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Juvenile delinquency and the public sphere: exploring local and national discourse in England, c.1940-1969

Reports on crime statistics and what these might say about British society have long been a standard article in the British media. Although such figures cover crime by all groups, the figures for crime committed by the young are particularly potent. Stanley Cohen's seminal study of the battles between the Mods and the Rockers in the 1960s demonstrated how reportage of anti-social and criminal behaviour by the young could be transformed into a 'moral panic' by the press.¹ Likewise, in *Hooligan*, Geoffrey Pearson worked back from the New Right 'law and order' discourse of the early 1980s to the early modern period to demonstrate that anxieties about the behaviour of the poorest young have an abiding and powerful presence in the British public sphere. As Pearson notes, there is a remarkable consistency in commentary on the shortcomings of parents and the education system, the slackness of the justice system, the sentimentality of reformers and the hypnotic power of popular entertainments to corrupt the young: what is interesting for the historian is not that there are these similarities, but that they derive from very different historical moments.²

Pearson and Cohen's studies are a touchstone for anyone interested in the question of how the behaviour of young working class men (and to a lesser extent, women) has been portrayed, and its discursive consequences. To a casual observer, it would appear that there is a correlation between the Second World War, the advent of the welfare state and a rise in crime as demonstrated by the statistics: the three elements coincide chronologically. A quick explanation would be that the traumas of the war, followed by the creature comforts afforded by the welfare state resulted in a more nihilistic youth with careless parents who had less respect for society than previous

generations. As will be seen, this was not an uncommon view in post-war England, but it was one that owed more to the discursive than to any qualitative change in the nature of children and young people and their behaviour. This article will argue that the evidence points in a very different direction, and that fears of 'juvenile delinquency' should be treated as historical phenomena in their own right, rather than necessarily symptomatic of changes in social behaviour. It will consider this issue in regard to the situation in England and Wales between ca. 1940 and 1969, beginning with the war and working through the first twenty years of the welfare state. It will look at discourse at the national level through reported crime statistics, governmental responses and national press coverage. It will also consider this through the local, through a case study of East London, a 'working class city' which was associated with high levels of criminality, by looking at local newspaper coverage and autobiographical testimony.

Whilst the history of youth crime in modern Britain is a vibrant field, most research has explored the periods before the Second World War, with the nineteenth century being particularly fruitful.³ Whilst there is a growing body of work on youth crime in the period after 1939,⁴ there is much that requires attention. The history of children and young people's behaviour, and how this has been dealt with by the state and other agencies is an important political and social theme in twentieth and twenty-first century Britain, in terms of what it reveals about the relationship of the individual to a growing welfare state and changes in social and private life. This need to understand more about the ways in which the broadly-understood welfare state did or did not impact upon the lives of children and young people is accompanied by historians' growing awareness of the function of statistics, part of the bigger field of information history. This necessarily forms part of the backdrop to this topic. Crook and O'Hara have mapped the 'torrent' of statistics in modern British history, pointing to how statistics

gained traction in the public sphere in tandem with the growth of the mass media. Like others who have worked on the functions of statistics, Crook and O'Hara emphasise how statistics have become entities in their own right, and how much political discourse has come to revolve around the sense of numbers as a means of gaining a grip on a complex society and welfare state.⁵ Whilst Crook and O'Hara's volume does not cover criminal statistics in depth, a number of criminologists and Home Office statisticians have provided insight into this field, such as Hood and Roddam, and Walker.⁶ All these studies point to social and particularly crime statistics as an imperfect but tantalising tool for trying to understand a complex society, if no work has, as yet, directly addressed juvenile or youth crime in its historical context.

Crime statistics in general, and juvenile crime statistics in particular, remain the means by which politicians, the justice system, journalists and the public engage with the topic, beyond any personal experience. Such statistics are not idly discussed, but in specific contexts – namely the rising costs of welfare state provision during the economic downturn of the 1970s – the statistics have been used as a means of justifying more punitive approaches to dealing with crime, as David Garland has argued.⁷ As this article will demonstrate, crime statistics have been served as a catalyst for changing governmental policy and aspects of the justice system since the later 1930s. As will also be seen in the first half of this article, the crime statistics form part of a broader discourse that approached youth and crime as a complex and abstract phenomenon that was knowable through the mediation of 'experts' and through detailed research. Yet this was at odds with the ways in which juvenile delinquency was discussed within local communities, for whom youth crime was less of a priority than other concerns. This article will argue that, when considering the function of an issue like juvenile delinquency, we must be alert to the differences between the 'national' and

the 'local', as these have different cultural realities.

Juvenile delinquency and the juvenile courts

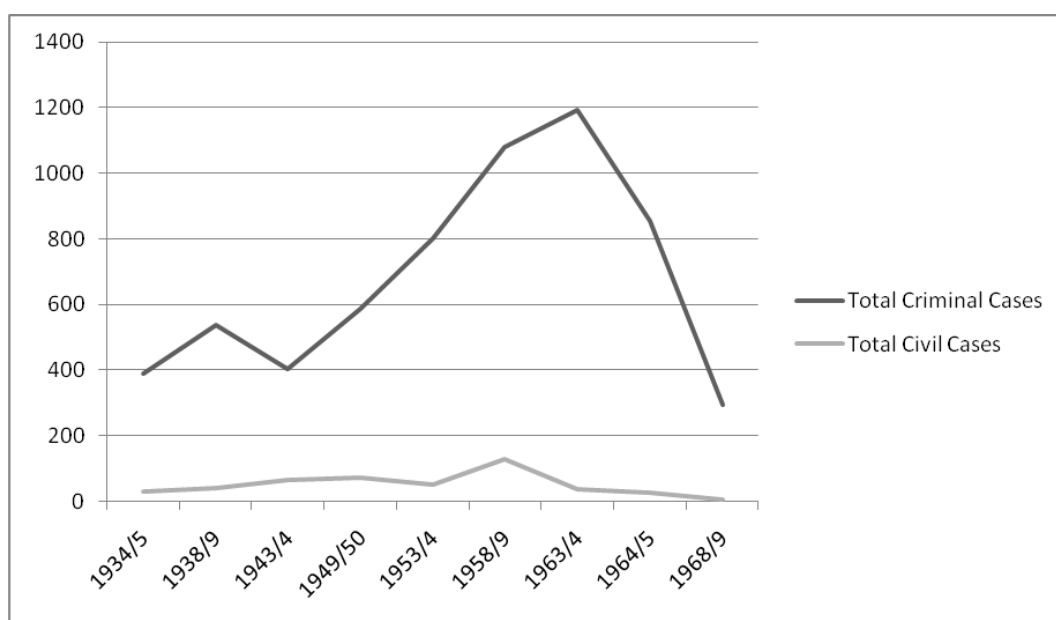
The 'administrative turn' in the English and Welsh legal system in the nineteenth century shifted responsibility for dealing with more minor property crimes away from trial by jury into the summary magistrates courts to reduce costs and speed up the justice process. Crimes by children and young people were also moved to these courts, as the treatment of younger offenders was increasingly differentiated from that of adults.⁸ The Children Act 1908 formally established the juvenile courts, alongside rationalising a wide range of legislation relating to children and young people.⁹ The juvenile courts dealt with both criminal and civil cases. There was no lower age limit on civil cases, which were concerned with child protection in the main, but for criminal cases the lower age was seven. The upper limit for both types of cases was sixteen. These ages were subsequently revised by the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 (up to eight and seventeen respectively) and the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 (lower limit up to ten).¹⁰

The courts saw a rise in business during the First World War, before it fell during the interwar period.¹¹ Research undertaken during the First World War pointed to a relationship between absent males – relatives as well as school teachers, club leaders and others – as well as hard-pressed mothers with little time or energy to supervise their children, disrupted schooling and clubs, and high wages for war work, and a rise in crimes by the young.¹² Thus, during the Second World War, a rise in crime was anticipated. What was not anticipated was that the youth crime as recorded in official statistics would fail to drop after 1945. Indeed, as the figures demonstrate, crime rose for all age groups in England and Wales during the war, and has continued to rise since.

Home Office statistics for the period 1939-45 noted a 44% increase in men and boys found guilty of indictable offences, from 68,679 per annum in 1938 to 99,305 in 1945; for women and girls there was a rise of 73% from 9,784 to 16,956 in the same period.¹³ This pattern has continued, in the main.

However, a 'rise' in crime figures may not be indicative of a fundamental change in the law-adherence of a community but a statistical artefact created by a change in the way that data was collected: for example, the 'rise' in youth crime that supposedly accompanied the introduction of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 was a reflection of offences that had previously been dealt with informally by the police being brought to court.¹⁴ A rise in crime may speak more to a greater willingness to pursue matters through the legal system rather than using more informal routes.¹⁵ The growth of the insurance industry has arguably impacted on the reporting of crime, as it became a necessary step in recouping losses.¹⁶ There have also been major changes in the way in which the police have been required to report crimes, such as the abolition of the 'suspected stolen' book in the 1930s, which required the police to report such minor property losses as stolen.¹⁷ The caveats issued about the reliability of criminal statistics remain, yet it is important to look at the outlines of these trends. The numbers of children and young people sentenced by the juvenile courts rose steadily from the interwar period through to the late 1960s, from just under 130,000 in 1920 to around 60,000 in 1967.¹⁸ However, what such figures cannot show is the way in which the compilation of the crime statistics generally became more complex in the course of the twentieth century, in response to the increasing possibilities of computing systems. Moving from card punch machines to computers in 1964 offered the Home Office far greater opportunities for ever more complex data to be presented.¹⁹ The annual crime figures were presented in a consistent format throughout the period. First, the report

provided a narrative interpretation of crime figures in specific areas, and, after 1934, juvenile crime became one of those units of study. The second part of the document consisted of statistical tables breaking down crime and judicial outcomes in various configurations, these tables becoming ever more complex and harder to read than ever. The inclusion of juvenile crime as a unit of study in 1934 coincides with the greater business passing through the juvenile courts on account of the new requirements of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933: whether it was chosen to reflect growing concerns about juvenile crime or if it served to create a demand for information remains to be seen.



Graph 2. Total criminal cases (brought by charge and summons) and total civil cases heard by the Inner London Juvenile Court for East London PS/IJ/O/019, PS/IJ/O/028, PS/IJ/O/042, PS/IJ/O/055, PS/IJ/O/070, PS/IJ/O/080, PS/IJ/O/092, PS/IJ/O/128, PS/IJ/O/143

But what of juvenile crime at the local level? Graph 2 presents the business undertaken by the juvenile court that served East London between 1934 and 1969. Of course, the court was in operation before 1934. However, from 1934 a standardised

accounting of cases began and was maintained throughout the life of the court. Prior to 1934, there was no set way of counting the cases. The juvenile court year began on 1 April or the first sitting in that month, and ran to 31 March or the last sitting in that month. Three final figures were presented at the end of March, the total figures for charges, summonses and cases. Charges and summonses were both 'criminal' cases, which were brought to court by the police in the case of charges and summonses were issued by the court. Summonses had traditionally been brought to magistrates or police courts by members of the public, yet this went into decline after the First World War when the police became the main prosecuting body.²⁰ It is not clear from the court registers whether or not this remained the case. It would appear that charges referred to those who were brought to the court from the police station rather than those who were summonsed by the police, having been previously bailed. Civil cases were also heard by the court, which from 1934 and the implementation of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 dealt with children and young people who were deemed 'beyond control' or 'in need of care and protection'. Graph 2 shows that there was an initial rise in the light of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, followed by a rise that turned into an upward trend from the start of the Second World War. The dip after 1964/5 is deceptive, because the business of the court was split in the early 1960s between two new courts named Thames and Hackney, which would become Tower Hamlets and Hackney in the light of the re-organisation of London Boroughs and juvenile courts in 1965.²¹ Each new London Borough had at least one juvenile court: Tower Hamlets would have two, Tower Hamlets East and Tower Hamlets West, by the end of the decade in order to deal effectively with the volume of cases to be heard.

Official responses to juvenile delinquency

What were the official responses to these rises in crime figures? The bump caused by

the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 was seen by politicians and civil servants as being an artefact of changing practice in the way children and young people were handled by the police and the courts, rather than any substantial change in the numbers being dealt with. Yet public pressure meant that the Home Office felt compelled to launch an investigation by academic criminologists into the causes of juvenile delinquency in 1938.²² However, as will be seen, the annual publication of criminal statistics had become a newsworthy event in itself, and the publication of the criminal statistics for the period 1939 to 1945 created a further wave of anxiety, heightened by the publication of the figures for 1947 and the early figures for 1948. This prompted the Archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett, to hold a debate on the matter in the House of Lords.²³

This in turn prompted a joint conference of the Home Office and the Education Department to discuss the matter, bringing together representatives of the faiths, charities, schools, universities, social workers, local government, the police, educational psychologists (including the noted John Bowlby) and the film industry in March 1949.²⁴ The conference concluded that the root of juvenile delinquency lay ultimately in the home, in women working, inadequate family allowances and a lack of knowledge of mothercraft; it also recommended greater investment in play and youth services, 'suitable' reading material for children and better trained staff in Sunday Schools. It was also felt that juvenile courts were too informal and sentimental, that too many children were 'getting away' with single offences.²⁵ Whilst the conference proposed many recommendations that could be seen as liberal insofar as they looked to dealing with the circumstances of the individual child, its findings were framed at the same time within a more conservative discourse of restoring the family and the church as the points of control and discipline within the community.²⁶ Granted, these were the

aggregate findings of the conference, and a diverse range of speakers with varying perspectives participated; yet the lack of consensus across the different groups involved in working with children and young people was a reflection of their diverse approaches and perspectives.

The conference – and the many local conferences it also generated – demonstrated the influence of pressure groups like the Howard League and networks which included individuals like Cecil Garbett. As Mick Ryan has pointed out, much policy-making before the 1950s had been thrashed out in the discreet settings of London clubland and other informal settings.²⁷ However, the Criminal Justice Act 1948 offered fresh opportunities for expertise to come from beyond this circle by allowing for research to be commissioned from suitable individuals, organisations and universities.²⁸ This was heightened by the establishment of the Home Office Research Unit in 1957 and the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge, which aimed to present more ‘professional’, commissioned research rather than reliance on the experiences of those involved in the various groups and networks. Indeed, R.A. Butler’s 1959 white paper on the causes of crime – *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* – enshrined this new approach to the gathering of intelligence on social problems, and especially in relation to the rising crime statistics.²⁹

The Ingleby Committee was commissioned by the Home Secretary, Gwilym Lloyd George, in 1956 to explore two main areas, one in relation to the rise in crime. First, it was charged with looking at the law and justice system in relation to children and young people, and specifically how they were dealt with by the juvenile courts, the operation of those courts, the system of approved schools, remand homes and approved probation homes, and the prevention of cruelty to minors. Second, it was to

examine the role of local authorities in looking after children in need, following the provisions of the Children Act 1948.³⁰ The committee consulted a wide range of statutory and voluntary bodies engaged with the juvenile welfare and justice systems, along with branches of political parties, interested individuals and a study group from the Social Studies department at the University of Birmingham.³¹ The ensuing report recommended that the age of criminal responsibility be raised from eight to twelve years of age, essentially decriminalising the young. However, in its place would be a fairly invasive procedure for denoting all children under twelve who committed offences as being 'in need of protection or discipline'.³² This would not be a matter of simply letting children off, but rather introducing more in the way of surveillance over longer periods of time. It also placed the causation of juvenile crime for younger people not with cultural causes but specifically within a deviant family environment.³³

The Ingleby Report did not put an end to 'official investigation' into the issue of juvenile delinquency. It reported around the same time as the Albemarle Report, which explored the provision of youth clubs and leisure facilities.³⁴ In 1963, the Labour Party set up a committee under Lord Longford to consider the perceived rise in crime, of which juvenile crime was one of their themes.³⁵ Henry Brooke, the Conservative government Home Secretary, likewise set up the Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, whilst also commissioning an eight-year study into juvenile delinquency, to commence at the end of 1964.³⁶ However, the incoming Labour Home Secretary, Frank Soskice, swiftly abolished both groups because he felt that the job should be left to 'experts' rather than a committee including public figures such as the singer, Frankie Vaughan.³⁷ One way or another, both of the two major parties had become committed to using socially scientific methods to explore juvenile delinquency, in place of or in addition to the use of 'experts' and their networks. Both parties embraced the findings

of the Ingleby Report, which founded the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 and the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. The latter Act, if fully implemented, would have decriminalised the young, but this was one of several aspects of the Act scaled back on the return of a Conservative government in 1970. Whilst both parties were willing to explore the possibilities of research and different approaches to the prevention of crime, following prompts in the shape of rising crime figures, it did not follow that this was a blanket approval. The uproar at the 1958 Conservative Party conference over trying to bring back the birch demonstrated that the more punitive approaches to dealing with the young had far from disappeared, but rather had slipped into the background, surfacing from time to time.³⁸

The national press and juvenile delinquency

To what extent was this faith in detailed research, consultation and rehabilitative measures reflected in the national press? Articles on juvenile delinquency featured regularly in both the tabloid and broadsheet press in the period 1940 to 1969, even if such stories were a tiny proportion of the newspapers' overall output.³⁹ It was not uncommon for juvenile delinquency to be the theme picked out for a news or editorial piece following the release of annual crime statistics.⁴⁰ Reporters were clearly sent to cover or received reports from a range of professional conferences, such as teachers, probation officers and the like. Such conferences were apparently useful for yielding articles with provocative headlines, such as 'Punish the Parents', a report on a 1944 conference in Edinburgh in which this was a mooted solution for curbing juvenile delinquency,⁴¹ or the 1950 condemnation by the National Association of Head Teachers of working mothers for causing juvenile crime.⁴² Similarly, magistrates and chiefs of police were also fond of making pronouncements about the causes of and remedies for crime.⁴³ As with the conference of 1948, this array of 'expert' voices provided a

disparate range of origins and solutions to youth crime, from working mothers, deficient parenting, the temptations of the cinema and later television, popular music, the temptations of amusement arcades and fairgrounds, sex education, poor discipline, poor schools... The simplest solution – that there was no single cause of juvenile delinquency but rather a range of conditions that might influence behaviour – was hardly a newsworthy one. The parade of different solutions was more dramatic, offering the possibility that the next solution might be the ‘right one’.

‘Expert’ voices predominated in *The Times*, but the *Daily Mirror* offered a voice for the ‘ordinary person’ through its innovative readers’ columns, which enabled lively interaction between the reader, the paper and other readers. Some, like B.R. Brown of London N.19, wrote in with quick suggestions as to what could be changed to improve youth crime rates: shutting amusement arcades, in this case.⁴⁴ Others were more expansive in their solutions, drawing upon their experience in the everyday to make their points, such as H.G. Augur of Staines’ account of spanking a boy who had thrown things at him whilst he was at work. The boy’s mother rewarded him with a cup of tea.⁴⁵ Some letters spoke of how the writer had been victimised by young people, such as the café owner whose livelihood was threatened by repeated break-ins.⁴⁶ The young also wrote in, to challenge with indignation what they saw as unfair condemnation of young people as ‘bad’,⁴⁷ or to explain why they had chosen to offend.⁴⁸

Apart from those readers’ letters that made reference to specific incidents, stand-alone reports of individual cases were rare. The case of Derek Bentley and Christopher Craig was one such case,⁴⁹ as was the case of the seventeen and fifteen year old youths who ‘battered and robbed a woman on a train’.⁵⁰ Other reports that covered specific incidents were used as exemplars of how punishment options were or were not

effective.⁵¹ The majority of articles treated juvenile delinquency as something minor – but worrying – perpetrated by abstract groups of faceless children and young people. Youth subcultures did not break up this picture: occasionally juvenile delinquency would be linked with the Teddy Boys,⁵² but Mods and Rockers did not figure in this. If younger people imitated these trends as best they could on a limited budget, those who took it further were typically older, legally able to drive (and afford) scooters and motorcycles. Rather, youth subcultures were linked with more positive impacts. The US rocker Bill Haley pooh-poohed the notion that music could be a trigger for juvenile delinquency, whilst a drop in crime in Liverpool was attributed to the Beatles encouraging youth into dancehalls.⁵³

The local press and juvenile delinquency

What of more local perceptions of youth crime? The following section will look at reportage of juvenile delinquency and crime in the East End of London. The 'East End' of London had traditionally been one of the poorer areas of the capital city. Its biggest sources of employment were the docks along the River Thames and the textiles industry around Whitechapel, along with cabinet-making in Bethnal Green, Hoxton and Haggerston. Other major areas of work included the markets (street as well as the large wholesale markets), the railways, and, further east, light factories around the Lea River and eastern docks. These forms of work developed in the nineteenth century and remained strong into the 1960s. Its proximity to the docks and cheap rents had also made it a home for several generations of migrants from overseas, as well as from within the British Isles.⁵⁴ The East End had been heavily bombed during the war, and was gradually rebuilt during the 1950s and 1960s; some families took advantage of new housing and more space in the suburbs and new towns of Essex and Hertfordshire, whilst newer migrant communities, such as the Bengali community, began to grow from

the 1960s.⁵⁵ The area remained predominantly working-class in this period, if its associations with crime continued.

There were three local newspapers operating in this period: the *East End News* (1862-1963); the *East London Advertiser* (1885 onwards); and the *City and East London Observer* (1857-1944).⁵⁶ Despite the proximity of the court and the considerable business undertaken by it throughout this period, reporting on the juvenile court was simply not a journalistic priority. Before the Second World War and in the 1960s, journalists regularly went to the local 'adult' courts, which ranged from the local police courts through to the Old Bailey, but not the juvenile courts.⁵⁷ Before the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 there were no restrictions on reporting cases; indeed, the Act did not prevent the reporting of cases *per se*, but rather limited what identifying information could be given about cases. Whilst the public were generally excluded from the court, bona fide members of the press remain able to attend.⁵⁸ Reporting from the court itself – particularly by the *East End News* – did not occur before October 1940, and continued on a regular basis into the 1950s. After that, reporting ceased.

Why did the local press differ from their national counterparts? A few possibilities suggest themselves. First, the way in which news has commonly been gathered by journalists is important: reporters doing the 'rounds' of the courts, police and emergency services offices; correspondence from local schools, businesses and voluntary organisations; and letters or intelligence from members of the public. Second, in the East End, there were also many events that put the offending behaviour of the young into its small fry category: the threat of the British Union of Fascists in the later 1930s, followed by the attempts to break up the vice gangs in Stepney in the 1950s and then

coverage of the Krays in the 1960s. Third, it would appear that the sensibilities of both editors and juvenile court magistrates are important in deciding whether or not the press should be in the court room. Reporting from the court coincided with the growing media prominence of the chairman of the juvenile court, Basil Henriques, who was of interest to the national media as much to the local.⁵⁹ For whatever reason, local reporters were not interested in the work of the juvenile court in the East End. This was not to say that they were not interested in youth crime, but rather that they gathered information on it from other sources, namely the police and aggrieved individuals acting on their own behalf or that of an institution. This was an artefact of the way in which the information came to them, and the way in which the story could be constructed from the perspective of the concerned but active police or the poor witness, against an unknown 'other'. However, during the later 1940s, this changed and reportage was somewhat closer to that exhibited in the national press.

For the first year of the war, evacuation was the closest the paper came to frank discussion of juvenile delinquency. In a bid to encourage parents to send their children to the countryside, articles spoke of how happy the evacuees were, and how much healthier and brighter they seemed in comparison to those children who had remained in London.⁶⁰ The *East End News* did not overtly state that those children who had remained behind were acting in a delinquent fashion, but this was implicit in a letter to the editor and articles relaying information from the London County Council.⁶¹

Even when reporting from the court did commence in the autumn of 1940, there was scant attention paid to juvenile delinquency and the juvenile courts during the Second World War: but this was not due to a squeamish editorial policy, as a high frequency of coverage of adult crimes would suggest (at least two stories per week).

The *East End News* did not shy away from topics that would suggest that not all East Enders were pulling together for the war effort. Rather, coverage of crime was a means by which the local magistrates could air their views on what was suitable behaviour. For example, when confronted with two young men who had stolen two bottles of wine, John Harris, magistrate at the Thames Police Court, was reported as saying 'You men have been found guilty of looting and for that you can be hanged. It is impossible for me to overlook it although you are men of good character. This looting has got to be stopped.'⁶² With defendants thus named and labelled in their local newspaper, this was a very public humiliation - or an attempt at one.

Where reportage of juvenile crimes occurred, it followed similar patterns, if the defendants could not be named. Two brothers charged with stealing bracelets from a jeweller's claimed that they had been chasing their father's cockerel along a wall, a roof and then through a skylight into the shop. Basil Henriques, the chair of the court, remarked that 'We hear a lot of cock and bull stories in this court. You certainly have produced the cock.'⁶³ On another occasion, Henriques told a boy who had befriended a woman in an air-raid shelter only to steal £5 from her handbag as she slept that 'I should have liked to have had you thrashed for this. [...] It is a most despicable thing to do.'⁶⁴ Newsworthiness was derived from the horrific or comedic nature of the crime, enhanced by the condemnatory tones of the presiding magistrate. Henriques' more generalised thoughts on the causes of juvenile crime and the impact of the war – which were covered in the national press as well – were included on occasion.⁶⁵

The speech of the accused was rarely reported in these articles, leaving the reader with the reporter's summary of events and the voice of the magistrate. The magistrates were clear in their message: they were highly disapproving of 'crime', and

were not afraid to make statements about the need for severe punishments. The *East End News* tended to accept only formal letters to the editor, rather than having the more informal 'mailbag' readers' comments columns like the *Daily Mirror's* 'Live Letters' and 'Viewpoint'. However, it did on occasion venture out into more discursive waters. For example, in July 1944 it published a letter from a Lance L.J. Burton of the Islington area who claimed that 'London youth cannot play any part in the building of the post-war world or contribute to the intellectual transformation which will evolve from the war'. Burton was roundly set upon in the following edition by a boys' club member, an ordinary seaman from Stepney and a D.C. from Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, all of whom refuted his suggestion that Londoners were lesser beings than their country counterparts.⁶⁶ It is not known how or why the Wisbech writer had accessed an East London newspaper. Although these columns and letters are necessarily mediated through the editorial process, they nonetheless capture something of the lay voice. Yet this particular instance was about 'London youth' in general: not about specific cases in the courts. Thus what is absent from the East London press is any sense of what ordinary people made of reports about specific cases, of what they found scandalous or mundane, of the punishments and deterrents they believed would be suitable.

Reportage changed significantly in February 1948. A journalist who was either somewhat bored or harbouring literary ambitions or highly empathetic with young people – possibly all three – was tasked with reporting on the juvenile courts, and with the sanction of the editors, turned the reports from bald summary accounts of 'facts' concluded with the pronouncement of the magistrate into something quite different. An article entitled, 'Because the Manager Shouted at Them', began with a statement made by boys accused of breaking into a printing works and starting a fire, because they had a grudge against the manager. The boys' testimonies were directly reported

throughout, and the only adult testimony in this came from the owner of the factory and the employer of two of the boys, who spoke of how one of them had been 'led astray'.⁶⁷

For the next couple of months, the articles reverted to their more 'traditional' style, before a more editorialised style emerged in the early summer. On Fridays 14 May and 28 May two stories from the juvenile court made the front page: one on 'No vacancies for a Boy of 8' and 'Boys and their Antics'. The first article concerned a young boy who had engaged in some petty theft and had been stuck in a remand home since the previous October, waiting for a vacancy in an LCC home that was not forthcoming. His removal from home was reportedly due to overcrowding, which was about to be solved through moving the whole family, and the sad story concluded with the line, 'So maybe the little boy will not have to wait much longer.' The second opened with 'Because of his curiosity as to whether there were or were not any sparrows nesting at the top of a Bow café a 13-year-old boy found himself having to explain all about it to the magistrates of the East London Juvenile Court on Monday'. What was distinctive about these stories was the way in which the view of the child was foregrounded. Magistrates still had their moral pronouncements but the author directed attention to the child as the individualised subject of the court with a human experience. Remands kept children away from their family; trespassing was curiosity about the natural world crossing human-drawn lines.

Other articles in the summer took a more conventional approach before the breakout article of 23 July 1948: 'Problem Child Who Does Not Fit':

Solomon, Syd Walker and all the other clever folk of the past and present might well have frowned thoughtfully and shaken their heads over the problem that faced the magistrates of the East London Juvenile Court on Monday. It was one

of those puzzles that the more one looked into it and delved for possible answers the more inextricably tangled one became. An individualist, a single and complete, the boy just would not fit any of those convenient pigeon-holes so neatly set out by writers of handsome tomes on 'The Problem Child'.⁶⁸

This opening was eye-catching, creative, funny and dramatic, drawing attention to the individuality of the child in the face of the adult experts. The rest of the article ran through reports from an LCC officer and the boy's schoolmaster, and Henriques' deliberations, in a more conventional style, but the new convention was clear. The offences of juveniles were often small, but they were humans with individual experiences and this warranted fresh attention, understanding and imagination from adults. Other articles made sure to bring in other voices that spoke to the world of children and young people sympathetically, such as the priest who spoke for delinquent choir boys:

These lads are in an environment in which they break into a house, whereas when I was a boy I would have jumped over a wall into an orchard and stolen apples, because my environment was in the country. It was just sport. [...]

These three are choir boys though, (with a broad smile) they are not always best and there are no angels in the choir by any means.⁶⁹

Before these articles ceased in early 1949, the readers of the *East End News* had been treated to the principles of camouflage in the animal kingdom to teenage girls stealing rum from their employers⁷⁰ and the Fates in the case of a man whose family life crumbled after he had been sent to prison.⁷¹

Although the more imaginative pieces filed on the court waned in early 1949 – we can only speculate that the reporter moved on to new opportunities elsewhere or the editor reined them in – reporters continued to be sent to the juvenile court until the late

1950s: coinciding with Henriques' retirement from the Bench in October 1955.⁷² After this point, the papers ceased to cover regularly the juvenile courts. It is not clear why this happened. The reason is likely a mundane one, between the sensibilities of a less media-friendly chair of magistrates in 1955 and the fact that Henriques was himself a newsworthy figure as a senior magistrate often consulted by the government and national press on matters around juvenile crime. There was also the question of the courts themselves being rearranged and spread ever further in geographic terms.

However, reportage of juvenile crime did not cease, but rather its sources were located away from the juvenile court. Rather than writing about specific if anonymised cases brought before the court, stories came from witnesses or police hunting unknown individuals. For example, the *East London Advertiser* carried a story in 1969 about a '12 strong mob of short trousered youths' who were going into local businesses and threatening to smash the premises up unless they were paid off;⁷³ likewise a spate of vandalism of churches that summer merited attention. Such articles were a form of 'hue and cry', bringing the hunt from the victim and the police to the readers of the newspaper, and a form of moralising about standards of behaviour. It is important to note that such articles on crime were relatively rare. When it came to children and young people, the journalists and readers of East London were presumably far more interested in the provision of schools and playgrounds than they were in their criminal behaviour.

As this discussion has shown, juvenile or youth crime was not a major preoccupation of the local newspapers in this period. Whilst the children and young people who came to the courts were variously nuisances or objects of pity, they were small fry in comparison to the much bigger local crime stories. This was also a

reflection of the way in which local news was gathered. Reportage of the juvenile court followed similar lines to reporting of adult cases, in that the crimes were outlined in a fairly bald fashion, before the magistrate's legal and moral verdict was recorded. Yet, as the case of the 'rogue' reporter demonstrated by contrast, this was a very formulaic means of reporting criminal cases that resulted in a hegemonic reading of crime, with the magistrate as the senior 'voice' of the community – if the magistrates, like Henriques, were often not born and bred within the local community. The rogue reporter teased out the small and not-so-small tragedies of family life, its frustrations and failings, and presented the young and their families not as a stream of 'problem children' but rather as individualised pen portraits. In most respects, local newspaper coverage of juvenile crime does not tell us much at all about the actualities of juvenile crime: rather it tells us much about the behaviour of newspapers and the way in which the local community helps to construct the news it wishes to read.

Growing up in the East End: personal perspectives

As Dick Hobbs put it, East London was fundamentally a working-class city until the late twentieth century: this working-class city encompassed a range of degrees of affluence and material security, which individuals and families often shifted through during different phases of the lifecycle.⁷⁴ Many East Londoners were poor in comparison to middle class suburb dwellers, but others were poorer, often much more so. Ralph Finn recalled thinking of certain streets as slums: 'We had no idea at all that we also lived in one. Not for years did I realize that I too had been born and had lived until the age of seventeen or eighteen in a slum'.⁷⁵ Ronnie Knight's family went from a slum house in Hoxton to what was by comparison a luxurious new London County Council flat in Stoke Newington in the later 1930s.⁷⁶ Whilst Knight himself remembered being well-dressed by his mother, other children in his school were not, if he did not develop a full sense of

the poverty experienced by some families until much later in life.⁷⁷ Gilda O'Neill's interviewees likewise distinguished between the 'respectable' poor and those prostitutes, alcoholics and gamblers who drifted into particular pockets of the neighbourhood, such as the Commercial Road area in Stepney.⁷⁸ There were also those characters who, through legitimate means or otherwise, had sufficient disposable income to spend on luxuries. This variation in fortunes is important. Being poor was not in itself a determining factor in who would break the law: Knight, who would become an infamous gangster, had in many respects a comfortable childhood. Yet a variation in fortunes between family members, neighbours, different streets, and ethnic or religious groups created the potential for victimisation and tension. The 'haves' may not have had much in comparison to more affluent groups, but they were nonetheless privileged in the economy of the East End.

Victimisation certainly occurred. Harry Walters recalled his family's gas money being stolen from their flat during a Second World War air raid, whilst the family were in their air raid shelter. A neighbour's nephew had stolen the money: his uncle found the stashed-away money, returned it to the Walters and recommended that charges were pressed against his 'bastard nephew'. This loss was temporary, but still painful: it was 'only a few pounds but a lot to us at that time'.⁷⁹ Another of O'Neill's interviewees remembered other experiences with 'bloody gas-meter bandits [...] they'd break in when they knew you was down the pub or round your family's or somewhere.'⁸⁰ Despite being a teenager in work, Jim Baker stole £100 from his parents - their bills money and savings - and spent the money on living in a hotel in Brighton and a drugs binge in a Soho club.⁸¹ To a point, the notion that there was nothing to take was true: such consumer items did not penetrate working-class households en masse before the 1960s. Yet it did not follow that East End families had nothing of value, or that losses

would not be felt, as in the case of the stolen gas money. Sometimes these crimes were reported to the police; in other cases, the matter was dealt with informally: 'You usually knew who it was, if you had any brains, you'd go and have 'em'.⁸² Jim Baker stole from a friend, who beat him twice in return, learning from this experience that 'it's alright to do things to other people and their property, but when it actually affects you then it becomes different'.⁸³ The use of harsh words and fists was not unknown.⁸⁴

Claims to ownership of property were in other ways fluid. Buying something off a man in the pub in order to give your children something better to wear was deemed by some to be a valid form of acquisition, a means to making a scant budget go further. By pragmatically overlooking the means by which the goods had become available, families could maintain the appearance of respectability. Pilfering from employers was also common, within certain boundaries. One of Gilda O'Neill's interviewees spoke of the need to be on 'fair terms with the dock coppers' and to steal only within certain limits.⁸⁵ Others - like the local shop in Clapton that Jim Baker repeatedly stole from as a small child in the 1950s - did not report crimes to either parents or the police, with no clear explanation as to why.⁸⁶

None of this should suggest that adults in East London universally condoned pilfering, other forms of theft or criminal behaviour more generally. It is evidence, however, of sufficiently blurred boundaries around property ownership and rules around what behaviours would be accepted in the name of making a little more on the side. For some young people, this porosity around property and the proximity of less wholesome pursuits offered a first step towards the slippery territory of what Jerry White has described as the 'slide' into criminality.⁸⁷ Ralph Finn spent time in the interwar period as a young boy watching market traders scamming customers.⁸⁸ As a teen, Eric Jakob had

enjoyed the cafe culture of the 1950s East End, and knew of illegal dealings being planned and conducted from these cafes. By his own admission, he had helped to collect snooker payments for the Kray gang. Yet Jakob's family became aware of the nature of the wider circles he moved in, and swiftly intervened to keep him away from this world.⁸⁹

What these works of autobiography reveal, behind the often romantic or romanticised projections of the East End, are two worlds: the world of the respectable, as in the books of Finn, O'Neill, Jakob, Cook and Heren;⁹⁰ and the world of the criminal, of Knight, Baker, Walters. The two were, ostensibly, mutually exclusive, but there was great potential for these two worlds to collide, through the son who went awry, or through a parent resorting to buying something of dubious provenance in order to keep body and soul together. However, the autobiographies of the recidivist criminals indicate that there was very much a 'slide' into criminality. The peer group was an essential factor in this slide, as it would be with friends that the child or young person found themselves playing on a bomb site or breaking into a sweet shop: Jim Baker 'just happened' to spot interesting things in a supposedly abandoned house when with a group of friends.⁹¹ The crimes were largely centred upon property and tended to be opportunistic. Such crimes offered instant gratification and reward, through the consumption of sweets or trinkets that could be hoarded or sold on for profit. It was also 'normal' to go to the juvenile court, and adults who were never quite firm enough in setting appropriate boundaries and disciplining their children.⁹² Youth crime in the East End was consistently mundane throughout the period. Children and young people got into scrapes; others got into more serious trouble. It was, for better or worse, part of the rhythms of family and street life in the East End.

Conclusion

This article has shown that discourse around juvenile delinquency on a national level was highly abstract, detached and theoretical in the main. The reception of criminal statistics in the public sphere was enough to push government in new directions, to put greater resources into understanding juvenile delinquency and crime, as well as crime more generally. The national press tended to deal also with juvenile delinquency in the abstract and through the voice of the 'expert', although a sense of the quotidian experience of youth crime could be conveyed through readers' letters. By contrast, the local press in the East End of London were uninterested in the proceedings of the juvenile court: what could tempt them in was the presence a magistrate with a national media presence and the absence of other, bigger stories being played out in the adult courts. Accounts of growing up in the East End in this period suggest that, rather than there being any fundamental change in the behaviour of children and young people, or the adults around them, patterns of youthful misbehaviour – and the tip into more serious forms of offending – remained consistent with that of previous generations at this point, as indeed did the social and economic structures of the area, if these were changing by the end of the period studied here. What is clear is that concerns in the national public sphere were not borne out on the ground: and if we want to have a better understanding of how the behaviour of the young has changed, we need to look at it within the context of the local community rather than following political and media discourse.

¹ S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. (London, 2002).

² G. Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (London, 1983).

³ See V. Bailey, *Delinquency and Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender* (Oxford, 1987), P. Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950* (Basingstoke, 2003), A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester* (Preston, 2008), S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth* (Oxford, 1981), H. Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth Century London* (London, 1999), J. White, *The Worst Street in North London: Campbell Bunk, Islington Between the Wars* (London, 1986).

- ⁴ A. Bartie and L.A. Jackson, 'Youth Crime and Preventative Policing in Post-War Scotland, (c.1945-71)', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22, 1 (September 2010), 79-102; L.A. Jackson, 'The Coffee House Menace: Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post War Manchester', *Cultural and Social History*, 5, 3 (2008), 289-308; L.A. Jackson and A. Bartie, 'Children of the City: Juvenile justice, property, and place in England and Scotland, 1945-60', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1 (January 2011), 88-113; D. Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency in Scotland During the Second World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 18, 1 (2007), 78-105; A. Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', *Past and Present*, 187 (2005), 157-185. Youth and crime in the Second World War also appears in these more general books on crime or the Second World War: E. Smithies, *The Black Economy in England Since 1914* (Dublin, 1984); D. Thomas, *An Underworld at War: Spivs, Deserters, Racketeers and Civilians in the Second World War* (London, 2004) and *Villain's Paradise: Britain's Underworld from the Spivs to the Krays* (London, 2006); M. Waller, *London 1945* (London, 2005).
- ⁵ T. Crook and G. O'Hara, 'The "Torrent of Numbers": Statistics and the Public Sphere in Britain, c.1800-2000' in T. Crook and G. O'Hara (eds), *Statistics and the Public Sphere: Numbers and the People in Modern Britain, c.1800-2000* (Abingdon, 2011). See also I. Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge, 1990) and T. Porter, *Trust in Numbers. The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton, 1995).
- ⁶ R. Hood and A. Roddam, 'Crime, Sentencing and Punishment' in A. H. Halsey and J. Webb (eds), *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke, 2000) 675-709; M.A. Walker, 'Statistics of Offences' in M.A. Walker (ed.), *Interpreting Crime Statistics* (Oxford, 1995).
- ⁷ D. Garland, *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Oxford, 2002).
- ⁸ L. Radzinowicz and R. Hood, *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford, 1990), vol. v, 621-22.
- ⁹ H. Hendrick, *Child Welfare, England 1872-1989* (London, 1994), 122.
- ¹⁰ Hood and Roddam, *op. cit.*, 679.
- ¹¹ Bailey, *op. cit.*, 17.
- ¹² C. Leeson, *The Child and the War* (London, 1917).
- ¹³ BPP *Summary of Statistics relating to Crime and Criminal Proceedings for the years 1939-45*, (1947. Cmd. 7227), 7-8.
- ¹⁴ A. Carr-Saunders, H. Mannheim and E.C. Rhodes, *Young Offenders: An Enquiry into Juvenile Delinquency* (Cambridge, 1942), vii.
- ¹⁵ Hodd and Roddam, *op.cit.*, 676.
- ¹⁶ C. Lewis, 'Crime Statistics: their Use and Misuse', in *Social Trends* (London, 1992), vol. 22, 16.
- ¹⁷ Hood and Roddam, *op.cit.*, 677.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*, 692-3
- ¹⁹ BPP, *Criminal Statistics. England and Wales 1964* (1965, Cmnd. 2815), v.
- ²⁰ B. Godfrey, 'Changing prosecution practices and their impact on crime figures, 1857-1940', *British Journal of Criminology*, 48, 2 (March 2008), 171-189; 175-6.
- ²¹ See London Metropolitan Archives, PS/IJ Inner London Juvenile Courts Fonds description. Available via keyword search at http://search.lma.gov.uk/opac_lma/index.htm (correct 12 July 2011).
- ²² Carr-Saunders, *et al, op. cit.*, vii.
- ²³ The National Archives (hereafter TNA) HO45/24406 Central Conference on Juvenile Delinquency. Letter A.W. Peterson to D.M. Nenck, 26 January 1949.
- ²⁴ TNA HO45/24406 Invitation list to Central Conference on Juvenile Delinquency 2 March 1949.
- ²⁵ TNA HO45/24406 'Causes of Juvenile Delinquency: Mainly the Home Influence', *Education*, 11 March 1949, 450-1.
- ²⁶ See especially TNA HO45/24406 W. Murrie note to Secretary of State for meeting with Archbishop of York, 7 February 1949; Memo to Ross from W. Murrie 8 February 1949.
- ²⁷ M. Ryan, *Penal Policy and Political Culture in England and Wales* (Winchester, 2003), 19-22.
- ²⁸ F. McClintock and F. Howard Avison, *Crime in England and Wales* (London, 1968), 1.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, 1.
- ³⁰ BPP, *Report of the Committee on Children and Young People* (1960, Cmnd. 1191), ii.
- ³¹ *ibid.*, 176-9.

- ³² *ibid.*, 32.
- ³³ *ibid.*, 5-6.
- ³⁴ BPP, *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, 1960.
- ³⁵ 'Labour names its crime squad', Friday 27 *Daily Mirror* 1963, 13 (*Daily Mirror* hereafter *DM*).
- ³⁶ 'Neale takes on Brooke', *DM*, Tuesday 18 February 1964, 2; '8 year quiz on children', *DM*, Thursday 19 March 1964, 1.
- ³⁷ 'Brooke Plan may be out', *DM*, Monday 23 November 1964, 4; 'Soskice axes the 40 youth crime advisors', *DM*, Tuesday 18 May 1965, 1.
- ³⁸ 'Whack the thugs, say Tory MPs', *DM*, Friday 6 November 1959, 5.
- ³⁹ The following section is based on analysis of the *Daily Mirror* and *The Times* (hereafter *TT*) between 1940 and 1969, utilising the UKPressOnline and Infotrac Times Digital Archive 1785-1985. Articles were identified through keyword searches on juvenile delinquent/cy, youth/juvenile crime, juvenile court, juvenile/youth/youth offender(s).
- ⁴⁰ For example, 'Increased crime in London', *TT*, Wednesday 16 May 1945, 2; 'Those bad boys are dwindling' *DM*, Tuesday 15 March 1956, 5; 'Alarm over youth crimes' *DM*, Wednesday 24 April 1958, 1.
- ⁴¹ 'Punish the Parents', *DM*, Tuesday 18 January 1944, 5.
- ⁴² 'Mothers in office and factory', *TT*, Tuesday 30 May 1950, 2.
- ⁴³ 'Cruelty to Children', *DM*, Wednesday 8 May 1946, 2; 'In brief', *DM*, Thursday 10 October 1946, 3; "'Proud of crimes" because their names are hidden', *DM*, Wednesday 5 January 1949, 4; 'City makes parents pay – and cuts youth crime', *DM*, Monday 3 April 1950, 3.
- ⁴⁴ 'Live Letter Box', *DM*, Friday 17 May 1940, 11.
- ⁴⁵ 'Viewpoint', *DM*, Wednesday 17 March 1948, 2.
- ⁴⁶ 'Blind – they rob me', *DM*, Friday 22 January 1954, 2.
- ⁴⁷ 'Are you pretty frank or plain rude?', *DM*, Friday 3 March 1961, 13; 'Live Letters', *DM*, Monday 30 June 1952, 9; 'Live Letters', *DM*, Saturday 5 June 1954, 4.
- ⁴⁸ 'How a young boy becomes a THUG', *DM*, Saturday 25 March 1950, 2.
- ⁴⁹ 'Young Brutes', *DM*, Monday 15 December 1952, 5; 'Charge of murdering a policeman', *TT*, Tuesday 18 November 1952, 2; 'Craig and Bentley on Trial', *TT*, Wednesday 10 December 1952, 3.
- ⁵⁰ 'Juvenile crime', *DM*, Friday 3 March 1950, 12.
- ⁵¹ 'Give boys birch, says father, 72', *DM*, Thursday 11 January 1940, 20; 'Three 14 year olds set problems for the law', *DM*, Saturday 6 February 1943, 4-5; 'Pay your sons' fines or go to gaol', *DM*, Friday 26 February 1959, 8.
- ⁵² 'Sara joins the Teds', *DM*, Tuesday 21 February 1961, 11.
- ⁵³ 'Bill Haley's column', *DM*, Thursday 31 January 1957, 9; 'Beat City's teen-crimes slashed', *DM*, Friday 21 February 1964, 3.
- ⁵⁴ See D. Feldman and G. Stedman Jones (eds), *Metropolis, London: Histories and Representations Since 1800* (London, 1989), J. White, *London in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2007) and *London in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2008).
- ⁵⁵ See M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (Harmondsworth, 1962), and C. Adams, *Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers* (London, 1987).
- ⁵⁶ Publishing data provided by Newsplan London and the South East, accessed at http://www.newsplan.co.uk/laser_newsplan/modules.php?name=home, 12 July 2011. All local newspapers were accessed via microfilm held at the Tower Hamlets Local History Library, and manually screened for relevant content.
- ⁵⁷ The microfilm newspapers were initially sampled for a whole year at intervals to match the court samples mentioned elsewhere in this article. However, it soon became apparent that regular reporting did not take place, and this was established through random sampling of the newspapers in different years, before and after the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 came into force, and before and after the Second World War.
- ⁵⁸ B. Henriques, *Indiscretions of a Magistrate* (London, 1950), 20-1
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 25-7.
- ⁶⁰ 'Stepney Mayor visits children', *East End News* (hereafter *EEN*), Fri 7 June 1940, 4, 'Visit to evacuated children', *EEN*, Fri 13 September 1940, 3, Children of the East End, Fri 6 June 1941, 3.

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- ⁶¹ 'An appeal to parents', *EEN* Friday 22 November 1940, 6; 'Children must go to school', *EEN*, Friday 6 December 1940, 5 and Friday 13 December 1940, 2.
- ⁶² 'Looting has got to stop', *EEN*, Friday 6 December 1940, 1.
- ⁶³ '19 Bracelets', *EEN*, Friday 21 August 1942, 1.
- ⁶⁴ 'Stole from handbag in shelter', *EEN*, Friday 20 December 1940, 4.
- ⁶⁵ 'Why youngsters go wrong', *EEN*, Friday 20 March 1942, 4; 'War fever', *EEN*, Fri 10 December 1943, 1; 'Children in wartime', *EEN*, Friday 28 April 1944, 3.
- ⁶⁶ 'London Youth', *EEN*, Friday 7 July 1944, 4; and 'London Youth: A Countryman's Criticisms Answered', *EEN*, Friday 21 July 1944, 4.
- ⁶⁷ 'Because the Manager Shouted at Them', *EEN*, Friday 20 February 1948, 4.
- ⁶⁸ 'Problem child who does not fit', *EEN*, Friday 23 July 1948, 2.
- ⁶⁹ 'Boys are not bad', *EEN*, Friday 2 July 1948, 1.
- ⁷⁰ 'Yohoho and Two Bottles of Rum', *EEN*, Friday 12 November 1948, 3.
- ⁷¹ 'LOST: A Family', *EEN*, Friday 15 October 1948, 2.
- ⁷² 'Sir Basil Henriques: A Lifetime of Youth Work', *TT*, Monday 4 December 1961, 15.
- ⁷³ '10-year-olds in "blackmail" incidents', *East London Advertiser*, Friday 10 October 1969, 36.
- ⁷⁴ D. Hobbs, *Doing the Business: Entrepreneurship, the Working Class and Detectives in the East End of London* (Oxford, 1989).
- ⁷⁵ R.L. Finn, *Time Remembered: the Tale of an East End Jewish Boyhood*, (London, 1963), 13.
- ⁷⁶ R. Knight, *Blood and Revenge: the Terrifying True Story of London's Most Notorious Gangster* (London, 2004), 37-8.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 40-1.
- ⁷⁸ G. O'Neill, *My East End* (London, 2000), 89-90.
- ⁷⁹ H. Walters, *The Street*, (London, 1975), 13-4.
- ⁸⁰ O'Neill, *My East End*, 180.
- ⁸¹ J. Baker, *A Mis-Spent Youth* (London, 1985), 62.
- ⁸² O'Neill, *My East End*, 180.
- ⁸³ Baker, *op. cit.* 24-5.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 8; O'Neill, *My East End*, 180.
- ⁸⁵ G. O'Neill, *Our Street* (London, 2003), 230.
- ⁸⁶ Baker, *op. cit.*, 8.
- ⁸⁷ J. White. *The Worst Street in North London: Campbell Bunk, Islington Between the Wars* (London, 1986).
- ⁸⁸ Finn, *op. cit.*, 37-8.
- ⁸⁹ E. Jakob, *Just a Boy from London's East End*, (Ware, 2006) 48-9.
- ⁹⁰ G. Cook, *A Hackney Memory Chest*, (London, 1983) and L. Heren, *Growing Up Poor in London* (London, 1986).
- ⁹¹ Baker, *op. cit.*, 14.
- ⁹² Baker, *op. cit.*, 16-17.