, were found guilty and sentenced to penal servitude for life.²⁵

With the expiration of the Peace Preservation Act, all the suspected persons apprehended in connection with the Phoenix Park Murders were released. This lapse of control by the authorities was followed by an apparent increase in violence and lawlessness.²⁶ On 25 November 1882, during a shoot-out on Middle Abbey Street, Detective Constable John Cox (DMP 8511, A Division) was ‘assassinated in the discharge of his duty’.²⁷ About eleven o’clock that Saturday night, a party of police spotted a group of men near a laneway who were following them. A contemporary article from the *New York Times* speculated that the murderers were ‘lying in wait’ for seven judges who had dined that evening in Mountjoy Square and who were expected to pass through the spot. The *Irish Times* placed the suspected persons in the immediate neighbourhood of Sackville (O’Connell) Street, near the General Post Office.²⁸ ‘One of the men named Dowling stepped out and faced the police. Constable Cox went to arrest him when Dowling fired shooting him dead, Detectives Eastwood and Stratford fired in quick succession and brought Dowling to the ground.’²⁹ Approximately a dozen shots were exchanged, ‘and a second man named Devine nearly succeeded in pulling Eastwood *hors de combat* when a military sergeant with a drawn sword arrested him. Cox dead and Dowling dying were taken to hospital, Devine was lodged in Store St Station’.³⁰

Dowling shot Constable Cox at point blank, firing twice and mortally wounding him in the head and severing the vertebral column; a medical inquest pronounced that Constable Cox’s death was instantaneous. The ‘military sergeant’ who intervened was Sergeant Thomas Danvers, of the 1st Battalion King’s Own Rifle Brigade. He heard the revolver shots, drew his sword and rushed over to the place where combatants were firing at one another.³¹ ‘Attracted by the affray, a crowd of about 50 persons assembled and a drunken woman among them called upon the people to shoot the soldier, herself endeavouring to trip him up.’³² Sergeant Danvers reported that at the time of his arrival at the crime scene, a crowd of about a hundred or more gathered around the detectives and the perpetrators.

No one apart from two gentlemen from Glasgow and London answered Detective Eastwood's plea for assistance. Dowling (or Dolan, who also gave his name as Dooley, a gasfitter from 34 Upper Kevin Street) was shot by Detective Eastwood. Later, when Dowling was convalescing in the Jervis Street Hospital, a mob attacked the building 'with the object of removing him. The mob shouted and yelled and tried to break open the doors ... The Police were telegraphed for, and a large force arrived on the ground at 10 o'clock armed with swords and batons, when the mob dispersed'.³³ Two men identified as Woodward and Ryan 'the Mexican' were arrested on the grounds of being involved in this business. Woodward was executed and Ryan was sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude. Like Joseph Daly 117C (DMP 8332), who suffered a fractured skull and died in hospital nine days later 'from the effects of an assault' in 1881,³⁴ Cox, too, was only 23 years old when he died from gun-shot wounds inflicted during the shoot-out.³⁵ Daly and Cox were the only DMP men to be killed on duty in the 1880s. Assassinations of policemen were rare in Dublin, even during these times. As Fig. 6.1 demonstrates, there was an overall decline in the number of persons charged with shooting and stabbing throughout the decade, with a minor but noteworthy spike in 1882.

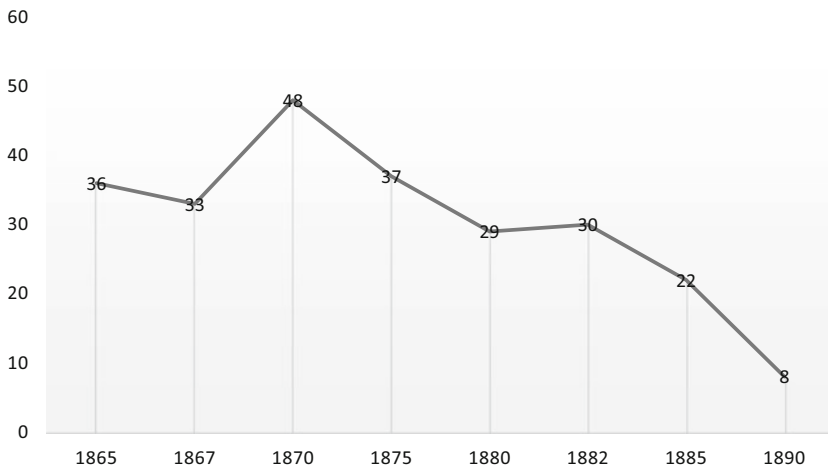


Fig. 6.1 Number of persons apprehended for shooting and stabbing in Dublin, 1860–90 (*Source*: Statistical Tables of the DMP)

DYNAMITE OUTRAGES

London

The outrages fuelled by nationalist sentiments spread across the Irish Sea. On 24 January 1885, London shuddered under simultaneous dynamite attacks at the Tower of London and at the Houses of Parliament. Henry Burton, James Cunningham and Luke Dillon, members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), were identified as the unsuccessful bombers. Cunningham was detained at the site and was later convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for his natural life.³⁶ Two policemen were injured by the bomb planted in the Great Hall, Westminster:

The nearest police constable, Cole by name, picked up the smoking parcel, and brought it to the entrance of the Crypt, where from its heat, or for some other cause, he dropped it. It was fortunate for him that he did so, for in an instant a terrific explosion was so violent that it was felt on Westminster-bridge and in the streets adjoining...The constable and other persons were thrown down, and, indeed, the policeman Cole was very seriously injured.³⁷

On 30 May, shortly before 9 o'clock in the evening, another explosive device went off at the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and Special Irish Branch Headquarters, Scotland Yard.³⁸ No one was in the offices at the time, but neighbours and a cab man were injured by shattered glass.³⁹

The morbid sensationalism of the bombings crossed the oceans and, on 26 January 1885, the *Brisbane Courier* conveyed the cable intelligence 'of, perhaps, the most deliberate and atrocious outrage yet perpetuated by the "dynamiters" in London. A thrill of horror will be felt even in Australia at the coldblooded malignity of the instigators and the audacity of the perpetrators of the crime'.⁴⁰ The article was keen to observe that the conspirators proposed to destroy the three edifices 'which may be regarded as the most typical and cherished monuments of England's national greatness': the Tower of London, the House of Commons, and the Great Hall.⁴¹ The article concluded that if a few outrages like the above were ever to succeed in 'their diabolical object', there would be a strong chance that the mob would take law into their own hands and 'the Irish in London would find it impossible to live in security'.⁴² Review of the police court sections published on the days immediately following the explosion reflect no fluctuations in the nature of cases reported. The

fraction of cases selected for print show that police courts continued to function as usual. However, among articles covering and condemning the explosions, numerous letters to the editor were forwarded to *The Times*. A correspondent on 26 January, called for 'stringent inquiries' and 'radical alterations' of the detective service.⁴³ A letter dated 29 January, five days after the attempted bombings, called into question the actions and organisation of the London Metropolitan Police.⁴⁴

Dublin

In the aftermath of the political arrests, the Phoenix Park Murders and heightened nationalist activity in both capitals, a formidable contingent of British soldiers continued to be stationed in the Dublin area. In the following decade, throughout the 1890s, the political climate was overall much more muted, despite the lingering fears of IRB-related activity and a wave of dynamite outrages that shocked Dublin. In an attempt to prevent further terrorist attempts, a circular was issued by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in the wake of the London dynamite campaign. The police were to be especially vigilant to prevent the acquisition not only of explosives adapted for such purposes, but of the materials with which persons, if possessed of a little technical knowledge, would be able to manufacture explosives. The local authority had been requested to bring this subject under the notice of all pharmaceutical chemists, chemists and druggists, dry-salters, oil and colourmen, and manufacturers of or dealers in chemicals within their jurisdiction, in order that any suspicious cases of purchase or possession could be promptly brought under the notice of the police. A £100 reward was offered for information about persons known to store or manufacture dangerous chemicals and so on.⁴⁵

In one of the more horrific explosions of the decade, Detective Sinnott sustained life-threatening injuries and subsequently died.⁴⁶ On Christmas Day 1892, Sinnott noticed a suspicious object next to the G Division head office at Exchange Court and picked it up. The package exploded in his hands, mutilating and killing him.⁴⁷ The windows of the Detective Office, the City Hall and the surrounding buildings as far as Dame Street were smashed: 'The shutters of the lower windows of the Detective Office were knocked into matchwood, and inside the plaster coating of the walls has been bulged out and cracked by the force of the shock, so that the explosive ... must have been one of a most powerful nature.'⁴⁸ Sinnott, originally from Macomb, Co. Carlow was 29 at the time, and had been

transferred into the Detective Division of the DMP only a year and a half earlier.

The Times called the outrage an ‘act of war’ and ‘a ghastly symptom of the continued vitality of those “subterranean forces” in the Irish social system’.⁴⁹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* speculated that the Fenians must have taken alarm at the ‘weakening’ of Gladstone on the principle of Home Rule: ‘Whatever be the explanation, it is the work of the “extreme wing” of the Irish party, of that Clan-na-Gael section, that party of Irreconcilables, Fenians, Republicans, Anarchists – call them what you will ...’⁵⁰ The degree of condescension of the English press was astounding. The article went on to suggest that it was quite possibly the leniency of the Castle that encouraged potential assassins. Later, the official inquiry concluded that the Fenian organisation had nothing to do with the explosion. It was, however, connected to an explosion at the *National Press* office in October 1891.⁵¹

A bomb on that occasion had gone off at eight o’clock on Monday night, 26 October in Middle Abbey Street, a fortnight after Parnell’s funeral. The explosion was traced to the basement floor of a newspaper office, *National Press*, an anti-Parnellite publication funded by William Martin Murphy, MP in the Irish Parliamentary Party. ‘Up to a late hour a large crowd assembled in front of the *National Press* office, and frequent cheers for “The Parnellites” were raised. The crowd occasionally attempted to enter the offices, and several persons were arrested for disorderly behaviour.’⁵² Evidence showed that the explosion was likely to be caused by a chemical compound, such as dynamite, gun cotton (nitrocellulose) or gelatine (nitroglycerine). The bombing was allegedly the work of Jim Boland, a Fenian and former Invincible. ‘The paper was unaffected.’⁵³

Nearly a month and a half later, on 9 December, a small parcel which appeared to be on fire had been dropped into the receiver at the General Post Office, Sackville (O’Connell) Street. At the time the Sorting Department was filled with ordinary staff and a number of temporary auxiliaries. The burning cord was extinguished before the dynamite bomb had a chance to do any damage.⁵⁴ On 31 December, a mere few weeks after the unsuccessful dynamite attempt at the General Post Office, a bomb went off in the vault beneath a room at Dublin Castle, and the use of gun cotton was confirmed.⁵⁵ As the section of the Castle had been undergoing renovations, it was ascertained that the bomber had gained access to the area via the workmen’s pathway. The *Irish Times* concluded that ‘from a glance at the scene of the outrage, it is perfectly plain that the object of the

perpetrator was to demolish the archway between the Upper and Lower Castle Yard. Had the stones of this arch been displaced the superstructure, consisting of the Privy Council Chamber, would have fallen with a fearful crash'.⁵⁶

Following the explosion at the Exchange Court in December 1892, another dynamite attack was carried out on 6 May 1893. 'A diabolical attempt' was made to blow up the Four Courts, but 'beyond the shattering of a large quantity of glass, and the engendering of general excitement and trepidation in the city, nothing serious has been accomplished'.⁵⁷ Similar to the earlier outrages, nitroglycerine was identified as the explosive. The explosion was timed to commemorate the eleventh anniversary of the Phoenix Park murders.

THE FINAL DAYS OF THE DMP

In the 1900s, after a brief lull, the Volunteers and the IRA picked up momentum. Due to their involvement in shadowing nationalists and collecting intelligence on their movements, for the next two decades the G-men continued to remain prime targets for the Irish Volunteers. The department was responsible for monitoring, suppressing and prosecuting anti-conscription propaganda under the Defence of the Realm Act, widely advocated in *The Irish Volunteer* in print, edited by Eoin Mac Neill, and the public rallies. The military organisation was established in 1913 in response to the Ulster Volunteer Force in the North, an unofficial militarisation in opposition to Home Rule. 'By the summer of 1914, it was almost nationwide. A women's division, Cumann na mBan, was created in Dublin, its mission far too modestly conceived for suffragists.'⁵⁸

The Volunteers absorbed members of the IRB, the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association. Padraig Pearse was one of the recruits as was Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera; the latter united the Volunteers and Sinn Féin under his leadership a year later. Movements of Dublin extremists, including Major John McBride, John T. Kelly and J. J. Walsh and their associates, were recorded and filed daily to Dublin Castle. As evidenced by the 1915 reports, the men were followed around the clock. All Sinn Féin Volunteers were closely watched. On 4 June 1915, Superintendent Owen O'Brien reported 'thirty members of the Sinn Féin Volunteers without rifles assembled at 25 Parnell Square at 8.30 p.m. and afterwards in charge of P. Beasley went route marching towards Fairview.

They returned at 10.30 p.m.⁵⁹ The Volunteers openly drilled on a regular basis, without rifles although with hurling sticks.

Intelligence warning of a looming rebellion started to trickle in as early as 1914. 'Rumours were rife throughout 1915 and early 1916 that Germany was about to send substantial reinforcements of men and armaments to the Irish nationalist movement.'⁶⁰ However, the secrecy surrounding the organisation of the insurrection was unprecedented, 'even friends active in the Volunteers would be unaware of what was contemplated'.⁶¹ On 21 April 1916, Sir Roger Casement was arrested and a German ship, *Aud*, carrying arms for the uprising was intercepted the following day. On the morning of 24 April, on the first day of the Holy Week:

A ragtag armed force of some 1,200 many of them perplexed at the sequence of commands and countercommands, assembled ... at Liberty Hall and Earlsfort Terrace, in a small park in Fairview and in Emerald Square, and a few outside the city at Pearse's school, four-fifths of the under orders as Volunteers, the remainder Citizen Army men and women ... In the first two days the four Dublin battalions consolidated their hold on the six neighbourhoods they had taken. Outposts were created in the upstairs private houses and good sight-lines picked from behind old parapets ... The police were stood down, street lights went out, the trams were stopped. All waited.⁶²

On Easter Tuesday, Dublin had been occupied by the rebellious forces, and on 29 April martial law was proclaimed. 'In the wake of the Rising a decision was taken to train the Force in the use of firearms, and Lee-Enfield 0.303 service rifles were issued to all 24 stations in the Dublin police district.'⁶³ The decision was soon reversed and the rifles were recalled from the stations. 'In protest, DMP members marched from Kevin Street to Dun Laoghaire with their batons in a coffin.'⁶⁴

Over the course of the Easter Week, three unarmed DMP constables were fatally wounded: James O'Brien 168B (DMP 9862) shot in the head by a Volunteer at the entrance to Upper Castle Yard; Michale Lahiff 125D (DMP 11047) shot three times in Stephens Green; and William Frith 174C (DMP 10175) shot through the head in a bedroom of Store Street police station by a sniper.⁶⁵ Six more constables and a station sergeant were wounded. In the aftermath of the Rising, 15 signatories of the Irish Independence declaration were sentenced to death by firing squad at the Kilmainham Gaol. Pleas for leniency were ignored by the Crown. The executions triggered a marked rise in Sinn Féin sympathies, resulting in

an increase in membership and sweeping political victories for de Valera, Cosgrove, Plunkett and McGuinness.

On 21 January 1919, the elected Sinn Féin representatives met at the first sitting of the Dáil Eireann in the Round Room of the Mansion House. The Irish Republic along with the provisional constitution were ratified during the meeting, conducted entirely in Irish and witnessed by about hundred journalists. ‘The Republican Courts came into being after the fourth session of the first Dáil, in June 1919, at which it was decided that National Arbitration Courts should be established in every county.’⁶⁶ Concurrently, a nationwide boycott of the RIC was called. Vicky Conway shows ‘notices issued by the IRA, and reported in the *Irish Times*, stated that “interaction of any kind whatsoever is strictly forbidden between citizens of the Irish Republic and that portion of the Army of the Occupation know as the Royal Irish Constabulary”.’⁶⁷ In the meantime, a short-lived Irish Republican Police took on a role of crime control, as the RIC were shunned and the DMP alienated still in the wake of the Lockout violence.

The simultaneous jurisdiction of official and Republican courts of law was confusing to many, to say the least.⁶⁸ Two judiciatures existed parallel to each other. ‘Much, if not all, of their success was due to the fact that those who submitted disputes to them were either Republicans or sympathetic to the Republic, and agreed to abide by the arbitration of these courts.’⁶⁹ Loyalists, however, brought their disputes to the regular courts. In September 1919, the Dáil was declared illegal and suppressed. ‘From the autumn of 1920 many of the Sinn Féin courts were broken up, officials arrested, courtmartialled, and sentenced to imprisonment.’⁷⁰

In 1919, the first sitting of the Dáil also coincided with the beginning of the War of Independence. The G Division continued to be in the republican cross-hairs until the truce of 11 July 1921, which effectively ended the war. Meanwhile, the intelligence gathered by Michael Collins and his double agents within the DMP precipitated assassinations of nine active members of the division.⁷¹ Two more men were wounded. Considering that at any given time the detective branch contingent did not exceed 20–25 men, the losses were extensive. In November 1923, Oriel House, the special semi-military unit comprised of 31 men responsible for the assassinations, established and curated personally by Michael Collins, was disbanded and amalgamated with the G Division. The remaining G-men, as was to be expected, detested the merger. Collins’ men were ‘synonymous with extra-judicial killings and abuse of prisoners’.⁷² After

Oriel House was disbanded its men augmented the existing strength of the DMP's G Division, which at the time totalled 23 men.⁷³ The full strength of the new unit commanded by David Neligan, one of Collins' double agents, stood at 55 men, with an operational scope and mobility now extending to the entire country.

On 6 December 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London. The treaty, ratified by Dáil Eireann, disestablished the Irish Republic and, by extension, the Dáil itself and the IRA. The following month, on 16 January 1922, the pro-treaty provisional government superseded the authority over the Free Irish State (Saorstát Eireann). Under the terms of the truce, the DMP alone was to remain in Dublin; auxiliary forces and the RIC were 'neither to appear, nor to carry arms'. In contrast to the RIC, the DMP was, as Kevin O'Higgins put it, 'a popular force. It did not share to any considerable extent the odium that the RIC incurred in the particular duties which were assigned to them by the British Government in this country'.⁷⁴ There were no general demands for its disappearance. In 1921, Article X of the treaty dissolved the RIC. The majority of ex-RIC men retired on a pension for which the British Government assumed responsibility. The government of the Irish Free State agreed to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920,⁷⁵ to judges, officials, members of Police Forces and other Public Servants who were discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance hereof.⁷⁶ Over 600 DMP men indicated their intention to retire under the set terms.

THE CIVIC GUARD AND AN GARDA SÍOCHÁNA

On 21 February 1922, the first civic guards enrolled and by the end of the year General Eoin O'Duffy had been appointed Commissioner. Maintaining order during the post-Civil War years was 'a difficult and dangerous task, for violence had become almost part of everyday life in the Irish countryside and the likelihood was that, except within the larger towns and villages, the unarmed guard would often encounter armed men'.⁷⁷ The guards were to be the unarmed guardians of the people's peace—'raised by the people themselves as their breastplate and helmet of protection. The Garda do not rule. They are simply the medium through which the people rule'.⁷⁸ However, prior to the formal re-organisation of the Civic Guard into An Garda Síochána (the Guardians of the Peace),

there were 82 attacks recorded from December 1921 to February 1922 alone, resulting in 12 deaths and 27 serious injuries.⁷⁹

The attitude of the Republicans towards the institutions of the new state—and thereby the attitude which the guards could expect from the anti-treaty section of the population—was set out by de Valera in an interview with the political correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in November: ‘We are in arms against and resisting now exactly what the whole nation resisted in 1919–21. The only difference is that in the earlier period England was maintaining her claims directly. Now she is maintaining them indirectly through Irishmen.’⁸⁰ Attacks on the stations were frequent, with the highest instances in the southern and western counties. Attacks on guards on duty by the Irregulars (Anti-Treatyites) continued until May 1923. Liam Lynch, the Anti-Treatyite Chief of Staff, ordered his men not to shoot unarmed guards but to intimidate them by all means possible. By and large, the Anti-Treatyites adhered to the policy of not shooting the unarmed policemen, nevertheless, ‘the use of almost every other form of intimidation was widespread. Between September 1922 and September 1923 there were almost two hundred attacks on Civic Guard stations with bombs, fire and bullets’.⁸¹ In consequence, 60 stations were destroyed, 400 guards were beaten, stripped of their uniforms, humiliated and, on occasion, robbed of their personal and official belongings. In April 1923, Lynch was killed by a stray bullet in a fight with national army troops in the Knockmealdown Mountains. On 24 May 1923, civil war came to an end.

The road to organisation of the new police was rocky. The tumult of the War of Independence, the Civil War, the failed Irish Republican Police experiment and the Kildare Mutiny of 1922 all affected the normal course of development.⁸² The preliminary arrangements for RIC disbandment were put on paper in March 1922,⁸³ with the final date set for 4 April 1922. The landmark Phoenix Park Depot was not evacuated until eight months later in December 1922. The training of the new force did not commence until the new year. Conway describes the early days of a Civic Guard’s life as a quite ‘regular military’ one. ‘Training [of men stationed in the RDS] consisted of drill and class ... Two hours a day were spent learning Irish. There were physical and firearms training as well as instruction in law enforcement. The pre-existing RIC Policeman’s Manual was used in training until 1942 when the Garda Síochána Manual was first published.’⁸⁴ Legal instruction was poor.

The total strength of the Garda Síochána numbered 4000, with 2000 men already trained and allocated to the larger towns throughout the

country, in total manning 800 stations. The remaining numbers were mid-training at Phoenix Park, the former RIC depot, and in McKee barracks.⁸⁵ The Civic Guard was staffed with IRA men, Sinn Féiners and ex-RIC (160),⁸⁶ in 1924, the Home Affairs relaxed the restrictions on the ex-RIC recruits, 'in favour of those who had resigned or were dismissed because of national sympathies'.⁸⁷ Allen notes that employment of former RIC men was 'bound to cause trouble, but Michael Collins, Minister for Finance Saorstát Eireann, was determined to follow the sensible course in retaining the services of professional policemen'.⁸⁸ The new administrative staff were predominantly ex-RIC, while company officers were a mixture of RIC, Volunteers and an ex-DMP man, Superintendent Thomas Neary of Kevin Street Depot. The majority of the rank-and-file recruits came from the Volunteers. As O'Duffy pithily summed it up: 'In plainest terms I state that the son of the peasant is the backbone of the Force.'⁸⁹

Under the Police Forces Amalgamation Act of 1925, as the DMP officially became a division of the new national police force, the number of stations within the metropolitan area remained unaltered. In essence the daily routine of a Dublin beat constable did not change after the amalgamation. Every member of the DMP or the Garda Síochána, serving as such at the commencement of the Police Amalgamation Act, and not being above the rank of chief superintendent, had immediately on the commencement of the act become a member of the amalgamated force in a rank corresponding to the rank held by him in the DMP or the Garda Síochána (as the case may be) immediately before the commencement of the Act.⁹⁰ No member of the DMP who was a member of that force at the date of the passing of the Act, and by virtue of it a member of the amalgamated force, was liable to be employed for ordinary police duties outside the Dublin metropolitan area without his own consent.⁹¹ This allowed the newly minted Gardaí to retain their existing accommodations, to remain attached to their respective police stations and essentially to continue on with their regular duties.

The Garda Regulations 1924 required a candidate for appointment as a guard to be able to produce satisfactory references as to his character and proof of his good conduct and whether he had previously served in military or civil service, which is clear the majority of them had done. There also was an expectation of strict sobriety. In keeping with the DMP-RIC tradition, the Garda applicant had to be unmarried and between the ages of 19 and 27 years, not less than five feet nine inches in height, with corresponding mean chest measurements of at least 36 inches, or five feet

eleven or over in height with chest measurement of 37 inches. Physical and educational examinations were also requisite before final admission into the force for a probationary period of one year.⁹² Analogous to the earlier DMP regulations, the Guards were barred from political membership or that of secret societies (the Freemasons excepted) and from ‘influencing or attempting to influence, directly or indirectly, the vote of any elector at any Parliamentary or Local Government election,⁹³ or be a Teachta Dala (TD); they were also disenfranchised (until 1951). Section 19 of the Garda Síochána (Discipline) Regulations, 1926 made ‘expressing or manifesting political opinions’ a disciplinary offence.⁹⁴ The Guards were to be ‘Irish in thought and in Action.’⁹⁵

In July 1922, Republican Supreme courts were suspended. This did not affect the sittings of the Parish or the District Courts for some time. During the year, the *Irish Times* regularly printed proceedings from the Republican Courts, from North and South Dublin, parish and district. Prior to the Dáil decree rescinding the courts,⁹⁶ reports from the Republican Courts were much more common than those from the Recorder of Dublin set in Green Street Courthouse. Notably, more often than not, the Dublin Corporation summonses were heard at the ‘illegal’ Republican Courts. The majority of the cases were of a routine and mundane nature. On 1 February 1922, for instance, at a Republican Parish Court for North City, Dublin, held at 41 Rutland Square with Mr S. Kirwan presiding, three cases were heard involving charges for milk adulteration, recovery of funds extended in the repair of a gate pier and failing to put premises into repair against a tenant.⁹⁷

The late 1920s and early 1930s saw a return of recurrent prosecutions for assaults, drunkenness, drunk and disorderly behaviour, obscene language and assaults on the police; in other words, typical, routine metropolitan crime. Criminal data for the first two decades of the twentieth century show a drop in offences both against the person and against the police. In 1911, there were 278 arrested for assaults on constables, and 1597 for assault in total.⁹⁸ In 1919, there were only a total of 458 arrests for assault, with 42 men and 9 women (51 altogether) apprehended for an assault on a constable.⁹⁹ The decrease in violent crime is also evidenced by the reports in newspapers, which are noticeably fewer than in the previous century. Outside of the Dublin metropolitan district, Conway calculates the crime statistics for the early 1920s to be 0.14 indictable crime per 1000 population compared with 2.4 in England in Wales. However, she presumes this ‘relates to the low numbers of inexperienced police in the

country, recording difficulties and perhaps public hesitancy to report crime.¹⁰⁰

Regardless, the overall nature of the cases before Police Courts in the Irish capital barely changed. On Monday, 5 May 1924 in the Dublin Police Court William Preston and his son, William, both labourers, were sentenced respectively to a significant term of three months' and four months' imprisonment with hard labour for assaulting two police constables in Purdon Street on Friday night, and for disorderly conduct. The same day, Gertie Shaw, 'was charged with similar offences, was sent to prison for two months with hard labour'.¹⁰¹ In a similar case, Albert Loughney, an off-licence spirit grocer, of 121 Upper Dorset Street, was alleged to have 'attacked Station-Sergeant O'Driscoll with an empty porter bottle in the hallway of his premises, at the same time saying: - "You will not leave this place alive." There were further charges of obstructing the sergeant in the discharge of his duty, and of violently resisting arrest'. The solicitor for the defence proposed that the defendant plead guilty.¹⁰² In July 1931, the *Irish Times* printed an incredibly familiarly worded incident: Agnes Meehan, 26, was found loitering in Lord Edward Street between midnight and 1 o'clock on Saturday morning. She was fined 20s. for loitering and another 20s. for assaulting police. As Guard 163B was taking her in a cab from College Street station to Bridewell, Ms Meehan spat in his face.¹⁰³ In another of one of many recognisable petty assault cases, a defendant Mary Tierney, having received a prison sentence for loitering, was being removed from the dock. In the process she smacked a policeman's face and bit his thumb. As a result, her sentence was extended by a month.¹⁰⁴

Mirroring the social unrest of the 1880s, the socio-economic discontent and instability of the time manifested in the increased number of larceny, housebreaking and malicious injury to property (window and glass breaking).¹⁰⁵ The distinct legacy of the pervasive conflict of allegiances and the civil discord was most jarring in cases involving juveniles. On 13 March 1923, 'a mimic warfare, waged with mud, had its sequel in the Dublin Police Court, when six boys between 12 and 16 years of age, were charged with wilfully and maliciously damaging a public monument erected to the memory of the late Lord Plunkett in Kildare place, by daubing it with mud on Sunday afternoon'.¹⁰⁶ The boys said that they were playing at 'Republic and Free State', re-imagining the monument as the Four Courts. 'The party posing as Republicans took up positions on one side of the monument and the other party, acting as Free Staters,

concealed themselves in another position. They then commenced to hurl mud at one another. The combat lasted until a policeman arrived.¹⁰⁷ All the defendants pleaded guilty, and, on their parents consenting to go bail for them in the sum of £5, they were allowed out with a caution. This incident was not an isolated one. A few months later, five boys were charged with breaking a street lamp by throwing stones at it. The boys were also ‘engaged in mimic warfare – one side being “Free State” and the other ‘Republican’. The parents of two of the boys were ordered to pay compensation and the bail for future good behaviour.’¹⁰⁸

The final decades of the nineteenth century were profoundly affected by the changing character of nationalist activity. Poor socio-economic conditions fuelled the already rumbling discontent. Instability in the city and in the country found its ally in the cause of the Land League and its leaders. Dublin was shaken to its core with the murders of prominent political figures, explosions and regular weekly news of other assassinations prompted by agrarian agitation. A rise in agrarian and urban crime in the 1880s was superseded by the dynamite outrages. The so-called Parnellite War of the early 1890s left gashes and scars on the face of the city and the force.

In the wake of the Easter Rising, the War of Independence and the Civil War upended the old order, fulfilling Lady Gregory’s prophetic lines, ‘when the small rise up and the big fall down ... when we all change places at the rising ... of the Moon’. Between 1919 and 1920 DMP G Division sustained heavy losses from Michael Collins and the Oriel House, only to see the division merge with the very men responsible for the assassinations just years later under the new government. The inherent agitation and hostility inevitably shaped contemporary crime and policing. As violence did not abate in the coming decades, the escalating hostility of the time, coupled with the depressed economic climate and political instability, contributed to the already swelling tide of migrants from Ireland to the colonies who were in search of a better life and more stable employment. Irishmen continued to swell the ranks of the colonial forces prior to and after the formation of the Irish Free State well into the 1930s.

NOTES

1. Peter McDonald, ‘Minutes and Evidence’, *Report from the Select Committee on Industries (Ireland)*. HCPP1884-95 (288), p. 544.
2. David Harrel, *Recollections and Reflections by The Right Honourable Sir David Harrel*, G.C.B., G.B.E., K.C.V.O., I.S.O (1926), TCD MS 3918a (K.6.39), p. 52.

3. Ibid., p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 66.
5. Charles Ryan, Monday, 3 April 1882, *Diary №9* (1882-4), TCD Ms10352, p. 3 reverse.
6. Ibid.
7. David Harrel, *Recollections and Reflections by The Right Honourable Sir David Harrel*, p. 66.
8. McCracken, *Inspector Mallon: Buying Irish Patriotism for a Five-Pound Note*, p. 103.
9. 'Numerical Return of the more Acute Diseases', *Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1881* (Dublin, 1882), p. xvi.
10. 'Dublin, Monday, 15 October 1881', *Irish Times*, 17 October 1881, p. 4.
11. McCracken, *Inspector Mallon: Buying Irish Patriotism for a Five-Pound Note*, p. 59.
12. 'Ireland. Further Arrest of Lad Leaguers', *Times*, Monday, 17 October 1881, p. 9.
13. Ibid.
14. 'Charge Against a Soldier, Police Courts', *Irish Times*, 24 July 1885, p. 3.
15. 'Robbery by Soldiers, Police Courts', *Irish Times*, 5 May 1885, p. 3.
16. 'Alleged Assault, Police Courts', *Irish Times*, 18 September 1885, p. 3.
17. 'Assault by Soldiers, Police Courts', *Irish Times*, 16 October 1885, p. 3.
18. 'Disorderly Soldiers, Police Courts', *Irish Times*, 19 October 1885, p. 3.
19. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, p. 382.
20. Ryan, *Diary №9*, (March 1882-October 1884), pp. 10-12.
 Ryan and his colleague were engaged in reporting the trial of Michael Walsh, aged 19, for the murder of Constable Kavanagh at Letterfrack (RIC, Galway) on July 15th. 'Kavanagh was shot on dark night, and next morning the prisoner's hat was found alongside the body, while footmarks, in which Walsh's boots fitted exactly, were found leading to Walsh's house. They jury that were sworn were all Protestants. An English judge, Sir James Stephen sat on the Bench with Judge Lawson listening to the case.' Few days later a verdict of guilty was returned. 'Young Walsh who had up to

that [point] been quite passive burst out saying he was innocently condemned, attacking the Sub Inspector Horne, whose “dirty sail” he said would be soon rotting, telling the jury they would have to answer for this and threatening a witness named Faherty, it was with great difficulty he was removed by the wardens.’

‘Jury packing’, jury and witness intimidation was a widespread practice, especially so in political trials. Protestant jurymen were often hand-picked to ensure the trial proceedings and the verdict followed the direction preferred by the interested parties. The venue of many criminal trials had been transferred from disturbed counties to Dublin City.

21. ‘The Assassination of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord F. Cavendish, and of the Under Secretary, Mr. Burke’, *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, no. 1115 (1882), pp. 714–15.
22. McCracken, *Inspector Mallon: Buying Irish Patriotism for a Five-Pound Note*, p. 81.
23. ‘Irish Assassins at Work’, *New York Times*, 28 November 1882.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Harrel, *Recollections and Reflections by The Right Honourable Sir David Harrel*, p. 76.
26. McCracken, *Inspector Mallon: Buying Irish Patriotism for a Five-Pound Note*, p. 102.
27. John Cox was a labourer from Kilmore, Co. Roscommon. He was sworn in at 20 years old and gave his religion as Roman Catholic. Cox had no previous service experience. He was assigned to the A division in the usual rank of fourth-rate constable in April 1879 and was promoted to third rate in January 1880.
John Cox 8511, *The DMP General Register*, p. 171.
28. ‘Further Arrests’, *Irish Times*, 27 November 1882, p. 5.
29. Ryan. *Diary №9* (1882–4), p. 63.
30. *Ibid.*
31. ‘Further Arrests’, *Irish Times*, 27 November 1882, p. 5.
32. *Ibid.*
33. ‘Irish Assassins at Work’, *New York Times*, 28 November 1882.
34. Joseph Daly 8332, listed a Protestant and a labourer from the parish of Fossy, Queens Co. (Laois). He was murdered on duty in 1881. *The DMP General Register*, p. 167.
35. ‘Irish Assassins at Work’, *New York Times*, 28 November 1882.

36. Explosive Substances Act, 1883 6&47 Vict. c.3., London Police, 1922, p. 783.
37. 'Dynamite Outrages. Attempts on the House of Commons, Westminster Hall, and the Tower of London', *The Times*, Monday, 26 January 1885, p. 10.
38. On 17 March 1883, 'a group of four CID and eight uniformed officers of the London Metropolitan Police were picked to form the Special Irish Branch to maintain, like counterparts in the G Division of the DMP, a covert watch over the Fenians.' Howard Vincent's Special Irish Branch was known to the rest of Scotland Yard as the Political Branch, but this quickly changed once it became clear that such a title was unacceptable to the public. Chief Inspector John Littlechild selected detectives with Irish backgrounds to form his squad. A liberal scale of pay has been granted to induce the best qualified men who have been carefully selected to join the service.' 'Report' by E. Y. W. Henderson, p. 4.
39. Herlihy. *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, p. 137.
40. 'The Brisbane Courier, Monday, 26 January 1885', *Brisbane Courier*, Monday, 26 January 1885, p. 4.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. 'To the Editor of the Times' by Herbert Hughes', *The Times*, Monday, 26 January 1885, p. 11.
44. 'To the Editor of the Times: London Police Organization' by R.C. Barrow', *The Times*, Thursday, 29 January 1885, p. 8.
45. 'Explosives', *Standing Orders and Regulations*, (1889), p. 307.
46. 'Explosive Outrage in Dublin. Attempt to Blow Up the Detective Office. A Detective Killed. Great Damage to Property,' *Irish Times*, 27 December 1892, p. 5.
47. Patrick Sinnott (DMP 9252), *The DMP Register*.
48. 'Explosive Outrage in Dublin. Attempt to Blow Up the Detective Office. A Detective Killed. Great Damage to Property,' *Irish Times*, 27 December 1892, p. 5.
49. 'Opinions of the Press (from *The Times*),' *Irish Times*, 27 December 1892, p. 6.
50. 'The Dynamite Revival (from the *Pall Mall Gazette*),' *Irish Times*, 29 December 1892, p. 3.
51. 'The Exchange Court Explosion,' *Irish Times*, 25 March 1893, p. 6.

52. 'Alarming Explosion at the *National Press Offices*,' *Irish Times*, 27 October 1891, p. 5.
53. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, p. 388.
54. 'Dynamite Outrage at the Post Office,' *Irish Times*, 19 December 1891, p. 5.
55. 'The Explosion at Dublin Castle,' *Irish Times*, 2 January 1892, p. 5 (8F).
56. 'The Explosion at Dublin Castle. Major Cundell's Report. An Official Inquiry Ordered,' *Irish Times*, 6 January 1892, p. 4.
57. *Irish Times*, 8 May 1893, p. 5.
58. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, p. 443.
59. Movements of Dublin Extremists, Dublin 4 June 1915, Detective Department, DMP (Secret), NAI CSO/DJ/2/4 (2).
60. Donal J. O'Sullivan, *The Irish Constabularies 1822-1922. A Century of Policing in Ireland*. (Dingle: Mount Eagle Publications Ltd., 1999), p. 255.
61. Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*, p. 445.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 449-51.
63. Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, p. 175.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-6.
66. 'Courts of the Republic', *Irish Times*, Saturday, 14 July 1922, p. 6.
67. Vicky Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland. A History of An Garda Síochána* (Abington: Routledge, 2014), p. 19.
68. 'Letter to the Editor', *Irish Times*, Thursday, 2 March 1922, p. 4
69. 'Courts of the Republic', *Irish Times*, Saturday, 14 July 1922, p. 6.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Kevin O'Higgins, Dáil in Committee - Dublin Metropolitan Police. *Dáil Éireann Debate, Vol. 1 no. 31* (Tuesday, 28 November 1922), p. 27.
72. Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland*, p. 29.
73. Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace*. (Dublin: Anvil Books Ltd., 1974), p. 128.
74. Kevin O'Higgins, Dáil in Committee - Dublin Metropolitan Police. *Dáil Éireann Debate, Vol. 1 no. 31* (Tuesday, 28 November 1922), p. 27.
75. The Government of Ireland Act [10&11 Geo. 5], 1920.
76. 'Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland', 6 December 1921, p. 3.

77. Conor Brady, *The Guardians of the Peace* (Dublin: Gill & McMillan, 1974), p. 90.
78. Brady, *Guardians of the Peace*, p. 104.
79. Allen, *Garda Síochána*, p. 239.
80. Brady, *Guardians of the Peace*, pp. 90–91.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
82. Kildare Mutiny – In April 1922, the Civic Guards were moved from the Royal Dublin Society grounds in Ballsbridge to an army barracks in Kildare. The ex-IRA men saw the few ex-RIC men, experienced policemen, enlisted into the new force, as traitors. And when five ex-RIC officers were promoted to Deputy Commissioner, mutiny erupted. See Conway, Brady, Allen and Brian McCarthy's *The Civic Guard Mutiny* (Dublin: Mercier Press) for details.
83. Preliminary Arrangements for Disbandment. The Royal Irish Constabulary, Dublin Castle, 15 March 1922 [D795].
84. Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland*, p. 32.
85. Breathanach, *The Irish Police*. P. 116.
86. Garda Síochána (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1923.
87. Allen, *Garda Síochána*, p. 16.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
89. 'Garda Review, May 1929', p. 54 quoted in Gregory Allen, *Garda Síochána*, p. 74.
90. Police Forces Amalgamation Act, 1925 (No 7), Part II, p. 10.
91. Police Forces Amalgamation Act, 1925 (No 7), Part II, p. 10.
92. 'Appointments', Garda Síochána (Designations, Appointments and Discipline) Regulations, 1924.
93. Paragraphs 19 and 20, Garda Síochána (Discipline) Regulations, 1924 and 1926.
94. Paragraph 19, Garda Síochána (Discipline) Regulations, 1926.
95. O'Duffy quoted in Brady, *Guardians of the Peace*, p. 117.
96. 'The decree establishing Republican Courts has been cancelled, except as regards Parish and District Courts outside the City of Dublin. Consideration is being given to legislation, with a view to setting up a suitable magistracy throughout the country as soon as Parliament can pass legislation for the purpose.
It is understood that the Government have under consideration proposals for validating decrees and orders made and sentences pronounced by the Republican Courts, which proposals will, it is understood, be laid before the new Parliament at an early date.'

97. 'Republican Court', *Irish Times*, Wednesday, 1 February 1922, p. 2.
98. Table III. 'None-Indictable Offences', *Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1911*, (Dublin: 1912), p. 5.
99. Table II. 'None-Indictable Offences', *Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1919*, (Dublin: 1921), p. 4.
100. Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland*, p. 39.
101. 'Policemen Assaulted', *Irish Times*, Monday, 5 May 1924, p. 8.
102. 'Spirit Grocer in Trouble', *Irish Times*, Friday, 17 July 1931, p. 2.
103. 'Dublin District Court', *Irish Times*, Monday, 27 July 1931, p. 2.
104. 'Assault in the Dock', *Irish Times*, Friday, 2 March 1923, p. 8.
105. Housebreaking: 512 (1927); 522 (1932); 368 (1937) from 'Table 1.1 Number of Indictable Offences Known to An Garda Síochána and Number of Persons Proceeded Against (1927–1946)', Ian O'Donnell and Eoin O'Sullivan, *Crime and Punishment in Ireland 1922 to 2003. A Statistical Sourcebook*. (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2005), pp. 2–6.
106. 'Dublin Street Battle', *Irish Times*, Wednesday, 14 March 1923, p. 3.
107. Ibid.
108. 'Dublin Police Court', *Irish Times*, Friday, 6 April 1923, p. 3.

The Colonial Beat

The new colonial police had a complex role in crime control through prevention and detection within the metropolitan area of the colony, and through force and intimidation on the frontier. As the migration figures for the nineteenth century show, the British colonies experienced an extensive influx of migrants from Ireland. Given that the Irish were a major source of recruits for the colonial police forces, the degree of resemblance between the mainstream colonial forces and the policing institutions of Ireland is not surprising. A significant proportion of Irish migrants, many with previous experience in law enforcement, brought their knowledge and skill with them, greatly enabling the process of organisational knowledge transfer between the forces at home and abroad. Interchange of knowledge and experience is evident on all levels—administrative, structural and personal—facilitated by the exchange of personnel. This prompted parallel approaches in policing development, while a similar population composition stimulated the emergence of similar public attitudes towards the

ILLEGALLY DISCHARGING FIREARMS – John Todd was charged with having illegally fired a gun in Gray-street, South Brisbane, and thereby endangered the lives of the inhabitants. It appeared that the defendant had fired at a tame kangaroo, which he imagined was a wild one, and some of the shot grazed the leg of a little girl and the breast of a woman. He was fined 20s. City Police Court, *Brisbane Courier*, 16 April 1864

police. The contrasts between Dublin and the colonial forces were mainly shaped by differences in geopolitical factors. These included, but were not limited to, the vastness of the colonial rural landscape surrounded by the hostile frontier on the one hand and urban slums, the source of all things criminal and depraved, on the other.

A comprehensive overview of the composition, structure and administration of the colonial Queensland and Toronto forces shows the significant influence of Irish policing experience and the presence of the Irish-born within the rank-and-file and the commanding staff. This chapter briefly introduces the history, organisation and socio-economic settings of the Brisbane and Toronto forces. It offers a glimpse into the urban colonial street life and what constituted a colonial policeman's lot and whether it was, in any way, a 'happier' one. The case data gleaned from the city police court reports and official statistical tables indicated that, as with the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) criminal statistics, the second most numerous category of assaults on a person was assaults on police.

IRISH LINKS

There are good reasons for finding that the distinctive conditions of rural society in nineteenth-century Australia created a pattern of policing which set the colonies apart from the British and American experience. Nevertheless, as Finnane has noted, in urban centres and 'particularly in larger ones, there are likely to be some important similarities with overseas patterns of policing'⁷¹ The militaristic RIC was the main ideological contributor to the organisation of the rural colonial forces. However, it is just as evident that the civil, apolitical and largely unarmed metropolitan forces of Dublin and London can be comfortably placed within the same bracket as the Brisbane Metropolitan branch of the Queensland Police and the Toronto Police Force. Inevitably, this corollary invites comparison as to structure and to how it developed over time.

Following Queensland's separation from New South Wales in 1859, the police force remained under the jurisdiction of the New South Wales legislation, even after the new Queensland Parliament was established in 1860. This taxed the numbers of policemen on duty within the home colony, as prisoners had to be escorted to Sydney to stand trial. Finally, in 1863, a separate police act was promulgated which took effect on 1 January 1864. Candidates with previous service with the Irish Constabulary, urban police or any military/law enforcement agency were actively sought out

for the service. The majority of the Queensland Police rank and file had Irish links, and officers displayed a strong Irish presence, principally during the earlier years of the force. The *Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856–1917* showed that between 1870 and 1890 well over half of the supernumeraries listed Ireland as their country of origin (Fig. 7.1).

Ex-policemen and ex-military personnel were preferred applicants to the colonial police. As a rule, such candidates progressed through the ranks much faster than policemen without any previous experience in the system, with some receiving promotion in a matter of months.

In a similar time frame, the old Toronto Police was disbanded and subsequently re-staffed. The overwhelming majority of men listed Ireland as their country of origin (47): twelve men came from England, three from Scotland, two were Canadian and one was from the Isle of Jersey.² Most of the recruits had previous service either in law enforcement or in the military. The *Descriptive and Nominal Roll of the City of Toronto Police Force* (1859) of the overhauled Toronto Police Force lists three sergeant majors, four sergeants and 58 constables, with a combined strength of 65 men. The previous service records of these men were quite varied: twelve men had served in the RIC; two in the Bristol Police; two in the London Metropolitan Police; one each in Dublin, Edinburgh and Durham Rural Police; a number in the Revenue Police, Ireland; plus a good few in Toronto Police, the Regiment of Foot and the Dragoons. A handful of men identified as Roman Catholic or Presbyterian but it is the Episcopalians that dominated the group.

Fitzpatrick suggests there were distinct streams of emigration from Ireland. ‘Statistics for 1876–1914 show that American emigrants were most likely to emanate from Connaught and the west, whereas Canadians were concentrated in Ulster and the north.’³ This accounts for the prevalence of Episcopalians and Protestants in Ontario, where they made up about two-thirds of the population through most of the nineteenth century. ‘The antipodean movement was also distinctive. The Australian Irish tended to come from south-western and north midland counties.’⁴ The religion of emigrants was not systematically recorded, however; Fitzpatrick shows that from the 1840s onwards most were certainly Catholics. More so, the Roman Catholic Church actively campaigned for emigration to the Australian colonies. And, while the Catholic Church set out to attract immigrants from Ireland, according to J. Jupp, a special effort by the colonial government was made to attract Scottish migrants. Over 78,000 Irish migrated between 1876 and 1916.⁵ In Queensland, between 1871 and

GENERAL REGISTER.

NAME	DATE OF APPOINTMENT AND PROMOTION.								SERVICE		RANK	REMARKS	REGIMENT	CORPS	REMARKS	CLASS	REMARKS
	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE							
	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE	REGIMENT	DATE							
Amodeo
Amodeo
Amodeo
Amodeo

Fig. 7.1 Register of Members of the Police Force, 1884-1890 (Source: Queensland Police Museum)

1891, the Irish population rose by 22,000, the Scottish by only 14,000.⁶ The 1880s saw the highest influx of Irish migrants, with approximately 2000 Irishmen migrating into the colony in 1880 alone.⁷ Still the Scots and the Irish were considerably under-represented within the predominantly English population of the colony. As Finnane and Johnston demonstrate, ‘accompanied by references from parish clergy, country gentlemen, or former employers, Irish migrants to Brisbane in the 1870s and 1880s looked to the police as one of the main forms of possibilities for secure income’.⁸ Apart from the railway, the police force was the only other source of pensionable employment in the migration trend; a third of the Western Australian (formally established in 1853) force was Irish also. A Perth magazine puckishly described a policeman as ‘a man with a uniform, a brogue, and a big free thirst’.⁹

As Table 7.1 illustrates, out of 3843, a total of 1283 Irishmen (approximately 34 per cent) joined the Queensland Police force between 1860 and 1909. The recruit database lists 360 men who gave the RIC or the Irish Constabulary as their previous calling; ten applicants named the DMP as their previous employment, but only three were from the London Police and one from Glasgow. Cumulatively, the RIC provided the highest number of supernumeraries for the Queensland Police, among other forces. In the 1860s, a total of 624 men joined the force, 101—or 16.2 per cent—of whom listed the RIC as their previous ‘calling’. Notably, the numbers peaked in 1866 and 1867, when 21 out of 33 and 26 out of 52 Irishmen who joined the Queensland force were ex-RIC men. Overall, the majority of ex-Constabulary men joined between the 1860s and the 1880s (195, also additional 30 men listed either ‘Constable’ or ‘Policeman’ as their previous occupation), with only nine in the 1890s and four in the early

Table 7.1 Proportion of nationalities of recruits, Queensland Police Force

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Total number of recruits for the decade</i>	<i>England/Scotland/Wales</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>England/Scotland/Wales %</i>	<i>Ireland %</i>
1860s	624	36	176	6	28.2
1870s	832	51	216	6	26
1880s	992	196	605	20	61
1890s	599	71	175	12	29
1900s	769	65	111	8.5	14.4

Source: Register of Members of the Police Force, Queensland Police Museum

1900s. There is also the possibility that some preferred not to disclose their association with the RIC. Land clearing, evictions and protection of the land-owners fell under the responsibility of the Constabulary. Law enforcement in general, and unsurprisingly the Constabulary men especially, experienced heightened hostility from the public.¹⁰ Many of the RIC men resented these duties and subsequently left the service.

The Irish presence is identifiable all through the Queensland Police institutional hierarchy, from the constable up to the commissioner. David Thompson Seymour, the first commissioner of the Queensland Police Force appointed by the Governor in Council in 1864, was born and grew up in Ballymore Castle, Galway. His father was a barrister, high-sheriff and lieutenant-colonel of the Galway Militia.¹¹ Seymour himself joined the British Army as an ensign at the age of 25, he was subsequently promoted to lieutenant in the 12th Regiment of Foot two years into his service. ‘A detachment from this unit under Seymour’s command arrived at Brisbane in 1861. Within a year he became aide-de-camp to George Bowen, the colony’s first governor.’¹²

Seymour’s term as the head of the Queensland Police Force was an extremely long one—31 years from 1864 to 1895—and not without controversy. The *Courier* described Seymour as ‘lacking even the trifling amount of cerebral development necessary for an aide-de-camp’.¹³ His first report for the year of 1864, published in *QVP*, 1865, was the first and the last to contain a clear account of the structural changes achieved in setting up the force. The code of regulations was compiled chiefly from those of the police force of the colony of Victoria.¹⁴ The reports that followed were vocal about police shortcomings but rarely suggested how to remedy them. Among the existing Australian colonial forces, the Queensland Police was the youngest, and the climatic and topographic characteristics of the colony were well-known and presumably should have been integrated into the organisational structure of the force when it was launched.

In 1895, William Parry-Okeden, Australian-born of English heritage, succeeded Seymour. The 1890s, under Parry-Okeden’s relatively brief commissionership (1895–1905), saw further expansion and the introduction of structural changes, which included the re-organisation of the detective force. The Detective Office began on 1 December 1864, 11 months after the inauguration of the Queensland Police Force on 1 January. Inspector I/c Samuel Joseph Lloyd was placed as the officer in charge of the new branch.¹⁵ Lloyd migrated to Australia from Ireland and served as a detective in the Victoria Police for nine years, before taking charge of

the Detective Office in Queensland.¹⁶ Commissioner Parry-Okeden considered it best to establish a Criminal Investigation Branch in lieu of the existing Detective Office. On 1 July 1895, the Detective Office was separated from the workings of the ordinary police and became known as the Criminal Investigation Branch. ‘Those detective officers whose services were retained were absorbed into the regular police, receiving equivalent ranks and pay.’¹⁷ Sub-Inspector 1/c James Nethercote took charge of the new Branch along with one detective senior sergeant; four 1/c detective sergeants; one 2/c detective senior constables; one acting 3/c detective sergeant and two 3/c detective constables. Out of the ten men that formed the new branch, half were from Ireland, two from England, two from New South Wales and one from Scotland; five out of ten men had previous law-enforcement experience, including metropolitan forces. Before joining the Queensland Police in 1883, Detective Sergeant John Henders served with the DMP and Detective Constable 2/c William Archer Clarke was with the London Metropolitan Police.¹⁸

The subsequent Commissioner’s annual reports listed changes to the stations’ organisation, such as the substitution of the Native policemen with regular uniformed police, more extensive use of photography, bicycles and a greater emphasis on education of the police members, including first aid.¹⁹ Parry-Okeden’s successor, Major William Geoffrey Cahill (1905–16), was originally from Strokestown, Co. Roscommon.²⁰ Cahill had served for some years in the RIC, and upon his migration to Queensland, joined the public service; ‘on his appointment as Commissioner he made several changes in administration on the lines obtaining in the RIC, regarding them as the best disciplined and most highly trained British Police force.’²¹

STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION

Following the example of colonial police forces elsewhere in the British Dominions, the Queensland and Toronto Police relied largely on the structure and experience of the RIC for administrative and legal organisation. Emsley holds that, by and large, the newly established police forces usually conformed to one of three types of organisation: state civilian, responsible directly to the national government and often largely confined to capital cities; municipal civilian, recruited by and answerable to the local government authority; and the gendarmeries, state military police that were most often found in the countryside symbolising the nation state for a peasantry.²²

The Queensland Police did not fall directly into any categories of the typology, as it incorporated elements of all three modes of policing. Even more extraordinary is that municipal civilian and gendarmerie forms were adapted to the specifics of colonial society and evolved into one type of force—Border Police (Native Police can be safely classified as a similar form of law enforcement). The Mounted Border Police were ‘recruited by and answerable to the local colonial government’, ‘military in style’ and found ‘in the countryside’ or on the frontier, symbolising the state to the new settlers and the Aborigines. The urban sector of the colonial force quite predictably is the most appropriately defined by the first model, the state civilian form of policing. In a similar fashion, in 1859, the Toronto Police was re-organised along the municipal model lines, while the rural parts of the Upper Canada were policed by the Mounted North Western Police, which adopted the RIC model.

Queensland

In 1864, the population of Queensland stood at 75,000, with a police contingent of 339 to preserve order and prevent crime in a colony that stretched over 400,000 square miles. Of the total strength of the Queensland Police, 176 were ordinary constables, while the remaining 163 were members of the Native Mounted Police.²³ These numbers provide a ratio of one constable per 429 of the population, only slightly less than one to 409 in 1863. Considering that 61,467 members of the public were scattered over an extent 400,000 square miles, the ratio does not seem very high.²⁴ By 1874, the number of ordinary policemen had more than doubled to 392 (561 overall strength). Native Mounted Police numbers remained almost unchanged; the 1874 annual report noted a minor increase of six men, from 163 to 169. The growth and expansion of settlements pushed the frontier line, which inevitably led to the growth of the force, while the native squads simply moved on further into the bush. The colonial population rose from 75,000 to 163,000 inhabitants in an area now stretching across nearly 680,000 square miles.²⁵ Over the first decade, the number of ordinary beat constables patrolling Brisbane increased from 26 (1864) to 92 (1874). The total Brisbane contingent stood at 134 White Policemen: 92 constables, 22 senior constables, 13 sergeants, five senior sergeants, one sub-inspector 2/c, one inspector 1/c, and one native trooper. The costs of the upkeep of the force rose disproportionately to the growth of the establishment. Throughout the decade,

expenditure escalated from just over £40,500 to £92,721.²⁶ The colony's police stations, some of them remote, had to be maintained, and at enormous cost.²⁷ By 1880, the total expenditure of the Queensland Police had increased further to £118,456 17s. (1878–79).²⁸ An annual report for the London Metropolitan Police in 1878 established that in the 50 years since the foundation of the force, the police district population had increased from 1,468,442 to 4,534,040 and the strength of the police force tripled from 3341 to 10,477.²⁹ Roughly around £700,000 pounds (1878) was required to run a metropolitan force of 10,000 men. At the same time, a fifth of that amount went into the upkeep and running of the Queensland Police, which in 1878 numbered 754 men, or one-fourteenth of the London total. The colony's spend on policing per capita was treble that of London.

Despite the expansion and the expense, Queensland, particularly its rural areas, remained largely under-policed for a considerable time, even though the police-to-population ratio was within an accepted average. Due to the varied geography of Queensland, the colonial force consisted of branches organised to accommodate the diverse needs of the colonial topography: Water, or River, Police, Border Police (the frontier from 1839 until 1865), Native Police and the City or Metropolitan Police. The jurisdiction of the Water Police was over the Brisbane River and Moreton Bay. Equipped with a boat, the Water Police controlled river traffic, ships and boats moored at Moreton Bay, and monitored general security on the water. Prior to their integration with the Queensland Police in 1893,³⁰ the Water Police courts were set apart from the remaining police courts but were under the same general Queensland petty courts jurisdiction. During the transfer year, the Water Police consisted of a sergeant and two constables, assigned to night duty on the river. The branch remained significantly understaffed and ill-equipped throughout the remaining years of the century: only in January 1907 was the 6.4-metre timber launch *Patrol* finally acquired.³¹

Border and later Native Police branches were divisions of a paramilitary character, mounted and armed. Police stationed in rural centres, such as Rockhampton and Townsville, were regularly engaged on gold escort duties. Ore was transferred from goldfields to banks, where it was exchanged for notes, which then were delivered to various destinations throughout the colony; this was arduous, dangerous and one-dimensional work compensated with double pay, risk money. The Border, or Native Police, in contrast, carried out infinitely more complex and contentious

functions. Mounted Border Police, highly mobile, existed in extremely rough conditions, patrolling the ever-extending frontier of the colony. Each patrol included a number of European policemen and about three Native troopers. Their task was to move with the frontier line into the bush, prepare the territory for white settlers and to apprehend runaway convicts. The patrols temporarily performed judicial and policing duties until a permanent policing unit was set up in the new settlement. The separation of Queensland coincided with an outbreak of bush-ranging. Bush-rangers knew the outback intimately, while white policemen were virtually helpless without the Native trackers in their attempts to catch bush-rangers or to curb their activity.

The Native Police was perhaps the most controversial segment of the Queensland Force. It possessed an unquestionable military dimension. The functions of this force were not detection and prevention of crime but of a purely retaliatory nature. 'Native Police camps were opened, closed and shifted as the frontier of settlement moved northwards and westwards – just as army posts were in other colonial wars.'³² Usually a patrol consisted of three to eight Aboriginal troopers led by a European officer. Most of the violence committed by these 'flying' squads were either sanctioned by or executed with the full knowledge and approval of local government or high-ranking police officers. The Native Police played a major role in the dispossession of Aboriginal people from their land, the almost complete destruction of Aboriginal law, and the disintegration of Aboriginal families. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Native Police of Queensland, as a major instrument of colonial authority and order, was the symbol of Native policy, invasion and dispossession for Aboriginal peoples.³³

The Queensland colony was divided into ten administrative districts, or divisions, with the largest police establishment in the capital of the colony, Brisbane (Moreton, Division A).³⁴ In line with the organisation of the DMP and its training of recruits in the Kevin Street police depot, Queensland supernumeraries were quartered and trained in drill and service at the police depot at Petrie Terrace, Brisbane. According to the *Police Manual*: 'All candidates for admission into the Police Force [had] to attend, with an application in their own handwriting, and such testimonials as they may have, at the Police Depot in Brisbane, at 9 a.m. on Wednesdays, where, if they [were] considered suitable, they [were] engaged.'³⁵ Despite the complaints from the country hopefuls, no candidates could, under any circumstances, apply elsewhere.³⁶ Before a compulsory term of three months was introduced by Commissioner Parry-Okeden in the 1890s, the period spent at

the depot varied considerably. Even then, the period between being sworn in and the first transfer was often under a month. As seen from the *Register of Members of the Police Force, 1856–1917*, in some cases nascent constables received their first transfers the very same day they were sworn in. This practice was mainly restricted to the years of staff shortage (Fig. 7.2).

Initially, in the ten years between 1875 and 1885, the police were housed at the Victoria army barracks. The compound included the main building where the mounted and foot constables on duty at Petrie Terrace, Paddington and Red Hill resided, the Commissioner's house and the Officers' Mess building, which was occupied by Inspector Lewis of the Detective Force. The parade and drill routine grounds were also within the barracks walls. In 1885, the police depot was moved next door to the Old Brisbane Gaol building, Petrie Terrace, while the Victoria barracks were again taken up by the National Guards. The prisoners were moved from the central Brisbane jail to the Boggo Road Gaol across the river and away from the inner city area. Built in 1860, the Brisbane Gaol was the first building up on Petrie's Hill, a fairly grim edifice of brick and stone

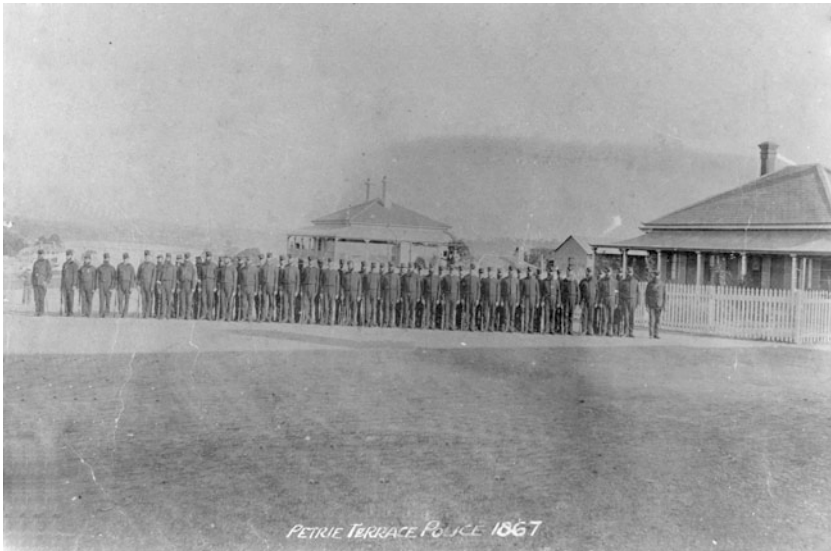


Fig. 7.2 Police parade ‘under arms’ at Petrie Terrace, 1867 (Source: Queensland Police Museum)

surrounded by palings. Each of its two wings were three stories high, hosting 72 cells arranged back to back, opening on to balconies with iron railings and external staircases. During the reconstruction, one wing of the gaol was demolished and the second wing was converted into police barracks (Fig. 7.3 and Fig. 7.4).

Compared with Irish and English organisations, colonial police entrance specifications were considerably more lenient. The age limit, for instance, was significantly higher and the physical parameters were not nearly as strict and precise as for the admission into the RIC. Despite these adjustments, the entry requirements were adopted directly out of the manuals of the Dublin and London forces.³⁷ According to the Queensland Police Act, 1863, an applicant had to be a bachelor with no record of previous convictions or questionable associations of any kind. Physically, candidates to the Queensland Force were required to be under the age of 40, measure a clear five feet eight inches without boots, be of strong constitution and be free from any bodily complaint.³⁸ Apart from fulfilling the physical requirement, the applicants had to possess basic literacy skills—writing,



Fig. 7.3 Roma Street police barracks, Brisbane, 1885 (Source: Queensland Police Museum)



Fig. 7.4 Inspectors, sub-inspectors, senior sergeants, sergeants and senior constables stationed at Brisbane during 1888 outside Roma Street barracks—originally published in *The Queensland Figaro*, 4 August 1888, p. 189 (Source: Queensland Police Museum)

reading and arithmetic. In 1864, the age bar was lowered under the provisions of the ‘Rules for the Police Force’.³⁹ According to the new set of regulations, candidates eligible for the force had to be under the age of 30 as opposed to 40, unless they had previously been engaged in police duty, in which case they might be admitted up to the age of 35.⁴⁰

In Queensland, it had become an established practice that a constable should be in service for at least two years before seeking permission to marry,⁴¹ unlike the members of the RIC who had to be in service for up to ten years before petitioning the authorities. The men were also disenfranchised. The rules of service stated that all members of the force were studiously to observe neutrality in political matters;⁴² Inspector Isley openly argued that exercising the right to vote could potentially lead to partisanship, ‘and when a man becomes a partisan his utility and efficiency as a policeman is, to a great extent, lessened’.⁴³ In contrast, before its reor-

ganisation, the Toronto Police was notoriously partisan; indeed, Orange Lodge membership was a prerequisite for securing a position on the force.

Toronto

Diverging significantly from the Dublin experience, which from 1834 onwards saw an absence of religious segregation as the city's Protestant share decreased to around 28 per cent,⁴⁴ mid-nineteenth-century Toronto's Irish population was predominantly Protestant (boosted by famine migrants, the number of Catholics temporarily comprised 25 per cent)⁴⁵ and notorious for its 'latent suspicion of Catholics and a general unwillingness to make space for them in public life and employment',⁴⁶ blighting their social progress in the Queen City of Ontario. Following Toronto's incorporation in 1834, constables were selected from each ward by the local aldermen, 'usually in return for political favours ... The partisan control resulted in a corrupt, inefficient and undisciplined system of policing the city'.⁴⁷

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the Toronto City Corporation controlled all police appointments. Kealy termed it a monopoly of legal violence.⁴⁸ 'The political character of the appointees proved nothing short of disastrous when riots and rivalry shattered the peace of the community since the faction in control of the municipal government was not above using the police as a partisan force.'⁴⁹ Following a series of riots in the 1850s, where the Toronto policemen's performance was less than exemplary, the Chief Constable Samuel Sherwood was dismissed along with the rest of the personnel. In 1855, the Church Street riot between the rivalling fire brigades transitioned into the 'Circus Riot' on the Fair Green just few weeks later on 13 July. The police were reluctant to intervene or bring the perpetrators to justice. The Militia had to be brought in to diffuse the riot. Subsequently, on 25 July 1855, during the special meeting,⁵⁰ the Committee of Council, having carefully considered the whole of the evidence brought before them, came to an unanimous opinion 'that the Force did not act on that occasion in that prompt and energetic manner, which might have been expected from any well regulated constabulary but on the contrary displayed utter lack of efficiency and discipline'.⁵¹

The Committee found an 'absence of any system of organisation of discipline in the Police', and concluded it stemmed 'in the first place from a want of sufficient experience on the part of the head of the Force'.⁵² The current mode of appointing police staff was found wanting. It was

recommended that official letters be addressed from this council to the heads of the police forces in London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Dublin, requesting them to furnish a detailed statement of the organisation of the police force under their individual control. In the end, a communication addressed by the mayor on behalf of the council was sent to the head of the police in London requesting that he be 'pleased to select a competent and experienced officer thoroughly conversant with the practical details of the present Police System in the mother country to take charge of and reorganise the constabulary of this city'.⁵³ In 1858, the Municipal Act of Upper Canada established an independent board of police commissioners, consisting of the mayor, the recorder, and the police magistrate of the city, who would be responsible for the regulation of the force in conjunction with the city council. The board regulated the numbers of police constables, while the council granted what it viewed to be 'reasonable remuneration'. In February 1859, the Toronto City Police was restructured, with a chief and a deputy chief placed in charge of running the organisation.

Captain William Stratton Prince replaced Sherwood as the chief, and Frederick Robinson, formerly of the 'Australian Police', was chosen to be the deputy chief. Vested with full power to remodel the force 'in such a way as he may deem most likely to ensure its efficiency',⁵⁴ drawing on his British army background in Her Majesty's 71st Highland Light Infantry, Captain Prince introduced military discipline and a good number of ex-RIC (12 out of 58) men into the reformed Toronto Police. Prince's *Toronto City Police Order Book* (1859–60) and *Regulations, Instructions and Orders for the Government and Guidance of the Toronto Police Force* were the first few manuals to codify the duties across the ranks. According to the *Regulations*, before admittance into the force, each candidate was required to subscribe to 18 conditions. The first two proscribed the expression of any political or religious opinion in a manner calculated to offend and banned political or secret society membership—an unprecedented step for the organisation.⁵⁵ In a further attempt to leave political patronage and nepotism in the past, the new Toronto policeman could now 'hope to rise by activity, intelligence, and good conduct'.⁵⁶

Police authorities actively sought to reshape the troublesome force into an impartial, restrained and highly disciplined organisation. Helen Boritch posits 'the image which the Commissioners sought to create for the Toronto force was modelled very closely and consciously on the London style of policing',⁵⁷ or an impersonal image of police authority.

Analogous to the rules adopted by the metropolitan forces under investigation, a Toronto Police hopeful had to be single, under 35 years old, over five feet and ten inches in height and free of bodily complaint. The applicant had to apply in person, pass a satisfactory examination in reading, writing and arithmetic, and obtain a medical certificate of health at his own expense, which changed as the force expanded to include a police surgeon. The recruits were placed under the charge of a constable or a sergeant for instruction. During training, they attended drill from 9 am to 10.30 am and wrote from the *Book of Rules and Regulations* (Officers on Duty) till noon, which was followed with more drilling from half two to half three o'clock in the afternoon and more writing till dismissal at half four. At quarter to eight in the evening, the recruits marched off and posted on beats contiguous to the regular constables on night duty. At 11 o'clock at night the men were dismissed. The chief constable examined the recruits in their knowledge of catechetical instructions daily, one page at a time.⁵⁸ In six months from appointment, a constable was first promoted to second class and, in another six, to first.

The men resided within the assigned division and devoted their whole time and abilities to the police service. A portion of the division was committed to their care, where each man was held responsible for the security of life and property, and the preservation of peace and general good conduct within his beat during the time he was on duty.⁵⁹ Akin to his Dublin, London or Brisbane counterparts, a Toronto policeman was required to see every part of his beat in a given time, walking at the familiar rate of two-and-a-half English miles per hour. He was prohibited from engaging in idle chatter or walking his beat in a slovenly manner, there were to be no more than two men abreast, and he could not have his hands in his pockets or swing his arms.⁶⁰ The Toronto Police orders and regulations were strikingly similar in wording and content to the manuals of the Dublin, London and Queensland forces, as were the conditions of service. In keeping with the experience in the aforementioned organisations, the early years saw considerable personnel turnover. "Scarcely a year went by when several constables were not dismissed for misconduct from drunkenness, disobedience, absence from duty, or immorality."⁶¹ In Queensland, 1864, 223 men were sworn in into the Force. By the end of the year 31 (14 per cent) men either were dismissed (15), resigned (13) or discharged (3). Overall in the first four years of its existence, on average 80 new recruits were added annually to the ranks of the Queensland Police, with a considerable dip to 38 in 1869. Simultaneously, a mean of 19 men left the organisation in each corresponding year, with a mirroring decrease to 9 in

1869. By the end of the decade, 114 men out of 223 sworn in in 1864 left the Force. In comparison in Toronto, as late as 1876, 15 per cent of the force was dismissed for breach of discipline.

In 1873, Prince was replaced by Francis Collier Draper, a son of William Henry Draper, Solicitor General and Chief Justice and late of the Queen's Own Rifles, and by Henry James Grasset in 1886. Grasset, who was Canadian-born with extensive active military experience, which included the Fenian Invasion of 1866, expanded the department from 162 men to 286 (1890) and to 590 in 1900.^{62,63} A series of new ranks such as staff inspector, patrol sergeant and two additional classes of constables were added to the existing hierarchy, while a patrol signal system along with an ambulance service were added to the expanding list of duties the men were expected to perform. Regardless of these reforms or Prince's initial aspirations, as late as the mid 1890s there was one Catholic policeman for every 20 Anglican, Methodist or Presbyterian.

THE BEAT

Following the re-organisation, Toronto was divided into three police divisions: City Hall (No. 1), Yonge Street (No. 2) and St Andrew's Market (No. 3). According to the 1856 census, Toronto's population stood at 45,000; the 1857 census showed there were 7470 houses in the city.⁶⁴ In 1861, the strength of the force was reduced by 20 constables, resulting in about one beat constable to every 4166 of the population in 1865.⁶⁵ That year, 28 patrol constables patrolled the streets of Toronto. In 1866, the ratio was 0.97 to 1000, the lowest point on record.⁶⁶ In comparison, in 1861, the Brisbane census recorded a population of 6051 and 1144 (1115 inhabited) buildings; by 1864 the town's population doubled to 12,551.⁶⁷ The same year, Brisbane had an ordinary police presence of 26 men, or in the vicinity of 483 people to one police officer.

In both cities, despite the limited police presence, thousands of persons were apprehended annually and appeared before the police magistrates daily. The pathology of colonial metropolitan crime and its trends followed similar patterns to the ones observed in contemporary Dublin, London and any other industrialised and comparatively large city of the time, while the local forces displayed numerous points of similarity with their forerunners. The majority of cases disposed of at the police courts were for offences against good order, such as drunkenness and drunk and disorderly behaviour; minor offences against property, such as larceny; and a range of offences against the person which often involved the police,

such as assaults, assaults on police, resisting arrest, rescuing or aiding a rescue of a prisoner and obstructing a constable during the execution of his duty. After drunkenness and common assaults, offences against the police formed the most numerous subcategory tried at the police courts.

Dunstall and Godfrey show that ‘overall, the criminal justice system that developed in the British settler colonies during the nineteenth century broadly mimicked the English system in ideology and practice’.⁶⁸ Following the established model, Brisbane’s city police courts, like Toronto’s, were presided over by police magistrates (in Toronto’s case, a police magistrate usually doubled as a city’s alderman and later a member of the board of police commissioners), acting and proper, and Justices of the Peace, none of whom required legal training. The police courts fell under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Petty Sessions. A selective study of the *Deposition and Minute Books* of the Brisbane City Courts, demonstrated that case records followed the same presentational formula throughout the years under study. Offences with a guilty plea recorded consisted of the name of the offender, the offence and a police magistrate’s decision on the case. In cases where a not-guilty plea was entered, a defendant’s sworn statement was taken by an arresting constable, in addition to sworn statements by the arresting and prosecuting policemen, the plaintiffs, witnesses and expert witnesses (namely medical officers and detectives).

The details of a case were recorded on a deposition sheet separate from the *Minute Book*, which are for the most part unavailable for the lower courts. As a result, the newspaper reports are the only surviving transcripts of these cases. Newspaper coverage was consistent, and it frequently noted colourful details and statements by the parties involved or by the magistrate, even if it tended to omit technicalities. The two colonial capitals’ principal newspapers, the *Brisbane Courier* and Toronto’s *Globe* were issued daily. Analogous to the *Irish Times* exercise, the *Brisbane Courier* was sampled in equal intervals roughly every five years, beginning from 1864 and continuing with 1870, 1875, 1880 and so on up to 1900. The Toronto’s *Globe* sampling method was limited to a range of months rotated in such a pattern as to reflect any seasonal variation in crime rates, in keeping with the London *Times* approach. These colonial newspapers, along with the available court records, constitute a few of the most comprehensive records of the daily interactions of the Brisbanites and Torontonians with each other and with their respective established policing bodies.

The police court coverage was matched against Queensland statistics published annually in *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, which provide general numbers of persons discharged by magistrates, breaking the group

down into the subcategories of cases convicted summarily, committed for trial or discharged. The Police Commissioner's reports produced yearly supplied more detailed data; nevertheless, these are not nearly as disaggregated as the returns given by the Toronto Police annual reports. The official numbers confirmed the general trends reflected in the newsprint coverage: the majority of a patrol constable's time was occupied with arresting drunks, breaking up fights, enforcing trading hours, arresting vagrants and enforcing city's by-laws.

In 1861, 'Brisbane was not a very attractive city, with uniformed streets, atrociously kept shops, and houses few and far between'.⁶⁹ The first areas to develop were North Brisbane with the commercial centre in Queen Street, Kangaroo Point and Milton. The central area known as Petrie Bight, and its immediate districts, such as Fortitude Valley and Petrie Terrace, shortly became an epicentre for criminal activity—as previously seen in the Dublin example—mainly theft, drunkenness and common assaults. In 1864, an anonymous correspondent to the *Brisbane Courier*, signed as E.T.M., expressed his concerns regarding the environment of Petrie Terrace. Several letters had appeared in the columns relative to the wants and what is not wanted in the area; the rising locality was 'blessed with three public-houses' and 'therefore, it is requisite that the peaceable inhabitants should have three policemen'.⁷⁰

Caxton Street, an ancillary street of the larger Petrie Terrace, soon became and remained a beacon of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. On the night of 16 February 1880, Constable Elliott had occasion to arrest George Hawkins in the centre of Caxton Street, opposite Caxton Hotel. Hawkins resisted the constable, striking him on the face and other parts of the body. During the struggle, Hawkins bit Constable Elliott and tore off a portion of his whiskers. At the trial, the Constable's face still bore evidence of gross ill-usage.⁷¹ The bench found the defendant guilty and fined him £3, to be recovered by a levy and distress, or in default of distress, one month's imprisonment. A cross-case arising out of this, in which Hawkins charged the constable with assaulting him, was dismissed, after several witnesses had been examined. Constable George Elliott, previously of the RIC, joined the Queensland Police late in 1879, aged 33 years, and remained in the force for two more years following the incident. He was discharged in 1882.⁷²

Located on the north side of the Brisbane River, the colonial capital's commercial district extended over Queen Street to the adjacent central streets—from Ann Street, the northernmost central street, to the Botanical Gardens encircling the city centre on the south end; North Quay in the

west and Creek Street in the east; and with South Brisbane on the opposite bank of the river. The central streets, laid out in a grid, were named after members of the British Royal family shortly after the penal colony was settled, with the ones named after men (William, George, Albert and Edward) running approximately north–south, and the ones named after women (Alice, Margaret, Mary, Charlotte, Queen, Ann and Adelaide) running more or less east–west. As the heart of the commercial area of the city, the area hosted an array of public houses, shops and hotels.

In May 1864, within months of being sworn in, as the freshly minted patrol constables have taken to the streets, Joseph Stanley was charged with assaulting a policeman in the execution of his duty, and as he pleaded not guilty the arresting constable presented the following testimony:

Daniel Gallway, being duly sworn on his oath saith I am an Acting Sergeant in the Police stationed at South Brisbane. At about five o'clock yesterday evening I was taking a female prisoner to the Lockup when the Defendant came by accompanied by two other men and placed himself in a fighting attitude before me and ordered me to let the woman go. I told him to mind his own business he then threatened me and shook the whip over my head I was taking the woman into custody for Drunkenness He is a sailor and was in company with some sailors who on a former occasion assaulted the Police. They threatened that they would lose their lives before the Defendant should be taken to the Lockup. The Defendant called upon the crowd to rescue him. I had to let the female go to take the Defendant into custody. The Defendant was sober at the time.⁷³

In spite of irregular court coverage in 1870 and 1875, February 1875 lacked courts reports completely, the extant number of issues were consistent in identifying the same streets as hotspots for criminal activity. On 27 July, four out of six offenders charged for drunk and disorderly behaviour were also charged with assault and obstruction of justice, all offences committed on Ann, George and Edward Streets. On Friday, 8 October 1875, John Stapler, a labourer, was charged with being drunk and disorderly in Edward Street on the previous evening; it was also proved that he assaulted Constable McKenna while in the execution of his duty. For the three offences, he was fined £5, or two months' imprisonment.⁷⁴ Constable Michael McKenna, a labourer from Ireland, joined the Queensland Police just months prior to the incident—he was 25 years old at the time. McKenna resigned ten years later, having been promoted and commended once. In November 1878, he was rewarded one pound for stopping a runaway horse at personal risk.⁷⁵

As per the newspaper court coverage, the year was remarkable for high rates of offences against policemen on duty in central Brisbane. In another such case, Charles H. Ashford was arrested and charged with drunkenness in Elizabeth Street, resisting Constable Lynch in the execution of his duty and destroying his uniform. According to his statement, Ashford was lying quietly on the pathway in the street, waiting for a cab. Constable Lynch ordered the defendant to move on, who upon refusing to do so was arrested. On the way to the lock-up, Ashford resisted and damaged the constable's uniform. Notably, after hearing the evidence the magistrate dismissed the case, stating that as the prisoner did not appear to be molesting anyone he might have been left alone.⁷⁶ Patrick Lynch was sworn in just three months earlier.⁷⁷

In line with Queensland, the Toronto Police regulations similarly cautioned against interfering with drunken persons that are causing no disturbance. And still, between 1860 and 1900, annually 2000–3000 Toronto men and women found themselves arrested for drunk and disorderly behaviour. As 'crime control represented only one aspect of the police role in the nineteenth century Toronto', the authorities 'focused a great deal of attention on the police as enforcers of a new respectability regulating drunk and disorderly conduct'.⁷⁸ On 2 April 1860, the *Globe* reported three men and 19 women were sent to jail for a month for drunk and disorderly conduct on the streets.⁷⁹ According to the police court correspondent, upwards of 50 persons have been sent down as 'disorderlies' within the past few days. Overview of the newspaper from 1850 to 1900, sampled quinquennially where a calendar month per year was examined, demonstrated that typical to the urban criminal trends, every 'Police Court' section without fail opened to 'Drunk – Disorderly'.

As previously seen in Brisbane and Dublin, drunk and disorderly behaviour walked hand in hand with assaults and assaults on police. The Toronto Police statistical returns show that in 1865 there were 17 instances of assaults on police on duty, or roughly a 61 per cent victimisation rate. One of the 17 assailants was a man named McCarty. In May 1865, McCarty entered a hotel on Adelaide Street and proceeded to act in a most indecent manner. A couple of policemen arrived on the scene and attempted to arrest McCarty; he in turn behaved in a most ruffianly manner, assaulting the policemen and tearing the uniform of one them. 'After the prisoner had been handcuffed and taken to the City Hall Station, he again showed his ire ... it was with considerable difficulty that he was placed in the cells.'⁸⁰ The year 1870 saw an increase in the police presence to 47 ordinary constables, which coincided with a further rise in assaults to 46 (43 men and 3 women).⁸¹ Between 1859 and 1900, the department

grew from 60 men and 8 officers to total of 162 in 1885 (with an intermittent dip in the 1860s) to 286 (1890),⁸² and to 590 in 1900.⁸³ As the police presence grew, the number of assaults began to drop; the drunk and disorderly arrests, or ‘disorderlies’ as the *Globe* coined them, exhibited a downward trend as well as the total numbers hovered around 3000 while the city’s population continued to rise.

In both colonial settlements, the rate of female violent offending was proportionately significantly lower than in Dublin, where often the men-to-women ratio was two or three to one. As has been shown above, in 1865 in Toronto there were 16 males apprehended for assaulting police and one female (43:3 in 1870, 23:1 in 1875 and so on), and 255 males for general assault to 41 females (338:89 in 1870, 344:44 in 1875).⁸⁴ In Queensland, 347 males were charged with offences against the person to 17 females.⁸⁵ Uniformly, the legal tolerance of women acting against the social norms of what was viewed as appropriate for their sex was much lower than for men. Women’s nature was seen as moral and nurturing; women were constructed to be gentle creatures incapable of aggression and violence. The increasing criminalisation of violence, spurred on by the growing popularity of a ‘culture of sensibility’, refashioned previously accepted modes of behaviour as felonious. As Weiner stresses, Norbert Elias’ ‘civilising offensive’, which contended with much of the traditional popular culture, has been identified with the rising bourgeoisie, or the middle class, within the British imperial framework, whose way of life, values and interests it could be said to have served, in addition to its classed nature being deeply gendered.⁸⁶ Elias, an early twentieth-century German sociologist, whose seminal work *The Civilising Process*, remains an influential study of modern society to this day. As such, a female offender was punished for a crime committed against the law and against her sex. In June 1875, Elizabeth Gray was taken into custody for being drunk and disorderly in neighbouring Albert Street, and for using obscene language on the same occasion. The defendant was found guilty by the City Police Court (Brisbane) and fined £3, or three months’ imprisonment, ‘for destroying police uniform she was ordered to pay 40s., the amount of damage done, or be imprisoned for 14 days’.⁸⁷ Notably, Denis McInrue was arrested on the same charge committed in the same street during the same year, but was fined 20s., or 24 hours in the lock-up, and ordered to pay 20s., or be imprisoned for seven days, for damaging Constable McFarquhar’s uniform.⁸⁸ Henry R. McFarquhar was sworn in earlier in the year. Little is known about his service, and he resigned in 1881.⁸⁹

Colonial Toronto society was even quicker to condemn along these gendered constructs. There were four jails and reformatories in the city: a Central Prison, the Toronto Jail and two stratified correctional institutions specifically for women. The Industrial Refuge for Girls was intended for reclamation and industrial training of girls committed under the penal laws of Ontario. The Mercer Reformatory, on the other hand, was a place for reception and reformation of girls and women sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the police court, and more often than not it was a place for fallen women. In his social study of Toronto in 1897, Christopher St George Clark shrewdly observed the female powerlessness to withstand ‘the please of draining the goblet of pleasure’ is diminished and as it is too strong for resistance: ‘They succumb, feeling that it is worth the experiment to enjoy the present and leave the future to take care of itself, just as Eve did in the garden of Eden.’⁹⁰ As the nineteenth century unravelled, the police presence continued to expand in the lives of Toronto’s deviant, insane, homeless and poor—the most marginal members of society.

The Roman Catholic Irish were over-represented in all subgroups as religious segregation presented itself territorially and occupationally; the allocation of jobs carried with it ‘an unambiguous connotation of religion’. ‘Generally rougher jobs in the mills and the less skilled jobs on the docks were the lot of Catholics.’⁹¹ The Roman Catholic group traditionally concentrated in the inner slums of the city, and the emerging industrial areas such as around King and Bathurst Streets, west of Dufferin and along the river Don, in the outskirts of the city. In British North America, ‘by 1851, a quarter of a century of sustained heavy immigration from Ireland had made Toronto the most Irish of all cities.’⁹² The 1851 census showed 37 per cent of Torontonians were Irish-born. In comparison, Boston, generally considered the most Irish centre of the United States, in 1850 had an Irish-born component that amounted to just over a quarter of the total population. By the time of the 1871 census, Toronto’s Irish population dropped to one-third, or 850,000 Irish descendants, a quarter of the population, with more than half from Ulster.⁹³ Smyth indicates ‘at one stage Canada could claim more Orange lodges than Ulster, and at the time of Canadian Confederation [1 July 1867] one third of all adult male Canadian Protestants were, or had been members of the organisation’.⁹⁴ Segregation and sectarian violence formed an inextricable part of Toronto’s past. The ‘otherness’ of the Catholics generated suspicion and hostility.⁹⁵ As late as 1894, the total Catholic representation in the government sector hovered between 3 per cent (Fire Service) and 8 per cent

(Post Office).⁹⁶ The City Hall and the police Catholic presence averaged at 5 per cent.⁹⁷

Even though matters did not improve much in the early twentieth century, and officers' positions in the police remained 'almost entirely in protestant hands',⁹⁸ Chief Constable Prince at least partially succeeded in disentangling the force from partisan politics, as evidenced by the police performance during the Pilgrimage Riots in 1875. Owing to the binary nature of the Irish society, Toronto was an epicentre of sectarian violence for the majority of the nineteenth century. The settlement was founded by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in 1793, five years prior to the United Irishmen Rebellion, meaning 'many of Toronto's Irish settlers were men who had personal experiences of the battles, group massacres and sectarian attacks'.⁹⁹ Suspicion, tension and animosity were indelible features of Protestant–Catholic relations in both Ulster and their replica homeland. In 1875, the long-standing hostility culminated in near month-long rioting.

On 26 September 1875, the Orangemen attacked Roman Catholic processionists as they made their way through the streets. The fighting continued over three consecutive Sundays in what came to be known as the Pilgrimage Riots, resulting in half of the police force being injured on the first Sunday.¹⁰⁰ A total of 24 assaults on police were recorded for the year, leaving 29 policemen injured.¹⁰¹ According to Dr Edward W. Spragge, the police surgeon, 18 men were totally disabled and double the number were more or less injured.¹⁰² Recognising the gravity of the situation, the local authorities placed 1000 military under arms in the city, while the police protected the processionists against the attacks of the mob.¹⁰³ Revolver shots were fired on the last Sunday of the procession, 'while stones and other missiles fell among the Police and processionists like hail'.¹⁰⁴ Though fully armed, the policemen did not return fire and were later commended for their remarkable coolness. The Roman Catholic citizens felt so grateful for the protection that 'they immediately collected a large sum of money and offered it to the Force in recognition of their service'.¹⁰⁵ The proffered gift was respectfully declined.

In the aftermath of the Pilgrimage Riots, police management introduced intensive weekly training sessions in street skirmish drills. 'By the 1880s, the Toronto police force had evolved into an organisation well equipped to respond to outbreaks of collective disorder and strikes'.¹⁰⁶ The expeditious manoeuvres in small detachments were soon utilised in the quelling of large-scale sectarian fighting, such as that on 6 August 1880, the day of the celebrations of the 105th anniversary of Daniel O'Connell's birthday by the Emerald Beneficial Associations. On the day, the Toronto Emeralds proceeded to their moonlight excursion on Lake Ontario, and as

the ropes were cast off a shower of stones came from the wharf on to the steamer. Sergeant Stephen, with a squad of men from No. 3 Station, was on hand, and was proceeding to arrest the stone-throwers. In the meantime, in retaliation, a stool was thrown from the steamer which struck P.C. Armstrong, 102, violently on the leg, and laid him *hors de combat*. The police then dispersed the crowd and the *Prince Arthur* went on her way. 'The squad under Sergeant Stephen then left the wharf, and were proceeding to the station, when they heard screaming and shouting on Front Street, obscene language being freely used. The police, though only five in number, charged and dispersed the mob.'¹⁰⁷

At the same time, a crowd headed by a band began to gather on Queen Street, a few blocks north of Front; at this stage three police squads greeted the mob—Sergeant Stark's squad from No 2 Station, Inspector Leith's from No 1 and Sergeant Stephen returning with his men from the wharf. After a consultation, the officers decided to stop the procession. A stand-off between about 20 and 30 policemen and the crowd of 500 ensued.¹⁰⁸ As stones commenced to fly, P.C. Norman (96) was badly hit in the abdomen and then the head, and Sergeant Stephen was also hit in the hand and leg. Constable Norman was immediately removed to a drug store where he was tended to by a doctor. Over the next few days his condition was reported to be extremely critical as he sustained severe injury to the spine, rendering him quite powerless.¹⁰⁹ Toronto Police statistical data showed there were 33 arrests for police assaults made during the year.

Review of the crime statistical tables and police court case reports revealed significant commonalities in the typology of offences characteristic of urban centres, confirming there are indeed important similarities with and within overseas patterns of policing. Assessment of the rules and regulations across the police organisations of Dublin, London, Brisbane and Toronto showed the standards of admission, training and rules of service, such as physical requirements, loss of franchise and the ban on commercial enterprising and secret society membership, exposed the remarkable extent of the cross-borrowing. Universally, colonial forces gave preferential treatment to applicants with previous experience in law enforcement.

Seeking acceptance and legitimacy, the Toronto Police Force authorities aspired to emulate the administration and the method of performance of duties of the London Metropolitan Police, actively sourcing its management staff from overseas. This was initially met with a great deal of dis-sension and instability within the organisation. Nevertheless, instruction

manuals for both colonial forces absorbed rules and regulations of the RIC and of the municipal DMP model, viewed optimal for crime prevention in an urban environment.

The establishment and development of Toronto and Queensland colonial police forces occurred under the administrative direction and strong influence exerted by both the Irish police forces and the London Police. The complex structure of the Queensland organisation reflected the varied geography of the colony; it constituted an amalgam of, a merger of principles behind, such contrasting policing systems as the RIC, the DMP and the London Metropolitan Police forces. The influx of Irish migrants throughout the 1860s and 1880s afforded an ample supply of recruits and officers, including the first commissioners. These men brought their skills and experiences with them, and thus were instrumental in moulding young colonial forces, especially with the Queensland Police Force.

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109. 'Condition of a Policeman', *Globe*, 9 August 1880.

Growth of Anonymity, Urban Crime and Policing

Emulation and reciprocal influences in the police forces of Dublin, Brisbane and London and, as evidence shows, to a lesser degree Toronto were manifested on all levels. This was especially evident at the administrative level within the institutional hierarchy. Even though colonial forces were literally oceans away from the two capitals in the British Isles, the legal, structural, cultural and ideological make-up of the four police organisations was nearly identical. Problems of public trust and acceptance were universal. Since the first statutory Dublin Police force was established in 1786, there had been plenty of time to look back, adopt and integrate the innovations of other institutions in any given period. Resulting similarities were combined with parallel developments in the approach to policing apparent in each of the organisations, while the differences between their respective structures occurred naturally due to contrasts in the socio-political settings in each of the four metropolises.

These more or less parallel developments and organisational reforms continued for the remainder of the nineteenth century, and were largely due to the similarities in criminality and the criminal trends stemming from the growing anonymity of all nineteenth-century urban centres, from the industrial shift towards the mass production of ready goods and from the expansion of the white-collar sector.

URBAN POLICING

Sir Robert Peel applied his experience and observations of the Dublin Police (as reshaped in the Peace Preservation Act 1814), which he acquired as the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to the historic London Police Act in 1829. The relative success of the new London Police influenced in turn the Dublin Police Act of 1836, which established a radically streamlined local municipal force. In 1859, the Toronto Police Force also underwent a major re-organisation. The new regulations mirrored the London force, while personnel were actively recruited from Ireland. Four years later, another bill, the Police Act of 1863, enacted 1 January 1864, established the Queensland Police Force. The colonial Police Act followed quite closely the format and regulations first established in the two Metropolitan Police Acts. The main emphasis shaping these policing initiatives was crime prevention and the preservation of public order. The manuals and regulations adopted by these forces demonstrated a striking level of cross-fertilisation. The core element in the regulations was universal; it outlined the conditions of entry, of service, career expectations and the legal definitions of duties and powers, and a summary of offences that might be encountered. Later revisions were dictated by necessity to adapt to specific environments and fresh legislation.

As the earlier chapters have demonstrated, the degree of interconnectedness between the police forces, not simply Irish and colonial but English as well, was multifaceted. The turnover of personnel, especially during the first decade of each force's existence, was very high by later standards. The majority of men who left their service or were dismissed from one organisation quite often found a position in another. Rarely did these men leave law enforcement entirely. As a rule, the former Dublin Police members commonly found new employment with the London Police. The report of inquiry into the conditions of service of the Dublin Police in 1873 demonstrated that in the twelve months leading to the inquiry, just under 10 per cent of the total strength of the DMP force had given their voluntary resignations. A large number of the men who left the force went to the London Metropolitan, among other forces in England, where the pay was higher than in the Dublin Police.¹ London policemen, on the other hand, often were re-engaged by the colonial forces, where, if diligent, they were guaranteed a swift promotion and associated benefits. The *Queensland Police Register* and Toronto's *Descriptive and Nominal Roll* (1859) show a significant number of recruits had previous service in

the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), as well as a number from the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP), a handful from London and, to a lesser extent, from the Glasgow Police.

The London Police actively recruited from abroad, when the situation required it. In the period of heightened activity of the IRB in England, the Metropolitan Police enlisted 50 RIC men to supplement their own numbers. These plain-clothes constables were deployed to ensure extra security for prominent individuals and buildings, as the dynamiters were known to be targeting symbolic structures such as the Tower of London and the Houses of Parliament. The RIC assisted London detectives in executing arrests and the seizure of explosives during the bombing campaign of the 1880s.² Concurrently, Scotland Yard created the Special Irish Branch, or the Political Branch, to counter the rising terrorist activity. Chief Inspector John Littlechild selected the detectives with Irish backgrounds to form his squad.³

In response to heightened extremist activity and to accommodate innovations and developments in forensic methods of investigation, the detective units of the respective police forces underwent significant restructuring and expansion during the final decades of the century. Detective divisions in the DMP and London Metropolitan Police forces were established almost simultaneously, the former in 1843 and the latter in 1842, and this was no coincidence.⁴ The DMP G Division detectives, or G-men, earned their renown in Ireland and England for their superior detective skills, with the RIC frequently turning to the DMP's G division for assistance. Dublin detectives' work was instrumental in monitoring and curtailing the advance of local nationalist activities. In 1855, Toronto Police and Prisons Committee moved for official letters to be addressed from this council to the heads of the police force in London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Dublin, requesting them to furnish a detailed statement of the organisation of the police force under their individual control. Following some deliberations, a communication was forwarded to London. In 1863, drawing on existing policing experience elsewhere, the Toronto Police established its detective branch. Shortly after the enactment of the Police Act, Queensland followed suit.

In his first annual report in 1864, Commissioner Seymour recognised the need for such an addition to the force: 'In consequence of the number of persons continually arriving from the neighbouring colonies, amongst whom are many of a most undesirable class, the formation of a detective branch became necessary, and although this occasions some little extra

expense, it will,' he felt confident, 'be found to be of very great advantage.'⁵ A year later, Seymour reported that 'the formation of a detective branch in Brisbane has been of the greatest possible advantage'.⁶ The Detective Office began on 1 December 1864, eleven months after the inauguration of the Queensland Police Force on 1 January. Samuel Joseph Lloyd was placed as the officer in charge of the new detective branch. Lloyd immigrated to Australia from Ireland and joined the Victoria Police Force in 1855, where he served as a detective for nearly a decade prior to joining the Queensland Police in 1864.⁷ Upon joining he was assigned the rank of sub-inspector 1/c by Police Commissioner David Seymour. Samuel Lloyd was Officer in Charge of the Detective Branch on and off for the next 32 years, until he retired in February 1896. The number of detectives in the Office was nominal and drawn basically from the best police officers in Brisbane. Seymour proposed that the branch be extended to some of the other larger towns in the colony, and the detectives be divided into at least two classes—detective constable 1/c and detective constable 2/c. The men were employed only part-time as detectives, spending the rest of their time carrying out ordinary police duties. They received no extra pay despite the complicated character of their work and the long hours they often worked in criminal detection.

In line with the Dublin and London forces, the Queensland detectives wore plain clothes. The scale of the branch and of their work was much smaller, however. Even as late as 1879, the whole colony could boast only nine detectives—one 2/c sub-inspector, two 1/c, five 2/c and one 3/c detective officers.⁸ In July 1895, Parry-Okeden, the new commissioner of the Queensland Force, found the detective force in need of a thorough re-organisation. A Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) was established in lieu of the existing detective branch, and the detective officers whose services were retained were absorbed into the regular police, receiving equivalent ranks and pay.⁹ This structural reorganisation and the title were modelled on the detective unit of the London Metropolitan Police two decades earlier. In 1877, the re-organisation of the London detective service had been judged necessary consequent on the conviction of three principal officers found to be complicit in an extensive case of turf fraud.¹⁰ Under the new structure, the detective service was re-organised into a single unit entitled the Criminal Investigation Department which, hoping to attract and secure 'the best qualified men,' offered a new scale of pay.¹¹ Half of the men that formed the Queensland CIB were also hand-picked, and had previous experience in law enforcement, ranging from the New Zealand Armed Constabulary to the DMP and London Metropolitan Police.¹²

The Detective Division of the DMP remained consistent. The size of the division was capped at under 30 active-duty detectives.¹³ Their weekly pay was marginally higher than that for ordinary constables, on average by no more than two shillings per week. The inquiry into the conditions of the civil service in Ireland, 1873, advised that an additional annual allowance of two shillings per week be given to the plain-clothes detectives. This was suggested to cover the costs of plain clothes, 'in conformity with the practice of the police forces in the large towns of England and Scotland'.¹⁴ In 1883, the allowance was raised to three shillings per week.¹⁵

The plain-clothes detectives monitored suspicious schemes by shadowing known persons and infiltrating organisations suspected of seditious activity. Due to their political involvement, during periods of heightened nationalist activity these men were at a greater risk of assault and retaliatory violence, considerably more so than the regular police. Among other iconic structures, such as the Dublin Castle and the Four Courts, the headquarters of the Detective Division situated in Exchange Court, off Dame Street, was targeted by the terrorists during the dynamite campaign of the 1890s. Detective Constable Sinnott was killed on the spot. The situation was to become even worse in the first decades of the twentieth century when the Dublin detectives became primary targets for the Irish Volunteers and the IRA.

Before these challenges, however, Irish, English and colonial police forces continued to lock step in the development of their administrative measures and practices, which included but were not limited to organisation, promotion, education and recreation. The organisation of these forces included the terms of both their employment and their living arrangements. Unmarried men were housed in barracks, while married men lodged within their district with their families or alternatively within the main barrack grounds quartered in separate wings or houses. This practice was widespread. The lives of nineteenth-century policemen across all developed countries were extremely regulated and allowed for little personal freedom or lifestyle. In all instances, the men were promoted from within the ranks, with the exception of the office of the commissioner. The commissioner had always been an officer with either military and/or state administrative background and was appointed from outside.

The system of competitive examination for promotion was set in place in the Dublin, London, Queensland and post-reform Toronto police forces. Promotion by examination was introduced in an attempt to discourage nepotism, which had plagued these institutions for decades. In

his annual report for 1875, Commissioner Seymour complained of the increasing tendency to look to external influence, instead of good conduct and merit, for advancement in the Queensland Police. In his opinion, if a stop was not put to it, it would in a short time completely subvert the discipline of the force, ‘the members of which will consider more to their interest to obtain good-will of influential persons than to look for their reward by a straightforward and impartial discharge of their duty’.¹⁶ In a separate letter attached to the report, Seymour lamented that, as a rule, it was the most inefficient and worthless men who resorted to this expedient. This, if successful, would have had the effect of placing over better men ‘an inferior class’ of officers who would have ‘command[ed] neither respect of those under them, nor the confidence of the public’. The practice, he argued, was in contravention of numerous clauses of the Police Rules.

Similar grievances had been regularly voiced by the Dublin and London police authorities. Thus, appropriate provisions had been made in the regulations of duty against lobbying. Rule 118 of the ‘Metropolitan Police Regulations’ published in the *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot* (1876), proscribed the men from seeking ‘the interest of any person unconnected with the service towards getting them promotion’.¹⁷ A corresponding order had been issued in the rules for the guidance of the London Metropolitan Police (1873): ‘Merit and not favour, is the ground of advancement, and any of the Police attempting to bring interest to bear for the purpose of influencing the Commissioner to recommend them to the Secretary of State for promotion or who apply to the Secretary for promotion, will be considered as disqualified for the promotion thus sought to be obtained.’¹⁸ Toronto’s *General Instructions, Regulations, and Orders* dealt tersely with the subject: ‘No promotions will take place without a strict examination, as to qualification of the party to be promoted.’¹⁹ The Dublin system of promotion was based on the examinations and seniority; the final decision, however, resting solely with the commissioner of the police. Commissioner Seymour advocated the same system to be applied within the Queensland Police—to have periodical examinations of candidates, and to base the final decision on seniority when marks are equal.²⁰

The DMP rules for promotion were extremely rigid. A series of requirements had to be met before the name of a competing policeman was placed before the authorities. Any infringement meant nearly immediate disqualification from promotion; three consequent years of exemplary ser-

vice record, however, expunged any previous misdemeanours and guaranteed 'a clean bill of health'. At the end of each week the Sergeant of the section certified whether the beat of a constable in question was orderly, regular and free from nuisances or other offences. If the constable's beat was so kept, the commissioners considered that the constable had done his duty. Thus, when it came to the matter of promotion or good service pay, or any other advantage to the service, a constable's conduct was judged based on the weekly certificates of the Sergeant, and not necessarily by the number of prisoners, or summonses, and so on.²¹ In brief, from the rank of first-rate constable up to that of acting-sergeant, a constable underwent an examination, not only as to his literacy qualification and general knowledge, such as geography, arithmetic and of course regulations, but also as to his efficiency as a police constable. This had been evaluated on the basis of the information supplied by the superior officer. Upon reaching a higher rank, from inspector to superintendent, the promotion was wholly at the discretion of the commissioner 'according to [his] idea of the qualifications of the men'.²²

Overall, as the century progressed greater attention was being paid to the level of education of the candidates and of the serving men. The system of examination to establish the fitness of candidates was carried out in all cases where promotions were made to the higher ranks among the sub-officers, and from those ranks to that of sub- or acting-inspectors. At a later date, the educational tests were deemed necessary for all candidates for the police as a prerequisite for recruitment to the force. In addition to now compulsory first-aid training, classes were introduced in police depots. In Brisbane, the Police Museum was used for the purpose of instructing the men in the various methods employed by criminals. By the final decades of the nineteenth century, a knowledge of basic forensic method had become the required norm.

In addition to cognitive training, fatigue work and physical and specialist training were introduced into the depot routine along with a few regulated recreational activities that were calculated to benefit and assist the men in the execution of their everyday duties and to foster sportsmanship, team spirit and camaraderie. The most favoured competitive pastime among Dublin and Queensland policemen was tug-o-war, with competitions taking place locally and internationally. In 1883, the Athletic Association was formed within the Toronto Police, where the men were said to have particularly excelled in the sport, as evidenced by their victories in annual tournaments (Fig. 8.1).



Fig. 8.1 Police tug-of-war team at the Ambulance Sports, 1906 (*Source:* Queensland Police Museum)

It is safe to conclude that these police forces, apart from sharing many organisational and structural characteristics, developed a shared professional identity as well, as the service men shared lifestyles and expectations, and faced similar dangers. Long and arduous hours on the beat, wore out not only policemen's boots and uniforms but their general health as well. Particularly common ailments were rheumatoid arthritis, pleuritis, pneumonia, tuberculosis (phthisis), bronchitis and any contagious diseases rampant at the time, such as scarlatina and typhoid fever.²³

URBAN CRIME

The evolution of the pathologies of crime within the English-speaking world was shaped by the rapid urbanisation of societies and the changing structure of economic activity, and, associated with these, architectural,

mechanical and socio-economic advances. These changes brought into prominence classes of offence typical of urban landscapes, for example dangerous driving (of hackney carriages, omnibuses and automobiles), obtaining goods/ money under false pretences/fraud, and embezzlement. Arguably, violent driving was always present on the street, be it a horse-drawn carriage or an omnibus, but a larger middle class and more accessible consumer goods resulted in a vast expansion of the volume of street traffic, especially in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This is also evident from the numerous applications to the police for better control of the roads. In many cases, however, traffic control remained a general responsibility of the local authority and only in the later years was it placed specifically under jurisdiction of the police.

Anonymity afforded by the sheer size of populations, increasing mobility and the complexity of the built landscape of the burgeoning cities, encouraged the growth of such offences as ‘obtaining goods under false pretences’ and fraud. Growing numbers of prosecutions for ‘forging drapery orders’ were specifically facilitated by a rapidly increasing number of warehouses and shops. Changes in the economic structure was soon manifested in the expanding number of private business in the service sector—in accounting, advertising, management, insurance and consulting. This, in turn, led to the mushrooming in attempts to defraud and embezzle (Fig. 8.2).



Fig. 8.2 Occupations of prisoners in all large district prisons in Ireland, 1865–1900 (*Source:* Judicial Statistics, Ireland)

Stedman-Jones identified ‘the weakening bonds of kinship, the decline of the social significance of the family, the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity and the erosion of traditional methods of social control’ as key contributors to the rise in opportunistic crime and fraudulent behaviour fostered by the anonymity of the urban environment;²⁴ where ‘the neighbourhood loses its significance; people can live in close physical proximity but at great social distance’.²⁵ It was justly assumed that a rural environment would not have facilitated successful outcomes for this category of offences, simply due to the decreased mobility of the population and the close community ties indigenous to rural life.

The London *Times* reports reveal large numbers of charges for fraud and for obtaining donations under false pretences. Schemes varied dramatically from presentation of begging letters and foreigners swindling servants to respectably dressed men visiting a business and, upon claiming a connection or acquaintance, asking for donations for themselves or for individuals they allegedly represented. In one such case heard at Marlborough Street Court, one Peter Dooleddy was brought up for final examination. He was charged with having obtained a situation in the family of a gentleman named Jarman, residing at 17 Hanover Square, by means of fraudulent character.²⁶ The plaintiff’s testimony went on to show that the prisoner applied to him in January (the case was tried in March) for the situation of footman. Mr. Dooleddy presented a reference from his alleged previous employer, one Mrs. Long of Teddington. After some time in service, his new employer, prompted by his doubts of the prisoner’s honesty, made inquiries which established that he had been ‘imposed upon with false character’. Mr Jarman immediately procured a warrant, dismissed his servant and caused him to be apprehended. ‘The prisoner made no defence, and was fined ... the penalty of £25, or three month’s imprisonment.’²⁷

Cases of deception and of obtaining sums by false pretences nearly always received a wide resonance. The Bow Street magistrate committed Dooleddy for trial on four distinct charges. Defrauding invariably received a severe sentence. Fraud, conspiracy to defraud and embezzlement were classified as offences against property committed without violence. The bulk of cases falling under this category were sent for trial, with only one case according to the 1885 returns leading to a summary conviction. Sanctity of private property was one of the cornerstones that formed the basis of English jurisprudence.

The criminal statistics for Ireland consistently show a number of offenders give their occupations as 'shopmen, shopwomen, clerks, &c'. Considering the economic changes of the time, the prisoners' occupations and the offences that led to their committals were clearly linked. In the judicial reports for Ireland for 1865, 1870, and 1875, the statistical data are available for both sexes, with numbers presented proportionately for each sex separately and compared with the English data. The results demonstrate a very similar occupational distribution of offenders. In relationship to other occupations, shopmen and clerks in 1865 comprised only 2.8 per cent of the total number of prisoners in Ireland, England and Wales.²⁸ Undoubtedly, the clerical sector experienced a considerable growth throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, but, proportionately, white-collar crime was still significantly outnumbered by more long-standing commonplace offences. The dip observed in the data for 1895 is attributable to the economic slump.

A similar distribution of prisoner occupations for Queensland or even for Brisbane is at this stage nearly impossible to establish, as there are no detailed separate police statistics available for Brisbane only. Queensland statistics, reprinted in the Police Commissioner's report for 1897, did list 20 cases of embezzlement for the whole colony, with 12 men convicted, and 84 charges with 60 convictions for false pretences (men only).²⁹ Queensland's *Pugh's Almanac*, a yearly publication, also reflected a change in the economic composition of the capital. As evidenced by the entries in the *Almanac*, by the 1890s, Brisbane grew from roughly 90 businesses and societies, including the colonial banks and a local paper, to hundreds of trades and professions, including legal and medical practices, chemists and so on. The 1900 edition expanded both in complexity and size; the trades section tripled in length to 60 pages within the two preceding decades, with advertisers inviting prospective clients to 'write to or ring up' indicating the use of telephone lines across the city.

FALSE PRETENCES

White-collar crime was a natural development in the rapid urbanisation of capital cities. Although Dublin had been a bustling metropolis for centuries, Brisbane was just a young colonial city expanding quickly at the time. However, it did display many of the characteristics of a metropolis, albeit on a much smaller scale. The business scene was varied and in many instances it was a virtual micro-copy of that of Dublin or London, with a

colonial tinge. Fraud was predominantly limited to the corporate sector and land-grants schemes. Embezzlement and the obtaining of goods or money under false pretences were similar in nature and just as common in Brisbane as they were in Dublin, London and Toronto. Notable cases were widely publicised by the local newspapers.

In March 1855, the London *Times* printed proceedings of a case of ‘swindling the servants of different families at the West-end’.³⁰ Charles Violette was brought up on several charges of obtaining money under false pretences. The case received fairly wide publicity which brought to light a host of related offences. George Fincham, a surgeon, of St John’s Wood (Westminster, Division B) gave evidence to the effect that the man in question, Violette, had visited his residence before the particulars of the case were publicised. One evening the prisoner walked into his drawing room as if he were an old acquaintance of the family. Violette affected ignorance of the English language and presented a private card of Mr Fincham’s friend. Having narrated in French his story of unlucky arrival in London and associated financial difficulties, he requested assistance. The witness (Mr Fincham), regardless of claims of acquaintance suspected that ‘the fellow was an impostor, and told Mrs Fincham, in English, that he thought it was all humbug – a word which the prisoner appeared fully to understand, notwithstanding the ignorance of the language’.³¹ Further questioning showed that earlier the prisoner had paid a similar visit to Torrington Square, where Mr Fincham’s friend resided, and though having been refused admittance he had managed to empty a bowl containing numbers of private cards before leaving the house. Violette was also in the habit of appropriating silver cutlery if such a chance presented itself.

The success rate of these crimes depended on the existence of ignorant or credulous persons, in situations where perpetrators could remain anonymous for significant periods of time. As such, in 1864, at the Central Police Court, Brisbane, a man named Edward Glasson was charged with obtaining money under false pretences by selling a quantity of brass to one William Hart, asserting that it was gold and obtaining the price of gold for it.³² When steps were taken to apprehend the offender it became known that, Glasson, the offender, was already in custody on a similar charge.³³ Reports indicate that one of the more common schemes for obtaining money or goods under false pretences was by means of a forged bank cheque. In June of the same year, a man was apprehended in Brisbane with nine blank cheques on the Australasian Joint Stock Bank.³⁴ In another case there, a man named M. G. Mathews was charged by a store-keeper, Joshua

Jenyns of Fortitude Valley, for the same offence. The prisoner came into the store and asked if his cheque for £5 10s. could be cashed as he did not wish to go to the bank. The plaintiff gave the prisoner two pounds in cash and a cheque of his own for the balance; on leaving the shop the prisoner said: 'Do not present the cheque for an hour or two, when I will bring the money.' He did not return and Jenyns then lodged the cheque into his account in the Joint Stock Bank, which upon being presented to the Bank of New South Wales was returned 'with no account' written on it.³⁵ Matthews, a resident of Brisbane and later a clerk in the post office, was committed for trial.³⁶

A similar scheme to defraud was used in Dublin by a man named Armstrong, *alias* O'Connor. The description of the case had been noted in both the legal reporter's diary and the newspaper and is quite illustrative. In January 1877, in the Northern Division of the Police Courts, a young man who gave his name as James Armstrong and described himself as a clerk was put forward on remand in the custody of the Detective Police, charged with having obtained two sums of money by forged cheques—£198 16s. and £486 6s. He was also charged with having endeavoured to obtain another £590 10s. by the same means.³⁷

According to the case description taken from Ryan's diary, in December 1876, O'Connor/Armstrong called on Mr Elliott, a solicitor. Armstrong showed him 'an I.O.U.' for £9 17s. given him by a Mr Murphy of Kingstown and requested that he write for it. Elliott did so, and either Armstrong or an accomplice received the letter and sent £10 back. Elliott wrote a receipt and sent back the difference. Armstrong then was able to obtain specimens of Elliott's handwriting and his notepaper. Three weeks later, O'Connor/Armstrong called on Elliott who gave him a cheque on Balls Bank for £9 10s. Armstrong was now in possession of a sample of Elliott's writing on a cheque. Next, on 9 January of the following year, he sent a letter-boy to Balls Bank with a letter, written on notepaper like Elliott's, with an excellent forgery of his handwriting and asking that the bearer should be given a blank cheque book as he (Elliott) was out of them. Thus, having obtained a cheque book, that same day Armstrong sent someone with a cheque for £198 10s. to which Elliott's name was forged and it was at once paid.

Next, Armstrong, like many 'modern swindlers' after him, put an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* for a clerk at £2 a week. Having chosen a respondent, Coffey, Armstrong fixed a meeting at the Hibernian. He then met him there in disguise and using the name of Barclay, he engaged

him as clerk. Armstrong sent him off to cash the cheque signed by Elliott for £480, which he did and when he brought back the money was told to go to Barclays on 22 January. That same day, Armstrong, under the name of Lawrence, met Murray, another clerk, and sent him to cash another cheque for £590. At the bank it was found the figures were £590 and the words in the cheque ‘five hundred and ninety pound ten’. Murray refused to take the lesser sum, and the bank clerk suggested that he go to Elliott to enquire after the exact amount. He did so and by chance uncovered the affair. Armstrong was arrested within a couple of hours. He had only 15 shillings in his possession and no disguises.³⁸ Before Armstrong went to receive the answers to his advertisement, he had on a false wig and whiskers; they were so striking that the newspaper’s employees noticed them, and one of them subsequently identified the man. Overall, false advertising was a commonplace scam almost always offering gainful employment with ample pay, such as the two pounds per week in the case above.

Ryan called Armstrong’s case ‘one of the best forgeries’ he had ever heard of, and perhaps rightly so as the prisoner was able to operate undetected for nearly two months and defraud a solicitor no less for a significant sum of money. The aforementioned schemes, such as had been adopted by Armstrong, Charles Violette and the Brisbane scammers, can definitely be classed as crimes of opportunity, prompted by convenience and refuge offered by the ever-transient populations of the urban centres. If identified, these perpetrators were almost inevitably sent to trial, a fate for some at least deemed to be worse than death; in 1866, a man named William Ennes *alias* Innes, committed suicide (*felo de se*) in a Brisbane watch-house after being taken into custody for obtaining money under false pretences by means of fictitious cheques. He was taken from a boat bound for Sydney, and after entering the watch-house Ennes managed to swallow the contents of a small phial containing prussic acid.³⁹

EMBEZZLEMENT

The marked growth of clerical grades meant that more and more ordinary men with ordinary salaries witnessed very large sums of money passing through their hands daily, causing many to give in to temptation. The Irish police publication *Hue-and-Cry* systematically reprinted notices of rewards for fraud and embezzlement placed by the Scottish, English and, of course, Irish police. In 1865, the *Times* and the *Brisbane Courier* reported a number of instances of theft and misappropriation of funds by bank

and post office clerks. James Parsons was accused of embezzling money from the post office in Brisbane by means of making alterations in the day books. However, after the lengthy witness statements were examined, the police magistrate decided that no indictment for embezzlement could be made based on the evidence presented, and after a short consultation with the Bench it was decided not to commit the prisoner.⁴⁰ The case of John Wilkins Thorne, a London forger, extended all the way to Sydney. Thorne was formerly employed as an extra clerk in the Savings Bank Department of the General Post Office, London. After forging orders for several sums of money, he obtained a colonial grant of land and passage out for £30. He then left for Queensland, but was dissatisfied with his settlement in Brisbane and moved to Sydney, where he was later apprehended by the police constable attached to the post office.⁴¹

An October 1866 issue of *Hue-and-Cry* printed a 50 pounds' reward for one James Hart. A reward was offered for Hart, who was wanted in Edinburgh on a charge of embezzlement of £122 sterling, the property of the United Operative Masons' Association of Scotland.⁴² Embezzling from banks, post offices and various mutual associations and societies was, as cases show, becoming ubiquitous. Ryan made a note in his recollections of one such case, where an unfortunate bank clerk named Fowler was charged at the Dublin Police Court on Friday, 29 June 1877, with stealing a £100 note from the Bank of Ireland. He took it on 1 June and on the previous Tuesday paid it to an English betting man at the Curragh. When he went to get it cashed, as the number had been circulated, he was stopped and questioned. The English man had identified the prisoner as Fowler, and after this evidence the prisoner had no choice but to plead guilty.⁴³

Another case involving an opportunistic clerk was recounted by Colonel George Denison, a Toronto police magistrate. In his memoirs, *Recollections of a Police Magistrate*, published after his retirement in 1920, Denison described a case, where a young man named McEachren embezzled 30 dollars from a carpet shop on Yonge Street and absconded with the money to the United States. However, his conscience got the better of him so he came back and turned himself in while his friends repaid the money.⁴⁴ After the case was settled, the man's employer laid a fresh charge of forgery, claiming that the prisoner had forged his name to a cheque for 90 dollars the day he left Toronto and had it cashed at the bank. According to Denison, the accused professed his innocence with such an honest hot air that it made him doubt McEachren's guilt. After a swift

investigation by the police court staff, Detective John Hodgins, under instructions from Denison, brought in another clerk named Bright on suspicion of impersonating McEachren and cashing the cheque in his name. Bright knew that McEachren had run away to America and as he did not anticipate his return, wrote out a cheque imitating McEachren's handwriting and forged the signature of his employer. He then went to the bank and cashed it, endorsing it with a good imitation of McEachren's signature. Following his confession, Bright was arraigned and committed for trial. He was found guilty and sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

Misappropriation, or colloquially pilfering, of funds was gaining momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century. The sums small and large were embezzled, as opportunity presented itself, this often involving possibly lightly-managed voluntary associations such as the Irish Christian Burial Society or Land Mortality Society.⁴⁵ The scope of this research suggests that none of the cases from this class of offences were committed out of necessity, in contrast to theft, discussed in the previous chapters, which was overwhelmingly driven by hardship and need.

CRIMINAL POVERTY

Rookeries formed an infallible feature on the contemporary urban scene—Dublin's Liberties, London's St Giles and Whitechapel, Brisbane's Fortitude Valley, Toronto's St John's Ward—characterised by poor housing, a constant population turnover, disease and poor nutrition, being only intermittently elevated by spells of casual employment. They were socio-economic microcosms where crimes of opportunity and crimes of necessity were inextricably intertwined. Necessity went hand in hand with opportunism and aggression, instrumental and affective—aggression used as a means to an end and aggression for the sake of aggression. These distinctly urban elements coalesced into an optimal environment for unimpeded criminal activity. The lack of adequate means to deal with the rising crime, more often than not involving juvenile offenders, and the media-induced fear and loathing of the 'underworld' reinforced the reputation of the rookeries and associated extreme poverty as inherently deviant.

According to the routine activity theory, for a crime to occur the following elements have to be present: a motivated offender, a suitable victim and the absence of a 'capable guardian'.⁴⁶ At the risk of over-generalising, masked by the growing anonymity afforded by the ever-expanding urban environment, it was petty crime, opportunistic in nature, as opposed to

premeditated, that dominated the majority of nineteenth-century criminality. The largest employers of seasonal unskilled labour were the dockyards adjacent to the slum areas of London—Finsbury, Whitechapel and Bethnal Green or the parishes of the London's East End—and Dublin—the Liberties and the North Strand. Smuggling and fiddling from the docks were viewed as a due supplement to low wages. Appropriation from the dockyards, mines and factories was considered nearly routine throughout most of the century.⁴⁷ Dockyards were hostile grounds for the new police, or a 'capable guardian' in the present equation—an unwelcome variable subverting long-established norms. As seen in the earlier chapters, the reaction to the police was principally dictated by the social background of the inhabitants, with animosity running highest among the lower classes. The new police were uprooting the traditionally acceptable set of behaviours in social spheres, leisure and work; its mission—as defined by the revisionist approach to policing theory—was 'a symptom of both a profound social change and a deep rupture in class relations'.⁴⁸ An increased police presence was deemed the optimal solution to counteracting the habitual criminality of the lower orders, not social reform, thus further criminalising and marginalising classes already on the fringe of the society. According to Jennifer Davis: 'London prison records show that the casual poor represented the overwhelming majority of those prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment in the second half of the nineteenth century.'⁴⁹

In 1898–99, Charles Booth produced maps illustrating poverty in London based on the observations made by his army of investigators who accompanied policemen on their beats. The outcomes of Booth's efforts demonstrated the areas of extreme poverty and criminality, denoted in dark blue or black on his map, as situated to the north of the Royal Dockyards and port district, marked in light grey on the map. The areas coloured in red indicate neighbourhoods of comparative economic stability or affluence. The map clearly shows the lanes and alleyways of Bethnal Green Road and Shoreditch, or Whitechapel (H) Division, as nearly all black, corresponding to the 'lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals' as per Booth's classification schema. This A class comprised the lowest stratum, consisting of some occasional labourers, street sellers, loafers, criminals and semi-criminals. 'Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and their only luxury is drink.'⁵⁰

The Royal Commission on the House of the Working Classes (Ireland) in 1884, mirrored Booth's findings, as its inspectors were witnesses to the most extreme poverty and discomfort in the homes of the labouring

classes in the towns of Ireland. Prior to 1866, little or nothing had been done to improve or regulate the condition of the homes of the working classes in the capital. ‘The evil of tenement houses, which was found to be a source of great misery in the housing of the working classes in London, exists very extensively in Dublin.’⁵¹ Following the Act of Union, the Anglo-Irish ascendancy departed the capital. Owing to the large number of these mansions and their subsequent conversion into tenements, the commission surveyors felt that much good could still be done with more houses converted. In reality, the formerly grand mansions were by then in decay. The single-room system of these tenement houses resulted in 32,000 families inhabiting 7200 houses (out of a total of 24,000).⁵² Sir Charles Cameron, Superintendent Medical Officer of Health, described the tenements as severely dilapidated, with broken windows, dark and ill-ventilated staircases, filthy basements, clay yards and one privy for a dozen families. Diseases such as scarlet fever, measles and typhus travelled from house to house unabated. The area just few hundred yards to the east of the stately Sackville Street, became known as Monto, after one of the encasing streets, Montgomery Street. Monto, a ‘labyrinth of vice’ characterised by general lawlessness, was notorious for prostitution well into the twentieth century.⁵³ On the south side of the Liffey, Plunkett Street, located in the south-west quadrant of the city in the Liberties and known for its criminality,⁵⁴ was another example of overcrowding in the Dublin slums. The street stretched over an area of three acres (12,140 square metres) and was listed as containing 159 houses inhabited by 1619 people—ten individuals per house.^{55,56}

In the colonies, the city of Toronto, for example, typical of metropolitan topography, incorporated the extremes of rich and poor. As living in the city was expensive, the poor were obliged to live in the skaky, tumble-down houses of the inner-city wards, such as St John’s Ward, Elizabeth, South Jarvis and Lombard and Bathurst to name a few,⁵⁷ while the middle classes and those of only moderate means resided in the suburbs or a considerable distance from the inner city. Brisbane lacked such distinctive overpopulated and desolate areas. The Undue Subdivision of Land Prevention Act (49 Vic No 15), passed in November 1885, provided that every street laid out or dedicated after the passing of the Act had to be at least 66 feet wide and every lane at least 22 feet wide. The act made it illegal to erect a dwelling house fronting on a lane at a distance less than 83 feet from the middle line of such a lane, or to use as a dwelling house any building so erected, unless it was at the corner of a street and

a lane. This was largely enforced, preventing overcrowding in residential areas. The crime map of Brisbane showed areas of heightened criminal activity as primarily concentrated around business and entertainment districts. Neighbourhoods with fairly rapid tenant turnover and areas of low socio-economic status, such as the West End (a suburb immediately adjoining South Brisbane), Fortitude Valley, Petrie Terrace and later Red Hill (est. 1887) witnessed a degree of the hostility and aggression found in the over-populated districts of London and Dublin. This hostility was often fuelled by the pre-existing national, religious and racial tensions though it never approached the level of problems observed in the other capitals.

The structure of the urban policing model goes back to the late eighteenth century and the Dublin day police that had been created to supplement the chaotic performance of the night watch. Apart from having a shared legal, administrative, structural and ideological foundation, the Dublin, London, metropolitan Queensland and, to a lesser degree, Toronto police forces eagerly explored and exploited the reforms and innovations in kindred constabularies. The policing experiences were routinely transferred between the forces, along with the constant movement of personnel. The 'bobby on the beat' manner of policing was deemed the most appropriate for the highly populated urban centres. Growing anonymity facilitated by the post-industrial revolution surge of urban and colonial migration altered the nature of crime within the British Isles and the colonies. The expansion of the clerical class, the growing financial and retail spheres and anonymity allowed for evolution of uniquely urban crime trends, which contributed to parallel developments in the approach to policing across the institutions. These more or less parallel developments and organisational reforms continued for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The common approach to the prevention and detection of crime led to increasingly similar attitudes towards police presence on the streets. The similarities in the training, education and regulation of duties emerged as a shared identity of a beat 'Peeler' or 'Bobby'.

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1. *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry Commission, 1872. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report* (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. iii.
2. 'The Seizure of Explosives', *Times*, Monday, 9 April 1883, p. 6.
3. Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police*, p. 137.

4. 'Report' by E. Y. W. Henderson, *Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the Year 1877*, p. 4.
5. 'Report of the Commissioner of Police. First Report', *QVP, 1865*. p. 2.
6. 'Report of the Commissioner of Police. Second Report', *QVP, 1866*. p. 1.
7. Lloyd, Samuel John, QP Service Record 2022 (QSA File A/38879), QPS Museum Collection.
8. *Report of the Commissioner for the Year 1879*, p. 2.
9. 'Report of the Commissioner for the Year 1895', *QVP 1896*. p. 2.
10. 'Report' by E. Y. W. Henderson, *Report of the Commissioner of Police in the Metropolis for the Year 1877*, p. 4.
11. Ibid.
12. See Chap. 7.
13. Detective Division total 44 men; Constables 1/c 18, 2/c 1, taken from *Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1883*, HCPP [C.3576], p. 15.
14. 'Allowances', *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report*. (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. v.
15. 'Report of the Committee of Inquiry of 1883', *HCPP*[C. 3576] p. 13.
16. *Report from the Commissioner of the Police for the Year 1875*. p. 1.
17. 'Police Constable', *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot*, p. 25.
18. 'Letter from Commissioner of Police, Referred to in His Report', *Report from the Commissioner of the Police for the Year 1875*, p. 5.
19. 'Police Orders', *General Regulations, Instructions and Orders, for the Government and Guidance of the Toronto Police Force*, p. 39.
20. 'Letter from Commissioner of Police, Referred to in His Report' (1875), p. 5.
21. 'Part V. Mode of Keeping Duty Books', *Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin-Street Depot*, p. 55.
22. 'Evidence by Colonel Henry Atwell Lake', *Civil Service (in Ireland) Enquiry Commission, 1872. Dublin Metropolitan Police Report*. (Dublin: Alex Thom., 1873), p. 6.
23. Reports of Thomas Nedley, the Medical Officer on the Health of Metropolitan Police are printed in the Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.
24. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Hamondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 13.
25. Ibid.

26. 'Marlborough-Street', *Times*, Wednesday, 14 March 1855, pp. 11–2.
27. *Ibid.*
28. 'Prisons', *Judicial Statistics (Ireland)*, 1865–1875.
29. 'Table B', *Report of the Commissioner of Police for the Year 1897*, p. 9.
30. 'Bow-Street', *Times*, Saturday, 10 March 1855, p. 12.
31. *Ibid.*
32. 'Obtaining Money under False Pretences', City Police Court, *BC*, Saturday, 16 April 1864, p. 5.
33. 'Obtaining Money under False Pretences', City Police Court, *BC*, Wednesday, 20 April 1864, p. 2.
34. 'Obtaining Goods under False Pretences', City Police Court, *BC*, Friday, 3 June 1864, p. 2.
35. 'Obtaining Money under False Pretences', City Police Court, *BC*, Wednesday, 18 January 1865, p. 2.
36. 'Monthly Epitome', *BC*, Thursday, 16 February 1865, p. 10.
37. 'The Extensive Forgeries', *Freeman's Journal*, 20 January 1877, p. 3.
38. Charles Ryan, Diary №6, 12 January 1877, p. 5.
39. 'Social', *BC*, Thursday, 17 April 1866, p. 2.
40. 'Embezzlement', City Police Court, *BC*, Wednesday, 1 February 1865, pp. 2–3.
41. 'Bow-Street', *Times*, Wednesday, 24 May 1865, p. 13.
42. 'Scottish Police', *The Police Gazette or Hue-and-Cry* (Dublin), Tuesday, 23 October 1866.
43. Charles Ryan, Diary №6, Friday, 29 June 1877, p. 43.
44. George T. Denison. *Recollections of a Police Magistrate*. (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1920), pp. 53–57.
45. 'Northern Division, Police Intelligence', *Irish Times*, 3 December 1869, p. 3.
46. Peter B. Ainsworth, *Psychology and Policing* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2002), p. 135.
47. For more on the history of workplace misappropriation, see Barry Godfrey and David Cox, *Policing the Factory: Theft, Private Policing and the Law in Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
48. Taylor, *The New Police in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 141.
49. Jennifer S. Davis, 'Prosecutions and their context: the use of criminal law in late nineteenth century London' in *Policing and Prosecution in England 1750–1850*, ed. by D. Hay and F. Snyder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 423.

50. Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London. Vol. 1. East, Central and South London* (London: Macmillan, 1892–97), pp. 33–62.
51. *Royal Commission on the House of the Working Classes (Ireland)*, 1884, p. vi.
52. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
53. For more on Dublin’s ‘labyrinth of vice’, see Gary B. Boyd, *Dublin, 1745–1922: Hospitals, Spectacle and Vice* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).
54. See Chap. 3 for details.
55. *Royal Commission on the House of the Working Classes (Ireland)*, 1884, p. 8.
56. This roughly converts into 76 square metres per house of ten.
57. C. S. Clark, *Of Toronto the Good*, p. 3.

CONCLUSION

‘I know, sir, a great cry has been raised against the police establishment; it has been a fatal blow to the mobocracy in Dublin. I recollect the year 1784, when a riotous mob burst into this house, when their leader took that chair in which you sit, sir; and when they passed, unanimous resolutions against the lives of the most valuable members of this house.’¹

In April 1784, a mob occupied Parliament House during its session; the civil power at hand was powerless and the military had to be called in to disperse the crowd. ‘The maintenance of public order, seemed, for very different reasons, to be as elusive in Dublin as it had been in London at the time of the Gordon Riots.’² Shortly, the Dublin Police Act of 1786 was passed, prompted by the tithe wars, food riots, protests by the Volunteers, including the Parliament House takeover, and skirmishes with the soldiers.

The Police Act 1786 proved to be fairly short-lived, and in response to the general outcry against it, it was repealed. Following decades of reforms, and a more or less successful implementation of the London Police Act 1829 in the English capital, the new Dublin Act was enacted in 1836. The duties of the new Dublin policemen included detection and prevention of crime, apprehension of disorderly and suspicious elements, and maintenance of public order. Apart from enforcing the law, the new police were agents of social control, which in no way endeared them to the already hostile populace. Similar attitudes prevailed over the English and colonial policing experiences, where a policeman was once described

as a 'a country bumpkin, fresh from the domination of the squire and the parson', who 'finds that his word is law, and that the raising of a finger or the glance of his eye is the signal for silence. It is not unnatural that he should attempt to trade on the prestige of the force. "Swelled head" is an epidemic not peculiar to, but very prevalent among the police'.³ The road to acceptance of the new police was far from straight, obstructed by the political and economic unrest that occurred frequently throughout the nineteenth century.

The 1880s and 1890 saw Ireland shaken up by sectarian and nationalist violence, which inevitably impacted the police–public relationship, resulting in increased severity of assaults on the police. Arguably, if the Home Rule Bill had been passed, it might have severed the inescapable association of law enforcement with Crown control, and Irish policing could have entered a new stage of acceptance by the general population; one that after numerous hurdles, was achieved in the new ideological climate by the national police of the Free State, An Garda Síochana. Regardless of the heavily politicised context of establishment of the force, the majority of the duties of the Dublin Police, with the exception of the G Division, were of a mundane nature and consisted of removing drunks from the streets, apprehending vagrants and thieves and recovering stolen goods.

The health of the economy was another key factor in shaping the public–police relationship. Vagrancy laws as well as routine contempt for the poor by the police all affected the relationship of the public with the men in blue. As a general rule, the working class had the most interaction with the police and frequently were on the receiving end, since the policemen were no longer servants of the community but were now the masters, thus 'lack of self control and overweening insolence on the part of the police [was] at the bottom of a large number of police assaults'.⁴ The external factors and experiences that steered and made up the life of an ordinary beat policeman were fundamentally the same regardless of geography and politics.

Towards the final decades of the nineteenth century, there was a marked move to professionalisation of the organisation. Choosing to join the police began to be viewed as a prospective career option, where diligent training and study could lead to promotion and better pay. The police professionalisation process was twofold. The structural changes were implemented in response to societal ones, such as population growth, economic shifts and the increased complexity of local infrastructure (such as new modes

of transportation and communication). The onset of scientific progress along with evolution of crime fighting (detection and prevention) methods, among many things, contributed to the elevation of the police service as an occupation. In fact, at last the police force came to be seen as desirable gainful long-term employment, which further integrated the police into the existing social make-up and contributed to, if not acceptance, to reduced opposition. In the later years, there was a distinct move towards a more centralised control and thus away from, in the minds of many, unavoidable politicisation of the forces and bias—‘policing was no longer defined as just another power of the ordinary institutions of local government, but as something with which democratic local government could not be trusted.’⁵

The comparative approach adopted in this work allows for the model of urban policing to be examined, in its efficiency and place within the wider context of law enforcement. At the same time, the comparative method affords insight into organisational developments in response to changes in their respective socio-economic environments within the overarching colonial context. By exploring the origins of the institution, the profound influence of the Dublin Metropolitan Police on the colonial forces was exposed, as its legacy reached some of the furthest outposts of the British Empire. The ‘bobby on the beat’ approach to policing has survived to this day. It survived the tribulations of the twentieth century and has endured into the present century. Many modern urban police organisations, which had initially moved away from the model, have re-introduced steps bringing policing back to its roots, such as regular foot patrols and community integration.⁶ The community-oriented policing approach closely follows the beat model and has been regaining its popularity in Australia, Europe and North America, particularly through the final decades of the last century.⁷ A round-the-clock visible presence of officers on the streets, with a thorough knowledge of their environments, as before is still viewed as optimal in the ongoing struggle with crime prevention and the curtailing of antisocial behaviours, reducing the fear of crime, and improving the overall quality of life in communities. The present-day police organisations of Dublin, Queensland, London and Toronto have all demonstrated commitment to local community policing—‘protection’,⁸ ‘serving with honour’,⁹ ‘honesty, accountability, respect and professionalism’¹⁰—in the interests of ‘safer neighbourhoods’.¹¹

NOTES

1. John FitzGibbon's delivery of Sir Robert Cavendish Report on the police finances, quoted in Brian Henry, *Dublin Hanged: Crime, Law Enforcement and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), p. 148.
2. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland*, p. 93.
3. Hugh R. P. Gamon, *The London Police-Court, To-day and To-morrow* (London, 1907), p. 24.
4. Ibid.
5. Barry Godfrey, Paul Lawrence and Chris A. Williams, *History and Crime* (London: Sage, 2007), p. 64.
6. Peter B. Ainsworth, *Psychology and Policing* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2002).
7. Ibid.
8. Toronto Police Service Motto: 'To Serve and Protect'.
9. Queensland Police Service Motto: 'With Honour We Serve'.
10. The Garda Charter: 'Working with Our Communities'.
11. The London Metropolitan Police initiative 'Safer Neighbourhoods'.

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