

The emergence of criminology in Britain: A systematic review of the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1838–57

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British crime research expanded significantly from the mid-1830s. Much of this first wave of empirical research was published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (JSSL), which had been launched in 1838. Following Radzinowicz and Hood's (1986) tentative count of crime content in this journal, we analyse the first twenty volumes of the JSSL (1838–57). We use a systematic approach to describe the content of crime research published in this forum in the chosen period. We report findings on the number and share of crime related articles in the journal, who the authors were, the degree to which their work focused on crime, and their citation practices. In doing this, the article provides important new insights into the emergence of British criminology as well as a replicable approach that could be applied more widely in research on the origins and development of criminology.

Keywords criminology, statistics, history, history of criminology, historical criminology, Journal of the Statistical Society of London

Introduction

The origins of criminology have puzzled many historians and criminologists. Most histories of criminology tend to start from 18th century Enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu, Beccaria and Bentham, who applied rational thought to penal policy (Beirne 1993; Pires 1995). Some agree with the timing but bring an alternative set of main actors to the stage, including William Godwin and the Marquis de Sade (Jenkins 1984). To a degree,

the answer to the question of when criminology started depends on the definition of criminology. If rational critiques of punishments are sufficient to constitute criminology, the above timings are correct. But if we instead look at when scholars started to use systematically collected empirical data for the analysis of crime and punishments, the picture alters. These milestones were reached when such data was created, became available to scholars, and was used in research; when that research was published, it connected a critical mass of scholars to form an intellectual field.

Recent research has observed that the triggering of crime research with country-level data from the mid-1820s was a transnational event that unfolded across continental Western Europe (Kivivuori 2024). Yet national trajectories differed in data creation, and their institutional developments differed even more. Some countries instigated the rise of data-driven crime research by expanding official record-keeping (Shoemaker and Ward 2016), while the French integrated research questions into the variable structure of national statistics (Kivivuori 2024: 79–82). The *Compte Général de L'administration de la Justice Criminelle en France*, published from 1827, became a paradigmatic exemplar of data-driven crime research and triggered the first continental research field of criminology. This first cohort of criminological researchers used this asset to examine how crime was linked to ‘civilization’ as measured by ‘instruction’ (usually literacy) and ‘education’ (a broader moral concept). The aim was thus to solve, with empirical data, the classic problem of whether societal progress comes with more or less crime. Often their findings suggested that the onward march of civilization increases property crime while decreasing violence (Kivivuori 2024: 92–94, 98).

In this article, we examine what happened in Britain in the aftermath of the ‘Compte event’ on the European continent. During the early 1830s, British crime statistics were modernized, a process in which the Home Office clerk Samuel Redgrave was instrumental (Radzinowicz and Hood 1986, 93–94). Yet crime statistics or statistical compilations are not criminology as such.¹ In this article, we focus on one central vehicle for emerging British crime research, the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (JSSL). Our main research aim is to describe the content of crime and crime control research in the JSSL during the period of 1838–1857. We use replicable and systematic inclusion principles to allow us to describe the number and share of crime related articles. Based on that, we report quantitative findings about the authors, their crime topic concentration, and if and how they cited each other’s work. We do not provide a full narrative history of criminology or of the Statistical Society of London, or biographies of its central actors. Instead, the contributions of the article are twofold. Firstly, the article provides important new insights into the history of British criminology, identifying crucial beginnings that occurred chronologically between eighteenth century critiques of punishment and the Lombrosian criminology of the later nineteenth century. In other words, we examine what we believe to be the first wave of British criminology, a surge in the statistical study of crime and crime control from the 1830s onwards that was facilitated by improvements to criminal justice data collection and connected to continental developments. Secondly, the article provides a systematic and replicable approach to the examination of journal article content. Of course, journals were not the only forum in which early crime research was published and discussed. Books, parliamentary papers and other sources would undoubtedly feature prominently within a full history of the emergence of British criminology. But, as the article shows, the emerging

¹ We acknowledge that our use of the word of ‘criminology’ is technically anachronistic, as the term was not widely used until later in the 1800s (Rafter 2011). Our interest, however, is specifically in the practice of criminology as the empirical study of crime; a practice that clearly predated its naming. This article thus traces one important thread in the genealogy of the intellectual practice that would later be known as criminology.

genre of the 'research article' played a vital role. Here we draw attention to that role, as encapsulated within our analysis of the JSSL, and provide a framework that could be used more widely to research the history of criminology through journal article content.

Statistics, crime and the JSSL

The Statistical Society of London was established in 1834, with the goal of collecting objective, nonpartisan facts (Hilts 1978). Its creation was initiated in 1833 at a conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Cambridge. Attendees included Charles Babbage, Thomas Malthus and, most importantly from our perspective, Adolphe Quetelet (Porter, 2020). Quetelet was a key figure in the continental explosion of crime research using the new French crime data and, at the Cambridge meeting in 1833, delivered a presentation on his 'crime budget' and age-crime curve findings (Hill 1984: 130). The Statistical Society of London was formally established the following year and the JSSL was launched in 1838 (Morrell and Thackray 1981: 291–3, 374–5; Hill 1984: 132; Radzinowicz and Hood 1986, 93–94; also Poovey 1998: 308–17). At least 20 further statistical societies were set up in other British cities around the same time, although London's seems to have been considerably larger. It attracted 318 members in its first year of existence (O'Brien 2011; Porter 2020). Members included some 'professional statisticians' such as professors of political economy and civil servants working within the Board of Trade (O'Brien 2011: 59), as well as church ministers, lawyers and others with a more independent interest in statistics. What emerged was a kind of a public-private partnership that linked data and research.

During its early years, crime was a frequent topic in the meetings of the Statistical Society of London (Kivivuori 2024: 181–184). This was partly a reflection of the fact that crime was a major public issue in this period (Gattrell, 1990; Rowbotham *et al.* 2013). Gattrell (1990) argued that the word 'crime' was more associated with personal depravity in the eighteenth century but its meaning shifted around the turn of the nineteenth century, coming to refer to a social or public problem in a more aggregative sense. In the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and an increase in prosecutions, 'crime' became almost a byword for anxieties about social change (Gattrell 1990; also, Emsley 2010). These anxieties often coalesced around the behaviour of certain social groups, particularly the lower classes. Traditional working class festivities, drinking habits and sexual practices became magnets for public discussion and, as the century wore on, the targets for moral reform groups demanding stricter codes of behaviour (Storch 1977; Hunt 1999; Roberts 2004). Policing was often focused on poor areas of towns and cities as well as those populated by the Irish (see Davis 1989a; 1989b), who migrated to mainland Britain in increased numbers as a result of the Famine in the 1840s. A desire to document and understand the social conditions faced by poor or working class people underpinned various intellectual enterprises of the day, from the novels of Charles Dickens to the observations of Friedrich Engels contained in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845 [1993]). Scholars have described how the early membership of British statistical societies was motivated by the same desire to document social conditions as well as a discernible reformist interest in using new empirical knowledge for the improvement of society (O'Brien 2011; Porter 2020). The JSSL thus grew from a scientific impulse to understand society through empirical research as well as a normative commitment to improve social conditions.

Record keeping and research

To understand our focus in this article, it is necessary to make a conceptual distinction between *record keeping* and *data-based research*. 'Record keeping' refers to the collection

of data sheets describing individual persons, often prisoners. The information content can be limited or broad. 'Data-based research' uses such data in analysis. But before it can do that, it must have an *interface* enabling research. In our research period,² this was always a collection or compilation of aggregated tables following a specific variable structure, as in the French *Compte* model of 1827. Record keeping is thus a necessary but not sufficient condition of research.³

The history of crime-related record keeping extends to the 18th century, starting with the French serious crime inquest from the 1730s and gradually evolving to yield simple 'crime tables' (Kivivuori 2024: 67–70). In Britain, this long history has been superbly charted by Shoemaker and Ward (2016). They show that such record keeping started in Britain at least in the 1780s. Beginning with the name and sex as offender variables, further variables were added in consecutive waves, including occupation and physical characteristics (recorded from 1791), religion and marital status (from 1816) and literacy (from 1830, see Shoemaker and Ward 2016: 1444). Some of this information (e.g. offenders' age, sex, previous convictions) was compiled into statistical tables for the first time in the 1810s before the first national compilations were produced by the Home Office in the mid-1830s. Expanded collections of official data from police, courts and prisons were published annually from 1857 onwards (Gatrell and Hadden 1972). But, importantly, the compilation of national statistics lagged behind the keeping of records on individuals (Shoemaker and Ward 2016: 1445). The origin of crime record keeping was typically constituted by data collection by 'amateur enthusiasts' and local officials, rather than being a top-down initiative aimed at more effective control of crime (Shoemaker and Ward 2016). While these local actors and amateurs were largely motivated by an intellectual interest in understanding crime, a commitment to crime prevention was also linked to use of local crime data, as in Colquhoun's classic *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (1796).

The British state became more pro-active across this period with regards to information-gathering. The General Register Office was established in 1837 to oversee the registration of births, marriages and deaths and, from 1841, took over operation of the census (Higgs 2001; Porter 2020). Censuses had been conducted regularly since 1801 as basic headcounts, but the 1841 census was expanded to capture a wider range of variables, including name, age, marital status and occupation (Higgs 2001). At this point, the need to improve crime statistics had been discussed for a long time. During the early decades of the 19th century, criminal law reformers like Romilly repeatedly called for better statistics to guide criminal justice policy. While crime returns were published annually during the 1810s, they 'contained but a few bare bones of what was needed' and lacked sufficient interpretive overviews (Radzinowicz and Hood 1986, 92). In 1828, Peel used the newly available French crime tables (1827) to highlight what was needed (Kivivuori 2024: 179–180). In 1834, the Home Office clerk Samuel Redgrave was made responsible for collating and editing the crime returns; for instance, he created a broader categorization of offences (Radzinowicz and Hood 1986: 93). Thus, the perceived need for crime data assets was both a grassroots tradition (Shoemaker and Ward 2016) and a top-down

² Today, original record-keeping sheets or texts can be transformed, digitally stored and analysed as individual-level microdata in which each data row is a person or case. Since this was not possible in our research period, we do not discuss this further. Individual-level record keeping is often intimately connected to control tasks like solving and preventing crimes ('police record' vs. 'crime statistics').

³ This distinction is similar to Lomell's (2011) separation of printed numbers, which proliferated in the first half of the 19th century, from the interpretation or analysis of these numbers.

reform project. While the precise onset of the British ‘information state’ is debatable (see [Devereaux 2009](#)), the 1830s saw important changes in this regard.

Prior research on criminological journals

Criminological journals did not exist in the first part of the 19th century, but there were journals publishing research on crime. In this examination, [Galassi’s \(2004\)](#) conceptual difference between pre-institutional and institutional stages of criminology is useful. In the institutional stage, crime researchers publish in journals that are specifically devoted to criminology. In the pre-institutional stage, however, crime researchers published in the journals of host disciplines. Pre-institutional crime research thus existed as a subsidiary theme within other disciplines such as statistics, medicine and law.

Regarding statistical platforms, the JSSL itself is a good example. The only quantitative study of journal content from our period (1838–57) is the study that directly motivates our research: [Radzinowicz and Hood’s \(1986\)](#) count of crime-related content in the JSSL’s first 20 volumes. Finding 22 crime-related articles, they presented their count in an offhand manner, in a single sentence. Yet the exactness of the number suggests that they must have examined the contents of those 20 volumes to arrive at this figure. They presented this finding while discussing the take-off of British crime research from the 1830s. Apart from these contextualizing facts, we are not aware of any empirical studies examining the *extent* and *content* of criminological research in the JSSL, or of other journals in the first part of the 19th century.

Crime research could be published also in medical journals, and perhaps increasingly so towards the end of the 19th century. Thus, [Garland’s \(1988\)](#) study of the origins of British criminology was based on articles published from the 1860s to the 1930s in mostly medical journals such as the *Journal of Mental Science*. Garland’s references include 22 articles from that journal. He located the origins of British criminology as a scientific enterprise within medico-legal practices and discourses on crime that emerged from the 1860s onwards. Characterized by a practical commitment to the functioning of criminal justice institutions, the scholars working in this field applied approaches from medicine and psychiatry—in which they were typically trained—to the study of offenders and criminal justice processes.

Thus, in Garland’s interpretation, the first British criminological data basis was clinical and case-focused, not statistical and somewhat antagonistic towards continental ‘theorizing’. He further argued that this ‘distinctive, indigenous tradition’, rather than the spread of Lombrosian criminology or the innovations of influential émigré criminologists who arrived in Britain from the 1930s, ‘formed the theoretical and professional space within which “criminological science” was first developed in this country’ (1988: 2). Thus, in the ground-breaking studies of [Garland \(1988\)](#) and [Shoemaker and Ward \(2016\)](#), the origins of British criminology are dated either far earlier than the continental ‘first criminology’ triggered by the French Compté paradigm, or 30 years later.

Data and methods

Radzinowicz and Hood observed that ‘the first twenty volumes of the Society’s Journal contained no less than 22 articles on various aspects of crime’ ([Radzinowicz and Hood 1986](#): 95). We focus on the same years (1838–57) in examining the early volumes of the JSSL. Our study should not be considered as a ‘replication’ because the original observation is more like a prompt to future research than a study as such. Our chronological endpoint is also connected to how British crime statistics developed. The ‘Annual Judicial Statistics’ were published from 1857 onwards, providing detailed police, court and prison data as

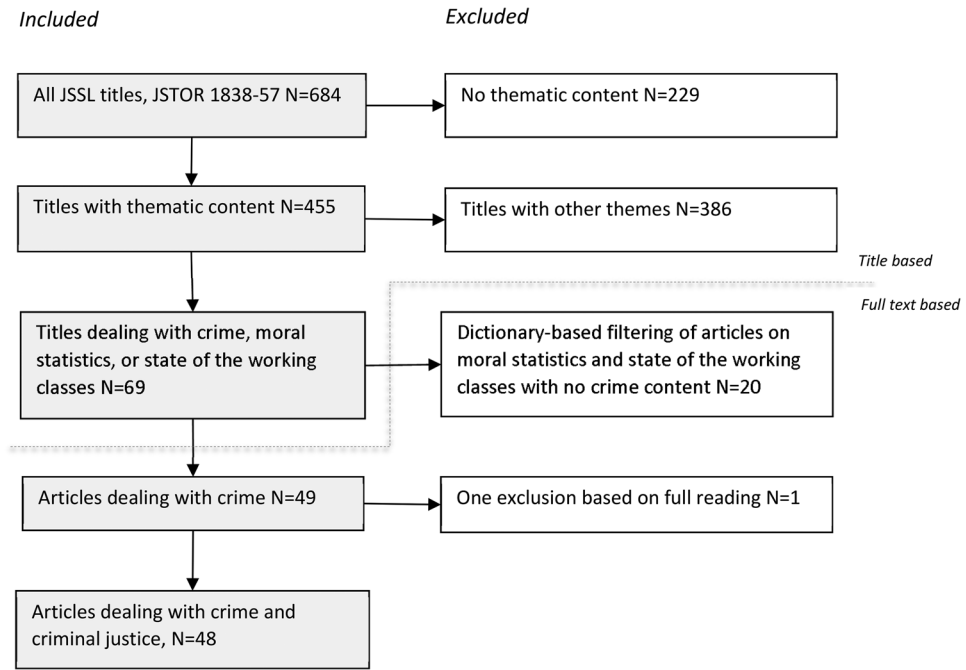


Fig. 1 Flowchart depicting the inclusion of articles to the final sample, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1838–1857

well as commentaries on observable statistical trends (Gatrell and Hadden 1972). The JSSL articles we study predate this shift in the data landscape. They are all available open access from JSTOR.

Our analytic approach followed the practices of systematic review to make it replicable in other similar data corpora. The process is described in the Prisma flow chart (Figure 1). The large number (684) of all titles reflects the architecture of the JSTOR database. The first stage of analysis was to limit the count to substantial titles. In this stage, we excluded titles that were empty in terms of content, such as ‘Volume information’, ‘Introduction’ and ‘Miscellaneous’, or titles related to proceedings or minutes of societies. Having specified 455 titles with substantial content, we searched for crime and crime control themes. In this stage, we located 41 articles with a crime title, and 26 additional articles with a title referring to ‘moral statistics’ or ‘state of the working/poor classes’⁴. Within these 26 borderline titles, we applied a dictionary-based method to examine crime content, using the ATLAS.ti program. We searched the full texts with 10 crime and criminal justice keywords, and those with 10 or more hits were considered as belonging to our focus area (crime). Eight articles passed this test, but one was excluded in the full-text reading stage. Thus, we ended up with 48 articles here considered as crime or criminal justice related (see Appendix).

Our analytical unit is the ‘article’. However, the ‘research article’ itself is a historically emerging entity. For example, in the 19th century, even research articles in the natural

⁴ We conducted interrater consistency checks for the allocation of titles to preliminary classes (no substantial content/crime content/moral statistics/state of the working classes/other). With three independent raters, percent agreement with researcher coding were 86, 90 to 92 per cent. Cohen’s kappa values, often used as an interrater reliability indicator, were .792, .856 and .887. These results indicate high reliability.

sciences typically lacked the clearly defined structure of our own time, such as systematic citation of prior literature. Yet the article was undergoing structural change during this period. It was becoming less personal and less poetic in style; the sentences became shorter; and the forms were converging in English, German and French cultural spheres. Importantly for our purposes, the articles typically lacked what have been called ‘master finding systems’, like abstracts and sub-headings (Gross *et al.* 2002).

All of this applies also to our data. The articles of the JSSL did not conform to a standard structure or sequence often used in modern research articles. Elements of introduction, research question formulation, data and methods description, findings and concluding discussion with reflections on limitations, were intertwined and did not follow a clear sequence. A ‘prior research’ segment was typically missing. Furthermore, there were no explicated procedures of peer review. The JSSL editors probably served as gatekeepers to those who were allowed to publish, but we are not aware of any external or blinded reviews. Most of the papers were read in the meetings of the Society before they were published, a practice which can be seen as a type of open peer review. Occasionally the editor appended critical reflections to articles, indicating that he was unhappy with some aspects of the paper (e.g. Stephens 1838 [5], 325–326). Importantly, we did not make any limitations based on the length or form of the article. Many of them were very short, while Fletcher’s major study on the crime-education link, published in four parts, exceeded 200 pages.

Topics, authors and citations

Of the 455 articles with topical titles, 48 or 10.5 per cent were classified as crime-related, in that they deal with crime and/or crime control (see [Appendix](#)). The share of crime-related articles remained stable during our observation period. If four five-year periods are considered separately, the share varied between 9.6 per cent and 11.2 per cent.

Most (40) of the articles showed the author’s name, a practice that was not consistent in the research period. There were 24 different authors ([Table 1](#)).⁵ Eight articles were authored by anonymous persons or collectives, such as committees of the Statistical Society of London. The most prolific author was Joseph Fletcher (statistician, inspector of schools), followed by John Clay (chaplain of Preston house of corrections), W. H. Sykes (colonel, later with East India Company), Francis Neison (statistician, actuary), Rawson W. Rawson (statistician, government official), Robert Everest (chaplain to East India Company, travel author) and Samuel Redgrave (Home Office clerk), who all had more than one crime-related title. [Table 1](#) additionally shows their total number of titles during our observation period, and the percentage of crime-related topics. We observe that from 113 titles written by these 24 authors, one-third were crime related (35 per cent), individual authors’ crime concentration ranging from six per cent (Porter) to 100 per cent (16 authors). In the group of authors having more than one crime title, only John Clay and Samuel Redgrave wrote purely crime-related titles. The findings were corroborated when pages instead of titles were counted. The crime topic concentration of Fletcher, Rawson and Everest rose well above 50 per cent when page allocation was counted.

A key aspect of an emerging academic field is the acknowledgment of other scholars’ work doing research in the same area. In our text corpus of 48 articles, prior research was

⁵ The author information is based on the authorship as defined in JSTOR’s citation metadata (e.g., JSTOR records ‘Miscellaneous’ without an identified author. As for the substantial articles, the possible missing authorship information was later manually checked from the PDF-file).

Table 1 Continued.

Titles		Pages	
Titles	Crime-related	Crime-related (%)	Pages
Shaw, Charles	1	100.0	3
Stephen, John	1	100.0	3
Walsh, Richard Hussey	1	100.0	2
Kingsley, J.	1	100.0	1
	113	35.4	2211
Committee	3		863
Anon	5		
Total	48		39.0

Table listing the authors of crime and justice related articles in the Journal of the Statistical Society of London, volumes 1838–1857. The table shows how many crime related articles and other articles were published by each author, showing the degree to which they focused on crime as a topic.

not systematically cited in the text or as literature lists; citing other people's work was much rarer than it is today. Nevertheless, we examined (Atlas.ti) how connected the authors were to other JSSL crime authors by examining how frequently the authors (Figure 1) cited other authors in our text corpus, excluding self-citations. We also examined whether the JSSL authors cited the key scholars doing similar analyses on the European continent.

Regarding the internal field, one-third (31 per cent) of the articles cited other JSSL crime authors. The most frequently cited colleagues were John Clay, Samuel Redgrave and Francis Neison. Regarding the external continental network, our checklist included scholars who had been active in the crime research field created by the emergence of the French *Compte* in 1827.⁶ Of this group of scholars, Édouard Ducpétiaux, André-Michel Guerry, Charles Lucas and Adolphe Quetelet were mentioned by the JSSL authors. The most cited was Guerry, who was mentioned 11 times in four different articles. France or the French were mentioned 104 times, spread over ten different articles, making it the most frequently referred to country/nationality.

John Clay and Samuel Redgrave were frequently cited as creators of data. The data of the JSSL research came from various types of 'returns', that is, crime statistics. An increasingly dominant source of data were the national statistics of England and Wales, compiled from 1834 by Redgrave. Local data was still frequently used. Roughly two out of five articles used local data, ranging from a parish to county and Metropolitan level. This local focus likely reflected an earlier tradition of data-compilation by local activists and amateurs (Shoemaker and Ward 2016), before the improved compilation and standardization of national data from 1834 onwards. In terms of geography, the local data had two clusters: London on the one hand, and the axis of Liverpool-Manchester-Leeds-Newcastle on the other hand. The London focus is a reflection of the creation of the Metropolitan Police in 1829 something which was analyzed in several articles, as well as the obvious size and prominence of the capital city. Although containing several major industrial cities, the prominence of studies of northern cities, over the midlands or central Scotland for example, is more difficult to interpret. However, prolific author John Clay was based in Preston and the relative size, and success of the Manchester Statistical Society may have played a part too (see O'Brien 2011). In their relation to data, the first JSSL crime analyst generation was typically critical and fully aware of the limitations involved.

Research content

As noted above, the form of the research article was only emerging in our dataset; we capture the criminological article *in statu nascendi*. A key feature of this is that modern divisions of research aims are not readily applicable to our corpus. A case in point is the distinction between description and explanation. Some articles are purely descriptive in terms of data, but add causal commentary, while others are more consciously oriented toward causal aims. Given this complexity, we decided to examine our set of 48 articles in a qualitative manner under the headings of methodology, description and explanation. Within explanation, we focus on what factors were raised as potential explanations of crime. In the following description, the figures in square brackets refer to the chronological sequence number of the article [1–48, see Appendix].

⁶ Adriano Balbi, Alphonse de Candolle, Édouard Ducpétiaux, Charles Dupin, André-Michel Guerry, Jacques Guerry-Champneuf, Edme Jomard, Nikolaus Julius, Charles Lucas, Adolphe Quetelet, Carl Mittermaier, Pellegrino Rossi, Louis Villermé, and Karl Zachariä (Kivivuori 2024).

Methodology

We classified four of the articles as methodological. An early paper by a committee of the Statistical Society of London (1838 [2]) presented a table that could be used by the courts to structure their ‘criminal returns’. A notable suggestion was to include variables describing the motives and ‘proximate causes’ of the crime.⁷ Proximate causes included offender or victim intoxication and offender being tempted by opportunity, such as property left lying without capable guardians (Committee of the Statistical Society of London 1838, 175–176 [2]; see also Kingsley 1838 [7] for Ireland). Thus, methods planning was linked to the perceived need to ascertain causes of crime. Another article published by ‘R’ (1840 [13]) tackled the question of how education should be measured: with a *Compte*-style variable based on technical reading capacity or substantial knowledge of religion. He observed a high concurrent validity with these two ways of measuring education (R 1840 [13]: 444). Another question ‘R’ discussed was the distinction between remote and proximate causes of offending. John Clay’s (1839 [9]) proximate causes variable ignored the ‘remote causes’, yet proximate causes must be caused by antecedent factors (R 1840 [13]: 445). These papers were clustered to the early years of our study period, with the sole exception being Tartt’s ‘Report on Criminal Returns’ offering a critical and comparative appraisal of crime statistics (Tartt 1857 [47]), pointing towards future improvements outside our period focus.

Description

Another subset of JSSL crime articles was classified as descriptive work. These articles in turn subdivide into descriptions of control institutions and crime.

Control institutions

These articles dealt with police, punishments and carceral institutions. The police-related work dealt mostly with the newly established Metropolitan Police from multiple perspectives, ranging from history to statistics (Anonymous 1838 [1]; Anonymous 1839 [11]; Fletcher 1846 [26] and 1850 [37]). A sole article by R. W. Hopkins dealt with punishment practices, namely capital punishments in Lancashire between 1772 and 1841 (Hopkins 1841 [17]). Of all control institutions, the prison was the most frequently examined, often in international fact-finding missions (Kay 1838 [3]). Fletcher’s 1852 [38] study of continental youth reformatories advocated prevention over punishment and incorporated direct translations from Édouard Ducpétiaux, who had been one of the ‘first criminologists’ using the *Compte* in the 1820s (Kivivuori 2024: 119–122). Mary Carpenter [44] published in 1857 a description of reformatories for female delinquents, with a reform programme attached (see also Oberwittler 2000, 107–108). Two other articles dealt with carceral institutions in parts of the British Empire, namely Calcutta (Sykes 1845 [22]) and Norfolk Island (Maconochie 1845 [22]).

Statistical description of crime

These articles used descriptive data from crime returns from varying levels: local, national and international. The local articles were perhaps closest to the original grassroots data collection tradition (Shoemaker and Ward 2016), with sometimes very local data, ranging from London parishes (Wyatt-Edgell 1838 [8]) to the city-level (The Statistical Committee

⁷ This debate had started before the launch of the Journal, see the paper read by Samuel Redgrave (1836) and critiqued by Arthur Symonds (1836). One of the key points of Symonds was the need for etiologically relevant statistical categories.

of the Town of Leeds 1840 [14]; Stephens 1838 [5]; Anonymous 1838 [10]) and to the county-level (Glyde 1845 [42]). From 1838, building on Samuel Redgrave's compilations of crime statistics for England and Wales from 1834, a series of articles provided national-level analyses for England and Wales (Redgrave 1838 [4]), Rawson K. Rawson (1839 [12]); Fletcher 1843 [21]; Redgrave 1846 [24]; Russell 1847 [28]). National statistics were typically used broadly and only rarely focused on a single offence type (see Anonymous 1845 [23] on incendiarism). Some authors moved from national to international level. Thus, G. W. Sykes published two articles on the crime statistics of India from 1836 to 1844 (Sykes 1843 [19] and 1846 [27]). He found that crime rates were generally lower in India than in England and Wales. In 1857, Robert Everest compared prisoner rates per 100,000 population, disaggregated by immigration status, for six countries or sub-national regions from the US to the 'Hanseatic' cities of Lübeck and Bremen (Everest 1857 [45]). For all six locations, he found higher prisoner rates among the foreigners.

Explanation

The clear demarcation between description and explanation had not emerged in the period we are studying. In some sense, all the articles studied aimed at a causal explanation of crime. Yet we can observe a large subset of articles where the causal theme is strong, with intensifying attempts at empirical anchoring. Within this group of articles, we also see emerging the first nuclei of theoretical programmes.

Multifactorial risk factor approach

This type of article often relied on observations made in a single control institution, directly assessing the presumed causes of inmate crime. Like some of the carceral descriptions, this type of explanatory paper was close to the local record-keeping tradition (Shoemaker and Ward 2016). The prison chaplain of Preston prison, John Clay, figures prominently in this research type, referring to multiple possible causes of crime like drinking, idleness and bad company, want and distress, weak intellect, temptation and bad habits (1839 [9]). Clay even moves towards the analysis of interactions, noting that 'the greatest absolute amount of crime is the result of ignorance and drinking combined' (Clay 1839: 98 [9]). Two articles using data from the Glasgow House of Refuge were quite similar, aiming to ascertain the causes of youth crime by local data (Tancred 1843 [20]; M'Callum 1855 [41]).

Alcohol-related routine activities and crime

Three articles dealt with—as a prominent or sole theme—how institutional arrangements impact crime via their impact on alcohol consumption routines and time cycles. In 1841, an anonymous author (1841 [16]) published a rigorous early evaluation study entitled 'Effects of the Metropolitan Police Act Requiring Public Houses to be Closed on the Sabbath Morning'. This research used a pre/post-test design to examine the impact of Sunday morning pub closure on crime, finding arrests for drunkenness decreased more on Sunday mornings than they increased on weekdays, suggested that there was no other cause here save the change to pub opening hours and no time displacement.

In 1842, Charles Shaw published an article examining the concentration of crimes at weekends in Manchester (Shaw 1842 [18]). He observed that a large proportion of crime and 'debauchery' on Saturdays and Sundays resulted from the timing (Saturday) and place (beer shops or pubs) of the payment of wages. These factors referred to routine activities created by institutional decisions, impacting the time cycles and crimes by workers. Similarly, Clay (1857 [43]) found that crime was correlated with the density of beer houses: 'it is manifest that the amount of crime in a country mainly depends on the number of low

drinking-houses which are suffered to infest it' (Clay 1857 [43]: 32). He additionally discussed 'coincidences' (interactions) between beer house density, instruction and religious worship attendance. As a group, these articles are uncannily close to modern research based on routine activity theory (e.g. Felson and Eckert 2016), combined with attempts at quasi-experimental design.

Crime-education nexus

Some of the descriptive articles (see above) disaggregated crime rates by education. This was possible because an education variable was included in crime statistics from 1835 (Shoemaker and Ward 2016: 1445). During the 1840s, especially during the years 1846–49, a set of articles focused on the crime-education link with a more sustained explanatory intent. The JSSL authors were forming a cumulative research programme in the sense that they reacted to prior French research, the work of Guerry in particular (Porter 1847 [30]; Fletcher 1849 [34]: 154), but also to one another's work. This effort had several innovative aspects. First, they used area-level register linkage by measuring educational levels by the so-called marriage register test, the percentage of those able to write their name on the marriage register (see Crone 2010). Second, these articles witnessed sustained efforts to 'hold other factors constant'. This was attempted for age structures and for dominant economic patterns of the compared units (Neison 1846 [25]; Neison 1848 [31]; Fletcher 1849 [29, 32, 34, 35]). Third, selected international comparisons were also made (Rawson 1841 [15]: 42). Fourth, the Dupin choropleth map was deployed (Fletcher 1849 [35]).⁸

This research programme culminated in Joseph Fletcher's major study entitled 'Moral and Educational Statistics of England and Wales', published in four instalments from 1847 to 1849 [29, 32, 34, 35]. This study was probably designed as the definitive British counterpart to Guerry's moral statistics essay of 1833. The first paper (1847 [29]) started with a manifesto for the social sciences, resembling the manifesto of the ten-year anniversary issue of the *Compte* (1836). Fletcher (1847[29]: 195) noted that the social sciences could not use the experimental method, but careful analysis of observational data could approximate it. In the actual analysis, he stated that he was interested in 'the *effects of instruction*'—italics in the original—on early marriages, financial savings and crime as measured by commitments to trial at assizes or quarter sessions (1847[29]: 209). Trying simultaneously to adjust for age and economic conditions of geographic areas, Fletcher observed that education was linked to lower crime.

Crime and economy

The education-crime research programme already contained analyses of economic factors. Thus, Fletcher found a connection between the price of food and the number of commitments across 1810–1847 (Fletcher 1849 [34]: 167). The following year, John Barton (1850 [36]) found that the prevalence of crime in manufacturing districts exceeded agricultural districts, while increasing farm size was accompanied by increase in crime. Barton reflected on the increasing trends of crime since 1805 and saw these changes as the downside of economic growth.

In 1855, John Clay [39] observed that crime tends to be higher during economic booms and lower during slumps. The effect was mediated by routine activities: in good times, wages are spent on drinking and leisure, which increase crime. When contrasting slump and boom years, he argued that there were no other concomitant changes in police tactics or social context (Clay 1855 [39]: 38), thus hoping to hold other factors constant. Clay

⁸ More on Fletcher's contributions to statistical maps, see Cook and Wainer (2016).

critiqued poverty theories and saw lifestyle factors as more central. Two years later, a paper by Richard H. Walsh (1857 [46]) critiqued the crime-boom claim. Based on committals to assizes/quarter sessions, Walsh found that crime went up during years of distress and went down during years of excess. This debate dealt with the right measures of criminality. Walsh had critiqued the propensity of the legislature to criminalize petty actions. In his riposte, Clay presented more evidence for the crime-boom link (Clay 1857 [48]), including a noteworthy disaggregation of two components of crime rates: professional thieves and occasional/first-time offenders. Clay argued that the link between economic booms and crime was created by the latter: the working-class, first-time offenders who ended up in trouble because of alcohol. This was consistent with this cross-sectional analysis of beer-house frequency of crime, discussed above in the context of routine activity analyses (1857 [43]); indeed, given the timing of the publication, the beer-house paper was likely linked to the Walsh-Clay debate on economic cycles.

Social degradation

In 1855, Robert Everest [40] published a paper that developed a new theory of crime. He compared three demographic groups in the US: native-born white people, foreign white people (i.e. immigrants born in Europe), and non-enslaved black people (or 'free coloured' people in Everest's terminology). He found that the imprisonment rate of the non-enslaved black persons was considerably higher than that of the native-born whites, with the rate for foreign white people lying between the two. What could explain this? Everest first discarded the density of population, biological differences, religion and excess punitiveness towards black people. Regarding education, he concluded that 'we cannot ascribe the greater tendency to crime among the coloured to ignorance alone, though that may in some degree promote it' (Everest 1850 [40]: 226). By means of exclusion of other explanations, Everest concluded that *social degradation* explained the higher criminality of non-enslaved black persons.

Everests' analysis was based on prison statistics, but he likely additionally drew from two types of qualitative observations. First, he had worked in India and had therefore first-hand experience of degrading caste systems. Second, he had recently made a tour of North America, publishing a narrative of his travels in the book *A Journey through the United States and Part of Canada* (Everest 1855). In that book, he made several observations on the caste-like degraded status of blacks, including those who were free. In his theory developed in the JSSL article, the concept of social degradation was close to what today would be called 'labelling' or 'stigma', and 'cumulative disadvantage' but the theory also had 'rational choice' elements. The degraded groups adjusted to their expectations of success in their legal activities; disparaged people more easily turned to crime, because they perceived no reward in 'self-denial' (Everest 1855 [40]: 227). In later anachronistic terms, Everest's theory was a combination of anomie, labelling, cumulative disadvantage, and rational choice theories. Culturally embedded social devaluation rigged the incentives against the degraded people, who therefore saw no point in exercising self-control.

Discussion

Research programme

In the research corpus studied here, we see an emerging causal research programme. In this 'progression' there appears to be a movement from the local record-keeping type of research to more complex analytic designs: the JSSL scholars capitalized on the national statistical coverage, adjusted for age and used designs opened by policy experiments. Some

came close to quasi-experimental research, especially the research on how crime was linked to alcohol-related routine activities (pub closing times, places of wage paying, etc.). This explanatory approach linked institutional practices to apparent working-class inability to exercise self-control.

In the short period of 1846–49, a major theoretical research body coagulated around the question of education-crime nexus (see above and [Appendix](#), articles focusing on crime and education). This climaxed a long engagement with French analyses of the crime-education link, particularly those of André-Michel Guerry. Most of the foreign cites referred to his major study of the moral statistics of France, a work using the *Compte* data which triggered an explosion of continental crime research from 1827. The reception of Guerry's work had started before the creation of the journal. In 1835, Greg Porter replicated Guerry's analyses with Guerry's own data to show that education reduces crime in France ([Porter 1835](#); [Kivivuori 2024](#): 183–184). The later British results similarly typically supported the crime-reducing power of education.

Towards the end of our study period, in 1855–57, a new theoretical nucleus formed around the question, how crime is related to economic cycles, approximating the 'lifestyle' and 'strain theories' of our own time. This led to the first scientific debate between Clay and Walsh. Finally, a single article by Everest presented an entirely new sociological theory of cultural degradation, with empirical anchoring in US data disaggregating crime by race. Everest was sensitized by the caste system of British India to see analogous informal processes of cumulative disadvantage in the US.

While these causal programmes differed in terms of key predictors, they had commonalities, like attempts to adjust for age or economic structure, and to isolate a causal effect by adequate research design. Furthermore, in all theoretical nuclei, we observe not only correlations but also incipient discussions of individual-level *mechanisms* of crime causation. They tended to see working-class self-control as mediating the predictor and the outcome. Lack of restraint was between the person-at-risk and the beer house; the uneducated person committed crimes because of lacking self-control; and economic booms were linked to crime because the worker had more money to spend on alcohol; and stigma made self-control unrewarding for the lower classes. This might be critically interpreted as reflecting the control interests of a society that, as various historians have asserted (e.g. [Storch 1977](#); [Davis 1989a](#); [1989b](#)), was preoccupied with working-class behaviour. But, from an epistemic perspective, attention to mechanism clearly entails an improvement on 'risk factor' models and a move towards genuine 'analytic' explanations. Some of the designs like capitalizing on a policy change, or efforts to adjust for age and economy, were sophisticated in an age before correlation coefficients and regression models. Especially the work on the crime-education nexus was influenced by prior French analyses, while also addressing national concerns of education and political stability among the working classes.

An intellectual field

Our findings show that JSSL played an important role in the emergence of crime research in Britain from 1838 to 1857. Approximately one in ten substantial articles (10.5 per cent) published in the JSSL during its first 20 volumes dealt with crime or criminal justice. This figure is twice the number of crime-related articles found by Radzinowicz and Hood (48/22). This should not be considered as a critique of their analysis, as we do not know how they defined criminological relevance. Rather, this finding underlines their point that the JSSL was an important forum for early, empirical research on crime and its control. It is relevant

to note that criminology had no institutional form in Britain at this point in history. Rafter (2011) reports that the word 'criminology' was not used regularly in English until the 1890s. Garland (1988) identified the first series of criminology lectures in Britain as taking place in the 1920s and journals followed even later, with the *British Journal of Delinquency* being established in 1950 (before being renamed the *British Journal of Criminology* in 1960). But our research shows that there was a body of empirical crime research that existed from at least the 1830s and was published in the JSSL. Moreover, it is clear from our qualitative analysis that this research directly addressed many of the topics that have since become fundamental components of criminology as a subject area or discipline, including crime measurement, crime trends, theory, crime causation and crime prevention. While reports, books and pamphlets about crime were published before the 1830s⁹ and sometimes included quantitative information, the JSSL crime research formed the first cumulative, data-based and internationally connected body of crime research in Britain, as well as a research programme on the causes and prevention of crime.

The sophistication of the corpus of crime research published in the JSSL is striking. As has been described, studies employed research designs and methodological techniques that are now familiar to social scientists and made arguments that frequently anticipated or aligned with theories of crime that since become firmly established in criminology. We observed three main research aims within the corpus of crime research published in the JSSL: methodology, description and explanation. Our allocation of articles to this classification is qualitative; the same corpus could be organized in multiple ways. In some sense, the studied research corpus was quite homogenous: most of the work was causal-positivist, aimed at explaining crime by disaggregation and by detection of statistical associations (or by finding good, foreign practices with better effects on recidivism). Furthermore, we see a build-up from methodology to local and then to national description, and finally to theoretical explanation. In some respects, we detect in the examined corpus a more nuanced type of positivism, compared to later versions during the late 19th century heyday of bio-criminological and psychiatric paradigms (Garland 1988; Wetzell 2001).

Galassi's study (2004) of the history of German criminology found that, in the pre-institutional phase, empirical crime research was published in the journals of broader host disciplines. It is clear from our findings that statistics was a key host discipline in the early, pre-institutional stage of British criminology. Most of the 24 authors in our text corpus can be described as statisticians with special interest in crime. However, in our text corpus, most authors published only on crime. John Clay, for instance, published four articles exclusively on crime. Joseph Fletcher, Rawson W. Rawson, Robert Everest and Samuel Redgrave all wrote more than one study of crime and, although addressing other topics too, devoted more than half of their total JSSL pages to crime.

As well as investing heavily in the study of crime, it is crucial that these authors also engaged with each other's work. Rafter commented that, until the late nineteenth century, 'researchers involved in the production of what we now call criminology may have been in contact with only two or three other specialists conducting similar work' (2011: 145). However, many of the JSSL articles are introduced as having been read at meetings of the Statistical Society of London, or occasionally the Statistical Society of Manchester, prior

⁹ Famous examples include the work of Henry Fielding and Patrick Colquhoun. The role of phrenology is another case in point, as its impact from the 1810s predates Garland's focal period (1860s onwards) and the period studied in this article. While phrenology was a general doctrine of behaviour, its adherents like George Combe believed that violent crime propensity was linked to a specific area of the brain (see Rafter *et al.* 2016: 44–69).

to their publication. Plus, while they did not contain ‘prior research’ or ‘literature review’ sections, we have described how the JSSL crime articles did include citations to the work of other JSSL authors as well as continental scholars involved in the emergence of data-based crime research, including Ducpétiaux, Guerry, Lucas and Quetelet. The fact that the JSSL researchers were reading and responding to each other’s work shows that British crime research 1838–57 was an emerging intellectual field with links to mainland Europe.

How influential was the French and continental impact on the rise of the JSSL crime research? There is no one right answer to this. In many ways, the JSSL activity was a logical extension of the emerging British ‘information state’. The general societal worry about the link between illiteracy and crime was also a long native tradition in Britain (Crone 2010). On the other hand, British developments were not completely autochthonous. Adolphe Quetelet was a key catalyst in the creation of the Statistical Society. The cream of continental crime researchers, Charles Dupin, André-Michel Guerry and Nikolaus Julius, were made foreign members of the society by 1837 (Kivivuori 2024: 182). A French-style education variable was inserted into the crime returns of England and Wales in 1835 (Shoemaker and Ward 2016: 1444). While theoretical influence cannot be reduced to citation counts, Guerry was cited until the 1840s. France, moreover, was the most frequently mentioned foreign country in the dataset, a fact that likely reflects the rich availability of crime statistics from that country. Guerry himself remained interested in British-French comparisons until the end of his career (Friendly 2022). All of this points to the relevant influence of a nascent continental criminology on the early development of criminology as an intellectual field in Britain.

Conclusions

In this article, we have described the first wave of data-based crime research in Britain. We examined how many of the articles published in the first twenty volumes (1838–57) of the JSSL dealt with crime and crime control. We used replicable and systematic inclusion principles to be able to describe quantitatively the number and share of crime related articles. Building on that inclusion, we reported who the authors were, the degree to which their work in the JSSL focused on crime, and their citation practices in relation to one another and to continental crime researchers. The reason we used systematic review as a method was to make the analysis potentially replicable in other journals and text forms, in Britain and elsewhere.

Our study adds to prior research on the history of British criminology on several counts. Firstly, we build on Shoemaker and Ward’s (2016) study by tracing how the record keeping practices they examine facilitated the beginning of a sophisticated research programme. Once the research started, it produced theoretical nuclei, some continuing continental discussions (crime-education), some emerging from more local concerns (alcohol routines, economy-crime link). We thus conclude that the first wave of British crime research emerged between the 1830s and the 1850s in the circles of the Statistical Society of London. Secondly, we have shown that this initial wave of empirical British crime research published in the JSSL derived, not from the labours of isolated individual scholars, but from an intellectual field of researchers who were engaging with each other’s work as well as that of Guerry, Quetelet and other continental scholars. We further conclude that, unlike later medico-legal analyses of crime studied by Garland (1988), this earlier, statistical stage in the development of British criminology was founded on cross-European dialogue and intellectual exchange.

Due to space limitations, several recurring topics were excluded from this article. Such topics include the biographies of the central crime authors, their methodological critiques of administrative statistics, the age-crime curve, juvenile delinquency and policy recommendations. Also, the corpus forms a fascinating dataset for the study of the emerging genre of the 'research article'; the developments from the Proceedings stage (1834–38) and through our period show change in this regard. In terms of method, we started from a title-based classification of topics as a title operationalizes author intent to focus on a particular theme. The crime content was checked from full text only when the title was classified to borderline categories (moral statistics, state of the working classes). In the future, full-text computational analysis, such as topic modelling, could check and complement the picture gained here.

More widely, we hope this article provides impetus for further research into the history of criminology. We have foregrounded the importance of the JSSL and the emergence of statistical crime research from the 1830s in the history of British criminology but, in doing so, we do not negate the importance of the criminological beginnings or developments identified in other eras by other scholars (e.g. [Garland 1988](#); [Shoemaker and Ward 2016](#)). Nor do we wish to shut down any avenues for future research. Instead, we would like this article to serve as an invitation or provocation to further research into the multiple historical events, processes and actors which eventually produced criminology in the institutional form that we know it today. There is certainly a need for more research on the later volumes of the JSSL and for the analysis of pre-institutional criminology journals from North America, other parts of Europe and potentially beyond. There might also be scope for further research on other British journals that published research on crime topics in the nineteenth century (e.g. *The Lancet*). In all instances, our methodological approach could be readily applied to the study of such journals. More broadly, there are undoubtedly other chapters in the early history of criminology that are yet to be explored too. We thus envision this article as one incremental step in the wider study of pre-institutional criminology.

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Appendix: Primary sources

Note: the articles are here grouped under the themes we discuss them, with chronological reference numbers in square brackets.

Methodology

[2] Committee of the SSL (1838), 'Forms for Registering the Principal Circumstances Connected with the Birth, Parentage, Education, and Condition of Criminal Offenders; the Nature and Probable Causes of their Offences, with the Result of their Trial', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/3: 174–178.

[7] Kingsley, J. (1838), 'A Statistical Table of Crime in Ireland', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/7: 427.

[13] Anonymous (1840), 'Social and Moral Statistics of Criminal Offenders', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/6: 442–445.

[47] Tarrt, W. (1857), 'Report on Criminal Returns', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/4: 365–377.

Description

Control—police

[1] Anonymous (1838), 'The Police of the Metropolis', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/2: 96–103.

[11] Anonymous (1839), 'Report of a Committee of the Statistical Society of London, appointed to collect and enquire into Vital Statistics, upon the Sickness and Mortality among the Metropolitan Police Force—May 1839', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/4: 193–197.

[26] Fletcher, J. (1846), 'Statistical Account of the Constitution and Operation of the Criminal Courts of the Metropolis', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 9/4: 289–309.

[37] Fletcher, J. (1850), 'Statistical Account of the Police of the Metropolis', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 13/3: 221–267.

Control—Punishment

[17] Hopkins, R. (1842), 'Capital Punishments in Lancashire During the Last Sixty Years', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 5/3: 263–265

Control—Carceral

[3] Kay, J. (1838), 'Notes Illustrative of a Previous Paper on the Training in Schools of Industry of Children Dependent from Crime, Orphanage', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/4: 245–251.

[22] Maconochie, C. (1845), 'Criminal Statistics and Movement of the Bond Population of Norfolk Island, to December, 1843', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 8/1: 1–49.

[33] Sykes, W. (1849), 'Analysis of the Report of Surgeon F. P. Strong, of the Bengal Army, to the Bengal Government for 1847, of the Mortality in the Jails of the 24 Pergunnahs, Calcutta', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 12/1: 48–59.

[38] Fletcher, J. (1852), 'Statistics of the Farm School System of the Continent, and of Its Applicability to the Preventive and Reformatory Education of Pauper and Criminal Children in England', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 15/1: 1–49.

[44] Carpenter, M. (1857), 'On the Importance of Statistics to the Reformatory Movement, with Returns From Female Reformatories, and Remarks on them', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/1: 33–40.

Crime—Local

[5] Stephens, J. (1838), 'Abstract of a Return of Prisoners Coming under the Cognizance of the Police of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, During the Ten Months from the 2nd of October, 1837 to the 2nd of August, 1838', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/6: 324–326

[6] Cargill, W. (1838), 'Educational, Criminal, and Social Statistics of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/6: 355–361.

[8] Edgell, W. (1838), 'Moral Statistics of the Parishes of St James, St George, and St Anne Soho in the City of Westminster. Supplementary to the Third Report of the Education Committee of the Statistical Society of London', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/8: 478–492.

[10] Anonymous (1839), 'Number and Nature of Robberies in London and Liverpool during the Year 1838', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/3: 182–184.

[14] Statistical Committee of the Town Council. (1840), 'Report upon the Condition of the Town of Leeds and of its Inhabitants', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/6: 397–424.

[42] Glyde, J. (1856), 'Localities of Crime in Suffolk', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 19/2: 102–106.

Crime—National

[4] Redgrave, S. (1838), 'Abstract of Criminal Tables for England and Wales, 1837; with Remarks Thereupon, Chiefly by the Compiler', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1/4: 231–245.

[12] Rawson, R. (1839), 'An Inquiry into the Statistics of Crime in England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/5: 316–344.

[21] Fletcher, J. (1843), 'Progress of Crime in the United Kingdom: Abstracted from the Criminal Returns of 1842, and the Prison Returns for the Year Ended at Michaelmas, 1841', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 6/3: 218–240.

[23] Anonymous (1845), 'Incendiarism', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 8/4: 353–354.

[24] Redgrave, S. (1846), 'Criminal Tables for the Year 1845', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 9/2: 177–183.

[28] Russell, W. (1847) 'Statistics of Crime in England and Wales, from 1839–1843', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 10(1): 38–61.

Crime—International

[19] Sykes, W. (1843), 'Statistics of Civil and Criminal Justice in British India, Chiefly from the Year 1836 to 1840 Inclusive', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 6/2: 94–119.

[27] Sykes, W. (1846), 'Statistics of the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in British India from 1841 to 1844, both Inclusive', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 9/4: 310–338.

[45] Everest, R. (1857) 'On the Proportion of Foreigners to Natives, and of Foreign to Native Convicts in Several States of Europe and America', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/1: 72–76.

Explanation

Multifactorial

[9] Clay, J. (1839), 'Annual Report of the Rev. John Clay, Chaplain to the Preston House of Correction', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 2/2: 84–103.

[20] Tancred, T. (1843), 'House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders, Glasgow', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 6/3: 252–255.

[41] M'Callum, A. (1855), 'Juvenile Delinquency—Its Principal Causes and Proposed Cure, as Adopted in the Glasgow Reformatory Schools', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 18/4: 356–363.

Alcohol-related routine activities

[16] Anonymous (1841), 'Effects of the Metropolitan Police Act Requiring Public Houses to be Closed on the Sabbath Morning', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 4/3: 268–269.

[18] Shaw, C. (1842), 'Police Statistics of the Week's End in Manchester', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 5/3: 266–268.

[43] Clay, J. (1857), 'On the Relation Between Crime, Popular Instruction, Attendance on Religious Worship, and Beer-House', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/1: 22–32.

Crime and education

[15] Rawson, R. (1841), 'An Enquiry into the Condition of Criminal Offenders in England and Wales with Respect to Education among the Criminal and General Population of England and other Countries', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 3/4: 331–352.

[25] Neison, F. (1846), 'Statistics of Crime in England and Wales for the Years 1842, 1843 and 1844', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 9/3: 223–276.

[29] Fletcher, J. (1847) 'Moral and Educational Statistics of England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 10/3: 193–233.

[30] Porter, G. (1847), 'The Influence of Education, Shown by Facts Recorded in the Criminal Tables for 1845 and 1846', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 10/4: 316–344.

[31] Neison F. (1848), 'Statistics of Crime in England and Wales 1834–1844', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 11/2: 140–165.

[32] Fletcher, J. (1848), 'Moral and Educational Statistics of England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 11/4: 344–366.

[34] Fletcher, J. (1849), 'Moral and Educational Statistics of England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 12/2: 151–176.

[35] Fletcher, J. (1849), 'Moral and educational statistics of England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 12/3: 189–335.

Crime and economy

[36] Barton, J. (1850), 'The Influence of Soil on the Moral and Physical Well-being of the People of England and Wales', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 13/1: 63–77.

[39] Clay, J. (1855), 'On the Effect of Good or Bad Times on Committals to Prison', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 18/1: 74–79.

[46] Walsh, R. (1857), 'A Deduction from the Statistics for Crime in the Last 10 Years', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/1: 77–78.

[48] Clay, J. (1857), 'On the Effect of Good or Bad Times on Committals to Prison', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 20/4: 378–388.

Social degradation theory

[40] Everest, R. (1855), 'On the Influence of Social Degradation in Producing Pauperism and Crime, as Exemplified in the Free Coloured Citizens and Foreigners in the United States', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 18/3: 222–239.

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