

A Disappearing Crowd? Collective Action in Late Nineteenth-Century Croydon

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Studies of the behaviour of crowds in modern British history have tended to concentrate on the disorders of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, possibly to the detriment of close analysis of the later nineteenth century. There has been a tendency to assume that, in the nineteenth century, earlier, uproarious forms of popular action gave way to more advanced and increasingly successful forms of action such as the pressure group, the petition and the strike, forms which were more rational in an industrial society because they applied to the pursuit of preconceived ends influences and sanctions – such as the withdrawal of labour – which were particularly damaging to that society, rather than the use of overt physical force (which could always be overcome with force). Thus E.P. Thompson claimed:

But if the disciplinarians lost a few legislative skirmishes, they won the battle of the Industrial Revolution; and in the process the 'Irish' temperament often attributed to the eighteenth-century English poor in town and countryside was translated into the methodical way of life of industrial capitalism.¹

George Rudé described the violent crowd actions of the eighteenth century as 'pre-industrial', and so was able to say that Church and King riots, Luddism '... and other pre-industrial popular manifestations, had little place in the emerging society of the future.'² More recently, after a thorough revision of the historiography of eighteenth and early nineteenth century crowd disturbances, John Stevenson was still able to describe the years 1848 to 1870 as marking 'the transition to order'.³ In recent years a gradual revision of this picture has got under way, examining mid and late nineteenth century disturbances in greater detail and substantially changing received assumptions about the passivity of Victorian society.⁴ This re-examination is particularly appropriate to the south of England, because it is becoming apparent that the impact of social change which is generally supposed to have brought about a decline in riot

and crowd disorder in the period was much delayed in this part of the country.⁵ England was not industrialised overnight; even in the last decades of the nineteenth century there were areas of the South where the pace and nature of life had scarcely changed – despite the railways – since the early years of the century. This article is intended as a contribution to this historiography, by concentrating attention on the evidence of crowd disturbances in the late nineteenth century in just one market town, the rapidly urbanising parish of Croydon.

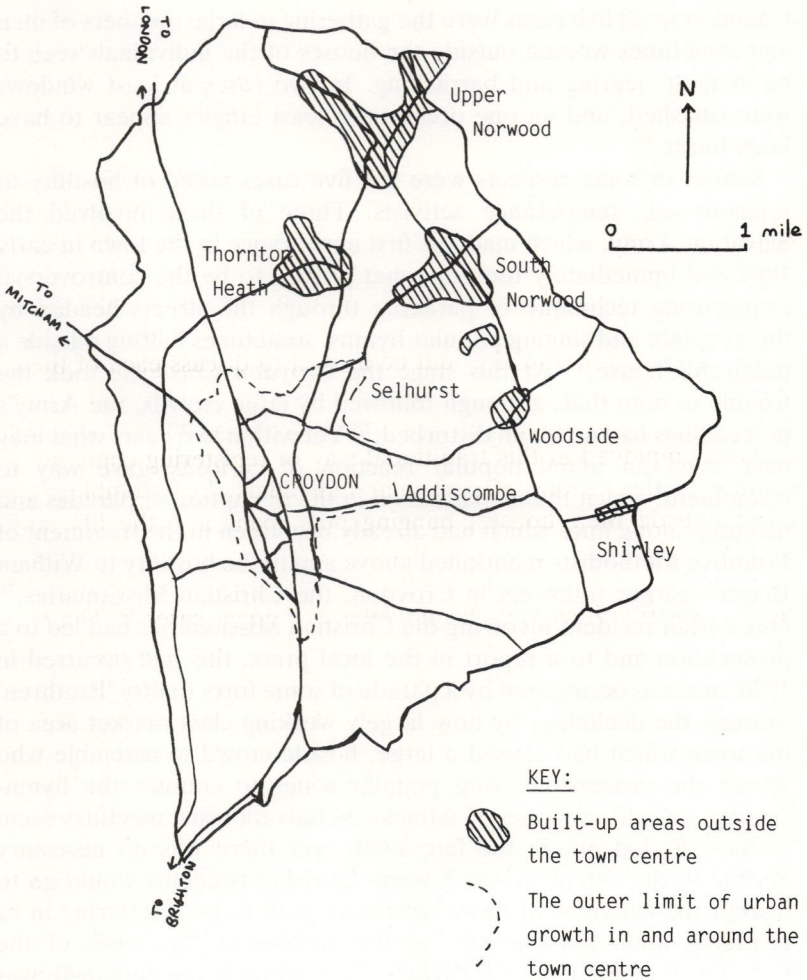
The evidence, summarised in the Appendix, arises from some twenty-two instances of collective action culled from a systematic analysis of two long-running local newspapers in the period. The papers concerned are the *Croydon Chronicle*, founded in 1855 after the repeal of the Stamp Duty and in continuous production until 1908, and the *Croydon Advertiser*, begun in 1869 and still currently in print. Both papers were broadly Liberal in tone, but the *Chronicle* was always more moderate than the *Advertiser* and in the later 1880s appears to have begun to swing towards a Unionist-Conservative stance. By concentrating on these two papers from the years 1855 to 1900, it has been possible to carry out a detailed analysis of reports of crowd disturbances in the town. Three other newspapers and journals were consulted, though not analysed systematically: the *Croydon Guardian* (in print from 1883 to 1916), the *Croydon Times* (1890 to 1914) and the *Croydon Review* (1879 to 1890).⁶

Narrowing the analysis in this way has probably understated the incidence of crowd disturbance in the town in these years. There is evidence (admittedly sketchy and highly charged) from other sources of many more incidents than those reported. A number of denominational sources, for example, attest to the frequency with which open-air evangelising activity could be subjected to mob ridicule: records of the Primitive Methodists during their early evangelising activity in the town in the 1850s indicate numerous mobbings, and one of their preachers present in Croydon in the late 1860s was later to recall 'it was fair game to mock the open air preacher', yet no single instance of the disturbances found its way into the local press.⁷ One mobbing of the Christian Missionaries did get reported, but again their own connexional records suggest a much more frequent catalogue of incidents.⁸ Even press accounts of some of the incidents to be discussed here hint at other disturbances which unfortunately have gone unrecorded: the *Croydon Chronicle*, for example, reporting on the Guy Fawkes riot of 1876, concluded with the gnomic statement that 'Precedents were not wanted for riotous behaviour on the second night of a Guy Faux demonstration . . .' and went on to describe briefly a previous occasion when the crowd apparently

captured every policeman on his beat and conveyed him back to the police station, so that the whole town was in their hands.⁹

All of the twenty-two cases collected from the local press can be tied down quite closely to precise dates and locations. Virtually all of them involved some form of concerted action on the part of the crowd, and were directed towards particular ends. Even within the one type of source, then, further omissions have been made: drunken disputes or spontaneous fights (such as the 'Disgraceful Riot at Pitlake' described by the *Croydon Chronicle* in May 1895¹⁰), and generalised disturbance which did not involve a crowd using ridicule or violence towards a particular end (such, for example, was the pelting of middle-class carriages returning from Epsom races with mud and turf described in 1873 as if it were a frequent event¹¹); incidents like these might illustrate popular prejudices and perhaps a general prevalence of unruliness, but they were not concerted actions which arose out of particular grievances or in response to particular stimuli. In the Appendix the actions which have been included have been listed in chronological order, with a brief description of each incident and a location which can be established according to Map 1.

The incidents fall into a number of categories depending on their causes and pattern, and it would be as well to discuss each of these categories separately. Five of the incidents listed involved rough musickings of inhabitants of Croydon. The variety and nature of the methods employed in this traditional way of registering community hostility to the actions of particular individuals (by assembling en masse outside their houses, banging pots, pans and the like and 'saluting' them with songs and burning effigies) were set out some years ago by E.P. Thompson, yet his article made no attempt to chart regional distributions and chronologies of known cases.¹² The five Croydon examples are probably a severe understatement of the real number of occurrences, yet five alone over an eleven-year period are sufficient to indicate how usual this form of crowd action was. As was typical of most cases discussed by Thompson, all of the five arose from the way in which particular individuals were believed to have infringed popular morality and thus incurred the disgust of the crowd. Three of them were caused by perceived, irregular sexual or marital relationships; the other two, though not necessarily involving marital issues, nevertheless also arose from relations between individuals and the response of onlookers to perceived disruptions of moral codes. All five cases took place in the poorer districts of Croydon, outside the town centre. Only two of them resulted in prosecutions: the case of Esther Jackson, a would-be suicide and murderer rough-musicked by her neighbours for trying to poison her children with laudanum,



Map 1: Principal roads and settlements of Croydon parish c. 1868 (Based on the parish engineer, Baldwin Latham's map of the parish, dated March 1868; visible at Crowdon Public Library)

led to a murder charge (but on the evidence of the house surgeon at Croydon General Hospital that she was ill and 'liable to mental excitement' she escaped lightly with one month's hard labour in goal¹³); the other case, involving an apparently long-running feud, led to the prosecution of one party by the other for abusive language, yet the charge was dismissed.¹⁴ The police were present on at least three occasions, but in only one case did they intervene to disperse the crowd: this was *after* several nights of disturbances in the Cherry Orchard Road in 1881, and even then 'no arrests were made'.¹⁵ Common to all five cases were the gathering in large numbers of men and sometimes women outside the houses of the individuals seen to be at fault, jeering and barracking. In two cases at least windows were smashed, and on one occasion at least effigies appear to have been burnt.¹⁶

Similar in some respects were the five cases noted of hostility to religious and temperance activists. Three of these involved the Salvation Army, which made its first appearance in the town in early 1882 and immediately took up what proved to be the controversial evangelising technique of parading through the streets headed by their captain and singing popular hymns, sometimes halting outside a publican's house.¹⁷ At this stage the *Croydon Chronicle* took the trouble to note that, although followed by large crowds, the Army's proceedings had not been disturbed.¹⁸ Yet within two years what may have been an initial popular reaction of curiosity gave way to resentment, which found expression in the disruption of parades and meetings along lines which had already been seen in the treatment of Primitive Methodists mentioned above and in the hostility to William Booth's earlier followers in Croydon, the Christian Missionaries.¹⁹ One earlier incident involving the Christian Missionaries had led to a prosecution and to a report in the local press; this had occurred in 1870, and was occasioned by a parade of some forty to fifty 'Brethren' through the declining, by now largely working class market area of the town which had caused a large, hostile crowd to assemble who jeered the procession, sang popular songs to counter the hymn-singing, and threw stones.²⁰ Attacks on Salvationists' meetings seem to have fizzled out in the late 1880s, yet there was no necessary decline in the extent to which some Croydon residents would go to disrupt the activities of those who were seen to be interfering in or intruding upon popular life, as the reaction to the work of the Croydon Vigilant Total Abstinence Association in the mid-1890s was to show. The Vigilants were formed in late 1896 or early 1897 as a militant temperance group, employing much more aggressive tactics than those hitherto used by other temperance activists: they carried

out a system of supervising public houses, bringing charges against those infringing licensing hours and against the drunk and disorderly. In May of the same year they began to hold open-air meetings in the High Street, but were mobbed and pelted with eggs by the assembled crowd, so that:

... at length the disorder became so great that a posse of police intervened for the protection of the unpopular speakers, who were escorted home by a staff of stalwart constables, followed by an angry crowd.²¹

The disruption of another meeting the following week finally put paid to the meetings; the vigilants seem to have disappeared as an organisation in the area some time in 1898.²³ These five crowd actions, all of which showed tactical similarities with the rough-musickings, were not necessarily planned with care, but clearly there was a sense in which the actions of others were seen to constitute an intrusion upon local life, and so the reactions encountered might have been expected.

That they proved to be all too easily predictable (and therefore amenable to control) was the factor which most quickly hastened the end of riotous celebrations of Guy Fawkes' night in Croydon. On at least six occasions these disturbances were so extensive as to merit detailed discussion in the local press. Before the 1870s references to celebrations of the Fifth were few, and yet they were sufficient to indicate that Croydon, no less than other southern towns and villages in the nineteenth century, had for long marked the occasion rowdily, with bonfires, street fireworks and processions.²⁴ This fits in well with the general picture of Guy Fawkes disturbances in southern towns presented by Storch, and with the more detailed description Gavin Morgan has recently given of the Guy riots in Guildford.²⁵ The first detailed account of the Fifth of November proceedings in Croydon was given in 1875, in a decade when, according to Storch, there was a 'county-wide offensive against unreformed [Guy Fawkes] manifestations by Surrey police and magistrates . . .'.²⁶ The celebrations involved crowds blocking Surrey Street, hooting and throwing fireworks; attempts by the police to clear the area led to brawls, with three men being arrested for 'wantonly discharging fireworks'.²⁷ Those of the following year were much more tumultuous. On this occasion the crowd again gathered in Surrey Street; a masked figure rode amongst them, wearing on his front an illuminated clock, which the *Chronicle* took to be an allusion to a clock which had recently been stolen from the police station; this appeared to draw an even

larger crowd, which became so dense that 'orders were given for a body of mounted police to clear the streets'.²⁸ This provocative action led to the pelting of the police with bags of flour, rotten eggs and other such things, with fireworks being thrown at them from the street and from the tops of houses. By midnight the trouble seemed to have died down, and yet the following night there was an even greater uproar. A procession was started, headed by the 'illuminated clock' figure and attracting (it was claimed) several thousand followers who – in the apparent absence of any large body of police – vented their anger by attacking the Whitgift Street house of Dr Alfred Carpenter, a magistrate, breaking his windows and throwing a fireball into his house, then moving on to attack the Elms, the residence of Thomas Edridge, chairman of the bench, smashing his windows too and carrying off his door bell, and then, in an effort to make sure they got the house of the head of police, attacking three houses in Wandle Street, only to be dispersed again by police.²⁹

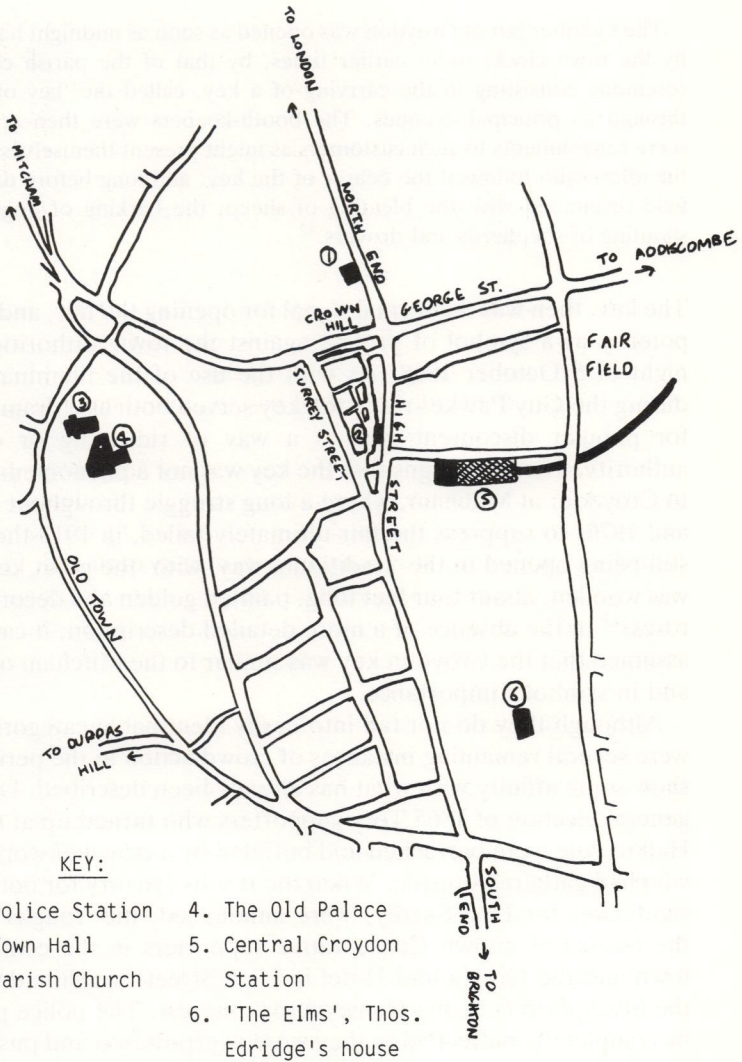
In 1877, in place of a policy of suppression, the local authorities opted for control and direction of the celebrations: the Local Board of Health made the recreation ground of Duppas Hill available for fireworks and bonfire, but these official celebrations were not a great success and did not prevent a procession and some rowdiness taking place in the centre of the town.³⁰ A repetition of these arrangements the following year produced a similar result.³¹ In 1879 however the town authorities neglected to make any provision for Guy Fawkes' night, leaving regulation of the celebrations to the police, with the result that a virtual repeat of the riots of 1876 took place. Around ten o'clock in the evening a crowd began to assemble at the corner of Crown Hill and High Street, throwing stones and lighted fireworks at nearby properties; a shop in North End had its windows smashed, and the Crown Hotel was attacked with stones, a volley in particular being aimed at mounted police who were assembled in its yard. Eventually a charge of police cleared the streets, but the following evening a crowd again assembled, letting off fireworks and throwing stones into the yard of the Crown so that police again had to be called out to disperse them.³² This virtually signalled the end of the Guy Fawkes riots in Croydon, for the following year the police adopted the tactic of deliberately preventing people from congregating in large groups, and this, combined with a resumption of the Duppas Hill celebrations, extinguished the gathering of crowds in the centre of the town.³³ There was one further case in 1884 when (so the story runs) a woman's fit in the High Street prevented the police from using their previous tactics and allowed a large crowd of 'roughs' to assemble, so that they eventually blocked the High Street. Groups of

roughs, some of them dressed as women, invaded shops and intimidated passers-by for money, threatening and abusing those who refused to give.³⁴ The following year the police were especially careful to prevent a recurrence of the disturbances; some guys were paraded and lighted tar barrels kicked around, but there were no serious incidents.³⁵ The Croydon Guy riots were not aimed at the pursuit of particular material ends, but they commonly expressed disapprobation of the local authorities and entailed some form – however rudimentary – of organisation. Provision of guys and costumes might have been through the medium of ‘bonfire gangs’, but if so these were very much informal or secretive groups whose existence was never noted by the local press. As in other forms of nineteenth century crowd action, there were strong currents of antipathy towards the police in these actions, but also signs that this could widen to embrace individual figures such as the chairman of the magistrates’ bench. There were sanctions or forms of action too which had much in common with the rough-musickings and the mobbings of the Salvation Army: jeering, stone-throwing and window-smashing. There were also various symbolic actions: the use of effigies for example to depict particular individuals, the figure who wore the illuminated clock as a mockery of the police, and the blacking of faces and wearing of rags or womens’ clothes (which would help to create anonymity and thus protect the participants).

Symbolism played its part too in the riots which followed the suppression of the October Pleasure Fair in 1868. An earlier attempt at suppression, originally sponsored by two Quakers in 1854 but on its failure being taken up by a much larger group of local inhabitants, had been resisted by magistrates, the police and the Home Office.³⁶ The October Fair was traditionally held on the Fair-field east of the town centre for three days, beginning on 2 October; it was a chartered fair, one of a number which, lying just outside the capital, were increasingly visited by crowds of London residents as the metropolitan fairs were put down. Complaints from the late 1850s in the Croydon press about rowdiness and immoral behaviour at the fair came to a head in 1866, prompting the Local Board of Health to seek permission from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (owners of the charter) to suppress the pleasure fair and relocate the cattle and stock fair.³⁷ The Fair-field was appropriated for use by the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, but in 1868 stalls and booths were set up on an alternative site at Stubbs Mead, a low-lying meadow adjacent to the Old Town area; these were removed by a force of some eighty policemen on 2 October, hooted and jeered by an assembled crowd of onlookers. A larger crowd gathered in North

End outside the police station; dispersed by a charge of police they split into two smaller groups, one group scattering along the High Street to form a jeering mob outside Thomas Edridge's house, the other attacking the same building from behind in Park Lane, only to be dispersed once again by police. The uproar died down over the Saturday and Sunday, but on Monday 5 October a large influx of London residents (who regarded that day as a holiday and had come down for the fair) swelled the numbers of the disaffected. Police constables were dispatched to keep the peace, but this proved impossible to achieve, as the arrival of a van carrying the 'key of the fair' served as a trigger to a full-scale riot. In the course of this numerous houses of local worthies (particularly members of the Local Board of Health) were stoned, and the crowd actually broke into Edridge's house and buffeted Edridge himself before order was restored by the police.³⁸ Heavy rain the next day put paid to any further disturbances. Only one arrest appears to have been made, one Edwin Hedgis who received a good character from two local tradesmen and who was given the severest possible penalty for his offence – a £5 fine with 15s costs, in default of which he would serve two months' imprisonment with hard labour – to act as an example to others. One of the tradesmen who had defended him raised subscriptions to pay for the fine.³⁹

Hostility to the suppression of the October fair – which after all was an event which attracted thousands of local residents as well as visitors from London⁴⁰ – was clearly anticipated by the police and the Board, but not on the scale on which it actually occurred. This was far and away the most serious disturbance of those described in this article; even the Guy Fawkes riots of 1875 and 1876, violent as they were, seem to have been generally more confined to antagonisms towards the police, and not to have involved what amounted to a concerted attack on the property of leading local residents. It is tempting to regard the whole affair as fuelled by the frayed tempers of disappointed Londoners who had come down to Croydon for the fair, but although they surely boosted the numbers of the disaffected, to account for the uproar mostly in terms of their presence would be to ignore two facts in particular: first, most of the visitors are described as having arrived on the Monday, whereas the disturbances had actually begun on the previous Friday evening, the day on which the fair was traditionally due to start; and second, the attack on the property of local worthies, the Board of Health and the chairman of the bench of magistrates, implied local knowledge and an understanding (albeit a crude one) of local politics. After all, the property of J.M. Eastty, a magistrate believed to be in favour of the fair,



Map 2: Sketch map of Croydon town centre, c. 1868 Scale: approx. 6 inches to the mile.

throughout the disturbance 'had enjoyed an immunity from annoyance, owing to his popularity . . .'.⁴¹ There is a further dimension to the local nature of the riots, too, and that is the extent to which the unrest centred on a symbol, the 'key of the fair'. Thomas Frost, the Croydon journalist, left a sketchy account of the traditional opening of the October fair in his nostalgic study of the decline of the metropolitan fairs:

The October fair at Croydon was opened as soon as midnight had sounded by the town clock, or in earlier times, by that of the parish church; the ceremony consisting in the carrying of a key, called the 'key of the fair', through its principal avenues. The booth-keepers were then at liberty to serve refreshments to such customers as might present themselves, generally the idlers who followed the bearer of the key; and long before daylight the field resounded with the bleating of sheep, the barking of dogs, and the shouting of shepherds and drovers.⁴²

The key, then was the formal signal for opening the fair, and hence its potency as a symbol of protest against the town authorities on the night of 5 October 1868. As with the use of the illuminated clock during the Guy Fawkes riots, the key served both as a dramatic focus for popular discontent and as a way of ridiculing or criticising authority. There are signs that the key was not a phenomenon unique to Croydon: at Mitcham, where a long struggle throughout the 1860s and 1870s to suppress the fair ultimately failed, in 1913 the fair was still being opened in the 'traditional way' with 'the great key', which was wooden, about four feet long, painted golden and decorated with roses.⁴³ In the absence of a more detailed description, it can only be assumed that the Croydon key was similar to the Mitcham one in size and in symbolic importance.

Although they do not fall into easily identifiable categories, there were several remaining instances of crowd action in the period which show some affinity with what has already been described. During the general election of 1865 Tory supporters who turned up at the Town Hall to vote were barracked and buffeted by a crowd of working-men who had gathered outside. When the results (victory for both Liberal candidates for East Surrey) were announced, the 'roughs' mobbed the houses of known Conservative supporters in the centre of the town and the Greyhound Hotel in High Street, which had served as the headquarters of the Conservative interest. The police proved to be completely ineffective as they were overpowered and pushed back towards the police station. Later, however, they managed to make several arrests, and within a few hours the town quietened down.⁴⁴ In

1867 a riot occurred at the recently opened Croydon cemetery in West Croydon: in this instance a crowd of some 1,000 to 1,500 (it was estimated) burst open the gates after the gardener had locked them out during a funeral, and attacked the gardener and his son. The riot was discussed by the local Burial Board (the Local Board of Health under another cap), and it transpired that the gardener had been accused by the crowd of 'ill-using' a child, whatever that may mean; however the Board decided not to prosecute as they could not procure witnesses as to the instigators of the riot.⁴⁵ On two recorded occasions, crowds gathered to tear down fences which had been erected across what were believed to be public rights of way. These incidents occurred in 1875 at Upper Norwood, where a crowd repeatedly pulled down fences put up on land belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the belief that a right of way existed there, and in 1888 in South Croydon where a highly organised, disciplined crowd demolished a barrier put up across a genuine right of way by a tenant farmer who wished to prevent cattle straying from his land.⁴⁶

One other incident of crowd action in Croydon remains to be considered, and this is the hostile treatment meted out to the mayor of the town in 1887. This arose out of the celebrations planned in Croydon for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. A committee formed from leading residents by A.T. Layton, mayor for 1887, proposed that subscriptions should be raised to purchase the old archiepiscopal palace (known as the Old Palace) near the parish church, used for almost a century as a bleaching factory, in order to turn it into a museum and library for the town.⁴⁷ The proposal was fraught with difficulties, and likely to be unpopular for two reasons. First, in March of the same year a plan by the council to establish a Free Library in Croydon had been rejected in a poll of the parish; the Jubilee Committee's idea was therefore likely to be interpreted as an attempt to breathe back life into a proposal the ratepayers had rejected.⁴⁸ Second, the Committee consisted mostly of Anglicans, and planned to rescue for the public benefit a building which had strong anglican connotations; Nonconformists were not going to back the idea.⁴⁹ As if to make matters worse, it was rumoured that Layton himself thought that the plan was too ambitious.⁵⁰ Subscriptions did not come in on any significant scale, and the failure of the scheme naturally redounded on Layton's head.⁵¹ A thanksgiving service was held at the parish church on Sunday, 26 June 1887. As the mayor set out for the church from the town hall, he was hooted and hissed by the crowds who had gathered outside; this treatment continued as his carriage made its way to the church, and at one point the mob even

managed to break through the lines of volunteers who had formed up outside the church to protect the procession. Many of the roughs in the crowd had tied bits of rags onto sticks, and waved these in mockery of the mayor.⁵² No arrests were made because, as the *Chronicle* said, no actual assault had been committed, but the occasion was plainly rowdy and could have developed into a riot. Again, along with mobbing and booing, there had been some use of symbolic means of disapproval: the tatters tied to sticks. This does suggest an element of prior organisation, an impression strengthened by the fact that rumours had been heard before the event that the mayor was to be mobbed.⁵³

Before going on to discuss possible explanations of these outbreaks of crowd hostility and their implications, it would be well to reiterate several features of these actions. First, on most occasions there was some sense in which the behaviour of the crowd was preconcerted. In some cases there may even have been prior organisation, though in no case has it been possible to detect exactly who might have been leaders of the crowd. The Guy Fawkes riots, for example, clearly presupposed organised processions and bonfires; although there is no positive evidence for the existence of 'Bonfire Gangs' as described by Storch, there were 'ruffians' who took the lead in begging money, intimidating shopkeepers and letting off fireworks; in 1884 some of these were dressed as women, and even after that date, when the rowdiness of the celebrations subsided, these figures continued to make their appearance for some years.⁵⁴ In other cases organisation was probably minimal, but some element of prior agreement must have occurred; such would have been the barracking of the mayor of Croydon in 1887. Even where a disturbance was apparently spontaneous – as in the mobbing of the Salvation Army – it is possible to establish clear patterns of collective hostility to particular phenomena, traditions of action which were mirrored in other crowd actions in other areas which might be called predictable responses.

Second, the means of showing disapprobation tended to take similar forms. Hooting, booing and shouting were obvious methods; perhaps the word 'method' is even inappropriate here, and something nearer to 'instinct' should be used. Protest was aggressive, confrontational even, and immediate; it did not involve a use of economic leverage, but physical presence, threats and actual damage of property. It also employed symbolic means, however, in the form of effigies, costumed figures and visual jokes and puns (the tatters tied to sticks, for example). Sometimes – and the 'key' of the Croydon fair was a good instance – these symbols were quite potent and could serve as a focus for discontent and a trigger to increased action.

This leads on to a third point, which is that despite the uproar which accompanied these occasions, the level of violence was generally contained within certain limits. Violence was principally aimed against property, and not against the person. On none of the occasions described was anyone actually hurt. On several occasions violence almost overspilled into attacks on the person, but there is no evidence to suggest that if circumstances had not intervened those people involved would actually have been injured. What is striking in this context is the strength of the crowd on many occasions compared to individuals they mobbed. In the riot at Croydon Cemetery in 1867 the gardener who incurred the wrath of the crowd was outnumbered by as many as 1,000 or 1,500 to one, but he came to no harm.⁵⁵ Thomas Edridge, exposed to the fury of the crowd outside his home during the riots which followed the suppression of the October fair, admittedly had his clothes torn and might have been injured if the police and some bystanders had not intervened, but this is only one occasion out of the twenty-two.⁵⁶

A further feature of these actions, and one which might provide some explanation of the reluctance to damage the person, is that they were highly localised. They were so partly in the sense that they invariably occurred within a small area, determined either residentially or by the nature of the occasion. The rough-musickings all occurred in relatively poor, lower class areas dotted around the centre of the town. Other disturbances occurred mostly in the town centre, but within the square half-mile bounded by Park Lane to the east, Old Town to the west, and to the north and south by the limits of the parts of the main thoroughfare called North End and High Street; this was roughly the area which had originally been the medieval manor of Croydon and had been marked by four crosses.⁵⁷ The market area, between Surrey Street and High Street, contained a criss-cross of alleys and streets; by the mid-nineteenth century, as trade and prosperity had moved to the more capacious sites along North End, it was declining socially and economically, increasingly taken over by lodging houses catering for lower class custom.⁵⁸ It was here that most of the large-scale crowd disturbances in the town originated: Surrey Street was repeatedly blocked by crowds during the Guy Fawkes riots. Many of the targets of the crowd were within a few hundred yards of the old market area: the police station was in North End, the residences of Thomas Edridge and Alfred Carpenter just south of the High Street, and the town hall in the High Street itself. If this local concentration ought to have made control of disturbances easier, it also meant that residences of local worthies were all the more easily identifiable, and news – and rumour – could

travel quickly. Thus these disturbances were also localised in the sense that they arose from local issues and concentrated on local targets. Those who offended the crowd might find their windows smashed or themselves burnt in effigy, but it was usually notable local figures who attracted this kind of attention. In 1885 it was rumoured that a certain parliamentary candidate (probably the first mayor of Croydon, Jabez Spencer Balfour) was to be burnt in effigy on the 5 November; in 1892, after Balfour's 'Liberator' Building Society had crashed, both he and a close associate, Alderman Hobbs, were indeed ridiculed in this way.⁵⁹

Given these features of crowd action in Croydon in the late nineteenth century, several questions still remain to be answered before assessing their implications. The most pressing of these is the problem of who was involved in these disturbances. The existing evidence is not overwhelming, but it does point to the participants as being in the main working class men. Eleven cases cited in the Appendix gave rise to cases before the magistrates' bench, with some thirty-one individuals actually being charged; only three of these were women. For seventeen of these individuals a description of occupation was given by the press accounts of the cases (Table 1).

Table 1: Occupation of Croydon crowd participants

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Numbers charged</i>
Apprentice	1
Baker	1
Builder	1
Butterman	1
Carpenter	2
Labourer	8
Shop-keeper*	1
Wheelwright	1 (+1)**
	16 (+1)

* This is Sarah Westfold, described as keeping a fried fish shop.

** One wheelwright was mentioned, but his wife was also charged; the husband's occupation can be taken as a fairly reliable guide to the wife's social situation.

A high proportion – nearly 50% – was therefore described as being 'labourers'; whether the others listed occupied a similar position in the social scale is virtually impossible to establish at this stage. A craftsman described, for example, as a wheelwright might be an

employer of some substance in his own right, or he might work on his own and be relatively poor. As noted before, these disturbances for the most part occurred either in the centre of the town (close to the decaying market area) or in predominantly working class districts of the town. This impression of the participants is reinforced by a consideration of what they were not: middle class estates such as Park Hill and Addiscombe to the east of the town centre were scarcely affected by them, and there is no evidence of any links between them and organised working class movements in the town (the trade unions, friendly societies and working men's clubs).⁶⁰ The participants were constantly referred to in the press as a 'mob', or as 'roughs', terms which surely contain a strong element of social disapprobation.

Some ambiguities also surround the question of motives for these actions. Court proceedings give little indication as to motive, and all that can reasonably be attempted with the remaining evidence is informed speculation. Motives were likely to vary. In some cases 'fun' – the sheer exuberance of flouting authority, for example – must have been uppermost.⁶¹ The Fifth of November riots might fall within this category, although they were also overlain with forms of protest. In other instances what sparked off a disturbance was an action which could be interpreted as intruding upon popular leisure: the riots upon the suppression of the October Fair, for example, or the mobbing of the Croydon Vigilants in 1897. Here the point of the actions was protest: what was asserted was a popular definition of leisure radically different from that which was being imposed upon the lower classes of Croydon. Yet these actions were not all defensive in purpose only, for they could be used to castigate local figures who were not perceived as having threatened popular culture itself but rather as having failed to live up to values which were essentially external to that culture but with which the poor of Croydon identified themselves: such was the mobbing of the mayor in 1887 for his failure to carry through the Jubilee celebrations.⁶² Some cases throw a shaft of light on particular aspects of commonly-held moral attitudes and beliefs of members of the crowd. The consistent record of hostility to the work of open-air missionaries, from the arrival of the Primitive Methodists in Croydon to the parades of the Salvation Army, bears out a particular type of anti-religious sensitivity and suggests that, if the protestors were religious in any sense, their religion was not of the evangelical, nonconfirmist strain. Likewise, the rough-musickings which occurred in and around Croydon cannot be dissociated from popular ideas of morality, but may also have expressed particular, personal hostilities or jealousies which are now almost entirely

submerged beneath the sketchy remaining evidence. At the most then a consideration of possible motives can point to targets – the police, unpopular magistrates, temperance activists, and missionaries – and to a very broad range of popular beliefs; it cannot be much more precise than that.

What of the response of the authorities – does that suggest anything about the nature of the society within which such actions were possible? The attitude of police and magistrates to crowd disturbances was ambiguous. In particular cases brought before the courts magistrates generally took a hard view. Of the thirty-one individuals charged in cases arising from these disturbances, only three were discharged; with two exceptions fines were inflicted on the rest, varying in severity from the 1s fine and 11s costs (with a default of seven days' imprisonment with hard labour) inflicted upon one defendant after the 1865 election riot to the £3 fine and 13s costs (with a default of one month's imprisonment with hard labour) imposed upon another.⁶³ The two exceptions were both sentenced to one month's hard labour each, with no option of paying a fine.⁶⁴ These sentences, however, conceal a rather more complex situation. It was not that magistrates and police at all condoned disturbances, but rather that they were sometimes faced with a choice between punishing directly the offenders or castigating those who knowingly acted in such a way as to cause a hostile crowd to assemble. Thus in 1870 it was one of the mobbed Christian Missionaries who was brought before the bench and fined, accused of having obstructed the thoroughfare and of having caused a large crowd to assemble; Thomas Edridge, the presiding magistrate, commented that: '... if peaceably conducted, open-air meetings did a lot of good . . .', but that they could not be permitted if they led to this kind of disturbance.⁶⁵ It was this kind of sentiment – a fear of the consequences of crowd action combined with a readiness to criticise those who provoked such action – which led Bailey to assert that '... provincial authority retained [an] . . . intimate understanding of the nature of different species of disorder.'⁶⁶ There is no evidence from Croydon to bear out Bailey's assertion that the magistracy were able to manipulate the 'Skeleton Army' in order to contain the Salvation Army, which they saw as a threat to their interests in the drink trade; there is indeed some counter-evidence in that one magistrate at least, Alfred Carpenter, was notorious in the town for his support for the temperance movement.⁶⁷ Nevertheless in 1884 Edridge did criticise the police for protecting a Salvation Army procession, arguing that instead they should have prevented the Salvationists from acting in a way liable to provoke a breach of the peace.⁶⁸ Thus, consistently hard

on those arrested for participating in disturbances, the magistracy were also well aware of the likelihood of such disturbances in certain circumstances. Far from regarding these outbreaks as extraordinary, exceptional phenomena whose incidence could not be predicted, they had a much more sceptical understanding, both of the nature of local society and of the types of action likely to affront the popular consciousness.

The police could also be no less cautious. They were frequently the targets for the ridicule and hostility of the crowd. Yet in contrast with more modern techniques of riot policing, what is surprising in reports of these incidents is the apparent lack of preparation for large-scale crowd action. In the cases of the suppression of the October Fair and the Guy Fawkes celebrations after 1877 they do appear to have arranged for sufficient reinforcements to contain disorder, yet even on these occasions their forces were shown to be woefully inadequate. In 1865, during the rioting at the general election, the local chief of police, Inspector Fraser, had to summon further constables from central London; the town had already quietened down by the time the train of reinforcements was ready to depart for Croydon.⁶⁹ Given the relatively small size of the standing police force at Croydon – probably around fifty men in all – which had to be supplemented at times by local volunteers sworn in as special constables, it is perhaps not surprising that they were usually more concerned to keep the streets clear than to make arrests. During the uproar which followed the suppression of the October Fair, for example, they made only one arrest.⁷⁰ On other occasions they attempted to arrest ringleaders, and remained content with that; this was their strategy in 1865, for example.⁷¹ Their major concern was to contain disorder, to keep the peace, and not to apprehend and punish all offenders. During the 1877 Guy Fawkes celebrations they were praised by the local press for their discretion in keeping their forces out of the immediate view of the crowd, and thus preventing an escalation of violence.⁷²

Four conclusions in particular would seem to flow from the above considerations. The first is that crowd disturbances were not an extraordinary occurrence; though they were not necessarily normal or usual (what rupture of social norms can be regarded as normal?), they occurred sufficiently frequently to indicate both that Croydon was in this period undergoing changes of a kind which could bring groups of inhabitants of the town into conflict with each other or with authority, and that violence of a kind – involving mobbing and often damage to property – was regarded as a conceivable form of reaction. As such crowd violence was a regular feature of the town's life, not a pathological one. Nor is this an impression undermined in any way by

consideration of other towns in the south-east during this period. The researches of Storch and Morgan on Guy Fawkes riots have revealed a mine of evidence on one particular type of disturbance.⁷³ In Dorking the very rough, violent game of Shrovetide football was played in the streets throughout the nineteenth century, with the town's roughs dividing into opposing teams; after several attempts, the police finally managed to suppress the game in 1901.⁷⁴ Nearer the metropolis, at the village of Sydenham in 1887 a crowd of over 1,000 rough musicked and besieged the house of a woman called Motford, a pew-opener at St. Philip's church, who appears to have had a scandalous relationship with the verger of the church.⁷⁵ At Warlingham, south of Croydon, in the late nineteenth century the village still preserved a wild character, memorably recalled later by one old resident:

'The glory of my life was fighting! We all fought here in Warlingham. I have seen many a battle and participated in them to . . . We had a lovely pitched battle here on one occasion; I was there as a spectator. A Red Deer rough gang came up specially for the fray from Croydon one Sunday afternoon. The police could do nothing.'⁷⁶

These are only a few instances of what is gradually emerging as a fuller picture of tumult and disorder in the region in the late nineteenth century. The large-scale crowd actions of the time which grabbed the headlines – such as the Sunday Trading riots of 1855, for example, the reform disturbances of 1866 and 1867, and the Trafalgar Square riots of 1886 and 1887 – were not necessarily exceptional; what was different about them was only their scale and their association with political protest. Late Victorian society in the south, in urbanising towns like Croydon as well as smaller, more stagnant towns like Dorking, presents the spectacle of an expanding, increasingly assertive middle class elite, saturated with a belief in an ordered, deferential society, which was constantly troubled by a wary, at times disorderly and disrespectful portion of the lower classes.

The second conclusion fits closely beside the first, and that is that the disturbances discussed ranged over such a variety of issues, with an equivalent variety of possible motives, that it is not really possible to talk of a 'moral economy' of the crowd in this period in the way that E.P. Thompson and others have described crowd action in the eighteenth century. At best there was an 'open' morality of riot and disorder and not a closed, tight one. These disturbances were symptomatic of specific perceptions of popular rights (for example

fairs, Guy Fawkes, footpaths), and specific sensitivities (such as hostility to open-air preachers), but they were not drawn together in a tight mesh of popular ideology. Whatever radical political force such actions may have carried earlier in the century had been entirely taken over by the organised working class movements. Crowd action in Croydon was not indicative of underlying social conflict: it was not hitched to radical political demands, nor was it directed towards the attainment of specific economic ends; if it had been either of these things, the authorities would hardly have treated it as tamely as they did. On occasions disorder was intense, but it was always short-lived and, ultimately, controllable.

This apparent contradiction of a society in which disturbances were frequent yet restricted in their duration and bereft of long-term consequences is borne out by a third conclusion. All things considered, the response of authority to this sort of disorder was measured and even in some cases tolerant. Individuals were punished if charged, but rarely arrested; police were more concerned to control and direct the crowds than to arrest wrong-doers, and magistrates were content to levy fines and, in a few cases, short prison sentences. Nowhere is there any evidence of a feeling that the penalties prescribed by the law were inadequate for the severity of the offences, or that for anything longer than a few hours on each occasion the whole structure of law and order in the town was breaking down. Only once did a magistrate threaten to take a case he was trying to the county court; all of the cases which arose from these disturbances were tried locally.⁷⁷ Even the local press, which often gave prominence to reports of these disorders, never made anything of them once the first weekly issues reporting them had been printed. Something of the fear or hostility of middle class residents may have filtered through to the mounting level of local criticism of the old market area (which was eventually, in 1892, flattened to make way for a High Street improvement scheme), but more damaging in this context seems to have been disgust at individual vices such as prostitution, gambling and petty crime.⁷⁸

Finally if urban society in the south in the late nineteenth century still witnessed scenes of disorder and collective violence which nevertheless were void of any acute symptoms of profound social conflict, then the picture historians have entertained of exactly how and when English society became 'pacified' may have to be revised. Stevenson's 'transition to order', at least in the south, has to be pushed back later than 1870, perhaps even to the beginning of the present century. The absence of any radical direction to crowd action may possibly be explained by economic and social causes such as a gradual rise in living standards for all classes, or the gradual

restriction (because of improved trade and communications and more modern techniques for packaging food) of the impact of crises of food supply, but the prevalence of a substratum of aggressive behaviour does argue strongly that it took much longer than has often been supposed for other causes – such as the impact of elementary education, improved policing, and a changing market for leisure – to take effect. There was at least a decline in the intensity of the violence associated with these crowd actions, with the worst occurring in the 1860s and 1870s, but still by the 1890s the disorderly crowd had not disappeared from town life in the south of England.

Appendix

<i>Year</i>	<i>Incident</i>	<i>Location</i>
1865	Riotous conduct at election	Central Croydon
1867	Riot at cemetery funeral	West Croydon
1868	Riots on suppression of fair	Central Croydon
1870	Disruption of Christian Missionaries	Central Croydon
1870	Rough-musicking	Addiscombe/East Croydon
1874	Rough-musicking	Central Croydon
1875	Fences torn down	Upper Norwood
1875	Guy Fawkes riot	Central Croydon
1876	Rough-musicking	East Croydon
1876	Guy Fawkes riot	Central Croydon
1877	Guy Fawkes disturbances	Central Croydon
1878	Guy Fawkes disturbances	Central Croydon
1879	Rough musicking	East Croydon
1879	Guy Fawkes disturbances	Central Croydon
1881	Rough musicking	South Croydon
1884	Disruption of Salvation Army	Central Croydon
1884	Guy Fawkes disturbances	Central Croydon
1887	Mobbing of mayor	Central Croydon
1887	Disruption of Salvation Army	Thornton Heath
1888	Disruption of Salvation Army	Upper Norwood
1888	Fences torn down	South Croydon
1897	Mobbing of temperance orators	Central Croydon

Notes

¹ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Pelican Ed., 1980), p. 443.

² G. Rudé, *The Crowd in History 1730–1848* (Oxford, 1966), p. 147.

³ J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700–1870* (1979), p. 275.

⁴ See for example: D. Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England. The Black Country 1835–1860* (1977); G. Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (1983); R.D. Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England* (1982); D.C. Richter, *Riotous Victorians* (1981); J.E. King, “We Could Eat the Police!”: Popular Violence in the North Lancashire Cotton Strike of 1878’, *Victorian Studies*, XXVIII (1985).

⁵ V. Bailey, ‘Salvation Army Riots, the “Skeleton Army” and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town’, in A.P. Donajgradski (ed.), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (1977); J. Etherington, ‘The Lewes Bonfire Riots of 1847’, *Sussex History*, I (1978); R. Swift, ‘Food Riots in Mid-Victorian Exeter’, *Southern History*, II (1980); R.D. Storch, “Please to Remember the Fifth of November”: Conflict, Solidarity and Public Order in *Southern England, 1815–1900*, in Storch, *Popular Culture*; G. Morgan, ‘The Guildford Guy Riots’, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LXXVI (1985); C. Hare, ‘The Skeleton Army and the Bonfire Boys, Worthing, 1884’, *Folklore*, xcix (1988).

⁶ Complete runs of these newspapers may be consulted on micro-film in the Croydon Public Library, though the *Croydon Review* is still stored on open shelves in the local history collection.

⁷ C(roydon) P(ublic) L(ibrary), papers of the Croydon Primitive Methodist Circuit, manuscript ‘Notes from the Journal of Joseph Odell, 1868–1869’; see also the correspondence initiated by the Rev J.T. Bagnall, Pastor of Laud Street Chapel, in 1900 to celebrate the chapel’s fiftieth anniversary.

⁸ Minutes of the Elders’ Meetings, Croydon Branch of the Christian Mission 1868–1871; originals are in the collection of the Salvation Army Heritage Centre, Judd Street.

⁹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 28 August 1875.

¹⁰ *Croydon Chronicle*, 11 May 1895.

¹¹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 31 May 1873.

¹² E.P. Thompson, “‘Rough Music’: Le Charivari anglais’, *Annales: Economies, Sociétés et Civilisations*, XXVII (1972).

¹³ *Croydon Advertiser*, 8 July 1870.

¹⁴ *Croydon Chronicle*, 22 August 1874.

¹⁵ *Croydon Chronicle*, 1 October 1881.

¹⁶ Windows were smashed in 1870 and 1881, and effigies burnt in 1870.

¹⁷ *Croydon Chronicle*, 29 July 1882 – the earliest reference I have found.

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the activities of the ‘Skeleton Army’, as the mobs which disrupted Salvation Army meetings were sometimes called, see Bailey, Donajgradski (ed.), *Social Control*. The *Croydon Review* early in 1883 implied that reactions to the Army in Croydon had already taken a hostile turn: ‘The Salvation Army has established a regiment here, and as a natural sequence, a Skeleton Army has sprung up.’; and went on to recommend that General Booth discontinue street processions, for then ‘... the Skeleton Army would die a natural death, and the proceedings of the Salvationists would wear more the aspects of religion than they do

at present'. In the context of a long tradition of hostility to street evangelising, the use of the word 'natural' twice in the one paragraph is striking. *Croydon Review*, February 1883.

²⁰ *Croydon Chronicle*, 26 February 1870.

²¹ *Croydon Advertiser*, 16 January 1897.

²² *Croydon Advertiser*, 22 May 1897.

²³ *Croydon Advertiser*, 29 May 1897.

²⁴ See for example *Croydon Advertiser*, 11 November 1871.

²⁵ Storch, Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture*; Morgan, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LXXVI.

²⁶ Storch, Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture*, p. 92.

²⁷ *Croydon Chronicle*, 13 November 1875.

²⁸ *Croydon Chronicle*, 11 November 1876.

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ *Croydon Advertiser*, 20 October 1877.

³¹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 9 November 1878.

³² *Croydon Chronicle*, 8 November 1879.

³³ *Croydon Advertiser*, 6 November 1880.

³⁴ *Croydon Advertiser*, 8 November 1884.

³⁵ *Croydon Chronicle*, 7 November 1885.

³⁶ H. Cunningham, 'The Metropolitan Fairs: A Case Study in the Social Control of Leisure', in Donajkowski (ed.), *Social Control*, pp. 172-173.

³⁷ *Croydon Chronicle*, 5 October 1867.

³⁸ The whole of this account has been taken from the *Croydon Chronicle*, 10 October 1868; the other local worthies who are specifically mentioned as having had their property damaged were Dr Alfred Carpenter and R.W. Fuller Esq., members of the Local Board of Health, and John Drummond Esq., a solicitor who was vestry clerk for the Parish of Croydon; a Mr Walton who was also mentioned was probably Richard Walton, a High Street grocer and tea-merchant who was active in local Conservative causes and had been churchwarden at the parish church for several years.

³⁹ John Allsop, a grocer who was a controversial member of the Board of Guardians and later, briefly before his death in 1872, himself a member of the Local Board of Health. *Croydon Chronicle*, 17 October 1868.

⁴⁰ The *Croydon Chronicle* in 1865 reckoned that some 30,000 people were assembled in the field at any one time (entry for 7 October 1865); in 1859 they had estimated that 24,000 people had travelled from London for the fair over three days (entry for 8 October 1859); a very limited measure was the fact that in 1858 the London City Mission distributed over 8,000 leaflets at the fair (*Croydon Chronicle*, 9 October 1858).

⁴¹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 10 October 1868. Easty was not the only magistrate opposed to suppression; J.W. Sutherland, the owner of an estate at Coombe in the south of the parish and outside the town, also was: in 1863 he had opposed a 600 signature petition for the suppression of the fair with the words 'He for one should not consent to the suppression of the fair, as it was a recreation for the rural population, and he objected to the puritannical spirit that was prevailing in the town.' *Croydon Chronicle*, 3 October 1863.

⁴² Thomas Frost, *The Old Showmen and the London Fairs* (1874), p. 16.

⁴³ *The Morning Post*, quoted in A.R. Wright and T.E. Lones, *British Calendar Customs, England, III: Fixed Festivals, June to December* (1940), p. 47.

⁴⁴ *Croydon Chronicle*, 22 July 1865.

⁴⁵ Account of the meeting of the Local Board of Health, *Croydon Chronicle*, 2 February 1867.

⁴⁶ *Croydon Advertiser*, 17 July 1875; *Croydon Chronicle*, 25 August 1888.

- ⁴⁷ *Croydon Advertiser*, 23 April 1887.
- ⁴⁸ *Croydon Advertiser*, 26 March 1887.
- ⁴⁹ One member of the committee recommended that for this reason the parish church should acquire the Old Palace. See *Croydon Advertiser*, 23 April 1887.
- ⁵⁰ Loc. cit.; he specifically had to deny this charge.
- ⁵¹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 25 June 1887.
- ⁵² *Croydon Chronicle*, 2 July 1887.
- ⁵³ Loc. cit.
- ⁵⁴ See for example *Croydon Chronicle*, 6 November 1886; for bonfire gangs, see Storch, Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture*, pp. 74–78.
- ⁵⁵ *Croydon Chronicle*, 2 February 1867.
- ⁵⁶ *Croydon Chronicle*, 10 October 1888.
- ⁵⁷ J.O. Pelton, *Memorials of Croydon Within the Crosses* (Croydon, 1926), pp. 32–34.
- ⁵⁸ For an account of the deterioration, demolition and improvement of the area in the late nineteenth century, see R.C.W. Cox, 'The Old Centre of Croydon: Victorian Decay and Redevelopment', in A.M. Everitt (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (1973).
- ⁵⁹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 7 November 1885; also 12 November 1892.
- ⁶⁰ Some information on working class organisations in Croydon in this period can be gleaned from M. Tichelar, 'Labour Politics in Croydon 1880 to 1914' (unpub. B.A. Thesis, Thames Polytechnic, 1975).
- ⁶¹ Richter suggests that, in the face of the relative shortage of forms of public amusement, the 'simple love of disorder' was a possible motive for rioting. D.C. Richter, *Riotous Victorians* (1981), p. 165.
- ⁶² *Croydon Chronicle*, 2 July 1887.
- ⁶³ *Croydon Chronicle*, 29 July 1865.
- ⁶⁴ One of these was also a participant in the 1865 election riot, loc. cit.; the other was the alleged murderer and suicide, Esther Jackson, *Croydon Advertiser*, 8 July 1876.
- ⁶⁵ *Croydon Chronicle*, 26 February 1870.
- ⁶⁶ V. Bailey, 'Salvation Army Riots, the Skeleton Army' and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town', in Donajkowski (ed.), *Social Control*, p. 249.
- ⁶⁷ See for example *Temperance Progress . . . Being a Report of the Speeches Delivered . . . at the Temperance Congress held at Croydon in 1886* (1886); Dr Carpenter was chairman of the Executive Council of the Congress.
- ⁶⁸ *Croydon Chronicle*, 19 January 1884.
- ⁶⁹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 22 July 1865.
- ⁷⁰ *Croydon Chronicle*, 10 October 1868, and 17 October 1868.
- ⁷¹ *Croydon Chronicle*, 22 July 1865.
- ⁷² *Croydon Chronicle*, 10 November 1877.
- ⁷³ Storch, Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture*; Morgan, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LXXVI.
- ⁷⁴ J.N. Morris, 'Unearthing Surrey Folklore', *Surrey History*, III (1986), pp. 118–121.
- ⁷⁵ *Croydon Chronicle*, 22 October 1887.
- ⁷⁶ Arthur Beadell, 'Memories of old Warlingham', in *Caterham and Warlingham: A Jubilee History* (Warlingham 1977), p. 30.
- ⁷⁷ *Croydon Advertiser* 11 November 1876; the case arose out of the Guy Fawkes disturbances, and Edridge intended to use his threat to prevent further rioting in the town.
- ⁷⁸ R.C.W. Cox, 'Urban Development and Redevelopment in Croydon 1835–1940' (unpub. Phd. thesis, Leicester Univ. 1970), pp. 118–170.