

KQ1: What have been the main causes of crime over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The Tudor period

The Tudor period was a time of great economic, social and political change.

Economic change brought disruption:

- A **growing population** made it harder to find work and put pressure on food supplies. This was especially the case after bad harvests.
- **Rising inflation** also contributed to higher food prices.
- **Landowners increased rents** and poorer tenants could not afford them.
- **The dissolution of the monasteries** by Henry VIII put many people out of work.
- **Enclosure** of land for sheep required fewer labourers.
- **Periodic slumps** in the cloth industry cost workers their jobs.

The number of poor, unemployed people increased. Many left their villages in search for work and became **vagrants**. Some turned to crime e.g., theft. Opposition to enclosure was a cause of Kett's rebellion in 1549.

There were **frequent changes in religion**. Subjects who refused to follow the religion of the monarch were guilty of **heresy** (and if this was accompanied by criticism of the king or queen it might also be classed as **treason**).

- Henry VIII's break with Rome led to **new treason laws** e.g., the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace were executed for treason.
- Under **Mary Tudor** heresy became a serious offence and over **250 heretics were burned at the stake**, including Archbishop Cranmer.
- Elizabeth also had to deal with plots and rebellions, e.g., Mary, Queen of Scots.

Other factors also played a part:

- the growing size of towns made policing more difficult.
- rebellions caused instability, e.g., the activities of the Yorkist pretenders Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and the Essex Rebellion in 1601.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Wales did not experience any major rebellions. However, it did have a reputation for lawlessness eg. cattle theft, often encouraged by the marcher lords, who were supposed to keep order but often profited from the crimes.

Religious change also affected Wales. Rawlins White, a Cardiff fisherman, was burned in 1555 for refusing to give up his protestant faith. In Elizabeth's reign, the catholic, Richard Gwyn, was executed in Wrexham for refusing to accept her as Head of the Church. John Penry, a puritan preacher, was also executed for heresy.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c. 1750s - 1800s

Industrialisation and urbanisation in the 18th and 19th centuries

The 18th and 19th centuries **saw rapid population growth**. Existing towns increased in size and new ones like Manchester and Merthyr Tydfil developed rapidly. This increased opportunities for crime, which was often linked to **poverty** and **unemployment**. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 saw great hardship as the economy struggled to get back to normal after the war.

- **Urban areas** were **overcrowded** and full of **disease**. There was **little planning**. Many people lived in **back-to-back houses** with **open sewers** and rubbish-strewn streets. In hard times many people resorted to crime. **Alcohol was cheap** and easy to obtain so drink-related crime was commonplace.
- In new towns, unlike in farming villages, people tended not to know many of their neighbours; as a result, it was easier to get away with crime. Many criminals (including children) lived in **rookeries** whose narrow winding streets and alleyways made life easy for criminals. Policing was ineffective.
- **Periods of unemployment** or loss of work due to **accidents** were frequent, so destitute families stole to survive. Due to the low life expectancy, many fathers died young and so **orphans** were common in industrial towns. Orphans often turned to crime to survive.
- Workers had **no political rights** and so had no legal way to change their living and working conditions. Even joining a trade union was a criminal offence e.g., the Tolpuddle martyrs. **Violent protest** was not uncommon e.g., the Merthyr rising in 1831 and the Newport rising in 1838.

Poverty was also widespread in **rural areas**.

- Rural workers worked **long hours for low wages**.
- The introduction of **new technology**, e.g., steam-powered threshing machines, led to **loss of jobs**. Rural areas also saw violent protests e.g., the Swing Riots 1830-31.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

In the early 19th century Merthyr was the largest town in Wales. Houses had been built rapidly and living conditions were appalling. Not surprisingly Merthyr had a reputation for crime. Its poor working and living conditions were a major reason for the Merthyr Rising in 1831. Wales also experienced violent rural protest. The Rebecca riots 1839-43 were protests against the toll gates, but also about rising rents, payment of tithes and general rural poverty.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The 20th and 21st centuries

The 20th century brought rapid technological change. Criminals have used new **technology** to commit crimes – either variants of existing crime or new crimes altogether.

Car crime increased as car ownership became more widespread:

- Laws have been introduced to make driving safer. Most car crimes are committed by drivers who are otherwise usually law-abiding eg. speeding, drunk-driving, driving without insurance etc. There are now over 1 million car-related crimes every year, making it the biggest category of crime by far.
- Cars have also been used by criminals to commit offences. e.g., as getaway vehicles or in ram-raids. More recently they have been used by terrorists to kill people. Crimes are committed on cars e.g., car theft or the theft of personal property left inside cars.

The invention of **computers** has also provided criminals with new opportunities.

- Computers have created new crimes like phishing and other scams to defraud people of money. Criminals have exploited weaknesses in online security to commit credit card and identity theft. This can be done remotely, often from other countries, and to thousands of individuals simultaneously.
- Computers (and social media) have increased the threat to certain individuals e.g., vulnerable children targeted by paedophiles or anonymous personal attacks on social media because of religion or race etc.

Criminal gangs and terrorist organisations have also made use of the computer and internet, hacking companies and organisations (such as the NHS) and targeting them with ransomware. Terrorist organisations have launched cyberattacks against governments or organisations they dislike.

Other causes of crime include **football hooliganism, drug-related crime** and more recently **knife crime**. Often these involve gangs in one way or another.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Wales experienced a number of political disturbances during the 20th century. In 1911, strikes by railwaymen in Llanelli and by miners in Tonypandy both ended in riots. There were also serious disturbances during the miners' strike of 1984-5. Criminal acts have also been committed in support of the Welsh language and culture, e.g., the burning of second homes in Wales in the 1980s and 90s.

KQ2: How has the nature of crime changed over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The Tudor period

Vagrancy was a major problem for Tudor monarchs. Economic changes created poverty. Homeless beggars, known as vagrants, travelled the country looking for work. Many joined large groups and gathered in towns, causing problems for the authorities. Some stole ('rufflers') and others pretended to be insane or sick to extort money ('Abraham men').

Ordinary people blamed vagrants for the rise in crime. The government responded with ever harsher punishments (whipping, branding with a V, even hanging), particularly for the able-bodied poor e.g., those fit to work. This shows how seriously monarchs of the time viewed the problem.

Heresy was the crime of **not following the religion of the monarch** and was punishable by death. Frequent religious changes meant that many people were executed for heresy during the 16th century. This was particularly true of **Mary Tudor** who burned 280 protestants during her five year reign in her "**holy bonfires**".

The early 18th century

The 18th century was the "Golden Age" of **smuggling** and **highway robbery**.

- As governments **increased import duties** on goods like tea and brandy, so **smuggling increased**. Highly organised smuggling gangs sold cheap imported goods on the black market. A labourer could earn 6 or 7 times his daily wage for a night's smuggling. With thousands of miles of coastline for "revenue men" to patrol, it was difficult to catch smugglers. Ordinary people did not see smuggling as a crime and would not report on smugglers.
- Highway robbery** became more widespread. As roads improved, so the wealthy began to travel more, carrying their valuables with them. The absence of police and long, open stretches of road made it easy to rob stagecoaches. Guns and horses were cheap and easily obtainable.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Crimes like cattle theft were common in the Welsh Marches. Henry VIII was concerned that lawlessness would spread and sent Bishop Rowland Lee to restore order.

Wales also had its share of heretics. In 1555 the protestant Bishop Robert Ferrar was burned at the stake in Carmarthen, as was Rawlins White, a fisherman, in Cardiff. The Catholic teacher Richard Gwyn (in 1584) and the Protestant preacher John Penry (in 1593) were both executed during the reign of Elizabeth I.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c. 1750s - 1800s

Industrialisation and urbanisation in the 18th and 19th centuries

Many of the crimes of this period reflect the harsh living and working conditions. As **industrial towns increased** in size, crime became more widespread, particularly during periods of unemployment.

- Theft** and **pickpocketing** were common. The crowded narrow streets of towns were ideal places for pickpockets, particularly when large crowds gathered e.g. for public executions. Many pickpockets were children. Criminals concentrated in areas known as **rookeries** e.g. St Giles in London and "China" in Merthyr, where a maze of narrow streets and alleyways made it easy for thieves to hide.
- In times of unemployment people who were normally law-abiding might **steal money, food and clothes** to survive. In many towns people had to pay for clean water from pipes and taps, so **water theft** was a problem. Poverty also led many women into **prostitution** to earn a living.
- Working conditions** also had an impact on the nature of crime. **New technology** put many people out of work, and some of the newly-unemployed responded violently. For example, between 1811 and 1813 workers known as **Luddites** smashed the weaving machinery that had cost them their jobs. The end of the Napoleonic War in 1815 saw even greater hardship as the economy struggled to get back to normal after the war.
- Political unrest** was ever present, as workers turned to politics to improve their lives. However, their protests sometimes turned violent: for example, the Spa Fields Riots in London 1816 and the Chartist riots of the late 1830.

Crime in **rural areas** was also linked to poverty e.g. poaching to feed a family. In the **Swing Riots** of the early 1830s, farm labourers in the south of England destroyed the machinery that was putting them out of work. Nineteen were hanged and 481 were transported to Australia.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

There were many examples of disorder in Wales in the early 19th century. In the early 1830s the South Wales valleys saw the violence of the Scotch Cattle as they tried to end the Truck system and win higher wages. Other protests were more political: for instance the Merthyr Rising in 1831, which took place during an industrial slump. The disturbances at Llanidloes and Newport in 1839 were both linked to the Chartist Movement, which wanted the vote for all men over 21. From 1839 to 1843 rural areas witnessed the Rebecca Riots against the tollgates.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The early 20th century

The early 20th century was in many ways similar to the 19th century. Poverty remained a cause of crime, and some economically-deprived urban areas eg. London's East End had a reputation for criminality. Some crimes were motivated by a desire for political rights, e.g. Suffragettes bombing and setting fire to churches in the 1910s, while others were related to working conditions eg. the Tonypandy Riots in 1920.

The post-war years

The crime rate increased in the 20th century, particularly after the 1960s. Many new types of crime emerged due to **economic, social and technological changes**. Many crimes can now be committed or influenced by people living outside the country e.g. cyber crime or terrorism. This was not the case during earlier periods of history.

Car crime is now the **most common crime** in Britain. This can be linked to the huge increase in car ownership. Most crimes are committed by car owners e.g. speeding, drink driving, not wearing a seat belt etc, but cars are also stolen by thieves or are used in other crimes e.g. ram-raiding.

Computer related crime has also seen a huge increase. Many traditional crimes (fraud, harassment, child abuse) can now be carried out by computer. New digital crimes have also emerged, such as hacking and phishing. Criminal gangs have hacked into computers of companies and governments and demanded ransom payments.

Drug related crime has also been a feature of the 20th century. Drug trafficking is an international problem, and some drugs are produced in the UK. The sale of drugs is illegal and many drug users have turned to crime eg. theft to feed their addiction.

Terrorism has become a problem. In the 1960s the IRA began its campaign in Northern Ireland. In the 1970s and 80s IRA bombing and assassination occurred on the British mainland. More recently Islamist groups have launched and inspired attacks eg. the London bombings of July 7 2005.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Wales has experienced periods of industrial unrest during the 20th century, often centred on the coal industry eg. the Tonypandy Riots of 1910 and the Miners' Strike of 1984-5.

Wales has also seen protests in support of the Welsh language and culture. In the 1960s Mudiad Amddiffyn Cymru planted bombs eg. to disrupt the water supply to Liverpool. In the 1980s and 1990s, members of Meibion Glyndŵr burned second homes in Wales.

KQ3: How has responsibility for enforcing law and order changed over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The 16th and 17th centuries

In the 16th and 17th centuries, policing was seen as a **civic responsibility**. Everyone had a duty to help keep law and order in their locality. Governments believed enforcing law and order was a **local responsibility**. The **Justice of the Peace (J.P.)**, the parish **constables** and the town **watchmen** were the people responsible for this. They were all **unpaid amateurs**. The job of J.P. was a prestigious one, and was usually performed willingly. However, the job of constable was unpopular. It had to be done alongside their daily work, so it was often not done well. As well as catching offenders, constables had extra duties that seem strange today e.g. organising road repairs, checking weights and measures, and regulating ale houses.

In 1663 Charles II ordered the creation of a force of paid night watchmen, known as **Charlies**. They were paid from parish rates, but the pay was so low that only the old and decrepit applied. However, the idea of paying officials was new.

The 18th century

In the 18th century the growing population led to a rise in crime. This put a huge strain on the system of policing, but governments still viewed policing as a local responsibility. **Thief-takers**, private law-enforcers, appeared who helped to solve crimes and return stolen property. However, they were often involved in crime themselves e.g. the 'Thief-Taker General' Jonathan Wild, who headed a huge criminal empire.

In the 1750s the **Fielding brothers** created the **Bow Street Runners**, a small force of paid officers in the Bow Street area of London. They had some success in reducing crime in their area. They also got government funding to set up the **Bow Street horse patrol**, which cleared the roads around London of highwaymen. This showed the value of policemen as a deterrent, though highwaymen returned when the government stopped the funding. The publication of the **General Hue and Cry** newspaper also showed the value of shared information and became the basis for the Police Gazette. In spite of these successes, governments were reluctant to increase funding to develop policing further.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

The Marcher Lords had done a very poor job of keeping law and order in Wales. In the 1530s, Henry VIII decided to bring Wales under tighter control, taking away the powers of the Marcher Lords. Under the Acts of Union 1536-43, Wales was organised into shires, like England, with JPs and constables given responsibility for law and order.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c.1750s - 1800s

The early 19th century

In 1800, responsibility for enforcing law and order had not changed since Tudor times. In spite of rising crime there was a lot of opposition to an organised **police force**.

- People were concerned about **loss of freedom** and invasion of privacy
- People did not want to pay **higher taxes** to pay for a police force.
- Many liberals feared that the government would use the police to **crush political opponents**.

However, **public opinion was beginning to change:**

- The **rising tide of crime** showed that the existing system was not working.
- **Fear of revolution** and **serious disturbances** eg. the Merthyr Rising, demonstrated the need for a professional organised police force.
- After the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, **the government became increasingly reluctant to use the army** to respond to protests

The Metropolitan Police and later developments

In **1829** the government took a key role in providing law enforcement in Britain for the first time. Home Secretary **Robert Peel** created **the Metropolitan Police, a trained, paid, professional force** of 3,300 men, who were responsible for policing an area up to 7 miles from Charing Cross. Though there was some initial opposition, the public soon came to see the value of the Metropolitan Police.

In 1835 boroughs were given the right to organize their own forces, and in 1839 counties were allowed to do the same (although few did). In **1856 the County and Borough Police Act** made it **compulsory for every area to have its own force**. Every area now had a full-time, paid, professional police force. By 1900 there were 243 forces with over 46,000 officers, each inspected regularly by government

WELSH EXAMPLE :

In 1842 Glamorgan became the first Welsh county to set up a paid professional police force. 13 out of its 34 men were stationed in Merthyr which had seen serious disturbances in recent years. In 1843, a force was established in Carmarthenshire in response to the threat posed by the Rebecca Riots. Some boroughs e.g. Cardiff and Swansea also set up forces. However, most Welsh counties did not have forces until the 1856 Act made it compulsory.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The 20th and 21st centuries

During the 20th and 21st centuries overall responsibility for policing has remained with the government, though the cost of policing is partly paid for from local council tax and partly from government grants.

Though some things have remained the same, there have been important changes in policing in England and Wales during the 20th century.

- **The number of officers increased** from just 46,000 in 1900 to 125,000 by 2017. However, **the number of forces has been reduced** from 243 in 1900 to just 43 by 1917. This was done to **improve efficiency** through **better training**, increased **specialization** and wider **use of technology**.
- Though police officers still patrol the streets to deter criminals and investigate crime, there is now a **greater emphasis on crime prevention**. Every force has **Crime Prevention Officers** who work in the community to achieve this.
- In response to criticism that police officers had become more remote, governments introduced initiatives to **restore community links** – through **Neighbourhood Watch schemes, community liaison officers** and **police community support officers (PCSOs)**.
- In 2012 the government also introduced **elected police and crime commissioners (PCCs)**. These replaced the old police authorities which had supervised individual forces since 1946. PCCs are elected every four years. They are **meant to provide a link between the public and the police** and their role is to ensure that policing is efficient and effective.



WELSH EXAMPLE :

In the late 1960s Welsh police forces were reorganised to make them more efficient. The 12 existing county and borough forces were reduced to four – North Wales Police, Dyfed-Powys Police, South Wales Police and Gwent Police. In 2006 a proposal was put forward that Wales should follow Scotland's example and have just one force for the whole country, but this has yet to happen.

KQ4: How effective have methods of combating crime been over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The Tudor period

During this period the job of combating crime fell upon the shoulders of **JPs, constables** and **watchmen**. These were all untrained, unpaid amateurs.

- **JPs** were appointed by the crown to **supervise law and order in each locality**. Their workload increased to include things like organising road repairs and dealing with the poor.
- **Constables** assisted JPs. They had to **arrest troublemakers, bring them to court** and sometimes also **carry out punishments**, e.g., whipping vagrants. Other duties included reporting to the JP on the state of roads, checking ale houses etc. They were **chosen annually** from among the wealthier men of each parish. The job was **unpaid**, so not surprisingly many constables did not do it with much enthusiasm. Some paid others to do the job for them.
- All able-bodied men were also expected to take their turn to serve at night as **town watchmen**.
- In 1663 Charles II introduced paid night watchman known as **“Charlies.”** However, they had little impact because pay was poor so only the old and infirm took the job.

The system was not very successful. JPs were overworked, parish constables hated taking time off from their own work and Charlies were ineffective. The fact that punishments were so harsh indicates that policing was not working very well.

The 18th century

In the 18th century, rapidly growing towns put added stresses on policing. **Thief-takers** appeared but they were often little better than criminals themselves. Far more important were **Henry Fielding** and his **Bow Street Runners** which had some success in reducing crime in that area of London. Fielding's brother John continued his work. He persuaded the government to set up the **horse patrol** which reduced highway robbery and showed the value of police in deterring crime, while the **“General Hue and Cry” newspaper** showed the value of information sharing.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

After the Acts of Union, policing in Wales was reorganised on the English model. JPs were appointed in each Welsh county e.g., Edward Stradling of St Donats Castle, who was JP in Glamorgan for much of the reign of Elizabeth I. They were supported by constables and watchmen. In 1651-2 the constable of the village of Prendergast was given the unusual task of stopping anyone from Haverfordwest from entering the village because of the presence of plague in the town.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c.1750s - 1800s

The early 19th century

The 19th century saw the development of trained, professional police forces, first in London, then across the rest of England and Wales.

In **1829** Peel's **Metropolitan Police** was the **first full-time, trained and paid police force**. 3,300 men joined the force, all of whom had to be fit, over 5'7" tall, and able to read and write. They worked seven days a week, wore a **recognizable uniform** and spent their days **‘walking the beat’** (a set patrol area on foot) to deter crime. They were successful in reducing crime in London, and many criminals left for other cities.

At first there was some opposition to the new force, especially in working class areas. Some wealthier citizens also objected to the increase in taxation required to fund the police. However, as crime rates fell they came to be accepted. The success of the Metropolitan Police led to the expansion of policing outside London.

- **1835 - the Municipal Corporations Act** gave other towns the power to set up their own police forces. The Borough **1839 County and Police Act** also gave counties the same right. However, few took advantage of these powers.
- **1856 - the County and Borough Police Act** made it **compulsory for every area in England and Wales to set up a police force**.

The 19th century also saw the **beginnings of specialisation** and the **use of technology**:

- The Metropolitan Police set up a plain clothes **detective branch in 1842**, which paved the way for the **Criminal Investigation Department (CID)** in 1878.
- In 1867 Scotland Yard began to use the **telegraph** to improve communication. From 1869 the **Criminal Records Office** compiled records of criminals, suspects and crimes. **Photography** was increasingly used in the late 19th century, first as mug shots of suspects and criminals and later at crime scenes.

By the late 19th century police across the country were having more success in combating crime.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Events like the Merthyr Rising 1831 and the Newport Rising 1839 highlighted the need for trained police forces in Wales. Some towns like Cardiff, Swansea, Neath and Pwllheli established forces in the 1830s (though Neath and Pwllheli forces consisted of only 1 constable each). The first major force created in Wales was the Glamorgan County Constabulary in 1843.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The 20th and 21st centuries

In the 20th and 21st centuries policing developed further and, arguably, had more success in fighting crime. As developments in transport and communication have changed society, and criminal behaviour, so the police have had to respond.

- **Developments in personnel** – women police constables WPCs first appeared in 1919. Special constables (1923), traffic wardens (1960) and PCSOs (2002) have been introduced to help police make better use of resources.
- **Specialization** e.g. dog handlers, Organised Crime Squad, the Anti-Terrorism Squad, SOCOs and use of forensic science has allowed expert officers to focus on particular areas of crime.
- **Developments in transport** have changed the nature of policing. The introduction of bicycles in 1909 and especially the **motor car** in 1919 allowed officers to respond to calls quickly and patrol a wider area. By the 1970s the patrol car had replaced the bobby on the beat. There are also more **specialized vehicles** e.g. motorway patrol cars, riot vans. Police have also made use of **helicopters, light aircraft** and **drones** for crowd control, to search for missing persons, etc.
- **Communications** have been revolutionized. The telegraph was already in use in 1900 and in 1902 the telephone was first used, followed by **two way radio in 1922**. These **improved response times** and **kept officers informed**. The introduction of the **“999” emergency number** in 1937 encouraged the public to report incidents. Today all police carry a two-way radio for instant communications with headquarters.
- **Computer technology** has improved record keeping and communication. Since 1974 the **Police National Computer** has held useful data e.g. criminal records, motor car details, missing persons etc. Since most police are now equipped with computer technology, they are able to make use of this data in real time. Photography and CCTV are also used.

In the late 20th century some people began to argue that the police had become too distant and had lost the day to day contact with the public. After the Brixton Riots in London in 1981, the police have worked to rebuild community links.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

In the 1960s police forces across England and Wales were amalgamated into larger units to improve efficiency. In Wales four new forces emerged – North Wales, Dyfed-Powys, South Wales and Gwent.

KQ5: Why have attitudes to punishment changed over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The 16th and 17th centuries

In the 16th and 17th centuries, attitudes to punishment were dominated by ideas of **retribution** and **deterrence**. This attitude, which continued into the 19th century, led to **harsh punishments** in which the criminals suffered **pain, humiliation or death**.

- **Retribution** was meant **to make the criminal suffer**. For serious crimes, such as murder, this often meant **capital punishment**, usually by hanging. Those who committed lesser crimes such as begging received corporal punishment e.g. branding, whipping, the stocks, the pillory. These were meant to be painful and humiliating.
- **Harsh punishments** were also seen as a **deterrent**, a way to discourage others from crime, especially when they were **carried out in public**. Ordinary people liked the idea of **seeing justice being done**. Little use was made of prisons, and most prisoners were only temporary inmates awaiting trial or execution.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

In rural Wales, wrongdoers were paraded around a village on a "ceffyl pren" or "wooden horse". This was meant to humiliate them before the community.

Serious crimes were also punished publicly. In 1555 Bishop Robert Ferrar was burned at the stake for heresy in the market square in Carmarthen. The Catholic Richard Gwyn was hung, drawn and quartered in the Beast market in Wrexham in 1584, while the puritan John Penry was hanged in London in 1593.

The 18th century

Attitudes hardened during the 18th century. The number of capital offences were increased from 50 in 1658 to 225 by 1819. The list of capital offences included some minor crimes e.g. poaching. Parliament represented rich landowners and was determined to protect property rights at all costs. Juries, however, often refused to give a death sentence for minor offences so **transportation was introduced** as a lesser punishment. Transportation also had a number of advantages for the government. It reduced the prison population, removed criminals from the UK and helped develop the colonies. This practice continued until 1868.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Following the Battle of St Fagans in 1648, 240 Welsh royalist captives were found guilty of treason and transported to the West Indies. Over the next 200 years over 2,200 Criminals were transported from Wales. The vast majority of these were men and fewer than 300 were women. Most of them had committed offences against property e.g. sheep stealing or burglary.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c.1750s - 1800s

The 19th century

At the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, prison reformers helped change attitudes. Ideas of retribution and revenge began to give way to the idea **that prisoners could be reformed**.

- **John Howard** wrote a report on "**The State of the Prisons in England and Wales**". He observed that prisoners were not separated by gender or type of crime; that many were dying of disease; and that gaolers were not paid and corrupt.
- **George O. Paul designed a new prison** that was based on four key principles – security, health, separation and reform. It had separate areas for male and female prisoners, as well as a chapel, workrooms and exercise yards.
- **Elizabeth Fry** campaigned for better conditions for female prisoners at **Newgate Prison** and taught skills to inmates. She convinced many people that prison conditions were inhumane and uncivilised.

There was also a growing feeling that **punishments should fit the crime**. In 1823 **Peel abolished the death penalty** for over 180 crimes; by 1861 only five crimes still carried the death penalty. The pillory was abolished in 1837 and the stocks in 1872. Public executions ended in 1868, showing the reduced emphasis on revenge and deterrence. 90 new prisons were built during the mid-19th century. Two new systems were used.

- The **separate system** kept **prisoners isolated** in their own cells, often for weeks on end. They were made to work machines like the crank. This was meant to make them reflect on their crimes and be reformed.
- The **silent system** was meant **to break prisoners** through a regime of harsh discipline e.g. doing monotonous tasks such as walking on a treadmill.

These systems were extremely harsh. Many prisoners committed suicide and there was little evidence that the systems were successful in reforming criminals. The 1865 Prisons Act introduced "hard labour, hard fare and hard board". It was a return to the idea of strict punishment rather than the attempts at reform.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

John Howard visited two Welsh gaols, Caernarfon and Swansea. In Caernarfon the inmates were housed in insanitary conditions in tiny cells without windows. In the mid 19th century new prisons were built in Beaumaris in 1830, Cardiff in 1832, and Swansea in 1861. In the 1860s a four story wing was added to Ruthin Prison, based on the design for Pentonville prison, and used the separate system for its inmates.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The 20th and 21st centuries

There were **significant changes in attitudes to punishment** during the 20th century.

The idea that some people were born criminals was replaced by a belief that **prisoners could be reformed** by better treatment and education. **Prisons became more humane** e.g. 1902 hard labour ended and solitary confinement in 1922, teachers were employed, and prisoners no longer had to wear prison uniforms. In 1936 the first open prison was built to prepare inmates for life outside.

Young offenders were treated differently – e.g 1908 the first **borstal** was opened (to keep them away from experienced criminals); 1908 the "Children's Charter" ended prison sentences for under 14s; 1982 borstals were replaced by detention centres (for short sentences) or **Youth Custody** (for longer sentences, often for violent offenders) to take offenders out of a bad environment. Young offenders can also be given community service, ASBOs or tagged.

The **death penalty was abolished** in 1965 (Murder Act). Capital punishment was considered inhumane and it was felt the state had no right to take a life. Mistakes had been made and it was not an effective deterrent. Life imprisonment replaced hanging for murder.

Alternatives to prison were introduced, partly to try to stop offenders getting into the system and becoming career criminals but also to reduce prison populations. Examples include **probation** (1907), **suspended sentences** (1967), **community service** (1972), and **electronic tagging** (1990s). Also **parole** (1967) gave reduced sentences for good behaviour.

However, not all members of the public shared these ideas. Newspaper polls often show that many people want longer sentences for certain offences or the return of the death penalty. Governments have also been inconsistent in their attitudes.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

One of the last people to be executed was the Welshman Timothy Evans. He was hanged in 1950 for the murder of his wife and daughter, but it was later proven that it was a neighbour, John Christie, who had committed the crime. This was one of the cases which made people question the death penalty.

Since 1992 the UK government has allowed private firms to run some of Britain's prisons. In Wales a new privatised prison, Parc Prison near Bridgend, opened in 1997. However, the idea of private firms running prisons remains controversial.

KQ6: How have methods of punishment changed over time?

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD : c. 1500s – 1700s

The 16th and 17th centuries

In the early modern era governments and society in general believed in the use of **capital and corporal punishments** carried out **in public**. **Punishments were harsh**, even for minor offences, because it was thought this would **deter crime**.

The most common form of **capital punishment** was **hanging** (though heretics were executed by burning at the stake and traitors by beheading or hanging, drawing and quartering). This was meant to **act as a deterrent** and to show the public that punishment was being carried out.

For **minor offences** there was a variety of punishments – the **stocks, pillory, whipping, ducking stool** etc. – depending on the crime. Vagrants were often whipped or even branded, while drunks went into the stocks or pillory.

Fines were also sometimes used e.g. for not attending church. Few people were sent to prison, apart from debtors and those awaiting trial, as well as vagrants who were sent to houses of correction.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Local communities in Wales made use of the ceffyl pren for people who had offended against the moral code of the day e.g. adulterers or wife beaters. The guilty person was paraded around the village on the ceffyl pren (wooden horse) by men with blackened faces.

The 18th century

Harsh punishments continued into the 18th century. In fact, the **“Bloody Code”** increased the number of capital offences from 50 to 225. However the rising prison population and the reluctance of juries to give a death sentence for minor crimes forced governments to rethink. **Transportation** was adopted, as a middle punishment between hanging and the stocks and pillory. It had a number of advantages e.g. it reduced the prison population, removed criminals from the UK and helped develop the colonies. It continued in use until 1868

WELSH EXAMPLE :

Only 1-2% of convicts transported to Australia were from Wales. Of the 736 on the first convict ship that sailed in 1788 only 6 were Welsh (4 men and 2 women). However Wales did provide some very high profile convicts as the government used transportation to punish the leaders of popular protests eg. Lewis Lewis of the Merthyr Rising, John Frost and Zephaniah Williams of the Newport Chartists, and John Jones (Shoni Ysgubor Fawr) the Rebecca rioter.

INDUSTRIAL PERIOD : c.1750s - 1800s

The 18th and early 19th centuries

Methods of punishment remained much the same in the early 19th century. Public punishments still existed, while **prisons were in a deplorable state**. Most prisons housed a **mix of inmates** – all ages, male and female, those awaiting trial and hardened offenders. **Poor conditions** and **overcrowding** meant that **disease** was common. Gaolers were not paid, so charged the inmates for food etc.

Some reformers demanded changes. **Sir George O. Paul** designed prisons that were secure, had separate areas for men and women and gave inmates exercise and work. **John Howard** visited prisons and produced a report, “The State of the Prisons in England and Wales” (1777). He recommended better food, hygiene and clean water for prisoners; payment of gaolers; regular inspection and work and time for prisoners to reflect on their crimes. **Elizabeth Fry** focused on female prisoners and Newgate prison in particular. She improved conditions and taught inmates skills eg. knitting and set up a chapel and a school. She founded the ‘Association for the Reformation of the Female Prisoners in Newgate’. Fry also gave evidence to a House of Commons committee on prison conditions.

As the 19th. century progressed methods of punishment changed:

- There was **less emphasis on corporal punishments** e.g. the pillory was abolished in 1837 and public hanging and transportation ended in 1868.
- Instead, there was **far greater use of prisons**. The **Gaols Act** (1823) began to bring prisons under government control. Incarceration now became the normal method of punishment for serious crimes.

New prisons were constructed and **new prison systems** were tried – the **separate and silent systems**, which were meant to make inmates reflect on their crimes. However, they failed to lower the reoffending rate and there was an increase in suicides. In the late 19th century these were abandoned and more emphasis was placed on welfare of prisoners. The **1856 Act** introduced **“hard labour, hard fare and hard board”**, as the emphasis swung back to punishment rather than reform. The Prisons Act 1877 placed all prisons under government control.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

New prisons were built in Wales after the Gaols Act e.g. in Beaumaris in 1830, Cardiff in 1832 and Swansea in 1861. The last public execution in Wales was Robert Coe in Swansea in 1866. A crowd of 15,000 gathered for the event, including women and children; over 100 were injured in the crush. As he was about to be hanged, four women armed with knives tried to attack Coe and had to be removed by the police. It was incidents like this that led to the end of public executions.

MODERN PERIOD : c.1900s-present day

The 20th and 21st centuries

The 20th century has seen the greatest change in methods of punishment. There is now a greater emphasis on rehabilitation and on restitution. This can be seen in the way in which punishment has changed.

- **Fines are now the main form of punishment** e.g. for motoring offences, while for more serious offences prison is the norm.
- The few remaining corporal punishments were abolished. The crank and treadwheel were abolished in 1902; flogging in prisons did not end until 1948.
- The **death penalty was abolished in 1965**. It was seen by many as barbaric, unchristian and an ineffective deterrent. A number of high profile cases e.g. Derek Bentley and mistakes in sentencing e.g. Timothy Evans also led to its abolition.
- **Prisons** have seen many changes. Prisoners are treated more humanely e.g. they can wear their own clothes and more education is provided. **Prisoners are categorised** (A, B, C or D) according to their crime and placed into the relevant type of prison. **Open prisons** (Category D) have a more relaxed regime and prepare offenders for life back in the community
- An expensive and over-crowded prison system has also led to **alternative methods of punishment**. Some have been used to try to keep offenders out of prison e.g. **probation** (1907), **suspended sentences** (1967), **community service** (1972) and **electronic tagging** (1999). Others methods e.g. **parole** (1967) offer a reduced sentence for good behaviour.
- In the early 20th century **young offenders** were for the first time separated from adult criminals. The first **borstal** opened in 1902, followed in 1932 by Approved Schools. This aimed to limit the influence of older offenders. Due to high levels of reoffending, borstals were replaced by Youth Detention Centres in 1982; nevertheless, reoffending remains high.

Increasingly prisons have been seen as a punishment in themselves. Several schemes are in place to rehabilitate prisoners and give them the skills to find employment after their release. However, some people now feel that many sentences are too lenient and that they have failed to punish or reform criminals.

WELSH EXAMPLE :

The first borstal in Wales was opened in 1939 in Prescoed, near Usk. Since 2000 it has been a Category D open prison. Berwyn prison in Wrexham (opened 2017) is the largest in the UK with, room for over 2,000 prisoners.

KQ7: Industrial Merthyr in the 19th century

Living conditions in Merthyr in the 19th century

Merthyr had some of the worst living conditions of any industrial town in Britain in the early 19th century.

From a village of just 40 houses in 1760 Merthyr had grown into a town of 8,000 inhabitants by 1801. By 1851 it had 46,000, making it the largest town in Wales. This rapid expansion created dreadful living conditions for many of its inhabitants.

- There was serious overcrowding in low quality housing. Insanitary contributed to the rapid spread of diseases such as cholera, typhus and TB.
- The worst area was the slum area called “China”, which was also known as “Little Hell”. Its narrow, badly ventilated and overcrowded streets had some of the most squalid living conditions in Britain. It was a ‘no go’ area, the most notorious district in the whole of Wales – “a den of drunkards, thieves, rogues and prostitutes”.
- In his 1845 report, Sir Henry de la Beche noted that there were few privies (toilets), particularly in the poorer areas, so the inhabitants threw their waste into the streets which were like open sewers. The very poorest slum dwellers lived in cellars, in the worst conditions of all.
- By the 1840s Merthyr had the highest mortality rate of all Welsh towns (and the third highest in the UK). Many children died before the age of five.
- These conditions bred discontent and criminality. When the new Glamorgan Constabulary was created in 1841, 12 out of the 34 constables were placed in Merthyr – an indication of Merthyr’s criminal reputation.

Developments in policing in Merthyr in the 19th century

- In the early 19th century Merthyr had the reputation of being the most lawless town in Wales. As the town grew, the old system of law and order – based on the roles of the J.P. and the parish constable – was unable to deal with the rise in crime.
- After the 1831 rising, three former Metropolitan police officers were appointed. However, in 1834 the number was reduced to two as ratepayers complained about the expense. This again proved insufficient to control crime.
- In 1841 the Glamorgan County Constabulary was founded and 13 of its 34 officers were posted to Merthyr – a sign of the poor reputation of the town. In 1844 a police station was opened. Superintendent Davies, a former Metropolitan Police sergeant, was in charge. However, even a force of 13 men found Merthyr challenging in terms of policing. Finding men who were literate in both English and Welsh and possessed “honesty, sobriety and a sound constitution” was also difficult – particularly as they could earn more in the ironworks.
- In the 1840s the police only went into areas like China in strength, but by the 1850s these areas were part of regular beats.
- By the 1860s Merthyr was becoming far more law-abiding, partly due to its police force and partly due to the increasing influence of the chapels and the Temperance movement. By the last quarter of the 19th century Merthyr had become a much more law-abiding town.

Working conditions in Merthyr

Bad working conditions also took their toll on inhabitants, as did the pollution from the iron works and river.

- Workers in Merthyr had no employment protection. They might be sacked or be forced to take a pay cut at any time. It was the sacking of 84 puddlers in 1831 that sparked the Merthyr Rising in that year.
- Workers often found themselves in debt, which affected their ability to buy food for their families. A special court, the Court of Requests, had the power to collect debts by confiscating the property of workers. This added to the discontent. During the riots, the Court was targeted by the workers.
- Some ironmasters paid their men in tokens. These could only be spent in company shops, where prices were higher and goods often of poor quality. This “truck system” was hated by the workers. Workers were encouraged to “buy on loan” until payday, pushing them further into debt and adding to their misery.