

Prostitution in Cardiff, 1900-1959

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This thesis examines prostitution in Cardiff from 1900 until the ratification of the 1959 Street Offences Act. Drawing from geographical theories, the opening chapters detail how the spaces of prostitution were products of interrelations: commercial sex intertwined with everyday spaces and spatial uses, while representations of 'place' embedded prostitution within a temporal moral geography of wider 'problem' behaviours. The thesis then demonstrates the limits to what can be revealed about prostitutes' lives, reading against stereotypes to reveal patterns of migration and poverty. However, we are faced with significant obstacles to uncovering who sold sex in the interwar years, as debates over prostitution became embroiled in racial anxieties over Butetown. While emerging in response to the First World War and concerns over immigration, this connection was drawn from broader imperial hierarchies of race through which sexual behaviour represented a marker of 'difference'. Notions of racial difference were (re)produced within particular contexts, and fears over the involvement of black and Maltese men in Cardiff's prostitution predated the emergence of similar concerns in London. The final third of the thesis explores regulation from three angles: policing, governmentality, and materiality. It reveals how regulation was exercised through a more complex configuration of actor-networks than the police and the law, being driven by temporal discourses linked to the shifting priorities of Nonconformist politics, wartime concerns, and interwar social hygiene and immigration controls. Urban planning also shaped the spatial regulation of prostitution, particularly in the 1950s as part of wider attempts at urban regeneration and zoning. Building on insights into materiality in urban history, this study demonstrates how material environments also functioned as a diffuse form of agency, being an element of a recursive relationship between urban development and policing that shaped both the spatial uses of prostitutes and the ways in which their behaviours were regulated.

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Abbreviations

AMSH	Association for Moral and Social Hygiene
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
BCWMM	British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine
BSHC	British Social Hygiene Council
CD Acts	Contagious Diseases Acts (1864, 1866, 1869)
CDCU	Cardiff and District Citizens' Union
CLAA	Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885, 1912)
COS	Charity Organization Society
CWPL	Cardiff Women's Purity League
DoRA	Defence of the Realm Act (1914)
GWR	Great Western Railway
LCP	League of Coloured Peoples
MOH	Medical Officer of Health
NCCVD	National Council for Combatting Venereal Diseases
NVA	National Vigilance Association
SOA	Street Offences Act (1959)
SOC	Street Offences Committee
<i>SWDN</i>	<i>South Wales Daily News</i>
SWMVA	South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association
TPCA	Town and Police Clauses Act (1847)

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Introduction

In 1908, amidst a period of significant public censure from the press and local vigilance groups, Cardiff's chief constable wrote to the Lord Mayor to provide an overview of his force's activities regarding prostitution. In this report, William McKenzie claimed that

the low class prostitute [lives] hand-to-mouth [and is] almost invariably a drunkard, and frequently a thief. Who has no fixed abode and no clothing beyond what she is wearing. Who is constantly appearing before the Bench, and who spends a large part of her time in gaol.¹

This image of the women who sold sex in Cardiff exhibited some of the main stereotypes associated with the 'common prostitute', a term which, while derived from legal discourse, had distinct class associations that connected female sexuality and commercial sex with degeneration, drunkenness, and petty crime. Yet by the interwar years a different picture of the prostitute – and prostitution – had emerged. In a report for the Home Office, Chief Constable James Wilson made the following statement with regards to dockland prostitution:

It is not desired that you should assume that the Port of Cardiff did not have brothels many years before some of the Maltese settled in Cardiff but it is desired that you should appreciate that there is a vast difference between the old style brothel which was a house used by prostitutes for their own purposes and a so-called café in which prostitutes and immoral women under the guise of waitresses and dance partners cater for the sexual licence of the floating population.²

¹ National Archives (TNA) HO/45/10354/129/817, Report from Chief Constable William McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1908.

² Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/7/7, Report from Chief Constable James Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930.

In contrast to McKenzie's concerns over 'low class' prostitutes associated with petty crime, the café prostitutes detailed in Wilson's report were said to have been coerced from 'respectable' homes in the South Wales valleys and subsequently exploited by Maltese pimps, who targeted a client base of 'coloured' seafarers. Why did this depiction of prostitution so markedly differ from that of the Edwardian period? To what extent did this representational shift from 'low class' prostitutes to the 'café girl' reflect the practices of those who sold sex? Why did Maltese and 'coloured' men come to occupy such a central role in the perception of Cardiff's prostitution? Was the dockland, as Wilson suggested, the main space of Cardiff's prostitution? How did successive chief constables seek to regulate prostitution?

Scholarship on prostitution has flourished since the 1980s, with work on Britain primarily examining the nineteenth century through themes of regulation and repression, venereal disease, class, and representation.³ In focusing on intersections of class and gender, historians have also used the figure of the prostitute as a means for developing deeper understandings of Victorian sexual attitudes. Through the lens of the Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts, Judith Walkowitz's seminal *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980) refuted contemporary myths surrounding the prostitute's 'outcast' status, and revealed how prostitution was often a transitory stage for working-class women.⁴ As a result, prostitution also became a means to study broader 'connections between ideology, public policy, and social change', including Victorian feminist and moral politics, the repeal of the CD Acts and the

³ For an overview of the global scholarship that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, see Timothy Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity', *American Historical Review*, 104:1 (1999), 117-141.

⁴ Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999). Also see Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field": Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Feminist Studies*, 1:3/4, (1973), 73-106; Walkowitz, 'Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 13:1 (1982), 79-93. Also see Frances Finnegan's study of York: *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

passing of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act.⁵ While Walkowitz's early structural approach has influenced others to examine questions of class, poverty, regulation and reform, research in the 1990s responded to the linguistic turn through exploring themes of representation.⁶ This can be seen in studies such as Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight* (1992), which broke with the structural methods of her landmark 1980 study to examine how prostitutes were represented and how they provided a metaphor for the dangers and 'delights' of urbanity.⁷ Work on the nineteenth century has thus focused on prostitution as a means to explore modernity more broadly, and has explored commercial sex as a source of urban pleasure, an entrepreneurial profession, and a source of disease, moral danger, and degeneration.⁸ By doing so, these studies have been fundamental in shifting prostitution from a peripheral topic to one at the centre of urban history.

⁵ Also see Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001); Philippa Levine, 'Rough Usage: Prostitution, Law and the Social Historian', in Adrian Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and its Interpretation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 266-292; Tom Crook, 'Evil in Question: The Victorian Social and the Politics of Prostitution, 1830-1900', in Tom Crook et al (eds), *Evil, Barbarism and Empire: Britain and Abroad, c.1830-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 33-53.

⁶ For studies influenced by Walkowitz's early work, see Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Bartley, 'Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies' Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887-1914', *Women's History Review*, 7:1 (1998), 37-60; Catherine Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886: Deviance, Surveillance and Morality* (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2013); Lee, 'Prostitution and Victorian Society Revisited: The Contagious Diseases Acts in Kent', *Women's History Review*, 21:2 (2012), 301-316.

⁷ Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, [1992] 1994). Also see Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990); Barbara Littlewood and Linda Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes and Wayward Girls: Dangerous Sexualities of Working Class Women in Victorian Scotland', *Gender and History*, 3:2 (1991), 160-175; Nina Attwood, *The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Mary Spongberg, *Feminising Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth Century Medical Discourse* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997).

⁸ See Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History'. In addition to works that have made prostitution their primary focus, commercial sex has also been a prominent aspect of studies examining a range of broader topics, notably nineteenth-century feminism, drink, disease, and empire. See, for example: Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830, Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2000); Lesley Hall, 'Venereal Disease and Society in Britain, from the Contagious Diseases Acts to the National Health Service', in Roger Davidson and Lesley Hall (eds), *Sex, Sin, and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society Since 1870* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 120-136; Hall, 'Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth Century Britain', *Gender and History*, 16:1 (2004), 36-56; David Beckenham, 'Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool's Licensed Premises, 1860-1914', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102:3 (2012), 647-666; Philippa Levine, 'Consistent Contradictions: Prostitution and Protective Labour Legislation in Nineteenth-Century England', *Social History*, 19:1 (1994), 17-35; Levine, 'Rereading the 1890s: Venereal Disease as "Constitutional Crisis" in Britain and British India', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55: 3 (1996), 585-612; Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing*

However, while there is a rich body of work on nineteenth-century prostitution, we know less about prostitution in the twentieth century.⁹ Studies on London have recently begun to break with this trend, focusing on issues of class, policing, and criminalization. Julia Laite's critical work documents the increasing criminalization of 'common prostitutes' in the twentieth century, a process which also informed prostitutes' strategies and created new sites of commercial sex, including rented flats, sub-lets, and massage parlours. In looking at the effects of criminalization and repressive police action towards street prostitutes, Laite has countered Stefan Slater's claims over the concentration or 'containment' of prostitution within particular districts. Rather than being characterized by a discernible 'red light' district, her work suggests that prostitution instead took the form of a 'complex urban geography', with women utilizing new spaces and technologies, such as cars and telephones, to evade arrest.¹⁰ Different patterns have been observed for Scotland. In Louise Settle's work we see how there was no strong demand for repression in Edinburgh and Glasgow, with low arrest rates and an apathetic response from the cities' police forces. Nonetheless, when police officers did make overt attempts to apply solicitation laws, prostitutes in these two Scottish cities, as in London, sought out new spaces and clandestine methods to evade arrest.¹¹

Veneral Disease in the British Empire (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); Levine, "A Multitude of Unchaste Women": Prostitution in the British Empire', *Journal of Women's History*, 15:4 (2004), 159-163.

⁹ Twentieth-century legal developments are covered in Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003).

¹⁰ Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Stefan Slater, 'Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959', *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357. Also see the following articles by Slater, which focus on class and the ethnicity of London's prostitution in addition to law and policing: Slater, 'Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London', *The London Journal*, 32:1 (2007), 53-74; Slater, 'Prostitutes and Popular History: Notes on the "Underworld", 1918-1939', *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 13:1 (2009), 27-48; Slater, 'Lady Astor and the Ladies of the Night: The Home Office, the Metropolitan Police and the Politics of the Street Offences Committee, 1927-28', *Law and History Review*, 30:2 (2012), 533-573; Slater, 'Street Disorder in the Metropolis, 1905-39', *Law, Crime and History*, 1 (2012), 59-91.

¹¹ Louise Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland: Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Settle, 'The Social Geography of Prostitution in Edinburgh, 1900-1939', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33 (2013), 234-259; Settle, 'The Kosmo Club Case: Clandestine Prostitution during the Interwar Period', *Twentieth Century British History*, 25:4 (2014), 562-584.

Policing, repression, and geography have thus been prominent themes in the burgeoning literature on prostitution in London and Scotland. Yet these studies have raised issues that require further exploration.¹² For instance, while Laite makes a valuable argument over how repressive police action influenced the use of space by those selling sex, her study does not suggest how prostitution might be explored from a spatial perspective, and how this might lead to greater understandings of the ‘complex urban geography’ with which prostitution intertwined.¹³ This is also evident in Slater’s argument regarding policies of containment, which hints towards the cultural construct of ‘place’ as shaping police activity, yet does not expand how concepts of ‘space’ and ‘place’ might be used to understand the uses of space by prostitutes and police constables, and the manner in which prostitution’s places were perceived.¹⁴ A greater engagement with theory is thus required to fully understand the relationship between space and prostitution. Additionally, Laite makes a valid argument over the need to counter overemphasis on ‘commercial sex from the point of view of the middle class’, by moving beyond the legal and cultural stereotype of the ‘common prostitute’ to examine how women who sold sex were also ‘ordinary citizens’.¹⁵ In doing so, Laite adopts a similar approach to Walkowitz’s *Prostitution and Victorian Society* in using prostitution as a means to reveal broader contours of class, gender and inequality. However, there is scope for

¹² For a different approach to the spaces of prostitution see the work of historical geographer Philip Howell, whose work examines the relationship between geography and regulation in imperial contexts: Howell, ‘A Private Contagious Diseases Act: Prostitution and Public Space in Victorian Cambridge’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26: 3 (2000), 376-402; Howell, ‘Prostitution and racialized sexuality: the regulation of prostitution in Britain and the British Empire before the Contagious Diseases Acts’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18 (2000), 321-339; Howell, ‘Venereal Disease and the Politics of Prostitution in the Irish Free State’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 33: 131 (2003), 320-341; Howell, ‘Race, space and the regulation of prostitution in Colonial Hong Kong’, *Urban History*, 31:2 (2004), 229-248; Howell, ‘Sexuality, sovereignty and space: Law, government and the geography of prostitution in colonial Gibraltar’, *Social History*, 29:4 (2004), 444-464; Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Howell et al, ‘Managed Zones for Sex Workers in Liverpool: Contemporary Proposals, Victorian Parallels’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33:2 (2008), 233-250.

¹³ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18-19.

¹⁴ Slater, ‘Containment’, 335.

¹⁵ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 11. Also see Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints: Prostitutes and Legal Identity in Early Twentieth-Century London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 65:1 (2008), 96-116.

further examination of our approach to documenting those who sold sex. Given that we are limited to the stories of a small number of women who aroused concern or were linked to prominent, and thus atypical, court cases, there are clear limits to our ability to reveal the lives of prostitutes beyond the mediated images that we are presented with. The contrast between repression in London and police apathy in Scotland also raises question over how typical – or atypical – criminalization was of other urban centres in England and Wales. While London saw the highest proportion of arrests in England and Wales and was frequently cited in contemporary legal debates and reports, this does not mean that prostitution was less prevalent or of less concern elsewhere.¹⁶ As such, we cannot say with certainty that twentieth-century London was ‘the symbolic and actual epicentre of prostitution in the nation’.¹⁷

To address these gaps we need to turn our attention to prostitution in other cities and regions. While there are a number of regional studies that focus on other parts of Britain – such as Walkowitz’s work on Plymouth and Southampton, Bartley’s work on Birmingham, and the work of Davidson, Davis, and Settle on Scotland – we know little of the history of prostitution, and sexuality in general, in Cardiff and Wales.¹⁸ Despite not being granted official capital status

¹⁶ As Louise Jackson has observed with regards to policing in general, ‘[m]ore is known about the sexual economy of Metropolitan London over UK urban centres as it tended to feature in social surveys and parliamentary inquiries’, meaning that overemphasizing metropolitan trends risks obscuring different patterns of regulation in other parts of Britain. Louise Jackson, *Women Police: Gender, Welfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 174. Likewise, Carolyn Steedman has argued that evidence from ‘provincial’ contexts demonstrates how the ‘Metropolitan situation and the Metropolitan policeman were, for the main part, quite irrelevant to the policing of provincial communities’. Carolyn Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London, Boston, MA, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1994), 9.

¹⁷ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18. Similar concerns over the overemphasis on London have been raised in relation to geographical and sociological studies of prostitution. See Philip Hubbard, *Sex and the City: Geographies of Prostitution in the Urban West* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 11.

¹⁸ See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; Bartley, *Prostitution*; Roger Davidson, ‘Measuring “the social evil”: The Incidence of Venereal Disease in Interwar Scotland’, *Medical History*, 37:2 (1993), 167-186; Davidson, ‘“A Scourge to be firmly gripped”: The Campaign for VD controls in Interwar Scotland’, *Social History of Medicine*, 6:2 (1993), 213-235; Davidson, *Dangerous Liaisons: A Social History of Venereal Disease in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 2000); Davidson, ‘“The Sexual State”: Sexuality and Scottish Governance, 1950-1980’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 13:4 (2004), 500-521; Davidson and Gayle Davis, ‘“A Festering Sore on the Body of Society”: The Wolfenden Committee and Female Prostitution in Mid-Twentieth-Century Scotland’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24:1 (2004), 80-98; Davidson and Davis, ‘“A Field for Private Members”: The Wolfenden Committee and Scottish Homosexual Law Reform, 1950-67’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 15:2 (2004), 174-201; Settle, ‘“The Social Geography

until 1955, Cardiff had served as the *de facto* first city of Wales since the Edwardian period, when the port dominated the British coal export trade, ranking alongside Liverpool and London in terms of tonnage cleared.¹⁹ In these years, Cardiff also became home to a number of national institutions, and was often held up as the ‘metropolis of Wales’ or the ‘Chicago of Wales’.²⁰ Cardiff was, therefore, both the primary Welsh urban centre, and an important British port. It had also developed a particular notoriety for social issues, which drew the interest of national journalists, vigilance groups, and prominent social reformers.²¹

While Neil Evans’s work has explored the social problems of Victorian urbanization and racial tensions following the First World War, we know less about race and prostitution in

of Prostitution in Edinburgh, 1900-1939’; Settle, ‘The Kosmo Club Case’; Helen Smith, *Masculinity, Class and Same-Sex Desire in Industrial England, 1895-1957* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

The sole publication focusing specifically on prostitution in Wales is Lesley Hulonce, ‘“A Social Frankenstein in Our Midst”: Inciting Interpretations of Prostitution in Late Nineteenth Century Swansea’, *Llafur*, 9:4 (2007), 47-60. Likewise, only Russell Davies’ *Secret Sins: Sex, Violence, and Society in Carmarthenshire 1870-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996) can be considered as a piece of Welsh history dedicated to the study of sexuality. Despite some significant contributions to Welsh women’s history in the work of Deirdre Beddoe and Angela John, gender has frequently been overlooked as a category of analysis. See Paul O’Leary, ‘Masculine Histories: Gender and the Social History of Modern Wales’, *Welsh History Review*, 22:2 (2004), 252-277. Welsh historians have also only very recently begun to pose questions around homosexuality: Daryl Leeworthy, ‘Hidden From View? Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Wales’, *Llafur*, 11:4 (2015), 97-119; Leeworthy, ‘For Our Common Cause: Sexuality and Left Politics in South Wales, 1967-1985’, *Contemporary British History*, 30:2 (2016), 260-280. For some critics, a lack of attention on marginalized people, such as prostitutes and sexual minorities, has been a result of a neglect of theory in Welsh history since the linguistic turn. See arguments in the following articles by Andy Croll: ‘“People’s Remembrancers” in a Post-Modern Age: Contemplating the Non-Crisis of Welsh Labour History’, *Llafur*, 8:1 (2000), 5-17; Croll, ‘Holding onto History: Modern Welsh Historians and the Challenge of Postmodernism’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38:2 (2003), 323-332. An exception to this is Croll’s own Foucauldian-influenced *Civilizing the Urban: Popular Culture and Public Space in Merthyr, c. 1870-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000). The early-2000s, in which Croll challenged Welsh history’s disengagement from theory, might also be seen as a moment of short-lived revisionism in Welsh labour history. See arguments in Mike Lieven, ‘A “new history” of the south Wales coalfield?’, *Llafur*, 8:3 (2002), 89-106; Joe England, ‘Working class culture and the Labour movement in south Wales reconsidered’, *Llafur*, 8:3 (2002), 117-130; and the response in Dai Smith, ‘“Excesses of the past” or “stopping the narrative”’, *Llafur*, 8:4 (2003), 107-114.

¹⁹ See Martin Johnes, ‘Cardiff: The Making and Development of the Capital City of Wales’, *Contemporary British History*, 26:4 (2012), 509-528.

²⁰ See Martin Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977); Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27: 3 (1982), 290-323; Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City: The Middle Class, Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff’, *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1983), 351-387; Beth Jenkins, ‘“Queen of the Bristol Channel Ports”: The Intersection of Gender and Civic Identity in Cardiff, c.1880-1914’, *Women’s History Review*, 23:6 (2014), 903-921.

²¹ This included George Sims, who was particularly fascinated by prostitution in the central slum area, and interracial relationships in seamen’s boarding houses in the dockland, Butetown. George Sims, *Human Wales: A Series of Articles Specially Written for and Reprinted from the Western Mail and Evening Express* (Cardiff and London: Western Mail, [n.d. ca. 1909])

Cardiff after 1919.²² The 1919 race riots have also drawn the attention of scholars concerned with miscegenation fears, which has revealed how perceptions of sexual relations between white women and black men fuelled racial conflict in Cardiff.²³ Butetown became a more prominent concern after 1919, when local authorities and the Home Office felt that interracial sexual relationships held the potential for further rioting. These fears drew closer associations with prostitution in the late-1920s through debates over Maltese-run café-brothels, which attracted wide-ranging interest. Attention on matters relating to prostitution in Cardiff was transnational, not being limited to British newspapers or groups such as the British Social Hygiene Council, but also covered by French authors and journalists, and the work of American journalists and sociologists.²⁴ As such, Cardiff was a focal point for discussions of connections between race and sex for much of the first half of the twentieth century, which questions the extent to which London had become, as Laite suggests, ‘the reference point for national and international commentators on British prostitution’.²⁵

²² In addition to Neil Evans’ aforementioned works, also see Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919’, *Llafur*, 3:1 (1980), 5-29; Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a documentary postscript’, *Llafur*, 3:4 (1983), 76-88; Evans, ‘Regulating the reserve army: Arabs, blacks, and the local state in Cardiff, 1919-45’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 68-115; Evans, ‘Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: A Comparative Perspective’, *Llafur*, 54 (1991), 5-26; Evans, ‘Across the Universe: Racial Violence and the Post-War Crisis in Imperial Britain, 1919-25’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 13:2-3 (1994), 59-88; Evans, ‘Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826-2002’, in Charlotte Williams et al, *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 93-108; Evans, ‘Region, Nation, Globe: Roles, Representations and Urban Space in Cardiff, 1839-1928’ in Andreas Fahrmeir and Elfie Rembold (eds), *Representation of British Cities: The Transformation of Urban Space 1700-2000* (Berlin and Vienna: Philo, 2003), 108-129; Evans, ‘“Sea Wall against Disease: Port Health in Cardiff, 1850-1950”, in Pamela Michael and Charles Webster (eds), *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 78-97. On race in Cardiff, also see Glenn Jordan, ‘Images of Tiger Bay: Did Howard Spring tell the truth?’, *Llafur*, 5: 1 (1988), 53-59; Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon, ‘“When the Subalterns Speak, What Do They Say? Radical Cultural Politics in Cardiff Docklands’, in Paul Gilroy, et al (eds), *Without Guarantees: In Honour of Stuart Hall* (London: Verso, 2000), 165-180; Jordan and Weedon, ‘The Construction and Negotiation of Racialized Borders in Cardiff Docklands’, in Jane Aaron et al, *Gendering Border Studies* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 222-242; Joanne Cayford, ‘In search of “John Chinaman”’: Press Representations of the Chinese in Cardiff, 1906-1911’, *Llafur*, 5: 4 (1991), 37-50; Veronica Summers, *Irish Life and Criminality in Perspective: A Study of Cardiff, c. 1840-1920* (Unpublished MA dissertation: Open University, 1999); Summers, ‘Criminals or Scapegoats? The Irish and Crime in Nineteenth-Century Cardiff’, *Llafur*, 8:2 (2001), 63-74.

²³ Lucy Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War’, *Gender and History*, 17:1 (2005), 29-61; Laura Tabili, ‘“Women of a Very Low Type”: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain’, in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-90.

²⁴ For example: *Western Mail*, 6 October 1927; *South Wales Echo*, 16 November 1927; J. A. Rogers, ‘The American Negro in Europe’, *American Mercury*, 20:77 (1930), 1-10;

²⁵ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18.

This thesis addresses lacunae in both the history of prostitution in Britain and Wales by examining prostitution in Cardiff between 1900 and the passing of the 1959 Street Offences Act, which marked a defining moment in the regulation of commercial sex in Britain in response to sensational depictions of London's street prostitution in national tabloids.²⁶ Historians have explored in depth how the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, enacted in response to public pressure following W. T. Stead's sensational 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', led to a repressive 'crusade' against brothels in London.²⁷ However, this Act had less of an impact in Cardiff where prostitution 'dropped from prominence' until the Edwardian years, which is where this study will begin.²⁸ While Walkowitz has claimed that, after 1885, a social purity-led repression of lodging-house brothels was carried out across British urban centres, Cardiff reveals a different pattern.²⁹ Local social purity groups did place pressure on the city's force to pursue more repressive action, but with regards to streetwalking as opposed to brothels. This suggests that local concerns played a greater role in informing responses to prostitution than national legal debates, with Nonconformist organizations and the press being concerned with the threat that the visibility of prostitution posed to the image and development of this young city. Debates on prostitution in Cardiff shifted dramatically during the interwar years, away from civic ambition and development and towards racial anxieties over the dockland, which deviated from patterns of criminalization suggested for London, and police apathy in Scottish cities.³⁰ The study ends in 1960 as the nature of public debate had shifted in

²⁶ For London, the Wolfenden Report and the 1959 Street Offences Act, see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, Chapter 3; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapters 10 and 11; Frank Mort, 'Mapping Sexual London: The Wolfenden Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1954-57', *New Formations*, 37 (1999), 92-113; Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapter 4. For the Scottish response, see Davidson and Davis, "'A Festering Sore on the Body of Society'"; Davidson and Davis, "'A Field for Private Members'".

²⁷ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 3; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁸ For the decline in concern over prostitution in late-Victorian Cardiff, see Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy', 302-3.

²⁹ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 211.

³⁰ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*.

response to the Wolfenden Committee's report and associated press coverage of prostitution in London, and the subsequent 1959 Street Offences Act strengthened the stigmatizing legal definition of the 'common prostitute'. The impact of the 1959 Act outside of London requires attention itself, taking into consideration post-war newspaper ownership, the weakened influence of the local press, the centralization of public services, and broader cultural questions surrounding the 1960s, such as sexual liberation and permissiveness. Instead, this thesis looks to the first half of the twentieth century and connections between space, race, and regulation.

While issues regarding evidence and methodology are discussed in the introductions to individual chapters, at this juncture it is worth considering some of the limitations of evidence regarding prostitution more generally. Timothy Gilfoyle has noted how 'most sources are so embedded in discourses of pleasure, reform, and regulation that any effort to reconstruct the lived experiences of [prostitutes] is nearly impossible.' As such, 'no clear boundary separates such "facts" from their production' leaving historians 'doomed by the subjectivity of their sources'.³¹ For Gail Hershatter, any 'pursuit of [the] elusive subaltern voices' of prostitutes can only be seen as a 'quixotic search for agency and resistance' given how often the source material is tied up with the voices of observers of prostitution, rather than those who sold or bought sex themselves.³² The cautions of Gilfoyle and Hershatter apply to the majority of the evidence considered in this thesis, which includes court registers and police reports, the records of religious groups, Home Office papers and the observations of journalists and sociologists. In essence, we hear the voices of many observers but very few prostitutes – and even fewer clients or third-party organizers. Given the relative silence of our subjects, how might this material be approached?

³¹ Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in History', 138-9. Also see Gilfoyle, 'Prostitutes in the Archives: Problems and Possibilities in Documenting the History of Sexuality', *American Archivist*, 57:3 (1994), 514-527.

³² Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, [1997] 1999), 14.

While much of the scholarship on prostitution in Britain has focused on representation and regulation, little serious attention has been awarded to the spaces in which prostitution occurred. Through locations of offences recorded in petty sessions registers we may attempt to map the spaces of prostitution, yet it is important to recognize these were less sites of prostitution per se, but spaces of arrests. As has been explored elsewhere, the ‘supply driven’ nature of criminal statistics reveals more about police attitudes towards particular offences than the ‘the “reality” of crime’.³³ Following the work of sociologists and geographers, such as Henri Lefebvre and Doreen Massey, Chapter 1 approaches space as relational, and the product of ‘fluid, multiple, and indeterminate’ processes.³⁴ Thus, alongside mapping the locations of prostitution recorded in petty sessions registers, this chapter builds on existing studies of twentieth-century prostitution to consider how spaces of prostitution were temporally produced. It also draws from sociologist Michel de Certeau’s notion of space as practiced as it explores how prostitutes were recorded not in spaces of prostitution per se, but in everyday spaces that prostitutes happened to use, and with prostitution being a quotidian practice in itself.³⁵ By focusing on the interrelated production of space and links between prostitution and the everyday, the chapter seeks to identify how the spaces of solicitation and transaction were sought by those selling sex, how their movements were informed by the actions of the police, and how prostitution interacted with other activities in these spaces.

³³ Anthony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 64; Howard Taylor, ‘Forging the Job: A Crisis of “Modernization” or Redundancy for the Police in England and Wales, 1900-39’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 39:1 (1999), 113-135; Slater, ‘Containment’, 334.

³⁴ David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 137; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, [1974] 1996); Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: Sage, [2005] 2014), esp. Chapter 1.

³⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Redbull (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984). Also see Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: The One-Volume Edition* (London and New York: Verso, 2014).

Studies concerned with the representation of prostitution have mainly focused on the image of the prostitute, as opposed to the spaces they inhabited.³⁶ Whereas the first chapter examines space in the sense of location, production, and everyday practice, Chapter 2 considers space in representational terms. Much as historians such as Mayne and Doyle have argued in the case of slum districts, representations of the places of prostitution in Cardiff were expressed using stereotypes of working-class districts that had been circulated widely around the Anglophone world.³⁷ These stereotypes were employed by the press and Nonconformist groups in Cardiff as means to draw attention to a notion that the visibility of prostitution from central thoroughfares posed a threat to a particular civic image and ambition associated with Cardiff's development as a modern city. Representations of the places of prostitution were not static, as a significant shift occurred in the interwar years when debates about prostitution became embroiled in a wider debate centring on miscegenation in the dockland of Butetown. The chapter reveals how a particular source of concern was the Maltese café, which was frequently depicted along the lines of the Foucauldian 'heterotopia' – a simultaneously real-and-imagined site that was seen to invert the norms of observers.³⁸

The embedding of prostitution within representational place poses a particular problem. If the source material is imbued with broader concerns over place, to what extent might we reveal the lives of those who sold sex? Acknowledging the methodological problems posed by Gilfoyle and Hershatter, Chapter 3 explores the extent to which aspects of the lives of some women who sold sex might be uncovered, and how we are limited through how prostitutes' lives are represented in the source material. Evidence from the Edwardian years primarily

³⁶ Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*; Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets*; Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes*; Littlewood and Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes and Wayward Girls'; Attwood, *The Prostitute's Body*; Spongberg, *Feminising Venereal Disease*; Hubbard, *Sex and the City*, 63.

³⁷ Alan Mayne, 'Representing the Slum', *Urban History*, 17 (1990), 66-84; Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1993); Barry Doyle, 'Mapping Slums in a Historic City: Representing Working Class Communities in Edwardian Norwich', *Planning Perspectives*, 16:1 (2001), 47-65.

³⁸ Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowicz, *Diacritics*, 16:1 (1986), 22-27.

presents us with atypical examples of prostitutes, such as those involved in sensational court cases and those who featured in debates over migration, which served to externalize ‘vice’ to outside sources. By the interwar years, discussions of the lives of prostitutes were almost entirely absent as concerns shifted from the ‘common prostitute’ associated with streetwalking to the faceless stereotype of the ‘café girl’, who was seen to have been drawn to the dockland and forced into prostitution by Maltese men. What can be ascertained from this evidence is that the women associated with prostitution in Cardiff became increasingly marginalized, particularly when prostitution became mired in racial anxieties in the 1920s.

As revealed by Wilson’s statement on dockland prostitution cited at the outset of this introductory chapter, debates over prostitution in interwar Cardiff were structured around concerns about race. Yet, while ethnicity has featured in discussions of early-twentieth century migrant prostitutes in London, and while racial discourse has been acknowledged in studies of laws that applied to the regulation of ‘pimps’, such as the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act, there has been no sustained attention on the connections between prostitution and race.³⁹ Chapter 4 questions why prostitution became racialized in interwar Cardiff, exploring how racial hostilities emerged and persisted in response to crises of British imperial hegemony. Broader anxieties over national efficiency and local industrial disputes informed periodic bursts of racial antagonism in Cardiff in the Edwardian period, yet it was the First World War that cemented links between prostitution and miscegenation. As the work of Lucy Bland and Laura Tabili has revealed, following the increase of colonial labour passing through the port, miscegenation fears coalesced with post-war unemployment to influence race rioting in Cardiff in 1919.⁴⁰

³⁹ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 6; Slater, ‘Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*’; Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 297-304.

⁴⁰ Laura Tabili, “‘Women of a Very Low Type’: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain’, in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-190; Lucy Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War’, *Gender and History*, 17:1 (2005), 29-61. For other studies of racial conflict in British ports, see the

However, the pathologization of non-‘white’ sexualities was not a singular response to rioting. In contrast to an ongoing criminalization of prostitutes in London, debate over prostitution in Cardiff shifted away from the women who sold sex and towards black clients and Maltese ‘pimps’. Connections between immigrant men and prostitution were driven by Chief Constable Wilson, who used a narrative of the exploitation of young British women in dockland cafés in an attempt to obtain greater controls over black seafarers and Maltese men resident in the port.⁴¹ This process of racialization refocused the attentions of the police and other observers away from the female prostitute and onto black and Maltese men.⁴² Heightened focus on the masculinities of colonial migrants can be considered in terms of Stoler’s development of Foucault’s epistemological approach to sexuality, as representations of race and prostitution in interwar Cardiff echoed the cultural genealogies of colonialism, with notions of sexual behaviour signifying racial difference and being utilized as aspects of ‘biopolitical’ power.⁴³

The intensification of connections between race and prostitution in interwar Cardiff went beyond discourse, and shaped the regulation of prostitution. While work on prostitution in Britain has used the term ‘regulation’ mainly to refer to continental systems of toleration or

aforementioned works by Neil Evans, and Jacqueline Jenkinson, ‘The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 43-67; Jenkinson, ‘Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of “Britishness” following the First World War’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:1 (2008), 29-60; Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009). For more general analyses and surveys of race in twentieth-century Britain, see Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London and Sydney: Pluto, 1984); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2002); and Paul Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1986] 1990).

⁴¹ For a broader exploration of interwar immigration controls, see Laura Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), 54-98; Tabili, ‘We Ask for British Justice’: *Workers and Racial Difference in Late-Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

⁴² See Simon Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958; Jenkins, ‘Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927-47’, *Cultural and Social History*, 11:4 (2014), 575-596.

⁴³ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, [1976] 1998), esp. Chapter 5; Foucault, ‘*Society Must Be Defended*’: *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Allen Lane, [1997] 2003).

monitoring, or the regulationist approach of the CD Acts, I use the term here in order to consider how prostitution was controlled or impacted upon by more indirect means than police action or the criminalization of ‘common prostitutes’.⁴⁴ Chapter 5 considers the legal framework that underpinned the policing of prostitution, and explores how prominent statutes such as the 1824 Vagrancy Act and 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act were used as part of a wider patchwork of laws. This included local byelaws, and laws that did not necessarily pertain to the policing of prostitution, such as the Aliens Acts, which had become a proxy means to regulate dockland prostitution by the late-1920s. In order to reveal the multi-layered and pluralistic manner in which prostitution was regulated across British urban centres, we thus need to recognize that prostitution was an embedded, temporal anxiety as opposed to a singular concern on behalf of the police, or one purely tied to metropolitan-focused legal debates.

Prostitution was also regulated by more diffuse means involving a network of non-regulatory bodies, reminiscent of the Foucauldian concept of ‘governmentality’.⁴⁵ While loosely defined by Foucault as the ‘art of government’ or ‘conduct of conduct’ that emerged as a political rationale of liberalism, historians of urban governance and culture have used this concept to explore how processes of ‘ordering’ or ‘civilizing’ were embedded within the civic and material structures of the city.⁴⁶ Sociologists have also expanded on Foucault’s ideas, suggesting that governmentality might be envisaged as a taking the form of networks, emanating from what Mitchell Dean describes as ‘processes of political subjectification’ that ‘are not necessarily located within the state but are constructed from practices operating from multiple and heterogeneous locales (citizen associations, charities, trade unions, families,

⁴⁴ For an example of continental regulation, see Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, [1978] 1990).

⁴⁵ See Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, [2004] 2008), 77. Also see essays in Graham Burchell et al (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁴⁶ See Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London and New York: Verso, 2003); Chris Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City’, *Social History*, 27:1 (2002), 1-15; Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 2008); Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, esp. 8-11.

schools, workplaces, etc.).⁴⁷ As Croll argues in his study of Victorian Merthyr, governmentality offers historians tools for understanding how liberalism is ‘not reducible to an ideology’, but is, moreover, a political rationality embedded in the civic project.⁴⁸ If prostitution and its regulation was thus tied to the local and often represented in terms of the dangers it posed to civic ambition, what might a focus on governmentality reveal about the regulation and control of prostitution?

Chapter 6 uses insights from governmentality studies and the work of historians, such as Patrick Joyce and Chris Otter, to explore the influence of non-judiciary bodies on the regulation of prostitutes. It reveals how regulation was shaped by a diffuse network involving the local press, pressure groups, the Corporation of Cardiff, and other voluntary bodies. Drawing influence from actor-network theory, this chapter suggests that the policing and regulation of prostitution in Cardiff was shaped through a temporal interplay between shifting networks of influence, and driven by individuals who were seeking to build and maintain influence in civic politics.⁴⁹ Chapter 7 then turns to consider how these networks also possessed a non-human element.⁵⁰ As the work of Joyce and Otter has explored, the modern city held ‘material agency’ in how the ‘cleaning, clearing, paving and improving of the city designed to

⁴⁷ Mitchell Dean, “‘A Social Structure of Many Souls’: Moral Regulation, Government, and Self-Formation”, *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19:2 (1994), 153, 156. Also see Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; and Singapore: Sage, [1999] 2010); Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Rose et al, ‘Governmentality’, *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 2 (2006), 83-104.

⁴⁸ Croll, *Civilizing the Urban*, 8.

⁴⁹ For actor-network theory, see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), 379-393; Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett, ‘Material Powers: Introduction’, in Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 1-22; Chris Otter, ‘Locating Matter: The Place of Materiality in Urban History’, in Bennett and Joyce (eds), *Material Powers*, 38-59.

⁵⁰ Also see Dorothee Brantz, ‘Assembling the Multitude: Questions about Agency in the Urban Environment’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 130-136; Robert Lewis, ‘Comments on Urban Agency: Relational Space and Intentionality’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 137-144; Bert de Munck, ‘Re-assembling Actor-Network Theory and Urban History’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 111-122; Chris Otter, ‘The Technosphere: A New Concept for Urban Studies’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 145-154.

secure the city as a place of free self-regulation'.⁵¹ From street lighting schemes to the reshaping of neighbourhoods and districts after the Second World War, this closing chapter explores how prostitution was an influencing factor in debates and decisions regarding material change, which in turn influenced the actions of police. Hence, prostitution was regulated through a range of diffuse and complex means, with prostitution being a facet of a much broader, prolonged, and multifaceted effort to shape both civic conduct and civic identity. While civic matters were central to shaping the spaces, perceptions, and regulation of prostitution, the final two chapters of the thesis underpin that regional contexts should not be considered as a side-note to metropolitan trends. By examining Cardiff it reveals significant aspects of the history of prostitution in twentieth-century Britain more generally, taking us through themes of civic ambition, imperial identity, the growth of multiracial urban communities, and post-war urban redevelopment. It will also demonstrate the need for a closer reading of the spatial histories of prostitution, the merits – and pitfalls – of approaches informed by governmentality and materiality studies, and the limits to which historians can reveal the lives and experiences of those who sold sex.

⁵¹ Patrick Joyce, 'Maps, Blood and the City: The Governance of the Social in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Patrick Joyce (ed.), *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 97-114.

1. Space: Geographies, Sites, and Practice

Prostitution is intimately linked with the urban environment, in terms of how urban spaces are used for the selling of sex, and how they are represented in public debate. Sociologists have focused on the ways in which commercial sex is produced by the recursive spatial practices of sex workers and the spatial strategies of other agents, such as the police, non-government organizations, and local residents.¹ Yet, notwithstanding work by historical geographers on nineteenth-century regulation, spatial methods are yet to receive serious attention from historians of prostitution.² Space has featured in work on London in debate on whether policies of containment were operated by the police, and in how new clandestine spaces of prostitution were sought out by prostitutes in response to repressive police action.³ However, despite argument between Laite and Slater over geographies of regulation in London, there remains a need to theorize what ‘space’ means for the historical study of prostitution, and how it might be approached methodologically. For instance, while Slater highlights the need to acknowledge ‘the cultural construction of “place”’ in shaping the regulation of prostitution and ‘social construction of “vice”’, his work is more concerned with the unreliability of police statistics as a means of constructing social geographies of prostitution. Likewise, Laite points to a ‘complex

¹ For example, see Philip Hubbard and Teela Sanders, ‘Making Space for Sex Work: Female Street Prostitution and the Production of Urban Space’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27:1 (2003), 75-89; Philip Hubbard, *Sex and the City: Geographies of Prostitution in the Urban West* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999).

² For geographies of regulation in the nineteenth century, see the following studies by Philip Howell: Howell, ‘A Private Contagious Diseases Act: Prostitution and Public Space in Victorian Cambridge’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26: 3 (2000), 376-402; Howell, ‘Race, Space and the Regulation of Prostitution in Colonial Hong Kong’, *Urban History*, 31:2 (2004), 229-248; Howell, ‘Sexuality, Sovereignty and Space: Law, Government and the Geography of Prostitution in Colonial Gibraltar’, *Social History*, 29:4 (2004), 444-464; Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Howell et al, ‘Managed Zones for Sex Workers in Liverpool: Contemporary Proposals, Victorian Parallels’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33:2 (2008), 233-250. Also see Catherine Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886: Deviance, Surveillance and Morality* (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), Chapter 4.

³ Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Stefan Slater, ‘Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959’, *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357.

urban geography’ of commercial sex existing in London alongside a ‘multiplicity of cultural geographies’, but does not get to grips with how these geographies intertwined or how the spatiality of prostitution might be approached.⁴

The need for a greater theorization of space extends beyond the study of prostitution, and can be attributed to historiography more generally. For Rohkrämer and Schulz, spatial approaches offer ‘a chance for a new materiality and consciousness’.⁵ Yet historians have mainly treated space as an atemporal frame in which events or social relations happened rather than an unfixing and shaping social force. This has meant that, despite a growing interest in space as a category of analysis and discussion of a ‘spatial turn’ in historical writing, historians have generally made few moves towards theorizing ‘space’.⁶ In Jerram’s view, a particular problem lies with historians’ confusion over spatial terminology, primarily the conflation of the social ‘space’ with cultural ‘place’, which can ‘jumble up materiality, distributions, relationships, and meanings in very unhelpful ways.’⁷ Through this lack of distinction, ‘space’ can take the form of a ‘characterless vector’ with a ‘function similar to chronology’ or ‘a cataloguing or ordering device’.⁸ How might this problem be overcome? And can space play a meaningful role as a category of analysis for the study of prostitution?

Despite under-theorization from historians, space and place have been the subject of multiple theories in the work of sociologists and geographers. Henri Lefebvre’s influential *Production of Space* (1974) proposed a threefold notion of (social) space constituted by:

- (1) spatial practice, in terms of how people perform in their worlds;
- (2) representations of space, described as the ‘conceptualized space of scientists, planners, [...] social engineers’;

⁴ Slater, ‘Containment’, 335; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18-19.

⁵ Thomas Rohkrämer and Felix Robin Schulz, ‘Space, Place and Identities’, *History Compass*, 7:5 (2009), 1338-1349.

⁶ For an overview of how historians have approached space, see Beat Kümin and Cornelia Usborne, ‘At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the “Spatial Turn”’, *History and Theory*, 52:3 (2013), 305-318; Simon Gunn, ‘The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place’, in Simon Gunn and Robert J. Morris (eds), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 1-14.

⁷ Leif Jerram, ‘Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?’, *History and Theory*, 52:3 (2013), 403.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 406-7.

- (3) representational space, being that of space ‘lived through its associated images and symbols’, which ‘overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.’⁹

Lefebvre’s theory posits that space is produced through an intertwining of practice and representation. Through this, space becomes less an abstract physical frame where ‘the social’ occurs, but an unfixed and constitutional element of socio-cultural relations. Thinking about space in such a manner invokes multiple ontologies that bridge social, cultural, and economic issues, which become difficult to disentangle. It is therefore unsurprising that spatial questions have elicited a number of different responses from different theoretical standpoints: from a product of capital (Harvey), to one of culture (Cresswell), and to more postmodern approaches that have sought to dislocate space from temporality and to focus on the interplay between material ‘space’ and its cultural imaginings (Soja).¹⁰ Perhaps the most vital work in recent decades has come from Doreen Massey. Massey’s contribution to understandings of space and place is manifold, yet for the purposes of this thesis two elements of her work are critical. First, that space is an ongoing product of socio-cultural interrelations and multiplicity, and second, that spatial production is formed through networks, communications, and movements across time and geographical space.¹¹ The former notion informs the more explicit focus of this

⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, [1974] 1996), 33. For useful overviews of Lefebvre’s work and influence, see Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds), *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 24-5; Rob Shields, ‘Henri Lefebvre’, in Philip Hubbard and Rob Kitchin (eds), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, [2004] 2011), 279-285.

¹⁰ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), esp. Chapters 12-16; Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), esp. Chapter 7; Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell [2004] 2015); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, [1989] 1993); Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, [1996] 1997).

¹¹ See Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), esp. Chapters 6, 7, and 11; and Massey, *For Space* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: Sage, [2005] 2014), esp. Chapter 1.

chapter, which considers not simply ‘where’ prostitution happened, but how these spaces were produced through various social interrelations.¹²

For historians of prostitution the theoretical and taxonomical problems associated with space are compounded by the pitfalls of the available sources. Evidence relating to the spaces of prostitution poses clear obstacles in identifying the uses of space by those who sold sex, for we are mainly restricted to street locations that were recorded at the police courts that present a static view of where prostitution occurred. We should not, therefore, take a positivist approach to the locations of prostitution recorded in sources such as petty sessions registers. Instead, we need to question the manner in which this evidence was produced, and to view locational data not as representative of where prostitution ‘happened’ but as symbolic of more complex spatial practices shaped by prostitutes and police constables alike. Fluctuations in the arrest rate for street prostitution offences also present barriers to identifying how space was used for the selling of sex, as it does not necessarily reveal how street prostitution was less or more prevalent in certain periods, nor changes in the spatial uses of prostitutes. Rather, this evidence is more representative of the temporal concerns of the police and other agents, such as the press and local vigilance groups. Laws used to arrest prostitutes also pose methodological problems. For instance, the 1824 Vagrancy Act only required a constable to identify a ‘common prostitute’ in order to make an arrest, meaning that a proportion of arrests do not necessarily correlate with where prostitution ‘happened’. Additionally, police court scribes recorded no information on prostitution-related offences beyond street locations, and arrests were mainly concentrated in highly visible spaces with a large police presence. Hence, while work on Edinburgh has argued that spaces of concentrated arrests are representative of areas where ‘a considerable amount solicitation occurred’, we should not take such evidence at face value.¹³

¹² The latter point of Massey’s theory, while touched upon here, informs discussion in subsequent chapters.

¹³ Louise Settle, ‘The Social Geography of Prostitution in Edinburgh, 1900-1939’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33 (2013), 244.

Given that there is a paucity of evidence on the locations of prostitution from the mid-1920s, the first section of this chapter focuses on the sites and spaces of street prostitution before 1918. It explores how spaces of prostitution were linked to spaces of commerce more generally, and how prostitutes targeted central thoroughfares and male-dominated businesses to sell sex. The chapter then turns to take a more nuanced reading of the petty sessions registers to consider questions of movement and fluidity between districts. It explores the interrelated production of space through interrogating the interactions between constables and women stigmatized as ‘common prostitutes’, and how the movements of women selling sex interacted with the everyday flows of the city. As work on London has suggested that more clandestine forms of prostitution were produced in response to police action, this section also considers questions of displacement to reveal how the selling and buying of sex was fluid between a number of districts and sites, and how this was not simply a product of repressive police tactics in certain periods. Through this we see space not as an atemporal frame in which prostitution occurred, but a geography of flux and temporality that represented the recursive actions of both prostitutes and police constables, which intertwined with everyday flows and movements in the city.

The final section considers the limitations of what can be revealed of the spatiality of prostitution from the 1930s. In the interwar years, prostitutes sought out less visible means of selling sex in response to heavy police action in central thoroughfares. While this shift symbolized the surreptitious use of Bute Street cafés by prostitutes, it was more representative of heightened police attention on the dockland in response to racial anxieties. Further problems emerge when examining the spatial uses and practices of prostitutes after the Second World War, when the arrest rate for street prostitution in the city centre significantly increased. This surge in arrests was not necessarily indicative of an increase in the prevalence of street prostitution there, but that the police were responding to both urban redevelopment and wider

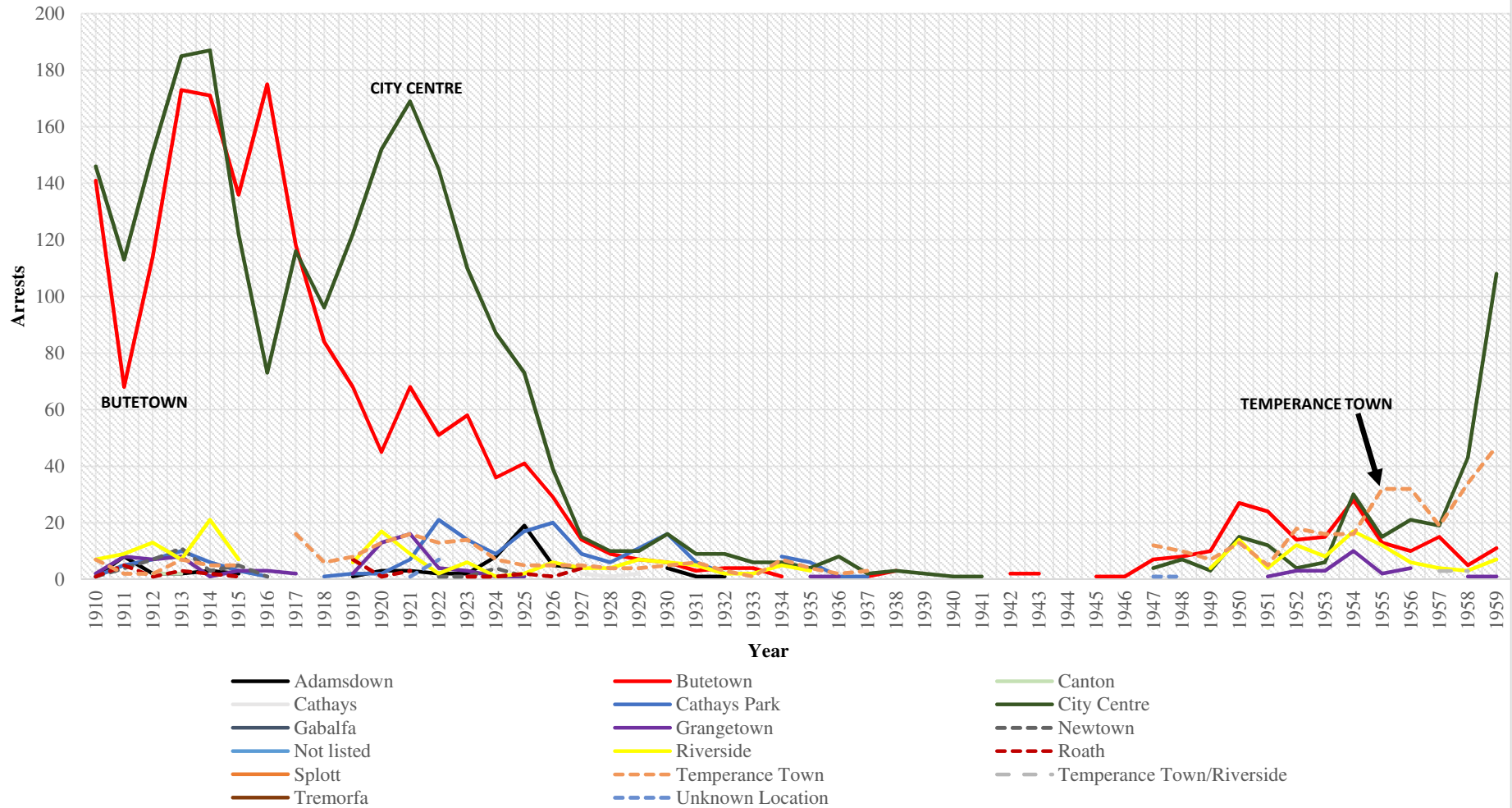
debates over street prostitution leading up to the 1959 Street Offences Act.¹⁴ There are, therefore, clear difficulties in identifying the spaces of Cardiff's prostitution and the spatial uses of those who sold sex. While elements of prostitutes' spatial practices can be inferred, the evidence mainly offers a map of police concerns over particular areas that were linked to prostitution, but not continually driven by a perception of prostitution as a distinct problem.

Mapping street prostitution offences: proximity and policing

Figure 1.1 details the locations of arrests for street prostitution offences in Cardiff, as recorded in petty sessions registers. While a number of districts were recorded as being spaces of prostitution into the mid-1920s, two areas were by far the most prominent: the city centre and Butetown. However, alongside a diminution in the overall arrest rate, the prominence of these two areas substantially declined in the interwar years. In the city centre the arrest rate fell from 161 arrests in 1921 to ten in 1929, while Butetown saw numbers fall from sixty-eight to seven. The arrest rate for street prostitution did not increase again until the 1950s, when police attention shifted away from Butetown, and towards Temperance Town and the city centre. As we shall see over the course of this chapter – and thesis – fluctuations in the arrest rate for street prostitution offences did not necessarily mean that street prostitution was less or more prevalent in certain periods. Rather, this evidence is more representative of the temporal concerns of the police and other agents, such as the press and local vigilance groups. Given the paucity of evidence on the locations of prostitution from the mid-1920s, the first section of this chapter thus focuses on the sites and spaces of street prostitution before 1918. Evidence from petty sessions registers indicates that, until the early-1920s, commercial thoroughfares in the city centre were the most prominent spaces of street prostitution. Lined with banks, businesses,

¹⁴ For Wolfenden and the Street Offences Act, see Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003). This piece of legislature and post-war urban regeneration plans in Cardiff are discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, respectively.

Fig. 1.1: Arrests of women for street prostitution offences in Cardiff by district, 1910-1959*



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-1959

*Statistics begin at 1910 due to inconsistencies in surviving petty sessions registers pre-1910. See Chapters 5 and 6 for a discussion of criminal statistics between 1900 and 1909.

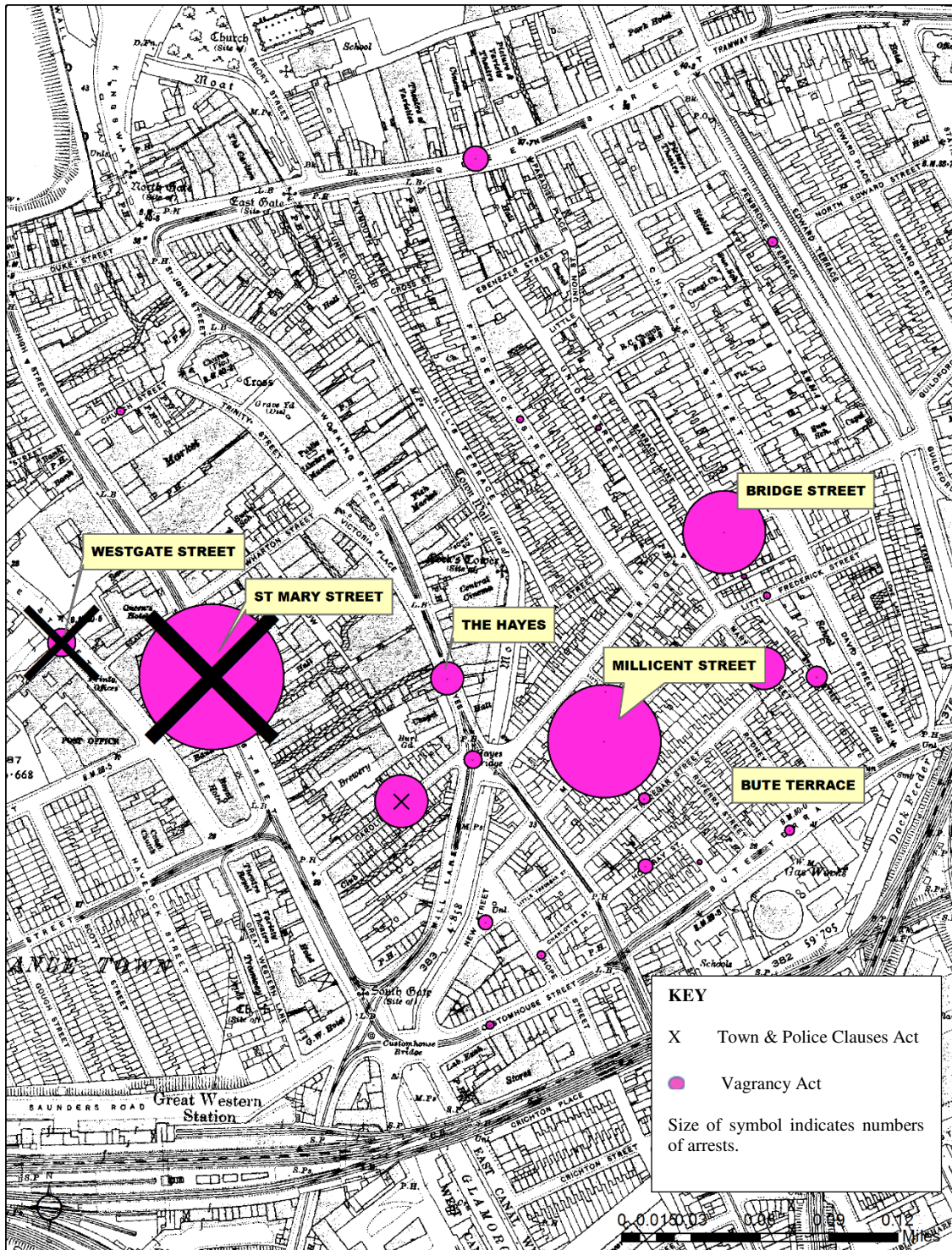
shops, hotels, theatres, and public houses, the thoroughfare of St Mary Street offered opportunities for prostitutes to target potential clients. This shared geography of commerce and commercial sex can be interpreted as being symbolic of social relations being produced through material relations, or what David Harvey terms a 'relative space-time of exchange'.¹⁵ Spatial connections between commercial sex and commerce more generally may go some way in explaining the prevalence of St Mary Street in police court registers until the interwar years: between 1915 and 1919, St Mary Street was the most common site, and the only street to go beyond double figures with 177 arrests of a total 698 for the city as a whole. Likewise, between 1920 and 1924 magistrates dealt with 203 women arrested at St Mary Street out of a total 663 arrests in the district. The second-most common street associated with prostitution in the city centre was parallel Westgate Street, as illustrated in Map 1.1. Much like St Mary Street, Westgate Street was both an important thoroughfare and a source of potential clients, being home to hotels, pubs, the city's main post office, and Cardiff Arms Park and its associated clubhouses. A Nonconformist vigilance group observed how this connection between commercial businesses and commercial sex was most prevalent on Wednesdays when men 'from a big firm' regularly sought prostitutes on Westgate Street.¹⁶ Hence, the spatial practices of prostitutes along these thoroughfares were likely temporal as much as geographical.

However, the spatio-temporal aspects of prostitution are difficult to infer from the available evidence. The information recorded by police court scribes recorded locations of arrests, but fell short of noting the times at which arrests were made. Additionally, the prominence of central thoroughfares at the petty sessions is more representative of police attitudes towards certain spaces than a full picture of where prostitution was taking place. Commercial thoroughfares were busy, visible spaces and easier to police than concealed

¹⁵ See Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, 150-1.

¹⁶ These claims were made by one Mrs Edwards, the wife of the Principal of Cardiff Baptist College: *Western Mail*, 1 February 1921. For a detailed examination of the influence of Nonconformity and rescue and preventative work, see Chapter 6.

Map 1.1: Spaces of arrests for street prostitution in Cardiff city centre, 1920-24



Source: GA PSCBO/4/90-107, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-24. Source for all map sheets used in this thesis: Ordnance Survey County Series 1:2500, 2nd Revision 1906-1939 [TIFF geospatial data], County/Tile: Cardiff, Published: 1920, Landmark Information Group, Using: EDINA Historic Digimap Service, <<http://edina.ac.uk/digimap>>, Downloaded: 13 July 2014 © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2014). All rights reserved.

residential streets. Police action on the commercial thoroughfares was especially prevalent during the late-1900s when the police sought to respond to public censure by conducting ‘clearances’ of St Mary Street, and in the 1920s, when Cardiff’s new chief constable became concerned over the potential dangers of increased motor vehicle traffic, and the visibility of street prostitution.¹⁷ The heavy flow of passengers along thoroughfares may have also influenced arrest rates: St Mary Street and Westgate Street saw the most arrests under the 1847 Town and Police Clauses Act (TPCA), which required a witness to prove that a ‘common prostitute’ had ‘loitered and importuned’ passengers to their annoyance.

While the 1847 TPCA was used to arrest prostitutes in main thoroughfares, most arrests outside of the main thoroughfares were made using the 1824 Vagrancy Act. Arrests under the Vagrancy Act were more common in the east of the city centre, the site of a ‘slum’ district that had perturbed ‘respectable’ observers since the mid-nineteenth century. This district was associated not only with prostitution, but intemperance, petty crime, and poor housing and living standards.¹⁸ Furthermore, while St Mary Street and Westgate Street accounted for the largest number of offences recorded for individual streets in the city centre, the bulk of overall arrests were made in this slum area to the east. Between 1920 and 1924 the district was the site of 345 arrests of a total 663 in the city centre, predominantly using the Vagrancy Act.¹⁹ Unlike the TPCA’s requirement of a third party’s annoyance, the Vagrancy Act only relied upon a constable’s observations of a ‘common prostitute’ behaving in a ‘riotous’ or ‘indecent manner’.²⁰ Hence, whereas the use of the 1847 TPCA to arrest and convict women selling sex is a useful indicator that commercial areas like Westgate Street and St Mary Street were spaces

¹⁷ For a discussion of public censure and clearances of thoroughfares, see Chapter 6; for traffic offences and police activity in the city centre in the early-1920s, see a wide range of material collected in GA DCONC/5/60-68, Newscuttings, 1920-25. For clearances of St Mary Street, also see National Archives (TNA) HO45/10354/149817/5, Home Office papers on prostitution and white slave traffic in Cardiff, 1907-08.

¹⁸ Perceptions of places associated with prostitution will be explored in detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁹ Glamorgan Archives (GA) PSCBO/4/90-107, Cardiff Petty Sessions Second Court Registers, 1919-1925.

²⁰ For perceptions and the pathologization of the ‘common prostitute’ see Chapter 3. Chapter 5 also provides a detailed analysis of these themes with the context of policing.

of solicitation, the use of the Vagrancy Act to prosecute women in the city centre's residential district is more problematic, given that arrests rested only upon the perception of an individual constable.²¹ Records of arrests made using the 1824 Act do not necessarily reveal spaces of prostitution per se, but arrests of women identified and stigmatized as 'common prostitutes', who may or may not have been 'soliciting' in that particular space.²² Therefore, locations of arrests using the Vagrancy Act are more evident of everyday police action in certain locales, and the everyday movements of women who had been criminalized by the police through a prior offence.²³

Everyday movement and spatial practice

For the sociologist Michel de Certeau, 'space' only

exists when one [considers] vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. [...] In short, *space is a practiced place*.²⁴

In light of de Certeau's notion of space as practice, it is important to remember that locations of arrests of prostitutes were not spaces of prostitution as such, but everyday spaces that women criminalized as 'common prostitutes' happened to use. In some cases, these spaces would have been used for solicitation. Yet, if a 'common prostitute' only required to be identified as such by police constables, then a proportion of arrests and locations listed in petty sessions registers do not necessarily reveal the geographies of prostitution, but everyday spaces used by women criminalized as 'common prostitutes'. Despite these pitfalls, arrests made under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, while not useful in providing a full picture of spaces of solicitation, might

²¹ 320 of 345 arrests in the city centre between 1920 and 1924 were made under this Act. See *ibid.* For the 'discretionary use' of this Act, see arguments in Laite, *Common Prostitutes and ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 4.

²² See Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 11. Also see discussion of the common prostitute in Chapters 3 and 5.

²³ Also see arguments in Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

²⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Redbull (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 117. Emphasis in the original.

indicate the spatial strategies of those selling sex in the city centre, and how ‘prostitutes’ moved between sites. In response to being arrested six times in the city centre between September 1920 and March 1921, Mabel Wilkinson was next arrested in July 1921 at Wood Street in Temperance Town, a working-class district in the vicinity of the Great Western Railway (GWR) Station. After another three arrests in the city centre between August and September 1921, Wilkinson next appeared in court in December after being arrested on Temperance Town’s Havelock Street.²⁵ Annie Foley presents a similar case: after seven arrests in the city centre between July and October 1920, she was next arrested at Park Street in Temperance Town in November 1920, followed by almost alternating arrests between Temperance Town and the city centre into October 1921.²⁶ These examples suggest that street prostitution was not confined to particular locations. Instead, it was characterized by a more complex spatial network shaped by how prostitution was policed, the opportunities offered by certain spaces, and the everyday practices of ‘common prostitutes’. The geographies of prostitution, as they appear in petty sessions registers, are thus reflective of the converging spatial practices of both ‘common prostitutes’ and police constables in busy, everyday spaces.

Prostitutes were also reliant on the everyday movements of pedestrians and commuters in particular spaces in order to sell sex. Just as the central thoroughfares were close to male-dominated workplaces, Temperance Town offered a potential market for commercial sex through being adjacent to the GWR Station.²⁷ A letter to the editor of the *South Wales Daily News* (SWDN) in September 1908 complained that ‘decent men and women’ were being ‘accosted [...] openly and repulsively’ at the GWR Station, and while boarding tramcars at St Mary Street and Wood Street. This letter also reported that ‘such women’ could also be seen

²⁵ GA PSCBO/4/91-97, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-1922.

²⁶ GA PSCBO/4/92-96, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-1921.

²⁷ Also see comments on sexual cultures and the flux of railway stations in Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-2.

with ‘their partners’ on trams that had departed from termini in the area.²⁸ A letter from a Penarth resident also emphasized how the station was a site of solicitation, claiming that ‘I have occasion to work late in sometimes in the city, and I have never yet been able [*sic.*] to get my train without seeing quite a number of women accosting men.’²⁹ While arrests were lower in the streets around the GWR Station, this did not necessarily mean that prostitution was less prevalent there than around the commercial thoroughfares. Temperance Town’s terraced streets were enclosed and less visible, meaning that a combination of transience, the temporal flows of passengers, and the concealed material environment likely made the GWR Railway Station a lucrative space of solicitation. Considered alongside evidence relating to the use of the 1847 TPCA in commercial thoroughfares, the petty sessions registers present less a geography of prostitution than a picture of spatial interactions: between ‘common prostitutes’ and police constables, and how their uses of space intertwined with everyday movements. Hence, the spaces of prostitution were not produced through choice and constraint, but rather a recursive relationship between different forms of spatial practice which bridged commercial spaces, lived spaces, and everyday spaces of movement and transience.

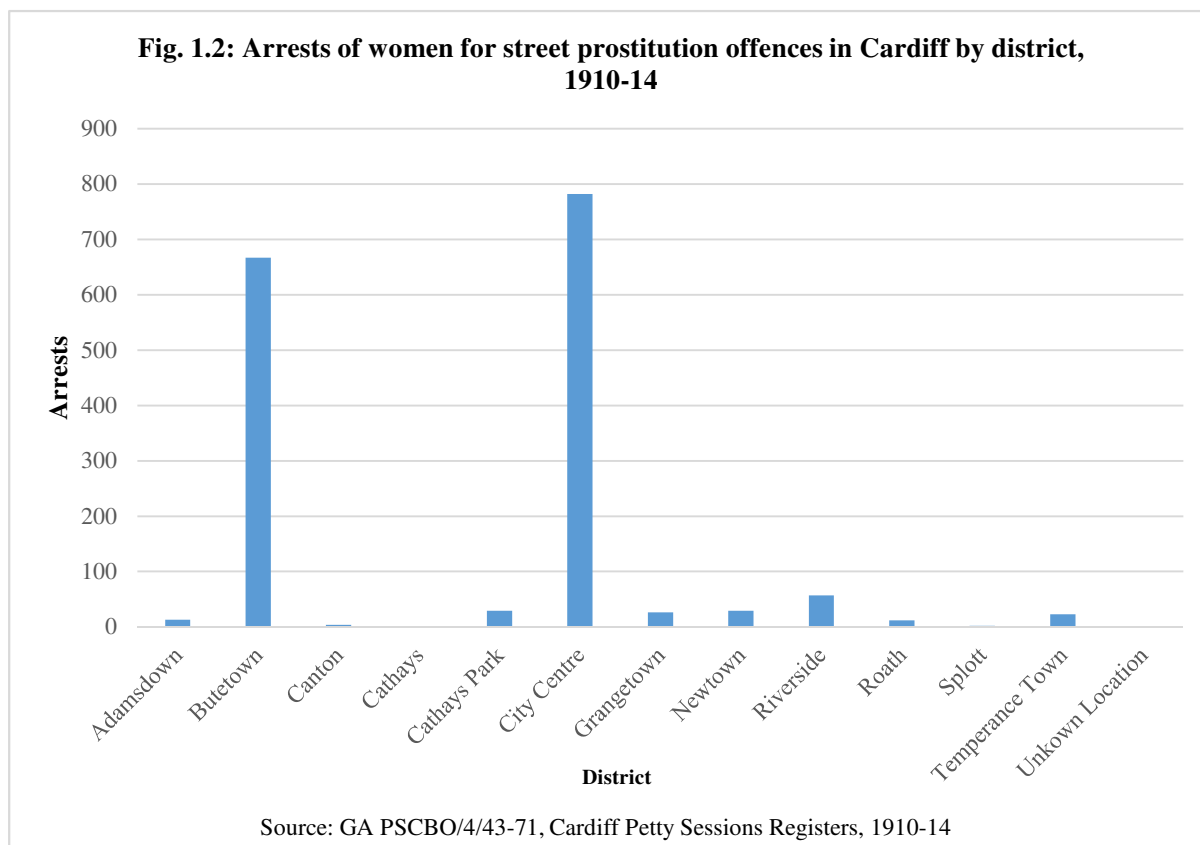
Street prostitution and the dockland

Another space of transience was the dockland of Butetown, which was also frequently recorded as a space of prostitution at the petty sessions.³⁰ As we can see in Figure 1.2, 677 arrests for street prostitution offences were made in the dockland between 1910 and 1914, second only to the city centre with 782 arrests. While the city centre was the most common district of street

²⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 7 September 1908. Also see complaints about the use of trams by prostitutes in *South Wales Daily News*, 1 October 1908.

²⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908.

³⁰ Greater detail on Butetown and how it was perceived is provided in Chapter 2. For this period of Butetown’s history, also see Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27:3 (1982), 290-323; Evans, ‘“Sea Wall against Disease: Port Health in Cardiff, 1850-1950”, in Pamela Michael and Charles Webster (eds), *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 78-97; Martin Daunton, ‘Jack Ashore: Seamen in Cardiff before 1914’, *Welsh History Review*, 9:2 (1978), 176-203.



prostitution in all other periods, between 1915 and 1919 Butetown superseded it with 581 arrests in contrast to the city centre’s 529. This was influenced by an increase in the recruitment of colonial labour on Royal and Merchant Naval ships, which led to more transient seafarers passing through the port and creating greater opportunities for those selling sex. From petty sessions registers we can see how, during the war, Bute Street – lined with pubs, cafés and restaurants – was the space of the greatest number of arrests in the district, being the site of 58 percent of incidences of street prostitution in the area. Sixty-five of these 342 arrests were made under the 1847 TPCA, meaning that Bute Street, much like the thoroughfares of the city centre, was a prominent space of solicitation during the war.

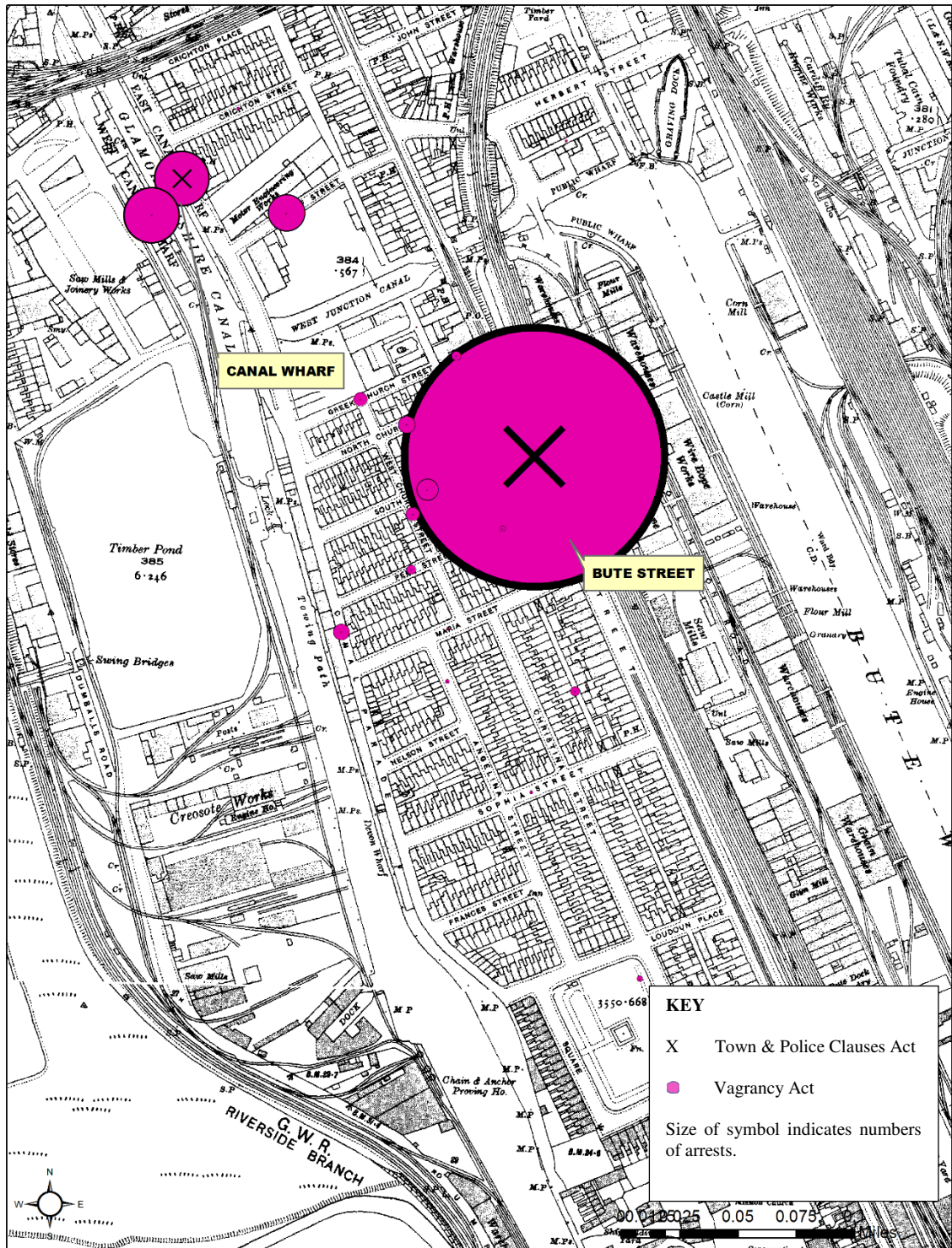
As with the ‘flux’ of railway station spaces providing themselves to opportunities for those seeking to sell sex, Bute Street’s proximity to the docks and the transient nature of seafaring, meant that it was also a space where prostitutes sought clients. Yet it is important to note that seafaring did not simply create a static space that was conducive to prostitution. In

similar vein to the patterns we have explored for the city centre, Butetown's relationship with commercial sex was subject to temporal variation through ongoing interactions between prostitutes, police constables, and the everyday uses of space. Bute Street gradually came to be recorded less frequently between 1915 and 1919. In these years arrests had dispersed into other streets in the district, suggesting that police action in Bute Street had influenced the spatial practices of women selling sex. The only exceptions to this trend were the Canal Wharfs, which ran along the Glamorganshire Canal and parallel to Bute Street from the city centre in the north (Map 1.2). Seventy-three arrests were recorded at East Canal Wharf between 1915 and 1919, sixteen of which related to prostitutes behaving in an 'indecent manner' with man, who were nearly always arrested alongside them for 'aiding and abetting' their behaviour.³¹ The concentration of these arrests suggests that women solicited on Bute Street, targeting its pubs, cafés and refreshment houses, with sex often taking place in enclosed streets and spaces surrounding the canal.

However, there was a clear shift in the spaces where arrests for 'indecentcy' were made during the 1920s. Map 1.3 illustrates how, in contrast to the concentration of incidences along Canal Wharf during the First World War, arrests in the early-1920s were spread relatively evenly across the district. As such, police action played an important role in shaping prostitutes' use of space. High concentrations of arrests in particular locations consequently displaced street prostitution, and forced prostitutes to use more concealed spaces in order to avoid arrest. Despite Bute Street and surrounding streets and lanes being the most prominent areas of recorded prostitution in the early-1920s, there was also a small concentration of arrests for 'indecentcy' and aiding and abetting at Crawshay Lane, Trade Street, and Tresillian Terrace, backstreets nearby Riverside Junction Railway Station. While within Butetown's borders, the area around Riverside Junction was very much a liminal space, being a part-residential, part-

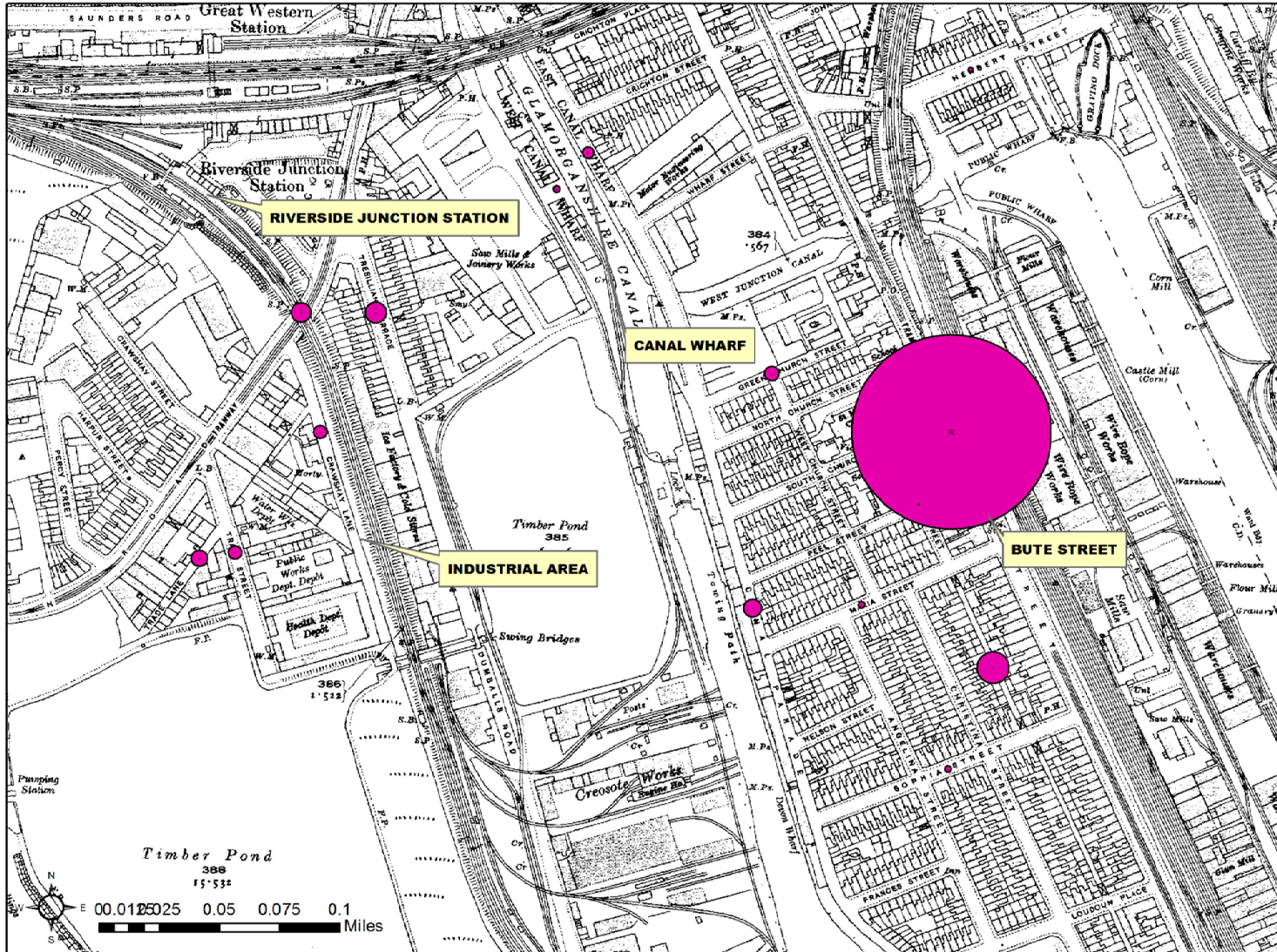
³¹ GA PSCBO/4/71-90, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1914-1919.

Map 1.2: Spaces of arrests for street prostitution in Butetown, 1915-19



Source: GA PSCBO/4/71-90, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1915-19.

Map 1.3: Spaces of arrests for street prostitution in Butetown, 1920-24



34

KEY

- X Town & Police Clauses Act
- Vagrancy Act

Size of symbol indicates numbers of arrests.

Source: GA PSCBO/4/90-107, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-24.

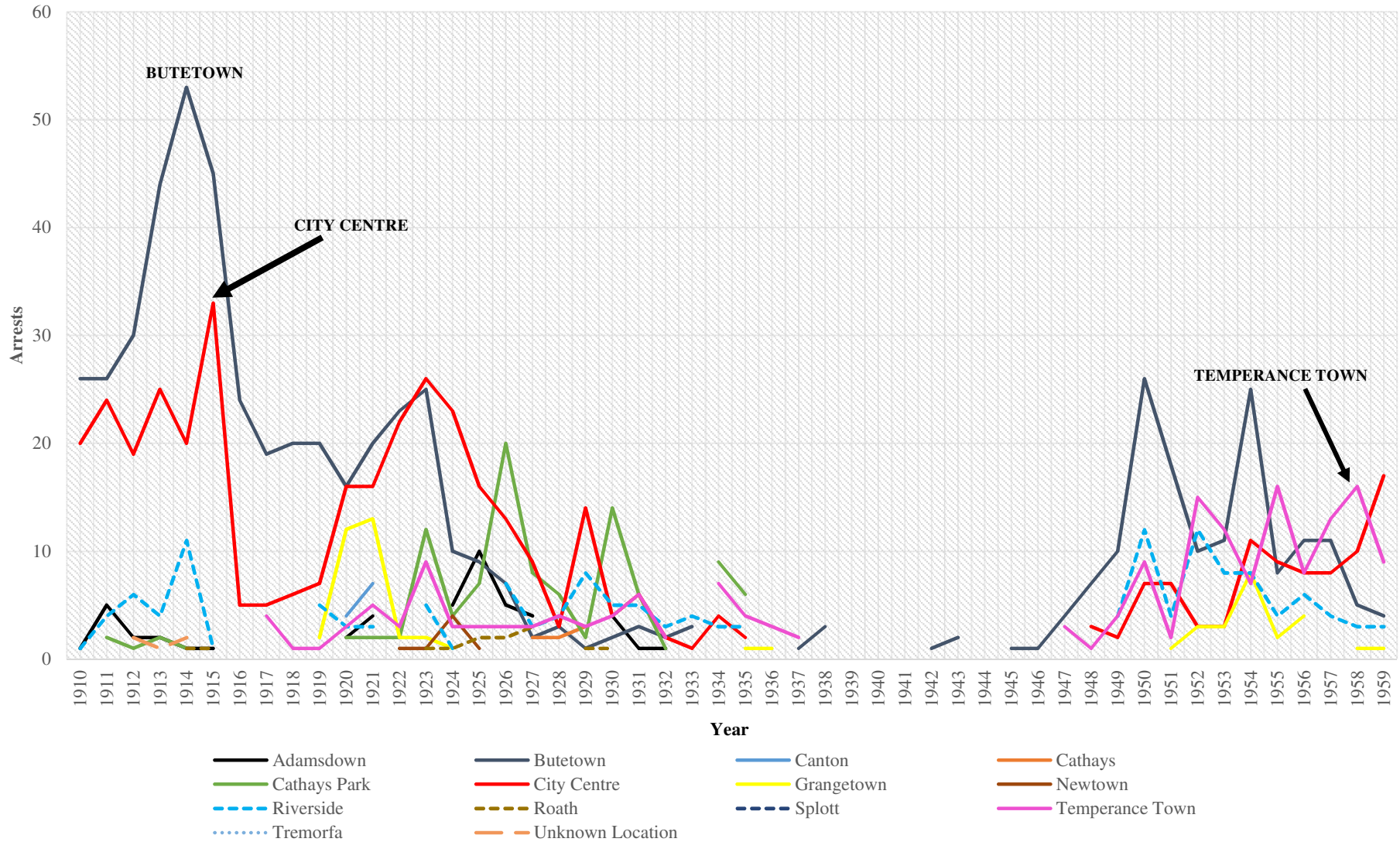
industrial area that disconnected Temperance Town from the dockland. Situated between Crawshay Lane and Trade Street were municipal works and departments, including a mortuary, a water works depot, a public works depot, and a health department depot. Likewise, Tresillian Terrace was an isolated residential street surrounded by an ice factory and cold stores, a smithy, and a saw mill and joinery works (see Map 1.3). Tresillian Terrace was also directly connected to the Canal Wharf, which further implies that this space was used by street prostitutes in response to heavy policing in the Bute Street area. The space around Riverside Junction thus may have offered sexual opportunity through the transience and flux of railway passengers, industrial and municipal workers, and concealed spaces. However, the emergence of this liminal space as a location of prostitution after 1919 was likely more a result of police action than the opportunities it presented. More concealed, this area offered a decreased chance that prostitutes and their clients would be seen and arrested. Before looking at questions of displacement and clandestine practice in more detail, we will first turn to look at the role of clients in shaping spaces of transaction, which reveals how patterns of prostitution bridged the boundary between the city centre and the dockland.

‘Aiding and abetting’: spaces of transaction

Under the 1824 Vagrancy Act a ‘common prostitute’, if identified as such, could be arrested for ‘behaving in a riotous or indecent Manner’. The latter reference to ‘indecent’ behaviour related to being caught in a sexual act with a client, who could also be arrested for ‘aiding and abetting’ their behaviour.³² Figure 1.3 details how arrests of prostitutes’ clients were concentrated in Butetown and the city centre until the 1920s, following which the overall rate gradually declined into single figures. Prior to the First World War, almost all of the arrests for this offence in the city centre were made in the residential district (see Map 1.4). The street

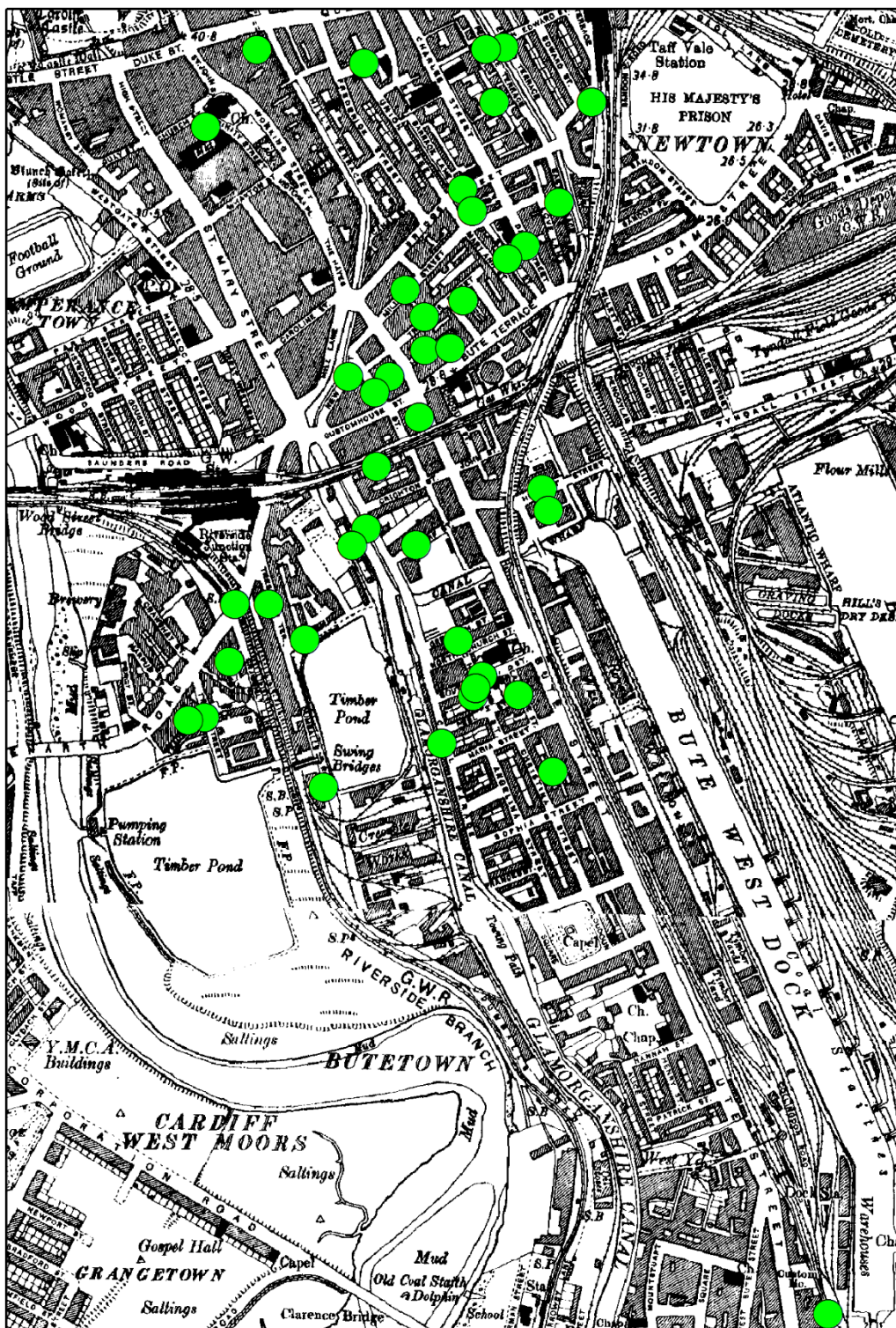
³² 1824 Vagrancy Act, s 3.

Fig. 1.3: Arrests of men for 'aiding and abetting' in Cardiff by district, 1910-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-1959

Map 1.4: Distribution of 'aiding and abetting' offences in Butetown and Cardiff city centre, 1910-14



Source: GA PSCBO/4/43-71, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-14. Note that this and other distribution maps used in this chapter do not represent numbers of arrests, but the distribution of streets listed in the petty sessions registers as spaces of prostitution.

with the highest number of arrests was Tredegar Street Lane, in the centre of the district. Arrests for being a ‘disorderly prostitute’ in this area were concentrated on the thoroughfare of Bute Terrace (120 arrests) and adjoining Mary Ann Street (116), while arrests for ‘indecent’ and aiding and abetting were recorded as being made in the lanes and courts of the residential area behind. Similar patterns can be seen in the dockland, which by 1915 was the most prominent site of aiding and abetting (Figure 1.3). As explored earlier with regards to women arrested for ‘indecent’, arrests for aiding and abetting were mainly concentrated around the Canal Wharf area. Between 1915 and 1919, of 125 arrests in Butetown for aiding and abetting, forty-five were made at West Canal Wharf and fifteen at East Canal Wharf, with the rest clustered in streets around the Glamorganshire Canal (Map 1.5). An rise in arrests for aiding and abetting after 1914 was partly a result of the First World War, which led to increased traffic in the port and, by turn, enhanced opportunities to sell sex in Butetown. This can be seen in many of the surnames recorded at the petty sessions arrested in Butetown under this charge in Butetown between 1915 and 1918.³³

However, seafarers did not limit themselves to the spaces of the dockland and moved into the city centre when purchasing sex – as is evident from the names of clients arrested in the southern end of the city centre’s residential area during the First World War.³⁴ This reveals that Butetown was not a specific site of solicitation, but part of a fluid network used by those both buying and selling sex. Hence, it is not possible to demarcate distinct sexual economies in the city centre and the dockland as both clients and prostitutes moved between these two districts. This connection in spatial practice can also be seen in the records of repeat offenders, such as Agnes Mills, Alice Boyle, and Kate Fury, whose arrest records between 1915 and 1919 reveal clear patterns of movement between the central slum and the dockland when selling

³³ GA/PSCBO/4/71-87, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1914-1918. Examples include Ongler, Rahman, Janowski, Christiansen, Rodriguez, Narcisad, Silva, and Jorgensen.

³⁴ GA PSCBO/4/71-90, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1914-1919.

Map 1.5: Distribution of 'aiding and abetting' offences in Butetown and Cardiff city centre, 1915-19



Source: GA PSCBO/4/71-90, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1915-19

sex.³⁵ The indistinct nature of spatial practice between the city centre and the dockland means that it is not possible to define a specific form of ‘dockland prostitution’ from the rest of the city. Instead, the selling of sex bridged the two areas and was fluid between them.

By cross-referencing names from the petty sessions registers against local street directories, we also see how the market for commercial sex was driven not only by transient seafarers, but by men from across Cardiff and its surrounding region.³⁶ For instance, Albert Burge, arrested at West Canal Wharf in March 1925 resided at Rudry Street in Penarth on the south-western outskirts of the city, while George Drinkwater, arrested at Rowes Square near The Hayes in February 1927, lived on Lowther Road in Roath.³⁷ However, men were not necessarily attracted to these areas solely to buy sex, but rather that prostitution was interrelated with other uses of space, such as everyday movement, and activities such as drinking. The interactions between prostitution and everyday spaces thus suggest less a geography of prostitution and more a production of space along the lines of Lefebvre’s ‘trialectic’ theory. Space was not purely a frame in which prostitution occurred, but was socially produced via ‘the entwining of cultural practices, representations, and imaginations’.³⁸ With regards to representations and imaginations, the interaction between practiced space and perceived space was also evident in cultural perceptions of place. For instance, the local press printed maps (Figure 1.4) of areas ‘congested’ with public houses, which mirrored/informed the spaces of arrests for prostitution detailed in Maps 1.4 and 1.5.³⁹ Licensing records also repeat this pattern, as of 420 arrests for drunkenness in 1924, 310 were made in the boundaries of Cardiff City Police’s ‘A Division’, which consisted of the city centre and the dockland. The most common

³⁵ Ibid.

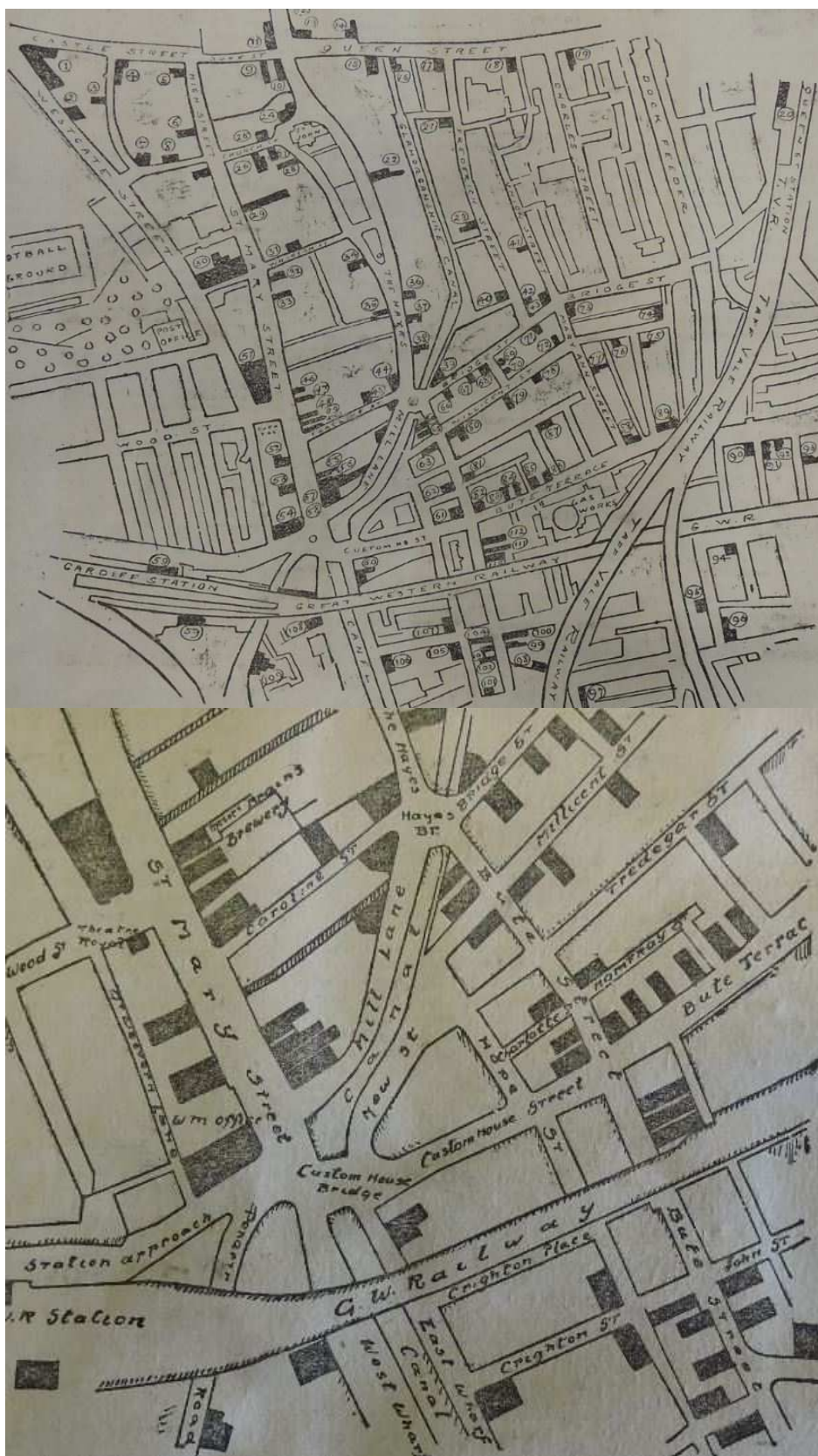
³⁶ See GA PSCBO/4/43-111, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-1925; *Western Mail Cardiff Directory*, numerous editions (Cardiff, 1897-1937).

³⁷ *Western Mail Cardiff Directory* (Cardiff: Western Mail, 1924).

³⁸ Philip Hubbard, ‘Space/Place’, in David Atkinson et al (eds), *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 42; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, esp. Chapter 1.

³⁹ See Chapter 2 for discussion on perceptions of links between prostitution and drunkenness.

Fig. 1.4: 'Congested areas' of drink and drunkenness in Edwardian Cardiff



Maps published in the *Western Mail*, 13 Jan 1903 (bottom), and the *South Wales Daily News*, 9 February 1905 (top). Note how these 'congested' spaces mirror the main sites of prostitution recorded in petty sessions registers; namely, the south and west of the city centre and the north of Butetown.

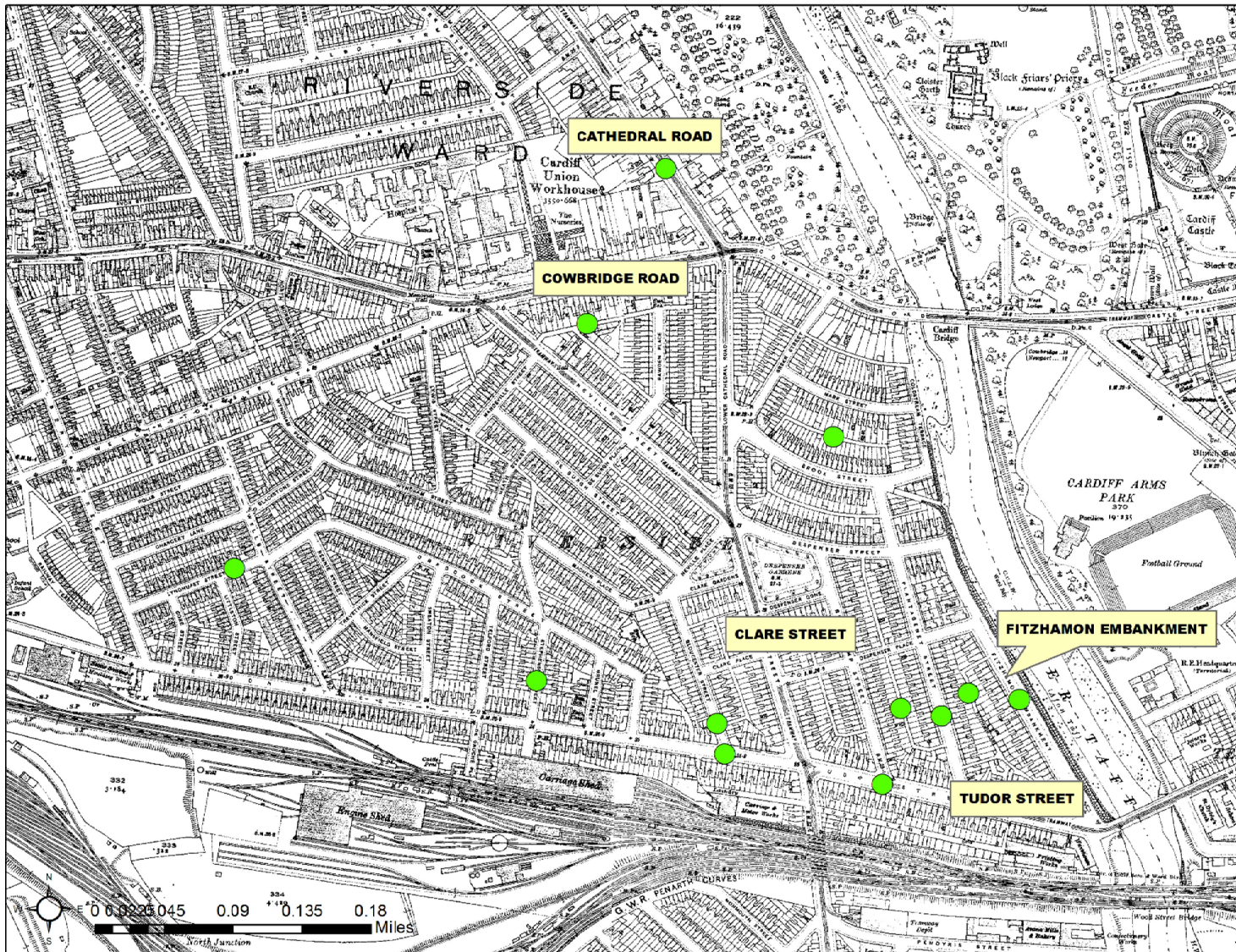
street for drunkenness was Bute Street (seventy-six arrests), followed by St Mary Street (twenty-eight) and The Hayes (twenty-two).⁴⁰ Likewise, of 371 arrests in 1925, 261 were made in the A Division, with Bute Street again the most common street with seventy-two arrests.⁴¹ The main areas where men and women were arrested for street prostitution-related offences were busy everyday spaces with the largest police presence in the city. Hence, this evidence suggests a recursive relationship not only between the spatial uses of prostitutes and police constables. but with more ‘everyday’ spaces, such as concentrated areas of public houses.

But what about other areas of Cardiff? While arrest rates in residential areas were far lower than those in the city centre and Butetown, evidence from petty sessions registers does reveal some of the spatial practices of prostitutes in the inner-city residential districts of Grangetown and Riverside. In Riverside’s working-class neighbourhood arrests were mainly concentrated in lanes and residential streets (Maps 1.6 and 1.7). In this area the thoroughfare of Cowbridge Road and Fitzhamon Embankment were likely used for solicitation, with the residential streets and lanes surrounding it being used for transaction. Similarly, data for ‘aiding and abetting’ reveals that neighbouring Grangetown was also a prominent site of street prostitution, especially between 1920 and 1924 when it was the third most common space for this offence. Evidence from the petty sessions suggests that solicitation took place on the thoroughfare of Clare Road, adjoining Pendyris Street and the Taff Embankments, while surrounding lanes acted as spaces of transaction. In Map 1.7 we also see the physical connections between Riverside and Grangetown, as Riverside’s Fitzhamon Embankment merged into Grangetown’s Taff Mead Embankment on the south side of the Great Western mainline and Grangetown’s Clare Road was a continuation of Riverside’s Clare Street. However, entries in petty sessions registers suggest that women selling sex did not move

⁴⁰ GA DCONC/7/1/1, Chief Constable’s Report to Licensing Justice and Calendar, City of Cardiff General Annual Licensing Meeting, 1 February 1924.

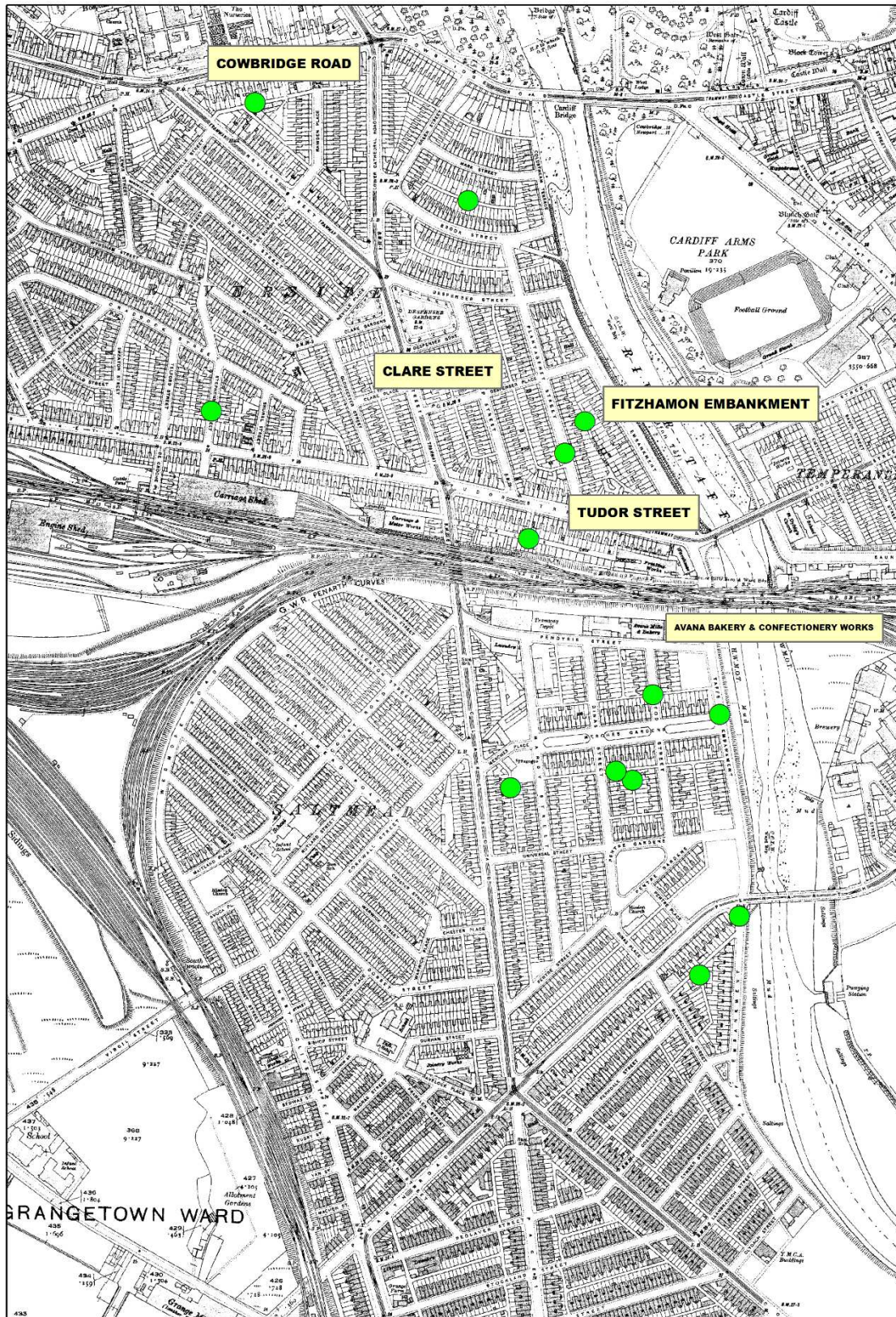
⁴¹ GA DCONC/7/1/1, Chief Constable’s Report to Licensing Justice and Calendar, City of Cardiff General Annual Licensing Meeting, 6 February 1925.

Map 1.6: Distribution of arrests for street prostitution in Riverside, 1920-24



Source: GA
PSCBO/4/90/-107,
Cardiff Petty
Sessions Registers,
1920-24

Map 1.7: Distribution of 'aiding and abetting' offences in Grangetown and Riverside, 1920-24



Source: GA PSCBO/4/90/-107, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-24

between the two areas, unlike the evidence for the city centre and Butetown.⁴² One reason for this may have been that the heavy policing of more prominent commercial areas in this period led prostitutes to sell sex in their local areas rather than venturing into other, busier districts where there was a greater chance of arrest. These means that the spaces of north Grangetown and south Riverside might have provided a market to working-class women who sought to augment their income by casually using prostitution as a makeshift economy, as we will explore in more detail in Chapter 3. Yet incidences of repeat offenders who were arrested in either Riverside or Grangetown and the city centre or Butetown suggests a different pattern.⁴³ Rather than there being distinct areas of prostitution in Cardiff, the city centre and north Butetown represented a locus for commercial sex, from which the concentration of prostitution – or prostitution-related arrests – petered out as one moved into surrounding spaces. This was not a static geography, but one of flux and temporality, as some women sought new spaces in less visible and more peripheral areas in response to heavy police action around central thoroughfares. Prostitutes in the interwar years also adopted more clandestine methods than the use of quieter residential streets. As in London, where prostitutes increasingly used motor cars, cafés, nightclubs, and private flats, women selling sex in Cardiff used alternative sites, such as dockland cafés and sub-let rooms and apartments, as a means to evade arrest.⁴⁴

Brothels and clandestine practices

The term ‘brothel’ is a slippery one given the ways in which it was not a discernible site but was linked with more casual practices, such as the use of boarding houses, for selling sex.⁴⁵

When dealing with the sites of ‘off-street’ prostitution recorded in petty sessions registers we

⁴² GA PSCBO/4/90-107, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-1924.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ For London, see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 132-4, and Chapter 8.

⁴⁵ See Ibid., esp. Chapter 3; Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999), 26-9; Lee, *Policing Prostitution*.

are faced with an often totalizing concept that obscured the multifarious and often informal spatial practices of those involved. Sites recorded as ‘brothels’ by court clerks are detailed in Figure 1.5.⁴⁶ Until 1919, this data followed a similar pattern to arrests for street prostitution, with the city centre featuring prominently alongside Butetown, which likely reflects a significant degree of crossover between ‘street’ and ‘off-street’ practices. For instance, in 1911, Lydia Logan appeared in court for both keeping a brothel at Sandon Place in Newtown, and for being a ‘common prostitute’ at St Mary Street and Mary Ann Street.⁴⁷ Likewise, Miriam Bruno faced magistrates for managing a brothel at Homfray Street in the city centre following two arrests for being a common prostitute at Bute Street.⁴⁸ It is likely that some women, such as Logan and Bruno, were not running ‘brothels’ as such but soliciting on Cardiff’s streets then using their places of residence for transaction.

In the 1920s, Butetown became the most common district recorded at the petty sessions for brothel-related offences, accounting for twenty-nine of sixty-eight brothels logged in court registers. The remaining thirty-nine brothels noted in the 1920s were spread across a number of areas, yet from the 1930s onwards Butetown increasingly represented a greater proportion of recorded brothels. This shift in the locations of brothels documented at the petty sessions poses obstacles to accurately mapping the geography of off-street prostitution; while symbolic of prostitutes’ adoption of more clandestine methods in the 1920s and 1930s, the swing towards Butetown was more representative of heightened police attention on the dockland and a diminution of concerns over the street prostitute. In essence, trends in arrest rates and spatial data relating to prostitution reflect the concerns and strategies of Chief Constable James Wilson, who joined the Cardiff force in 1920.⁴⁹ A spike in the arrest rate for street prostitution

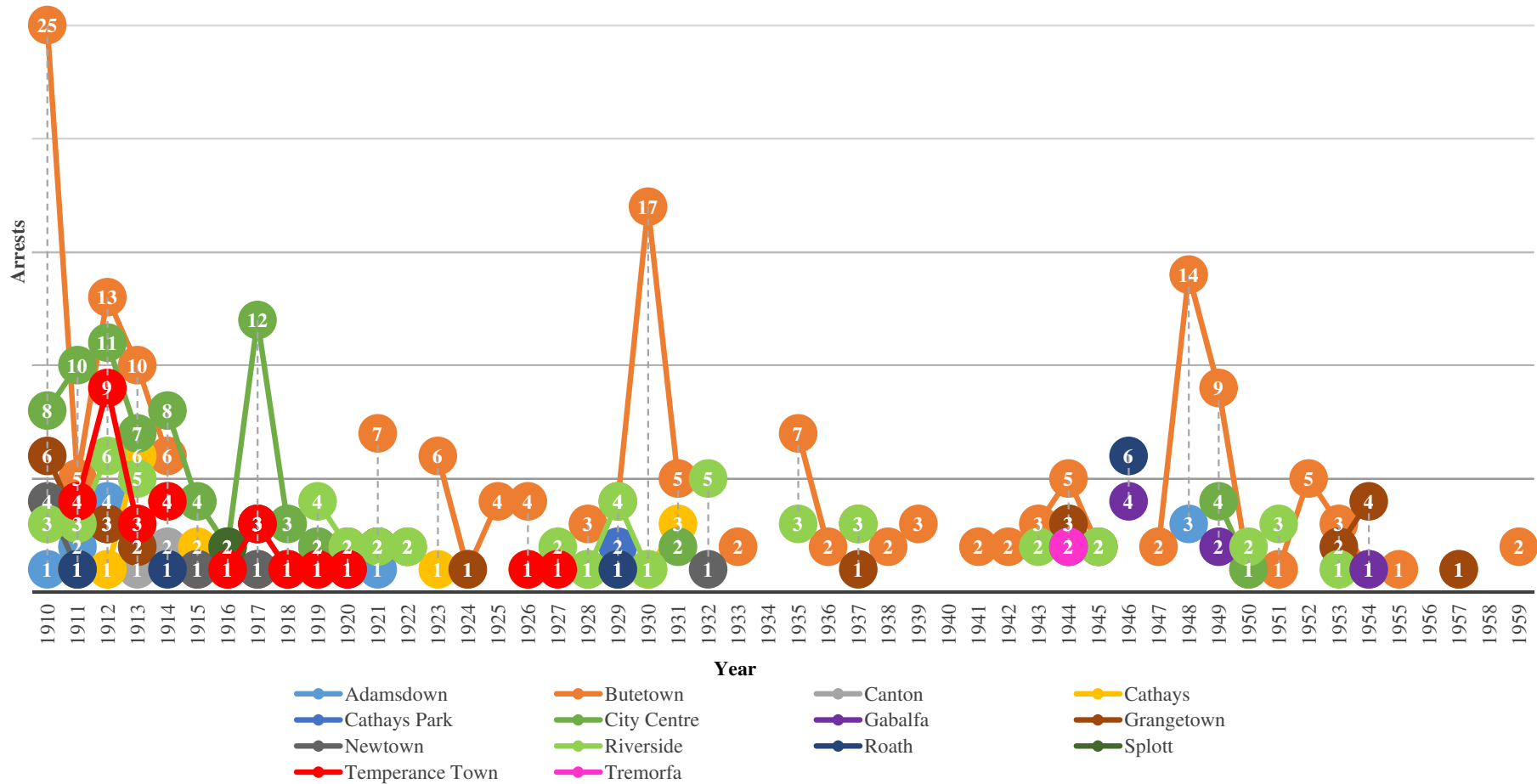
⁴⁶ For a discussion of the arrest rates of individuals charged with brothel keeping or management, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁷ GA PSCBO/4/43, 49, and 51, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, December 1909-February 1910, January-March 1911, and May-July 1911.

⁴⁸ Also see other examples in: GA PSCBO/4/64-68, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1913-1914.

⁴⁹ For biographical detail on Chief Constable Wilson, see Chapters 4 and 5.

Fig. 1.5: Arrests for brothel keeping/management in Cardiff by district, 1910-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-1959

in the city centre reflected his concerns over the visibility of sexual contact and ‘immorality’ in commercial thoroughfares and in nearby cinemas when he assumed his role (see Figure 1.1). A January 1922 interview with the *SWDN* conveyed his determination to remove prostitution from Cardiff’s main streets as it recorded him exclaiming, while ‘banging his desk with his fist’, that ‘Cardiff’s got to be a clean city!’⁵⁰ Heightened police attention towards central thoroughfares during the early-1920s forced prostitutes to use private residences and ‘short-term’ spaces for selling sex, such as sublet apartments. Sublets used by prostitutes were reportedly situated along Fitzhamon Embankment in Riverside and in Butetown properties that had previously been the sites of seamen’s boarding houses but had since been converted into flats.⁵¹ In this sense, new spaces of prostitution were produced through prostitutes attempting to evade arrest via more clandestine tactics enabled through changes in Cardiff’s property market.⁵²

However, clandestine arrangements for selling sex did not necessarily emerge during the interwar years. As touched upon earlier, there is evidence that in preceding decades prostitutes used boarding houses for selling sex, sometimes as ‘short-term’ spaces, which blurred the division between ‘street’ and ‘off-street’ prostitution.⁵³ The interwar years pose a different problem with regards to mapping the spaces of ‘off-street’ prostitution, as an increase in attention to ‘brothels’ in Butetown was more reflective of shifts in police concern. As will be covered in detail later in this thesis, the mid-1920s saw the intensification of concerns over a perceived ‘racial problem’ in Butetown, in which Maltese cafés were seen to play a central role in facilitating sexual relations between black seamen and white prostitutes. The police also

⁵⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 19 January 1922.

⁵¹ See National Library of Wales (NLW) MS 15450C, Minutes of the Cardiff and District Citizens’ Union/South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, 1919-1937; *South Wales Daily News*, 30 October 1926; Women’s Library (WL) 3AMS/B/08/02, Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929. These links were again made by the Deputy Chief Constable in the mid-1930s: W. W. Harrison, ‘The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races’, *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2:2 (1936), 197-204.

⁵² Also see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 8.

⁵³ Also see discussion in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

sought to regulate Maltese cafés by a number of other means than the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, meaning that evidence relating to prostitution-related arrests only provides a glimpse of the police’s activities in relation to dockland prostitution in these years – and even less about the spatial uses of prostitutes. Alternative methods employed by Chief Constable Wilson included the use of licensing bye-laws and attempts to lobby the Home Office to expel Maltese men from the port under aliens legislation.⁵⁴ An intense focus on the Maltese café from the late-1920s thus influenced how spaces of street prostitution was recorded at the petty sessions, with an 81 percent decline in arrests for street prostitution offences reflecting changes in police concern and strategy as opposed to changes in the practices of prostitutes.

Slater’s work on London has suggested that Metropolitan police statistics present a ‘skewed picture of prostitution’ as police constables concentrated arrests in some areas, while prostitution in other areas was overlooked due to a lack of censure.⁵⁵ However, a diminution in attention on Cardiff city centre and an increase in police action in Butetown in the interwar years did not represent policies of containment/toleration with regards to prostitution. As we will see over the course of this thesis, Cardiff City Police did pursue a regulationist policy with regards to Butetown in this period, but with regards to racial regulation. While prostitution was an aspect of these efforts and associated debates, it was an embedded rather than a singular concern.⁵⁶ As such, incidences of prostitution-related crimes (or lack thereof) during the interwar years did not necessarily relate to spaces in which prostitution occurred, but rather the places that generated concern. The interwar trend of declining arrests for prostitution offences continued into the Second World War. Between 1940 and 1944, there were only eight court appearances for charges of being a common prostitute.⁵⁷ It is highly unlikely that street

⁵⁴ Police strategy on Butetown and the Maltese is covered in detail in Chapter 5.

⁵⁵ Slater, ‘Containment’, 335-6. Also Laite’s critique of Slater’s argument in the introduction to *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

⁵⁶ For arguments regarding spatially-informed regulationist policies, see Howell, ‘A Private Contagious Diseases Act’.

⁵⁷ GA PSCBO/4/151-162, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1939-1943.

prostitution ceased to exist in Cardiff during the Second World War – as in the First World War it likely created greater economic opportunities for those selling sex. The stresses of the war, however, meant that the city’s police could not focus the same amount of attention on prostitution as they had earlier in the century.⁵⁸ The conflict depleted police forces, and for those officers that remained in Cardiff, ‘aliens’ and naval deserters provided a more pressing concern than prostitution.⁵⁹ Hence, we need to recognize that police attention on prostitution was episodic and linked to wider concerns. In essence, this only allows us to map the temporal actions of the city’s police force in relation to prostitution, as opposed to a full picture of where commercial sex ‘happened’.

While there were fewer prosecutions for keeping or assisting in the management of a brothel during the war, five of the six premises recorded by magistrates between 1941 and 1943 were in Butetown, with four of these establishments being run by Maltese men. As such, there was an ongoing focus on the place of Butetown and the site of the Maltese café as the main sources of anxiety with regards to prostitution, despite an overall decrease in arrests.⁶⁰ The only exceptions were the Tremorfa area, where a brothel had been set up in 1944 to capitalize on a US army base at nearby St Mellons, and associations between prostitutes and black GIs around Maindy Barracks.⁶¹ However, despite anxieties over relationships between prostitutes and black American troops, the area around the barracks was not recorded as a space of prostitution at the petty sessions. This absence can be explained by the use of military Orders in response to renewed fears over venereal disease in wartime, along with Defence Regulation 33B, which was introduced in November 1942 to limit the spread of venereal disease amongst

⁵⁸ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the impact force depletion on the policing of prostitution in Cardiff.

⁵⁹ GA PSCBO/4/151-165, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1939-1945.

⁶⁰ GA PSCBO/4/156-163, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1941-1944.

⁶¹ GA PSCBO/4/163-165, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1944-1945; GA CL/QSCBO/31/37, Cardiff Quarter Sessions Recorder’s Notebook, 1943-1944; *Western Mail*, 14 September 1945. A discussion of concerns over Maindy Barracks is provided in Chapter 4.

the general population.⁶² This combination of factors – a depleted police force, continuing concerns over Maltese cafés, and military regulations – obscures the geography of prostitution in Cardiff during the Second World War. It is equally difficult to reveal the spaces of ‘off-street’ prostitution in the post-war years, when the numbers of brothels recorded at the petty sessions declined sharply as police action returned to the thoroughfares of the city centre.

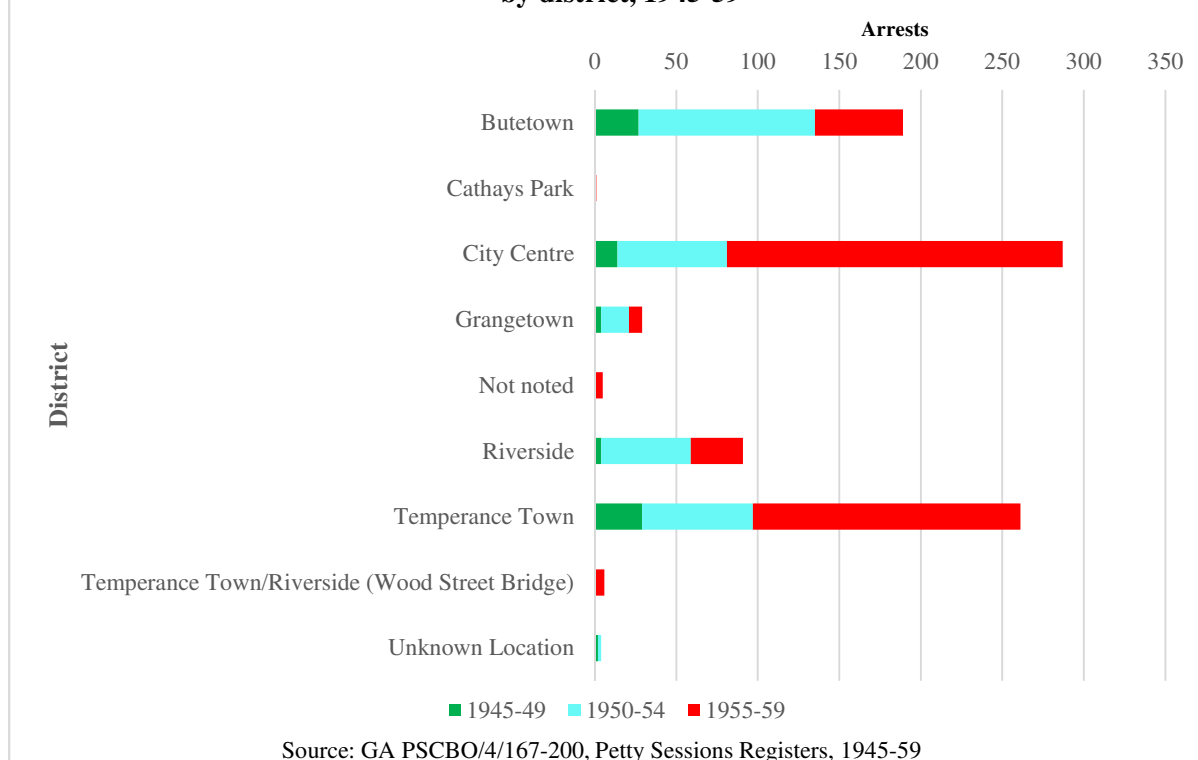
A return to the streets? Streetwalking and urban renewal after the Second World War

After the Second World War there was a significant increase in recorded incidences of street prostitution in Cardiff. As detailed in Figure 1.6, from no arrests in 1944 numbers rose steadily through the late 1940s and early 1950s, followed by a sharp increase in 1957 after which the arrest rate had returned to levels last seen in the mid-1920s. Police action focused mainly on the city centre, meaning that the post-war period saw police action return to the ‘common prostitute’ and spaces that had not troubled them since the early-1920s. This renewed concern over street prostitution demonstrates the episodic and temporal nature of concerns over commercial sex, and how the spaces recorded in petty sessions registers were driven by wider factors, such as public censure. For example, in June 1947 the local press raised some concerns over the efficiency of Cardiff City Police in policing streets in the city centre. In response, the new Chief Constable, W. John Price, was keen to stress that the police were working hard in ‘clearing up’ crime in city thoroughfares, particularly at night.⁶³ Price’s response to press complaints was matched by police action. In contrast to only two court appearances for being

⁶² For instance, seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Woods and eighteen-year-old Betty Taylor were detained by military forces in May 1945 for trespassing at Maindy Barracks: GA PSCBO/4/166, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, January-June 1945. Also see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 55-7. Wartime anxieties also signalled a renewal of concerns over the ‘good-time girl’ or ‘amateur’ prostitute as opposed to the ‘prostitute’ proper, posing a further obstacle to accurately mapping the spaces of prostitution during wartime. The threat of the ‘amateur’ is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

⁶³ *South Wales Echo*, 19 June 1947.

Fig. 1.6: Women arrested for street prostitution-related offences in Cardiff by district, 1945-59



a ‘common prostitute’ in 1946, 1947 saw twenty-four, and the arrest rate had increased to seventy-two by 1950.⁶⁴ The 1950s then saw a further increase in police action on street prostitution, which coincided with wider debates focusing on London that culminated in the Wolfenden Report and the subsequent 1959 Street Offences Act (SOA).⁶⁵ Male prostitution and homosexuality were also prominent points of discussion that influenced the 1959 SOA, and while they had previously been absent from debates in Cardiff, male prostitutes were recorded in petty sessions registers for the first time in late-1959.⁶⁶ In these months, men were arrested for soliciting at urinals in Station Terrace outside the city centre’s Queen Street Railway Station, in the street at Fitzhamon Embankment, and at Riverside’s Tudor Hotel. This

⁶⁴ GA PSCBO/4/169-178, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1946-1950.

⁶⁵ See Frank Mort, ‘Mapping Sexual London: The Wolfenden Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1954-57’, *New Formations*, 37 (1999), 92-113, and *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapter 4. Also see Helen Self’s *Prostitution, Women and the Misuse of the Law*, much of which deals with the discourses surrounding Wolfenden and the 1959 SOA. The implications of these wider debates on shaping regulation in Cardiff will be explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

⁶⁶ GA PSCBO/4/186-190, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1953-1956.

is not to say that these were new sites of commercial sex, but rather that the 1959 Act brought male prostitution and the spaces of solicitation into explicit focus for the first time.

Yet these figures were produced as much by local concerns as by legal debates that focused on London. Map 1.8 illustrates the spatial distribution of prostitution in Cardiff city centre in the 1950s. This also incorporates Temperance Town, which by this point no longer resembled the working-class residential environment that it had been prior to the Second World War. A significant portion of Temperance Town had been demolished in the late-1930s to open up space in front of the Great Western Railway's general station.⁶⁷ The redevelopment plans for the area included the development of a central bus station, public gardens, car parks, and a public hall, yet was delayed by the onset of war in 1939.⁶⁸ A return to debates over the redevelopment of this area in the late-1940s was matched by an increased number of prostitution-related arrests. Unlike the late-interwar period when anxieties over dockland cafés dominated police concerns, the post-war period saw a rise in arrests in the redeveloped Temperance Town area. Between 1950 and 1954, Temperance Town featured in sixty-nine of a total 324 hearings relating to street prostitution, rising to 165 of 494 hearings between 1955 and 1959.⁶⁹ This was less a case that Temperance Town had become a 'new' space of prostitution, but that the removal of Victorian terraces and redevelopment of the area refocused police attention.⁷⁰

Arrests in Temperance Town in the 1950s were predominantly made in the thoroughfare of Wood Street (152 arrests) and parallel Park Street (forty-nine arrests), which adjoined Westgate Street.⁷¹ In the early 1950s, arrests in these streets were predominantly made under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, with sixty arrests in contrast to eight made using the 1847 TPCA.

⁶⁷ *Western Mail*, 5 November 1936.

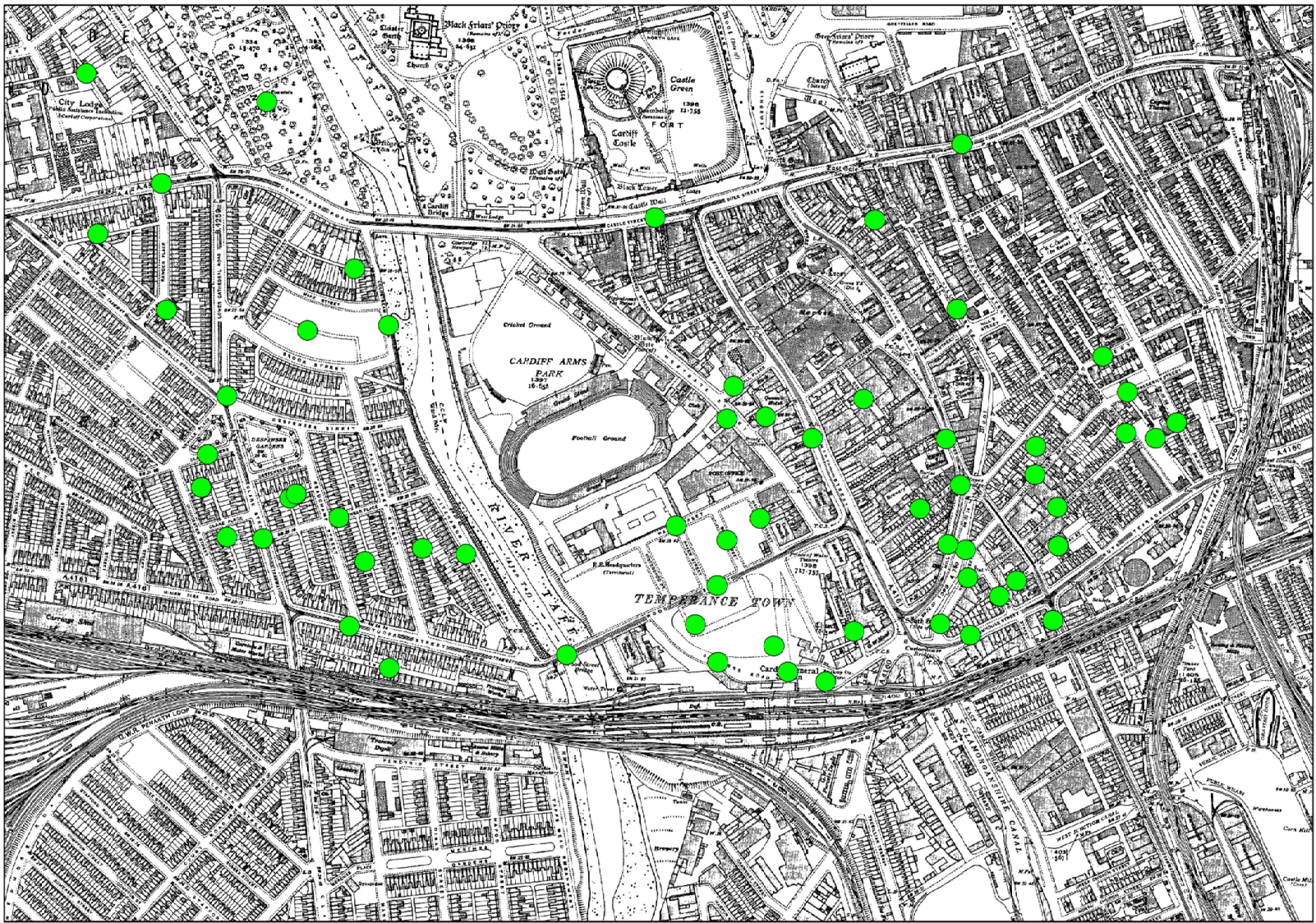
⁶⁸ *Western Mail*, 12 October 1939.

⁶⁹ GA PSCBO/4/177-200, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers 1949-1959.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of materiality and urban regeneration schemes.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Map 1.8: Distribution of street prostitution arrests in Riverside, Temperance Town and Cardiff city centre, 1950s



Source:
GA PSCBO/4/177-
200, Cardiff Petty
Sessions Registers,
1950-59

However, in the second half of the decade, arrests for solicitation had increased to eighty, in contrast to the sixty-eight for being a ‘common prostitute’.⁷² In the late-1950s, arrests for soliciting under the 1847 TPCA were mainly made at Wood Street, which constituted seventy-seven of the district’s eighty-six arrests under this Act. These statistics highlight that the clearance of the residential streets between Wood Street and the construction of a bus station in their place meant that Wood Street became a more prominent site for solicitation, but also one that was easier to police given that this area was more visible following the removal of the area’s Victorian terraces.⁷³

Evidence from the petty sessions also suggests a link between street prostitution in Temperance Town and Riverside – six arrests were made on adjoining Wood Street Bridge in the late-1950s, with most arrests in Riverside being clustered in the surrounding neighbourhood (see Map 1.8). Riverside also saw an increase in arrests during the post-war years, rising from just four in 1948 to seventeen in 1954.⁷⁴ Hence, following the clearance of Temperance Town, there was likely a greater continuity of the selling of sex between the city centre and Riverside – particularly as police action on central thoroughfares increased as the decade progressed. However, despite protestation from the press and Riverside residents over the increasing incidence of street prostitution in this district (see Chapter 2), arrests declined there in the late 1950s – from twelve in 1955 to just seven in 1959.⁷⁵ This suggests that police attention to prostitution in certain districts was driven by factors other than its prevalence, and that local protest did not always have an influence in shaping the strategies of the force. While spatial changes in Temperance Town had made street prostitution more visible there, an increase in prostitution-related arrests coincided with its urban ‘regeneration’ from ‘slum’ into a space for

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ See Chapter 7 for further discussion on regulation and material change in post-war Temperance Town.

⁷⁴ GA PSCBO/4/177-188, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1949-1955.

⁷⁵ GA DCONC/5/85, Newcuttings, August 1954-January 1960; GA PSCBO/4/188-200, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1955-1959.

offices, bus and railway stations, and the Empire Pool, a brand-new facility constructed for the 1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games. It was this spatial change – from slum to a space of leisure, transit and commercial activity – that focused police attention on prostitution, and not public censure relating a residential district.⁷⁶

Just as the redevelopment of Temperance Town focused police action, concerns about prostitution moved towards the working-class residential district in the east of Cardiff's city centre in the mid-1950s, following the announcement of plans to redevelop the area. The work, which was to commence in 1959, was part of a wider move to rejuvenate Cardiff's image in light of it being granted capital status for Wales in 1955. As with Temperance Town, a rise in arrests for street prostitution offences accompanied attempts at urban renewal in the eastern portion of Cardiff city centre. Plans for urban redevelopment in this district served to influence police actions towards prostitution there, and the spaces of prostitution that were recorded in petty sessions registers. The return of concerns to Temperance Town and the city centre in the post-war period thus signalled renewed anxieties over the visibility of the 'common prostitute' in spaces deemed important to overturning Cardiff's declining economic fortunes. Hence, the increase in recorded incidences of prostitution in the city centre after 1945 is less revealing of the relationship between space and prostitution, but how prostitution was an element within temporal concerns over particular places.

Conclusion

The spaces of prostitution in Cardiff were produced through a range of interlocking factors. Prior to the mid-1920s central thoroughfares were prominent areas of solicitation, with prostitutes arrested under the 1847 TPCA using everyday spaces of movement and exchange to sell sex. The spaces of prostitution were constantly in flux as prostitutes sought out new

⁷⁶ See Chapter 7.

spaces in response to police action. However, the geographies of prostitution cannot be compartmentalized by district, nor by ‘street’ and ‘off-street’ forms of practice. Rather, there was fluidity of movement between districts of the city and between sites, such as boarding houses, public houses, and ‘brothels’. This mutability in spatial use is also evident in the arrests of prostitutes’ clients charged under ‘aiding and abetting’, as transient seafarers and local men shifted between districts when buying sex. Evidence relating to clients is also revealing of how the purchase of sex was embedded in other activities, such as drinking. This connection between prostitution and the everyday meant that the spaces of commercial sex were produced through a range of intertwining social practices shaped by general flows of commerce and exchange, police action, and the quotidian activities of everyday citizens – including the ‘prostitutes’ themselves.

While mapping is helpful in visualizing where incidences of arrests for prostitution-related offences occurred, it has a tendency to reinforce a notion of space as an atemporal frame. The ineffectiveness of mapping is partly a result of it being unreflective of the everyday movements that are central to the production of space, but also that locational evidence relating to prostitution is more revealing of police action than of prostitutes’ use of space. Hence, we can only truly map geographies of police action and public debate in relation to prostitution, a problem that is especially prevalent when examining the 1920s and 1930s. In the interwar period, the police appeared to have little interest in street prostitution, and were instead driven by anxieties over race in the dockland. This implies that while clandestine prostitution might appear to have increased during the 1920s and 1930s, we are presented with a map of temporal police attitudes as opposed to the shifting spatial practices of prostitutes. Even when arrest rates for street prostitution in the city centre rose after 1945, this signalled less a return to street practices on behalf of prostitutes than renewed police concern over this particular district. These difficulties in identifying the spaces of prostitution and spatial practices of prostitutes

pose significant methodological problems for historians. As can be observed in matters of temporality, fluidity and movement, the recursive relationship between police action and the selling of sex, and interactions between prostitution and the everyday, 'space' is a far more complex matter than 'where things happened'. Yet, through examining 'space' specifically, we have neglected another constituent – and vital – element of spatial production. As is evident in the connections between spaces of prostitution and 'congested areas' of drunkenness in the Edwardian years, there was a cultural element to how the spaces of prostitution were perceived and produced. This is the symbolic realm of 'place': space in terms of how it is represented and is expressive of cultural values and behaviours linked to certain geographical areas. Hence, as opposed to being an abstract or detached discourse, place exerted influence over space as lived and practiced.⁷⁷ While we will return to questions of spatiality throughout this thesis, the next chapter will award specific attention to place in order to explore how prostitution was culturally and temporally linked to particular urban districts.

⁷⁷ Also see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.

2. Place: Moral Geographies in the Problem Port

Cardiff has been called the ‘Sink of the West,’ in reference to the vice that is rampant in the town; but this is I suppose, to a certain extent, in the nature of things – cause and effect – seeing that it is an important port [...] down in the neighbourhood of the docks its brazen front is everywhere.¹

In the eyes of this Manchester journalist who visited Cardiff in 1902, prostitution was both a natural occurrence in certain districts and a blight on civic reputation. Similar connections between prostitution and particular places in Cardiff were frequently expressed in the regional press and by Nonconformist social reformers. Yet perceptions of place were also characterized by temporal shifts. While Edwardian observers located prostitution within a milieu of drink and ‘unrespectable’ behaviours in close proximity to the central thoroughfares, by the 1920s prostitution was presented as a concealed activity within the dockland of Butetown and embedded within its so-called ‘racial problem’. Thus, the geographies and practices that can be mapped from petty sessions registers were linked to, and shaped by, wider perceptions of particular places that were promoted by a range of agents including the press, the police, and social reformers. Why did prostitution become culturally linked to certain places? What accounts for the shifting moral geography of prostitution?

To answer these questions, we first need to define ‘place’. The geographer Cresswell suggests that ‘space’ refers to an abstract realm in which the social is practiced, while ‘place’ refers to the meanings inscribed onto space, through naming or associations with cultural values or practices.² Yet, as Jerram argues, these terms are frequently conflated with one another, which ‘jumble[s] up materiality, distributions, relationships, and meanings in very unhelpful ways.’³ Held up against Lefebvre’s theory of spatial production (see Chapter 1), ‘place’ bridges the ‘representations of space’, being how space is conceived; and

¹ *Western Mail*, 19 August 1902. Article reprinted from Manchester’s *Umpire*.

² See Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell [2004] 2015), Chapter 1.

³ Leif Jerram, ‘Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?’, *History and Theory*, 52:3 (2013), esp. 403-7.

‘representational space’, in the sense of how space is represented through cultural symbols.⁴ As such, the Lefebvrian ‘trialectic’ also tends to conflate the concepts of ‘space’ and ‘place’, providing not, as Jerram notes, a ‘successful conquest of the evils of binarism, but a merger that suppresses the capacity to discuss matter.’⁵ The geographer Edward Soja attempted to counter this elision with a new taxonomical category of ‘Thirdspace’ to represent the interplay between the ‘Firstspace’ of materiality and the ‘Secondspace’ of imagined representation.⁶ Another approach has come from the work of Rob Shields, who has seen place as refelcting the dialectical ‘hijackings and appropriations that add complexity to the meaning and the function of everyday spaces’.⁷ Drawing on Lefebvre’s theories, Shields’s ‘spatialization’ model envisages a process in which ‘imaginary geographies [...] transcend the material’, taking the form of a recursive and circular relationship between spatial practice and representations that shape ‘spatialized divisions and classifications’.⁸ In short, ‘place’, as a form of representation, must be considered not as an abstract imagining of material space, but part of an ongoing process which informs and is informed by material life in physical space.

However, as David Harvey notes, this still leaves us with a need to unravel ‘a multilayered and messy geographical concept’ that ‘has so many cognates that it seems in itself to require a small indexical dictionary of intersecting meanings.’⁹ Additionally, as Doreen Massey’s work posed, the approaches of geographers such as Soja award primacy to space/place, and by doing so frame temporality as a negative opposite even though ‘space and

⁴ Ibid., 404; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, [1991] 1996), 33, 39-40.

⁵ Jerram, ‘Space’, 411.

⁶ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, [1996] 1997).

⁷ Rob Shields, *Spatial Questions: Cultural Topologies and Social Spatializations* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2013), 28.

⁸ Ibid., 28-31; Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, [1991] 2013), 29-30.

⁹ David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 169-70.

time are implied in each other'.¹⁰ Historians' consideration of place must, therefore, pay careful attention not only to the distinctions and interactions between space and place, but the temporality of both material space and representational place. To counter these ambiguities and to ensure categorical clarity, I refer to 'place' here as a means to distinguish cultural values and representations from the forms of spatial use/practice that we explored in Chapter 1. In doing so, this chapter reveals two central aspects of the role of place in shaping perceptions of prostitution: first, that place informed ideas of civic progress, which then embedded prostitution as a problem 'cultural value' associated with certain districts; and second, that place influenced perceptions on a broader level, framing Cardiff as a 'problem' port and drawing the attentions of observers from across Britain. In the Edwardian years, connections between place and prostitution drew on familiar imagery of slums as places of prostitution, criminality, and degradation, which served to focus concerns on the central residential district. Much as Alan Mayne's work has shown, concerns over the slum were expressed using stereotypes of working-class districts that had been circulated widely around the Anglophone world.¹¹ These depictions became prevalent during the late-nineteenth century as shifting perspectives on urban populations framed social problems within a discourse of organic and natural systems, moving questions of moral authority away from individual behaviour and onto the urban environment.¹²

While expressed through familiar images of slumland, concerns in Edwardian Cardiff were also symbolic of the prominence of Welsh Nonconformist moral politics from the mid-Edwardian years, which was characterized by a focus on the twin concerns of prostitution and

¹⁰ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: Sage, [2005] 2014), 17-18.

¹¹ Alan Mayne, 'Representing the Slum', *Urban History*, 17 (1990), 66-84; Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1993).

¹² Harold L. Platt, 'From Hygeia to the Garden City: Bodies, Houses, and the Rediscovery of the Slum in Manchester, 1875-1910', *Journal of Urban History*, 33:5 (2007), 756-772.

intemperance.¹³ The use of widespread imagery to express Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist anxiety over civic and moral progress in Cardiff calls to mind Massey's notion of networked place, in which spatial symbolisms are 'stretched out' across global space to shape understandings of local geographies.¹⁴ Through this we do not see places of prostitution, but places to which prostitution was temporally linked, and, rather than prostitution, it was place that was seen to hold agency, presenting a threat to civic image and ambition. As opposed to being a source of concern in itself, ideas of place focused on the visibility of working-class behaviours from commercial thoroughfares and allied commercial sex to concerns over drunkenness and 'congested' drinking spaces.¹⁵ The images of place they presented were often sensory, and contrasted the dark space and uncivility of the slum against the 'respectability' of the suburb.¹⁶ These sensorial aspects were also temporal, as prostitution was framed as spilling over into 'respectable' areas at particular times of day.

As explored in the work of geographical theorists, such as Harvey and Massey, place often represents a 'sense of belonging and not belonging (and hence of identity and otherness)', and is formed through ideas of difference from one place from the other places which lay outside its borders.¹⁷ The binary effect of place is evident in how the central slum was perceived as a threat to the commercial thoroughfares, with the former depicted as both of place and time from the 'respectable' uses of space in the latter. Such a distinction was even more explicit in

¹³ For the 'missionary zeal' of public health in other urban centres, see Patricia L. Garside, "'Unhealthy Areas': Town Planning, Eugenics and the Slums, 1890-1945', *Planning Perspectives* 3:1 (1988), 26. For the context on Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity in Cardiff, see Martin Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), esp. 222-3. A more detailed discussion of the influence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity is provided in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

¹⁴ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), Chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁵ Also see James Kneale, 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2:1 (2001), 43-59.

¹⁶ For space, place, and the sensory, also see David Beckingham, 'Banning the Barmaid: Time, Space, and Alcohol Licensing in 1900s Glasgow', *Social and Cultural Geography*, (forthcoming, 2016); Chris Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City', *Social History*, 27:1 (2002), 1-15; Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, 'Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialization of Virtue', *Environment and Planning D*, 17 (1999), 737-760; Andy Croll, 'Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame: Regulating Behaviour in the Public Spaces of the Late Victorian British Town', *Social History*, 24:3 (1999), 250-268.

¹⁷ Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, 170; Massey, *For Space*, 64.

representations of the dockland of Butetown. Envisaged as an ‘alien enclave’ since the late-nineteenth century, this area acquired new cultural associations in the interwar years when prostitution became embroiled within wider anxieties over miscegenation. The spatial aspect of this racialized narrative centred on Maltese cafés, which were seen to function as covert brothels and facilitate sexual relations between black men and white prostitutes. Symbolic of the Foucauldian notion of the ‘heterotopia’, the Maltese café figured as a simultaneously real-and-imagined place that inverted the cultural norms of observers.¹⁸ Hence, while the practiced ‘spaces’ of prostitution, as explored in Chapter 1, were characterized by multiplicity, plurality, flux, and the blurring of district boundaries, ‘place’ frequently presents binary oppositions, including ideas of distinctions between slum and commercial areas, or between ‘black’ Butetown and ‘white’ Cardiff. Having examined place as representation, the chapter ends with a consideration of place as both power relation and a central process of socio-spatial production, focusing on how narratives of place ghettoized the Butetown community. Echoing Massey’s theory of spatial symbolism being characterized by networked social relations, images of place in Cardiff also drew the attentions of external observers – in both national and transnational contexts. Place was thus both a central component in the formation of knowledges of different urban spaces, and in how prostitution become culturally linked with certain districts. It also represented a scalar and temporal moral geography that informed both a mapping of behaviours within Cardiff, and wider perceptions of Cardiff as a ‘problem’ port.¹⁹

In ‘Darkest Cardiff’: place, prostitution and the circulation of ideas

In the previous chapter we saw how police activity towards prostitution before the mid-1920s focused mainly on the central thoroughfares and residential portion of the city centre. The

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16:1 (1986), 22-27.

¹⁹ Also see Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 739.

spatial focus of police action in these years echoed a particular moral geography that had been promoted by the local press, social reformers, and local vigilance groups since the late-nineteenth century. While prostitution had diminished as a concern in late-Victorian Cardiff as social anxieties hinged on intemperance amidst debates around the 1881 Welsh Sunday Closing Act, we need to turn briefly to this period to understand how a particular formation of place that developed in these years, which then came to dominate debates over prostitution until 1914.²⁰ This notion of place is exemplified by a run of articles published in the *Liberal Cardiff Argus* in January 1891, which explored the streets of ‘Darkest Cardiff’ (see Map 2.1) and asked its readers if there

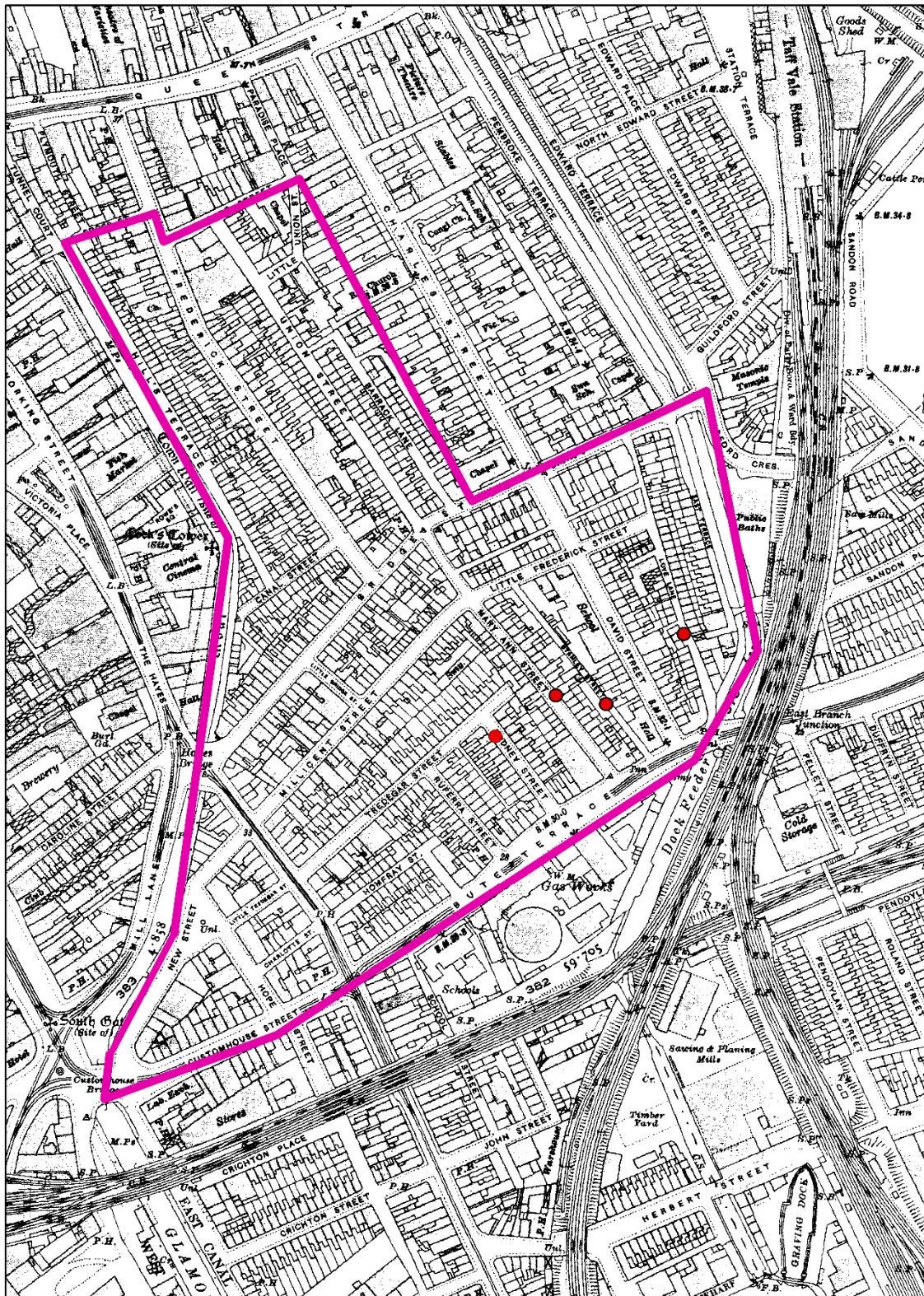
Are there not some dark spots in Cardiff, like ‘Darkest England,’ places in which the lives of the residents are far below those of the many tribes of Central Africa? Men and women whose morality, and whose ideas of right and wrong, are not far above those of the lowest types of the human race? How many among our wealthy philanthropists have ever entered Stanley Street, Rodney Street, Mary Ann Street, Love Lane, and the adjacent places? Some probably do not know the locality of such places, and yet they form the very St Giles of Cardiff, a cesspool of our Modern Babylon, to which drift at night all the dregs of human life, and where may be seen the lowest, the most vicious, and the worst forms of civilized society.²¹

This newspaper, through familiar images of St Giles and Stead’s ‘Maiden Tribute’, thus drew an explicit link to ideas of London in order to frame concerns over urbanization. Such claims were not unique to Cardiff, and the *Argus* presented a common picture of the central slum of Cardiff as a place of degeneration. These articles emphasized how this place housed ‘the lowest types of the human race’ and ‘the dregs of human life’, and emphasized a threat of contagion in stressing how the ‘lowest’ aspects of society were drawn to its ‘cesspool’. The series also made an appeal to Cardiff’s ‘respectable’ classes to take responsibility, and called on

²⁰ See Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27:3 (1982), 290-323; W. R. Lambert, ‘The Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881’, *Welsh History Review*, 6:2 (1972), 161-189; Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, c.1820-c.1895* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983).

²¹ *Cardiff Argus*, 10 January 1891.

Map 2.1: 'Darkest Cardiff'



The approximate borders of the central 'slum'. Rodney Street, Mary Ann Street, Stanley Street, and Love Lane are indicated by red markers. The main commercial thoroughfares are to the west; Butetown to the south.

philanthropists to visit and experience the slum.²² In sum, the area was envisaged as threat of degeneracy that was concealed from the eyes of the city's respectable citizens, who were urged to take civic and personal responsibility to counter this alleged malaise. While these concerns did not explicitly focus on prostitution, the *Argus* presented it as an embedded aspect of this underclass milieu, in which many young men acted as “bullies” [‘pimps’] for girls, who walk Bute Street at night endeavouring to bring into these traps [‘brothels’] the sailors, who have been just paid off.’²³ Hence, the central slum provided a greater threat than the dockland in terms of its prostitution, with reports drawing attention to how visiting seafarers were being solicited in Bute Street before being drawn into ‘traps’ in the central ward.

This depiction of the central slum as a source of moral contagion was not exceptional to Cardiff, and the *Cardiff Argus* drew on familiar language as well as national concerns about degeneration.²⁴ As Neil Evans argues, the Liberal and Evangelical emphasis on urban space during Cardiff's late-Victorian growth was, in essence, ‘a local version or manifestation of the “Condition of England” question.’²⁵ Referencing familiar images of London, the *Argus* singled out the city centre's residential slum as a threat to ‘civilized society’.²⁶ In drawing on such widely-circulated stereotypes of slumland and fears of degeneration, the *Argus* also developed

²² Also see Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²³ *Cardiff Argus*, 10 January 1891.

²⁴ For degeneration in the late-Victorian period, see Bill Luckin, ‘Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain, 1830-1900’, *Urban History*, 32:2 (2006), 234-252; Vanessa Heggie, ‘Lies, Damn Lies, and Manchester's Recruiting Statistics: Degeneration as an “Urban Legend” in Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 63:2 (2008), 178-216; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1989] 1996); Rod Edmond, ‘Home and Away: Degeneration in Imperialist and Modernist Discourse’, in Howard Booth and Nigel Rigby (eds), *Modernism and Empire: Writing and British Coloniality* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 39-63; Richard A. Soloway, *Democracy and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, [1990] 1995).

²⁵ Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, 298. For examples from other urban centres, see Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle-Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, [2000] 2007), esp. Chapter 3.

²⁶ For the cultural influence of the ‘Maiden Tribute’ and perceptions of London, see Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, [1992] 1994), Chapters 3 and 4.

an emotive hook by which to encourage its ‘respectable’ readership to take heed.²⁷ The use of popular tropes can also be seen in how the *Argus* explicitly drew on the narrative of William Booth’s *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, which, with reference to the narrative of *In Darkest Africa*, imagined the East End as a signifier of urban decay and degeneration.²⁸ This is evident in both the ‘Darkest Cardiff’ title of the series and the explicit references within the above excerpt to ‘Darkest England’ and ‘the many tribes of Central Africa’.²⁹ Hence, just as Booth drew on broader colonial narratives in imagining the ‘East End as an urban jungle that signified physical and spiritual decay, deterioration, and degeneration’, this image of ‘Darkest Cardiff’ also utilized widely-circulated perceptions of both urban centres and colonial settings to reflect on urban spaces during Cardiff’s late-Victorian growth.³⁰ In using familiar imagery, depictions of urban problems in Cardiff deployed a set of stereotypes that focused on sensory ideas of place, including urban decay and venal sexuality, which both drew the concerns of ‘respectable’ readers and provided a wider frame for concerns over prostitution.³¹

Prostitution and environment: place as stereotype and agent

The circulation of such ideas in the regional press was symbolic of the ongoing influence of ‘New Journalism’, a populist and sensationalized form of reporting associated with the late-nineteenth century.³² Despite being most commonly associated with metropolitan scandals and

²⁷ See Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*.

²⁸ See Joseph McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (Charlottesville, VA and London: University Press of Virginia, 2000), esp. Chapter 4.

²⁹ *Cardiff Argus*, 10 January 1891.

³⁰ As Rob Shields has noted, stereotypes like that of ‘darkest Africa’ have a ‘potent connotative kick which alludes to the emotional importance of entire systems of spatial images which function as frameworks of cultural order’, rendering the spatial as ‘an area of intense cultural activity.’ Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 30. For late-Victorian depictions of the central slum from other newspapers, particularly the *South Wales Daily News* and *Western Mail*, see Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/5/1-11, Newscuttings, 1889-1899; and Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’.

³¹ Also see Alain Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), ix.

³² See Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, Chapters 3 and 4; Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana, IL and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 36-43.

newspapers, provincial titles also adopted discursive strategies similar to those that featured in the sensationalism of the London press.³³ Central to the significance of regional titles was that they merged national news with local occurrences, providing a network of communication for readers to learn of – and respond to – matters of concern.³⁴ In Cardiff, the most influential titles were the Conservative *Western Mail*, founded by the Bute estate, and the Liberal Nonconformist-aligned *South Wales Daily News (SWDN)*.³⁵ The rise in influence of the latter title also coincided with the Welsh religious revival of 1904-5, which led Nonconformist groups to find confidence in tackling social mores.³⁶ Concerns over place in Cardiff also drew the attentions of journalists from elsewhere, signalling how Cardiff had developed renown for being a ‘problem’ port. This included Manchester, where the city’s progressive movement had focused on housing and environmental reform, and had exerted influence over municipal environmental policies.³⁷

In 1902, a journalist from Manchester’s *Umpire* visited Cardiff to inspect the central residential district. In his account, he emphasized concerns that had constituted familiar responses to urbanization across numerous towns and cities, primarily overcrowding and disease.³⁸ This environment was said to exert agency over its residents, as ‘rampant vice’ and

³³ See arguments in John Benson, ‘Calculation, Celebrity, and Scandal: The Provincial Press in Edwardian England’, *Journalism Studies*, 10:6 (2009), 837-850.

³⁴ See Croll, ‘Street Disorder, Surveillance, and Shame’, 259-64.

³⁵ Aled G. Jones, *Press, Politics, and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 129-30.

³⁶ For the revival, see C. R. Williams, ‘The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 3:3 (1952), 242-259. Also see Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), esp. Chapter 1; Pope, ‘Congregations and Community’, in Lesley Hesselbee and Paul Ballard (eds), *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare 1800-2010* (London and New York: Continuum, 2012), 23-44; D. W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914* (London, Boston, MA and Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982). The wider impact of the revival on the regulation of prostitution is explored in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

³⁷ See Platt, ‘From Hygeia to the Garden City’, 759.

³⁸ For some examples from the large body of literature on the social problems of Victorian and Edwardian urbanization, see Felix Driver, ‘Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13:3 (1988), 275-287; Christian Topalov, ‘The City as *Terra Incognita*: Charles Booth’s Poverty Survey and the People of London, 1886-1891’, *Planning Perspectives*, 8:4 (1993), 395-425; Mayne, ‘Representing the Slum’; Mayne, *The Imagine Slum*; Barry Doyle, ‘Mapping Slums in a Historic City: Representing Working Class Communities in Edwardian Norwich’, *Planning Perspectives*, 16:1 (2001), 47-65; Anthony Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian*

an ‘army of pestilent, foul-mouthed females’ were seen as a product of the ‘dirty, unhealthy houses’ and overcrowded ‘small courts’.³⁹ These views were not limited to journalists as similar anxieties were expressed by city officials. This included the Medical Officer of Health, Edward Walford, who was especially concerned over courts in the Mary Ann Street vicinity.⁴⁰ Walford’s anxiety over the area stemmed from a diphtheria outbreak in the town in 1899, which he attributed to increases in both population and population density.⁴¹ This connection between ideas of medical and moral contagion is unsurprising, as since the nineteenth century ideas of ‘health and virtue’ had been underpinned by ideas of the influences of both moral and physical environments, leading to a discourse of urban morals that was frequently expressed through language of disease.⁴²

A notion of the slum possessing agency over its residents was repeated in the local press and cited as instigating prostitution. In August 1902 one reader wrote to the *SWDN* to argue that ‘sexual vice’ could only be tackled through ‘its sources [...] we must do battle with overcrowding, with the drink temptation, with filth everywhere’.⁴³ Newspaper reports on court proceedings also focused heavily on the presence of brothels and street prostitutes in streets like Mary Ann Street, Millicent Street, and Love Lane, helping to cement the link in readers’ minds between prostitution and the central slum.⁴⁴ As has been shown in work on other urban centres, imagery of ‘courts and yards’, ‘rookeries’, and ‘hidden spaces’ were a dominant device in slumland representation. These were sensorial tropes that connected scenes of the crowd,

London (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transaction, [1997] 2009). Also see Lucy Hewitt, ‘Ordering the Urban Body: Professional Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Social History*, 41:3 (2016), 313; Garside, “‘Unhealthy Areas’”.

³⁹ *Western Mail*, 19 August 1902.

⁴⁰ *Western Mail*, 12 February 1901.

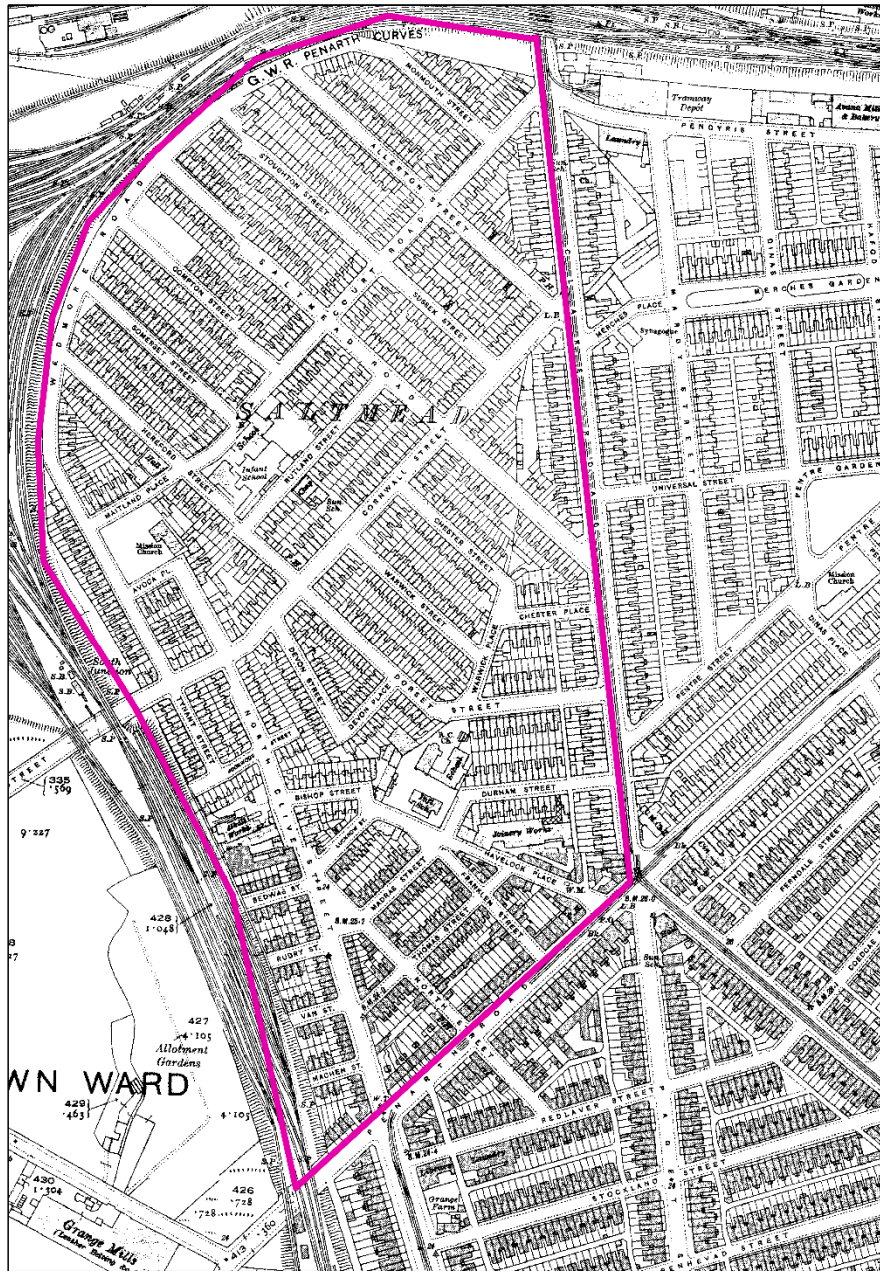
⁴¹ Edward Walford, ‘Diphtheria in Cardiff’, *Public Health*, 11 (1899), 89-101. Walford also made similar remarks in relation to scarlet fever rates in 1904: ‘The Influence of Hospital Isolation upon Scarlet Fever in Cardiff’, *Public Health*, 16 (1904), 676-686.

⁴² See Driver, ‘Moral Geographies’; Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 742.

⁴³ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 August 1902. For further examples see a wide range of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/12-34, Newscuttings, January 1900-July 1909.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*

Map 2.2: Saltmead, north Grangetown.



drunkenness, disease, and venal sexuality with the cramped and dilapidated spaces of the slum. Using familiar terms like ‘plague-spots’ and ‘rendezvous of vice’, these images also provided a sensational and immediate hook for outraged middle-class readers.⁴⁵ This can also be seen in representations of Grangetown’s Saltmead neighbourhood (Map 2.2), which was suggested as

⁴⁵ See Doyle, ‘Mapping Slums in a Historic City’; Mayne, ‘Representing the Slum’; Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*; Driver, ‘Moral Geographies’. As we shall see in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the press placed considerable pressure on the police to take action against prostitution in this area.

being another place conducive to prostitution. For the *Western Mail*, Saltmead was ‘Cardiff’s Black Spot’, a district ‘rampant’ with ‘immorality’ that depreciated the reputation of the wider district. An editorial in July 1903 alleged that over 100 properties in Saltmead had been made derelict through having been ‘occupied by immoral people’, with the result that ‘Respectable persons will not occupy these houses.’ The *Western Mail* emphasized how the dilapidated environment held agency through leading girls ‘astray’ and into prostitution, and that ‘unfortunate girls had been driven into Saltmead from other parts of Cardiff.’⁴⁶

The idea that place held agency reflected broader fears over slum districts as a threat of degeneracy.⁴⁷ In the case of Saltmead, the risk of contagion was seen to go beyond the residents within its boundaries, and to corrupt the morals of ‘unfortunate girls’ across Cardiff as a whole. Such accounts were used as a means of drawing the attentions of its readers to the alleged social conditions in Saltmead, and newspapers such as the *SWDN* called for ‘County and District Councils’ and ‘public men’ to recognize the threat of the slum and associated behaviour to the ‘respectable’ districts and citizens.⁴⁸ Reminiscent of Harvey and Massey’s conception of place as expressions of identity, belonging, and otherness, Saltmead and the central slum were thus juxtaposed against respectable areas. This was most evident in how representations of the latter district signified fears over its geographic and representational proximity to commercial thoroughfares as an affront to civic ambition.⁴⁹ This emphasis on proximity ran counter to patterns of suburbanization noted for other urban centres, and is revealing of how the peculiarities of Cardiff’s rapid and haphazard late-nineteenth century development shaped notions of place.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Western Mail*, 17 July 1903.

⁴⁷ For agency and the urban environment, also see Bert de Munck, ‘Disassembling the City: A Historical and an Epistemological View on the Agency of Cities’, *Journal of Urban History*, (forthcoming, 2016); Hewitt, ‘Ordering the Urban Body’, 311; Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 743.

⁴⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 18 July 1903.

⁴⁹ Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, 170; Massey, *For Space*, 64.

⁵⁰ For instance, see Doyle, ‘Mapping Slums in a Historic City’.

Bourgeois/anti-bourgeois space: proximity and civic ambition

Otter's work on liberal governmentality and the late-Victorian city has emphasized how the 'self-governing' bourgeois-liberal citizen was frequently contrasted against an idea of the 'uncivil'. The uncivil residents of the city were seen, by 'respectable' observers, journalists, and sanitarians to be products of their environments, exhibiting a 'semi-bestiality' that matched the filth and squalor of their living conditions. Otter has suggested that this contrast produced an 'anti-bourgeois visual environment', through which 'respectable' observers could perceive 'a socio sensual space in which [bourgeois] conditions were absent'. This hinged on notions of visibility, for the 'penumbral courts of the poor [...] were irregular and dark. [...] The civil conduct of the respectable could not be seen and emulated.'⁵¹ A similar distinction between 'bourgeois' and 'anti-bourgeois' space framed debates over prostitution in Edwardian Cardiff. This included a double standard, for, while posing slums as direct threat to 'respectable' society, this binary also held, as Doyle notes, 'spatial, temporal and experiential distance between the bourgeois reader and the denizens of the city of darkness.'⁵² As we have seen, the place most notably marked out as a threat to the 'respectable' classes of Edwardian Cardiff was the central residential area. Fears over this district were often framed in terms of its close proximity to the main commercial thoroughfares, which created a sense of conflict between 'respectable' areas tied to civic ambition, and an 'immoral' place that threatened commercial and economic concerns. What the slum and its proximity represented was more than simply a local concern over a particular site, or one depicted through familiar notions of urban environments. Instead, this place served as a focal point in debates about what kind of city

⁵¹ Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable', 2-3. Also see Osborne and Rose, 'Governing Cities', 743.

⁵² See Doyle, 'Mapping Slums in a Historic City', 48.

Cardiff might become, leading to comparisons and contrasts with other, more established urban centres.

In November 1901, with the support of the prominent Liberal MP, Joseph Compton-Rickett, Cardiff's YMCA organized a public meeting on social purity at their St Mary Street headquarters, which was so well-attended that an adjournment had to be made to the neighbouring Cory Hall. Those in attendance heard how social and moral purity was being corrupted by the 'conditions of the great towns', and that there was a need for co-operation between the police and the public 'to make it impossible for the thoroughfares to be open markets at certain times of the evening.'⁵³ This image of the thoroughfares turning into an 'open market' of commercial sex at night-time reveals how place was not only perceived as spatial, but temporal. 'Immorality' spilling over the slum's boundary and into commercial thoroughfares was simultaneously out of place and time.⁵⁴ A 1901 editorial in the *SWDN* claimed

I have heard men declare, and my experience goes to prove it, that one cannot take his wife to the theatre unless he puts her in a cab at the very door, for the language of drunken women along the street and the openly flaunted vice is too great an ordeal to submit any woman to. And what shall one write of the condition of affairs near the Station Approach? One should be able to leave the principal station and enter the town without jostling with vice in a manner that makes Cardiff a bye-word to visitors and commercial travellers.⁵⁵

This editorial thus focused on how the proximity of the central slum, perceived as the main source of prostitution, to the main commercial thoroughfares was an affront to 'respectable' theatre-goers at night-time. Similarly, while prostitutes used taxis from ranks that bordered the slum and main thoroughfares as a means to transport a client to a private residence, such behaviours were periodically exaggerated by the press to reinforce the threat of the slum

⁵³ *South Wales Daily News*, 18 November 1901.

⁵⁴ Also see arguments in Beckingham, 'Banning the Barmaid'.

⁵⁵ *South Wales Echo*, 22 March 1901.

bleeding into other districts.⁵⁶ Likewise, the Edwardian years also saw protests over the presence of prostitutes on trams and at tram termini, signifying fears over the mobility of slum behaviours into more ‘respectable’ parts of the city.⁵⁷ Such evidence suggests that place was not fixed, but geographically and temporally fluid.

The issue of demarcating ‘vice’ and incivility from the ‘respectable’ was thus not simply an issue of geography, but of time, as particular behaviours were associated with, or were rendered more problematic, at certain times of day. In addition, the threat of the central slum was also cited as having a damaging influence on outsiders’ perceptions of Cardiff. The twin issue of proximity and reputation was symbolic of how Cardiff was still a relatively young and expanding urban centre. Its phase of urbanization had occurred rapidly in the late-Victorian years, and was characterized by haphazard and mixed development in the central district. Concurrently, although Cardiff had become Britain’s premier coal export port it faced growing competition from other docks in South Wales and beyond.⁵⁸ Anxieties over place thus reflected wider concerns regarding economic development, and responses to the social problems of urbanization. In an August 1902 editorial, the *SWDN* compared Cardiff with competitor ports when arguing that

though in some large cities, such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, the grossest public indecencies have been almost swept off the streets, [visitors] to Cardiff [...] cannot carry away very favourable impressions so far as the social evil is concerned. The vice is undoubtedly extending its borders, and many of the sights witnessed [...] are an alarming commentary on modern civilisation. [...] We have time and again emphasised this aspect of local life,

⁵⁶ As one cabbie informed the *Western Mail*, this was a method used by women selling sex, but one that was also subject to embellishment: ‘It’s like this, [...] we takes any fare that comes along, and we drives them to whatever place they want to go. As long as they pay their legal fare why should we refuse them? Times are too bad for that. [But] people exaggerate these things. They listen to everything they hear, and they think everybody and everything is bad.’ *Western Mail*, 24 April 1909. For other concerns over the use of taxis by prostitutes, see National Library of Wales (NLW) MS 15450C, Minutes of the Cardiff and District Citizens Union, 12 December 1919; *South Wales News*, 12 January 1922; GA DCONC/1/16, Chief Constable’s Report to the Watch Committee, 11 December 1921.

⁵⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 October 1908.

⁵⁸ See Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’; Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*.

[...]. Can we expect then, that certain streets will be other than thoroughfares for scandalous importuning and attendant evils?⁵⁹

This editorial posed the familiar issue of contagion. Yet it was not framed simply in terms of the threat that certain districts posed to the respectable classes of Cardiff, but in terms of ongoing economic development and Cardiff's national image.

Another alleged economic danger of the proximity of slumland to commercial thoroughfares was its potential to reduce property values in the central ward. At a 1908 Cardiff Parliamentary Committee meeting one councillor argued that the average respectable citizen in Cardiff

would not like to have to live so close to a [brothel] as he had to do. He remembered a case in which in order to force a woman to leave her house it was necessary for a constable to promenade before it nightly for a fortnight, and that was not pleasant to the neighbours. [...] drastic measures against these women only drove them to respectable parts of the town, and if only two of them went into a respectable street the value of the whole of the properties depreciated at once.⁶⁰

The idea of the central slum as a contagious space, spilling its borders and threatening the respectability of the city centre's main commercial area, also drew complaints from business owners in the vicinity. One J. Griffiths, who ran a hotel on Caroline Street, which bordered the slum and commercial thoroughfares, protested to the Watch Committee that there was 'insufficient police supervision' around the southern end of St Mary Street where it adjoined Caroline Street and the Hayes Bridge. Griffiths argued that this had led Caroline Street to become the 'worst street in Cardiff' and that commercial travellers had been advising others against visiting the area. In Griffiths' view, this had contributed to Cardiff's reputation as the worst seaport 'in regard to vice and degeneration.'⁶¹ Such views were supported by readers of

⁵⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 9 August 1902. The regular 'Man About Town' column in the *SWDN*'s sister title the *South Wales Echo* also complained that such 'disturbances' and the general 'state of Cardiff streets after nightfall [...] should not be possible in any public thoroughfare'. *South Wales Echo*, 7 April 1902. Also see *South Wales Daily News*, 17 March 1903.

⁶⁰ *Western Mail*, 17 October 1908.

⁶¹ *Western Mail*, 27 October 1908.

the local press, with one individual writing to the *SWDN* to complain that Cardiff was ‘permitting a leprosy in her midst which other cities and towns have purified themselves from.’⁶² As such, the language of degeneration was expanded from issues of morality and racial health to express concerns over the threats that places of prostitution posed to commerce and economic development.

Cardiff’s reputation for ‘vice and degeneration’ drew the interest of the prominent social reformer George Sims, who wrote a series of articles for the *Western Mail* and the *Evening Express* on slum conditions in Cardiff during the later Edwardian years. Sims claimed that the ‘comfortable classes’ need only wander from the ‘wide marketing streets’ through the arcades leading to the Hayes and they would find themselves ‘suddenly in a Street of Dreadful Night’; a place filled with drunken female ‘viragos’ of ‘the court and alley type’, houses from which one could hear ‘the sounds of something more than a wordy fray’, and lodging houses run by tattooed women which young girls attempted to escape from.⁶³ Sims hence presented the central slum as a place both apart yet within reaching distance, where the ‘comfortable classes’ might suddenly find themselves lost in a maze of courts and alleys, harangued by madams and prostitutes. Additionally, the reference in Sims’s essay to the tattooed boarding-house brothel madam is symbolic of wider associations of tattoos as a mark of criminality – and, in the case of women, prostitution more specifically – and served to emphasize the ‘otherness’ of the slum as a place of practices ‘way beyond the ken of the respectable middle classes’.⁶⁴

⁶² *South Wales Daily News*, 7 September 1908.

⁶³ George Sims, *Human Wales: A Series of Articles Specially Written for and Reprinted from the Western Mail and Evening Express* (Cardiff and London: Western Mail, [n.d. ca. 1909]), 10-15. For connections between the boarding house and prostitution, see Tom Crook, ‘Accommodating the Outcast: Common Lodging Houses and the Limits of Urban Governance in Victorian and Edwardian London’, *Urban History*, 35:3 (2008), 414-436.

⁶⁴ As explored in Jane Caplan’s work, prostitutes were often the only women associated with tattoos, and only those of the ‘lowest class’. See Caplan, “‘Speaking Scars’: The Tattoo in Popular Practice and Medico-Legal Debate in Nineteenth-Century Europe”, *History Workshop Journal*, 44 (1997), 145-169; Caplan, “‘Educating the Eye’: The Tattooed Prostitute”, in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (eds), *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 100-116. As James Bradley has argued, while prominent social commentators, such as Henry Mayhew, had previously refused to make connotations between tattoos and habitual criminality,

Therefore, the issue of proximity was not purely driven by the application of widely-circulated cultural stereotypes, nor by concerns about ‘immoral’ behaviours being visible to ‘respectable citizens’. Instead, the central slum and its associations with prostitution presented an affront to Cardiff’s civic ambitions and the value of properties in the vicinity. As Harvey has argued, ‘capital accumulation [...] creates not only spaces’, as in commercial thoroughfares or slum districts, ‘but different forms of spatiality’.⁶⁵ In this sense, perceptions of place rendered the proximity of the slum and its associated behaviours as incompatible with the type of place – both material and cultural – that civic leaders and the regional press wished to develop. Fears over proximity might also be considered as a reflection of the instable nature of income obtained from ground rent revenue by the Bute Estate, for while rents had increased during Cardiff’s growth, profits had been offset by investment in infrastructure. Furthermore, while land ownership in most of Cardiff was divided into distinct estates, the central ward was shared amongst a large number of small owners. This ‘system of building’ in the central ward created obstacles to the profitable use of the land there, and the Bute Estate had remarked how it was ‘most ruinous to the town’.⁶⁶

Alongside concerns over ground rents and property values, the explicit references made to other cities by the regional press was symbolic of a broader civic desire for Cardiff to be recognized as Britain’s premier port.⁶⁷ Unlike other British cities such as Liverpool and Manchester, which had been subjected to a longer phase of urbanization, Cardiff’s rapid growth only occurred in the late-nineteenth century leading commercial streets and working-class

by the late-Victorian period tattooing had become explicitly associated with criminals, and framed within ‘hereditarian and environmental explanations’. See Bradley, ‘Body Commodification? Class and Tattoos in Victorian Britain’, in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (London: Reaktion, 2000), 136-155.

⁶⁵ Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism*, 77.

⁶⁶ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 75-5. Also see David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 96.

⁶⁷ This was, in essence, the crux of Cardiff’s urban and industrial development, as it was initially developed to challenge Bristol’s role as the primary exporter of South Wales iron and coal. See Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*; Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City’, 366-7; Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, 309.

residential spaces to be developed in close proximity to one another with little separation.⁶⁸ As a result, while work on other urban centres in Edwardian Britain has suggested that a ‘sharp division’ between ‘slum and suburb’ was not generally used, this distinction did provide a frame of reference in Cardiff within debates around the associations between working-class districts and prostitution.⁶⁹ As the *SWDN* succinctly put it: ‘You cannot have squalor and overcrowding in the slum without their poisoning the atmosphere of the suburb. You cannot have vice flaunting itself in St. Mary-street without its corrupting your sons and daughters in Roath Park.’⁷⁰ The manner in which place was tied to the specifics of urban development in Cardiff resulted in a slightly different narrative to those observed for other cities. Ideas of place in Edwardian Cardiff were less centred on idea that the ‘residuum’ was unable, through ‘weakness’, to share in the superior living conditions of the suburb.⁷¹ Rather, the place of the slum, through proximity to areas of commerce and ‘respectable’ suburbs, directly threatened commercial and economic development. Prostitution was thus of concern to the respectable classes of the city, but one that was embedded in place, and tied to other ‘problem’ behaviours.

Prostitution and places of drink

Drunkenness was an equally prominent concern in debates over prostitution and the proximity of slumland to commercial thoroughfares. In part, fears over drunkenness and its cultural associations with prostitution stemmed from a broader discourse that had accompanied the growth of Liberal Nonconformity in the late-nineteenth century.⁷² As work on Liverpool has shown, the public house became a ‘crucial site in the regulatory problem of drunkenness and prostitution’, which, as James Kneale explains, ‘concentrated the dangers of sexualized public

⁶⁸ See Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, esp. Chapters 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8.

⁶⁹ Doyle, ‘Mapping Slums in a Historic City’, 51. For notions of distance between slum and suburb, see Platt, ‘From Hygeia to the Garden City’, 758.

⁷⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 26 October 1908.

⁷¹ Garside, “‘Unhealthy Areas’”, 27.

⁷² See Kneale, ‘The Place of Drink’.

space'.⁷³ Concerns over drunkenness were especially prominent in Cardiff, as prior emphasis on sabbatarianism and temperance had resulted in the 1881 Welsh Sunday Closing Act.⁷⁴ Just as depictions of slumland drew on widely-circulated stereotypes, familiar images of sites of drunkenness were used as a means to express distinctions between 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' areas. Like prostitution, this was framed in terms of a threat that concentrated areas of public houses posed to civic ambition through proximity to commercial thoroughfares.

In May 1902, the *SWDN* published an editorial arguing that

Without question, the most difficult part of Cardiff for the maintenance of good order is that section at the end of St. Mary-street, the top of Bute-street, and the intervening area. Licensed houses are as thick as blackberries, at least three times as many in number as any reasonable estimate of public wants would fix; and thoroughfares contiguous to Bute-street are notorious.⁷⁵

The area mapped by the *SWDN* in this editorial followed the borderline between the central 'slum' and main commercial area, echoing wider concerns over the 'demoralizing environment of contamination as public drinking places infected adjacent spaces'.⁷⁶ As we saw in the previous chapter, the geography of street prostitution-related arrests mirrored the maps of 'congested' drinking areas produced by the press.⁷⁷ In this light, we might see place as binding together perceptions of prostitution and drunkenness, which helped to cement fears over particular areas and the perceived threats they posed to civic progress.

This connection between prostitution, drunkenness, and place was expressed by Reverend John Thomas, secretary of the influential Calvinistic Forward Movement and local

⁷³ David Beckenham, 'Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool's Licensed Premises, 1860-1914', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102:3 (2012), 647-666; James Kneale, "'A problem of supervision": Moral Geographies of the Nineteenth-Century British Public House', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25:3 (1999), 333-348; Kneale, 'Surveying Pubs, Cities and Unfit Lives: Governmentality, Drink and Space in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, 19:1 (2012), 45-60.

⁷⁴ See Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 218-21; Lambert, 'The Welsh Sunday Closing Act'; Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales*.

⁷⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 May 1902.

⁷⁶ Kneale, 'The Place of Drink', 54.

⁷⁷ Temperance reformers in general also conceived concentrated spaces of drink as 'dangerous space[s] of seduction, as a network of reciprocal exchanges and as an environment contaminated by drink', with the pub bringing the 'immoral and the criminal together, concentrating their contaminating influence.' See *ibid.*, 53 and comments on 'moral geography' in Kneale, "'A problem of supervision', esp. 336-8.

pressure group the Cardiff and District Citizens' Union (CDCU).⁷⁸ In the *Western Mail*, Thomas complained that there was a need to rectify the wider urban character

of the lower part of St. Mary-street and the upper part of Bute-street. Everyone will admit that there is an excessive number of licensed houses in these localities, and it is a notorious fact that some of these houses have in the past been frequently – indeed, nightly – visited by women of the lowest character. [...] It is, therefore, obviously necessary, on public grounds alone, that the excessive number of public houses in certain districts should be reduced to the reasonable requirements of the neighbourhood.⁷⁹

Additionally, following the formation of the CDCU, Reverend Thomas had expressed his 'regret' that 'one of the busiest parts of the city was 'saddled with such disorder and unseemly conduct', and worried that 'the Hayes "would soon become a Hades, blighting the whole city, the pitfall for the feet of youth and channel of degradation of womanhood."'⁸⁰ Thomas's fears also echoed the temporal aspects of place, as he stressed how connections between the site of the public house were a nightly occurrence.⁸¹ In commenting on how this 'blighted' the entire city, Thomas's perceptions also echoed elements of those debates that focused on themes of contagion, proximity, and threats to Cardiff's civic ambitions. This combination helped to shape a perception of the central ward as *the* problem place in Edwardian Cardiff, onto which broad anxieties over working-class environments and behaviours were mapped.

Thomas's fears over the central 'slum' were shared by the wider Nonconformist community. In October 1908 some prominent Cardiff chapels held public meetings to draw further attention to the spatial connection between alcohol and prostitution. This had some impact as one citizen wrote to the *SWDN* to offer the same map of 'vice', which they saw as proliferating from 'the corner of Wood-street', to 'the Monument' at the intersection of St Mary

⁷⁸ For greater discussion on the work of Reverend Thomas, the CDCU, and the Forward Movement, see Chapter 6.

⁷⁹ *Western Mail*, 5 October 1908.

⁸⁰ *Western Mail*, 13 October 1909. The establishment and activities of the Citizens' Union is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

⁸¹ Also see Beckingham, 'Banning the Barmaid'.

and Bute Streets, and ‘back the opposite of St Mary-street and The Hayes’.⁸² This geographical-cultural ‘intersection’ also drew concern from Chief Constable McKenzie. Symbolic of the Nonconformist community’s influence in the late-Edwardian years, McKenzie echoed Reverend Thomas’s concerns over the connections between prostitution and places of drink:

Everyone will admit that there is an excessive number of licensed houses in these localities, and it is a notorious fact that some of these houses have in the past been frequently – indeed, nightly – visited by women of the lowest character. Men, more or less intoxicated, are induced by such women [...].⁸³

While framed as an aspect of wider dangers that particular areas posed to Cardiff’s image and bourgeois ambitions, the public house was also singled out as a space that might entice young women into prostitution. For instance, concerns were expressed by the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association (SWMVA) that the ‘ruin’ of some girls could be traced to bar service, again echoing wider concerns over the influence of the public house.⁸⁴ These anxieties drew from much broader narratives over the sexualisation of the barmaid, and the need to protect young girls from entering prostitution.⁸⁵ This latter element was especially pertinent within the context of debates preceding the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA).⁸⁶ In 1908 the Cardiff’s Women’s Purity League argued that public houses in working-class areas facilitated the ‘tragic work’ of prostitution, and reported on how they had explored a public house to find ‘a small room, which admitted of access to the drinking bar. In this room there were 16 girls, nearly all under 20. I was speechless’.⁸⁷ Percy Thomas, a prominent local

⁸² *South Wales Daily News*, 4 October 1908. George Horatio Bibbings also singled out the triangle of Wood Street, Caroline Street and the top of Bute Street as a problem area of both drink and prostitution: *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908.

⁸³ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 April 1908. A letter to the *SWDN* agreed with such sentiments, calling for the Watch Committee to pay attention to ‘many of the hotels between the centre of the city and Eldon-road [Riverside], when no doubt their minds would be put at rest over this curse of prostitution.’ *South Wales Daily News*, 3 October 1908. For the influence of Thomas and the Nonconformist community, see Chapter 6.

⁸⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 27 May 1902; Kneale, “‘A problem of supervision’”, 339; Valverde, “‘Slavery from within’”. The SWMVA was a local branch of the National Vigilance Association.

⁸⁵ See Peter Bailey, ‘Parasexuality and Glamour: The Victorian Barmaid as a Cultural Prototype’, *Gender and History*, 2:2 (1990), 148-172; Beckingham, ‘Banning the Barmaid’.

⁸⁶ See Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001), 197-8. The impact of this Act in Cardiff will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters, especially Chapters 4-6.

⁸⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 5 October 1908.

architect and frequent letter-writer to the press, likewise complained about the ‘the degraded practice’ of the ‘employment of women behind the bars of public-houses’, particularly ‘very young girls for the sake of their youth and good looks.’⁸⁸

In addition to the sexualisation of the barmaid and links between bar service and prostitution, local newspapers raised complaints over the use of concealed spaces in public houses by prostitutes, mirroring concerns expressed in Liverpool over the use of small drinking compartments in pubs by men and barmaids, known as ‘snugs’.⁸⁹ In May 1904, the landlord of Cardiff’s Temple Bar was fined for permitting his premises ‘to be the habitual resort of women of a certain class’, and that prostitutes were using a concealed ‘cootch’ in the pub.⁹⁰ This pub was located on Bute Street, the thoroughfare leading south from the city centre to the docks via the ‘sailortown’ of Butetown. Seen as a ‘mile of temptations’ by middle-class observers, the area had been a persistent source of anxiety around both drunkenness and prostitution since the mid-nineteenth century.⁹¹ Like the central slum, Butetown sat in close geographical proximity to the central thoroughfares, with The Hayes leading directly onto Bute Street. However, unlike the central slum, Edwardian Butetown was a somewhat lesser threat, despite being closely associated with prostitution. Yet, by the 1920s, Butetown dominated perceptions of prostitution, usurping the central ward as the main place of concern.

‘Nigger Town’⁹²: a place apart

Since its mid-nineteenth-century development, Butetown had been imagined as an ‘alien enclave’ of transient seafarers, and was also linked with prostitution. Its ‘otherness’ was also

⁸⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 5 February 1904.

⁸⁹ See Beckenham, ‘Gender, Space, and Drunkenness’, 656; Kneale, “‘A problem of supervision’”, 343-4.

⁹⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 13 May 1902. ‘Cootch’ being a corruption of the Welsh colloquialism ‘cwctch’, referring to both a cuddle and a snug environment.

⁹¹ See Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, esp. 298-305.

⁹² *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1908. ‘Nigger Town’, was remarked by George Sims as being a common name for the area used by outsiders, as is evident from other sources. See Sims, *Human Wales*, 80-1 in a chapter entitled ‘Nigger Town’; A. B., ‘Correspondence: The Colour Problem in Wales’, *Welsh Outlook*, 18:5 (1931), 137-138.

demarcated by physical boundaries of railways lines, a river, a canal, the docks, and the Bristol Channel.⁹³ The material separation of Butetown from the rest of Cardiff had the effect of cementing an outside perception of the area as one belonging to racial ‘others’ and to prostitutes, often being portrayed as a ‘red light district of boarding houses, brothels, foreigners, in constant flux.’⁹⁴ Yet despite some complaints from the local Wesleyan Mission and the SWMVA over ‘the germs of vice’ in the area, Edwardian Butetown did not garner the same kind of attention as the central ward when it came to prostitution.⁹⁵ Instead, it was the question of proximity between the central slum and the main commercial thoroughfares, as opposed to the occurrence of prostitution in multiracial Butetown, which concerned Edwardian commentators.⁹⁶

As has been argued in contemporary sociological work on prostitution, a moral geography is often constructed via processes of marginalization and the mapping of social hierarchies onto spatial hierarchies. Such moral geographies imply ‘that some behaviours are acceptable only in certain places.’⁹⁷ Thus, if prostitution was unacceptable in spaces that were in close proximity to commercial thoroughfares, then it might be overlooked in the ‘alien enclave’ of the dockland. In a sense, being an ‘alien enclave’ cut off from the wider city, it was almost as if prostitution was seen as a natural occurrence in the dockland, and if prostitution

⁹³ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 74-5, 142-3. This period of Butetown’s history has been explored at length in the work of Martin Daunton and Neil Evans. Also see Daunton, ‘Jack Ashore: Seamen in Cardiff before 1914’, *Welsh History Review*, 9:2 (1978), 176-203; Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’; Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City’; Evans, ‘Region, Nation, Globe: Roles, Representations and Urban Space in Cardiff, 1839-1928’ in Andreas Fahrmeir and Elfie Rembold (eds), *Representation of British Cities: The Transformation of Urban Space 1700-2000* (Berlin and Vienna: Philo, 2003), 108-129; Evans, ‘“Sea Wall against Disease: Port Health in Cardiff, 1850-1950’’, in Pamela Michael and Charles Webster (eds), *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 78-97.

⁹⁴ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 142-3.

⁹⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 25 August 1902. A letter in October 1902 also complained of the availability and influence of pornography in providing ‘incentives to vice’. *South Wales Daily News*, 16 October 1902. For another example of concern about the dockland in this period, see *Western Mail*, 19 August 1902.

⁹⁶ One *Western Mail* reader even argued that in contrast to the central slum Butetown and Saltmead were ‘suburban retreats in comparison!’ *Western Mail*, 26 September 1908.

⁹⁷ Philip Hubbard and Teela Sanders, ‘Making Space for Sex Work: Female Street Prostitution and the Production of Urban Space’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27:1 (2003), 79. Emphasis in the original.

occurred 'below the bridge' then it was not visible to respectable eyes (unless, of course, they went there looking for it). Such distinctions also obscured how these spaces were actually used, for while Butetown was seen as a materially and culturally separate place, the spatial practices of both prostitutes and their clients bridged these two districts (see Chapter 1).

However, this is not to say that Edwardian Butetown was not a 'problem' area. Throughout the Edwardian period concerns were often expressed over the prevalence of its public houses and brothels, and the influence they exerted on sailors passing through the port.⁹⁸ In 1908, for example, the prominent Baptist minister F. B. Meyer responded to wider questions of drink and prostitution in the central slum by arguing that

it must be remembered that Cardiff is one of the greatest ports in England, and that sailors from all the world are constantly landing there, and we all know the sailor's life exposes him to unusual temptations of this kind. And this must be taken into consideration by the citizens of Cardiff as accounting for a large proportion of these evil places.⁹⁹

Furthermore, Butetown often provided a source of lurid fascination for the press, informing a different set of anxieties to those expressed over the central slum. In May 1907, the *Western Mail* published an article entitled 'The Kaleidoscope of Cardiff', which explored the 'life and [...] smells' of Bute Street. Drawing explicitly from George Sims's analogy of the kaleidoscope, which Sims employed to signify both the 'moving scenes of London' life and of Butetown for the *Western Mail* and *Evening Express*, this article used this notion to emphasize the sense of flux and foreignness to be found in the dockland.¹⁰⁰ Its journalist had gone 'in quest of a Saxon', yet found that 'The Englishman, in the heart of the foreign quarter, is becoming extinct as the dodo.'¹⁰¹ Bute Street, with its myriad businesses catering to seafarers, was seen

⁹⁸ For an overview of concerns over Butetown in the late-nineteenth century, see Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy', esp. 298-305.

⁹⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 19 February 1908. Also see *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Helen Groth, 'Kaleidoscopic Vision in Late Victorian Bohemia: George Sims's Social Kaleidoscope', in Colette Colligan and Margaret Linley (eds), *Media, Technology, and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, [2011] 2016), 91-106; Sims, *Human Wales*, 74.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of racial identities, and Simon Jenkins, 'Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927-47', *Cultural and Social History*, 11:4 (2014), 575-596. I intend to explore the English frame of reference in this Welsh setting in a separate article, exploring

to embody a ‘population problem’, where the only ‘Britishers’ were the ‘wives, lords and masters’ of non-white seamen, thus signalling growing concerns over miscegenation. He added that

The Chinaman and the Japanese, the Turk, the Arab, and the Soudanese [...] capture the prettiest home-grown girls imaginable [who] are as happy as doves (or as suffragettes) with the ebony or yellow coloured Johnny who is the teetotal slave of his better half.¹⁰²

The *Western Mail*’s view of Butetown’s kaleidoscope thus conflated a range of fears over white slavery, miscegenation, the control of ‘aliens’, and suffrage.¹⁰³ As we will see in greater detail in subsequent chapters, this reflected both ongoing concerns over degeneration, and the growth of a discourse that sought to redefine and defend British imperial and patriarchal dominance, and idealized forms of femininity.

These broader fears also served to intensify concerns over Butetown as a place of racial-sexual transgression. In late-1908 a survey was produced by Cardiff’s Health Committee’s Edward Nicholl, which had been conducted by the prominent journalist, novelist, and social reformer George Sims. That a prominent figure such as Sims had agreed to partake in a municipal inquiry suggests that Cardiff continued to draw national notoriety with regards to social conditions.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Sims had previously written a number of articles on social conditions in Cardiff for the *Western Mail* and *Evening Express*, and was fascinated with

connections between place and ideas of nation, and within the context of the need to look more closely at regions and borderlands in British history.

¹⁰² *Western Mail*, 15 May 1907.

¹⁰³ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix* (London: HMSO, 1903); Alison Bashford and Catie Gilchrist, ‘The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:3 (2012), 409-437; David Cesarani, ‘An alien concept? The continuity of anti-alienism in British society before 1940’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 11:3 (1992), 24-52; Jill Pellew, ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’, *Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), 369-385; Helena Wray, ‘The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), 302-323; Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 297-304; Ian Christopher Fletcher, ‘Opposition by Journalism? The Socialist and Suffragist Press and the Passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912’, *Parliamentary History*, 25:1 (2006), 88-114.

¹⁰⁴ See Groth, ‘Kaleidoscopic Vision in Late Victorian Bohemia’, 91-106. Sims was a prominent social reformer and had been involved with the 1884 Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. Likewise, Cardiff later drew the attention of the burgeoning abolitionist group, the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, which in 1916 conducted a ‘Ten Towns Inquiry’ on urban centres that had garnered a reputation for prostitution and venereal diseases, with Cardiff being one of the main examples. See Women’s Library (WL) 3AMS/B/03/01, Ten Towns Inquiry notes, 1916.

Butetown and its connections with race and sex.¹⁰⁵ Sims's report was less a survey of boarding houses and more a sensory exploration of an imagined place teeming with racialized sexuality.

Reprinted under the title 'In Nigger Town' in a collected volume of his work on South Wales,

Sims stressed the otherness of Butetown in contrast to the rest of Cardiff:

The spirit of human brotherhood might suggest a more courteous designation for the black quarter of Cardiff. The more sensitive of the members of the African community might prefer 'Colouredville.' But 'Nigger Town' it is to those who know it best, and it is not for a stranger within the City's gates to re-name its notorious localities.¹⁰⁶

As such, Sims's report emphasized the disconnect between so-called 'Nigger Town' and 'the City', framing it as both spatially and racially distinct. Yet his report also framed it as a clear threat to the rest of Cardiff, arguing with regards to boarding houses that

for the black and white domestic 'mixing,' there can be nothing but condemnation. There is a state of things in the relationship of the black men and the white women which makes not only socially and morally, but physically, for evil. I do not suppose that outside the authorities who are brought by the nature of their duties into close contact with the black quarter, many people in Cardiff know the condition of things that exists there.

The place of Butetown was thus framed as a source of degeneration and miscegenation, with Sims remarking on finding 'Nigger Town' houses where white women were 'the "white slaves" of black men', and where girls from Gloucestershire and Devonshire could be found breastfeeding babies 'whose face[s] suggested an orange that had been damped and rubbed in soot'.¹⁰⁷

In response to the survey, the *Western Mail* ran an editorial on what it saw as 'The Black Stain of Cardiff'. Combining the rhetoric of environmental degradation with 'white slavery', the editorial adopted the tone and language of Sims to argue that

There are a large number of houses in Nigger Town [...] which are of undisguised disreputability, and in which the white women are, in the accepted sense of the phrase, the 'white slaves' of black men. The master of

¹⁰⁵ In previous articles Sims had described Butetown as the 'heart of Africa', reporting on 'girls' being married to the 'foreign' keepers of seamen's boarding houses. Sims, *Human Wales*, 74-5.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰⁷ For Sims, these were 'conditions [...] which would not be tolerated in [...] America.' *Ibid.*, 80-1.

the house is black; the mistress of the house, who pays the rent and earns it, is white'. This is a state of things degrading in the last degree to Western civilisation. However strongly we may cherish the feelings of brotherhood towards the coloured races of man, the history of the world, science, and all else teach us that the mixture of black and white, or yellow and white, is socially, morally, and physically racial disaster.¹⁰⁸

The language of racial degeneration expressed in this editorial marked a broader shift in perceptions of Butetown. While the 'alien enclave' had previously been invisible to the average respectable citizen, 'Nigger Town' and its 'disreputability' was now 'undisguised' by Sims and the press, posing a threat of racial degeneration.¹⁰⁹ What was once distance and detached was thus rendered visible, and framed as a more prominent threat to both the city's morals and to 'race'.

The intensification of concerns over Butetown marked a temporal shift in Cardiff's moral geographies. As we will see in Chapter 4, the years following Sims's report saw a significant amount of attention to race and miscegenation in the press. A focus on racial 'mixing' in the dockland essentially constructed a new moral geography of the area: one that was culturally distant yet posed the direct threat of racial degeneration. The cultural re-mapping of Butetown intensified during the First World War, a time when there was an increase in colonial labour passing through the port. These demographic shifts served to intensify prior concerns over the entrapment of 'young girls from the hills and valleys of South Wales' in dockland boarding houses, yet with greater emphasis on sex and prostitution.¹¹⁰ Race rioting in 1919, which will be discussed in detail later in this thesis, helped to cement this perception of Butetown as racially different and to maintain the focus on sexual relations and miscegenation in the district.¹¹¹ Press responses to the riots contained a significant sexual dimension, focusing

¹⁰⁸ *Western Mail*, 24 September 1908.

¹⁰⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1908.

¹¹⁰ For instance, see *South Wales Daily News*, 2, 4, and 7 September 1916. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of these themes.

¹¹¹ See Neil Evans, 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919', *Llafur*, 3:1 (1980), 5-29; 'The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a Documentary Postscript', *Llafur*, 3:4 (1983), 76-88; Evans, 'Regulating the Reserve Army: Arabs, Blacks, and the Local State in Cardiff, 1919-45', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 68-115; Evans, 'Through

on the role of miscegenation and competition for white women in fuelling the conflict.¹¹² As such, the borderline of contagion had shifted south from the central slum and into the dockland. In response, concerns over prostitution were dislodged from questions of proximity in the city centre, and re-embedded in racial anxieties linked to Butetown. This focus on miscegenation and the entrapment of ‘young girls’ in Butetown intensified in the 1920s, influenced by the appointment of a new chief constable and a focus on Maltese-run cafés.

Heterotopias

For Foucault, each society was home to ‘heterotopias’:

real places – places that do exist [...] which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites [...] that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.¹¹³

The concept of the heterotopia can be used to consider the emergence of concerns over Maltese cafés that were driven by Chief Constable James Wilson, who joined the force in 1920. Wilson developed acute concerns over miscegenation in Butetown, driven in part by the legacy of the 1919 riots, but also by wider concerns over the regulation of colonial seafarers.¹¹⁴ A central aspect of Wilson’s strategy towards regulating colonial migrants in Butetown was to draw

the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826-2002’, in Charlotte Williams, *et al*, *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 93-108; Jacqueline Jenkinson, ‘The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 43-67; Jenkinson, ‘Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of “Britishness” Following the First World War’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:1 (2008), 29-60; Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009).

¹¹² See Chapter 4 of this thesis, and Lucy Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War’, *Gender and History*, 17:1 (2005), 29-61; Laura Tabili, “‘Women of a Very Low Type’: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain”, in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-90.

¹¹³ Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, 24.

¹¹⁴ An analysis of this Order and why Wilson marked out the Maltese in particular is covered in Chapter 4, along with a discussion of Cardiff’s Maltese population. Also see Simon Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958; Laura Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), 54-98; Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice’: Workers and Racial Difference in Late-Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

attention to Maltese-run cafés, emphasizing how they were run as covert brothels, that facilitated sexual relations between black seafarers and white prostitutes.

Wilson's views on the Maltese café are exemplified in reports submitted to the Home Office between 1927 and 1930 in an attempt to shut down Maltese cafés under the provisions of 'Aliens' legislation. In these reports, the Maltese were marked out as possessing an inherently immoral character that possessed them to operate refreshment houses as covert brothels.¹¹⁵ In line with Foucault's arguments on how heterotopias function as 'counter-sites', Wilson stressed the clandestine nature of the cafés and how these sites concealed behaviours that inverted cultural norms. While appearing to be cafés, Wilson suggested that internal, hidden spaces of the café were used for 'fondling and embracing', with further rooms to the rear and on upper floors that housed beds for the purpose of 'immorality'.¹¹⁶ Similar to how Edwardian concerns over prostitution and proximity had been characterized by the temporality of behaviours, the chief constable emphasized how café prostitution was both out of place and time. In a report for the Home Secretary in 1927 Wilson stressed how the cafés only became busy between 10pm and 3am, while a 1928 report by Superintendent William King reported that 'while dancing is in progress the front windows are heavily curtained and generally there is someone keeping watch at the front door.'¹¹⁷ There are thus distinct parallels between Foucault's concept of the heterotopia and Wilson's depiction of the Maltese café. This site was simultaneously real and imagined, isolated yet omnipresent, clandestine yet open to those willing to submit to the 'rites and purifications' of entry.

¹¹⁵ Also see Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?'; and Jenkins, 'Aliens and Predators'.

¹¹⁶ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Superintendent Fraser to Chief Constable James Wilson, 9 September 1927; Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927.

¹¹⁷ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927; Report from Superintendent King to Wilson, 30 January 1928.

This heterotopic notion of the Maltese café was framed by Chief Constable Wilson as having revolutionized the nature and organization of prostitution in Cardiff. As he explained to the Home Secretary,

It is not desired that you should assume that the Port of Cardiff did not have brothels many years before some of the Maltese settled in Cardiff but it is desired that you should appreciate that there is a vast difference between the old style brothel which was a house used by prostitutes for their own purposes and a so-called café in which prostitutes and immoral women under the guise of waitresses and dance partners cater for the sexual licence of the floating population.¹¹⁸

As such, the brothel was seen by Wilson as an unproblematic anachronism, perhaps revealing of why recorded incidences of brothel keeping – and of prostitutes operating for ‘their own purposes’ – were so low during the interwar years.¹¹⁹ Similar anxieties to the Maltese café were expressed over the use of sub-let flats and rooms by prostitutes. While likely used as a means of evading arrest, these sites were perceived by the police, vigilance groups, and the press alike as heterotopic quasi-brothels, owned by ‘aliens who were outing British residents’, and to which ‘English girls’ were being ‘lured’ into sexual relations with ‘coloured men’.¹²⁰

Connections between place and prostitution in the 1920s thus marked a distinct break with the Edwardian focus on the proximity of the central slum to commercial thoroughfares. Instead, prostitution had become embroiled within a wider debate over Butetown and the control of black seafarers and Maltese café owners. These shifts in how prostitution was connected with particular districts reveals how place was not only temporal in the sense of behaviours being associated with certain times of day, but in how place was (re)produced through an amalgamation of discourses, debates, and fears. Perceptions of Butetown as a

¹¹⁸ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 5 for a detailed exploration of this point.

¹²⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 30 October 1926; National Library of Wales (NLW) MS 15450C, Minutes of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, January 1927; WL 3AMS/B/08/02, Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929. These links were again made by the Deputy Chief Constable in the mid-1930s: W. W. Harrison, ‘The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races’, *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2:2 (1936), 197-204.

racialized place served to focus wider attention on Cardiff as a ‘problem’ port with regards to racial regulation. Interest and attention came from a range of external observers. In the 1920s, this was both national and transnational: prominent British newspapers, including *The Times*, *Daily Herald*, and *Daily Telegraph* reported on Butetown’s ‘tragic cafés’, while French books and newspapers also suggested that Cardiff was a centre for global white slave traffic.¹²¹ In the 1930s, Cardiff became a primary focus of the British Social Hygiene Council, who viewed the port as having ‘a special problem [...] in regard to the resident coloured seamen’ and likewise emphasized the covert and temporal characteristics of Maltese café-brothels.¹²² In the 1940s Butetown and its notorious cafés became the subject of Mass Observation surveys, and British and American sociologists.¹²³ To fully explain why race became the dominant and enduring discourse of prostitution in interwar Cardiff and why it drew such wide-ranging interest requires particular attention, which will be provided later in this thesis. First, we shall explore another layer of place, in how moral geographies influenced social relations and processes of ghettoization.

Place, space, and social relations

To think of the Maltese café, or Butetown as a whole, as a heterotopia purely in the Foucauldian sense is misleading. As David Harvey has argued, place must also be considered as

¹²¹ See *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929; *Daily Telegraph*, 10 January 1929; *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929, 11 January 1929, and 23 January 1929; *The Times*, 11 January 1929; *Western Mail*, 11 January 1929, 23 January 1929, 28 January 1929, 29 January 1929, and 1 February 1930; *South Wales Echo*, 16 November 1917. Also the discussion in Chapters 4 and 6.

¹²² See Wellcome Library (WLL) SA BSH/B.4/1, Minutes of the Committee on Port Welfare (Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM), 18 December 1934; WL 3AMS/B/08/03, Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM, ‘Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas’ (1935). For an overview of the BSHC’s interests in the mercantile marine and social conditions in British ports, see ‘The British Social Hygiene Council and the Mercantile Marine’, *Health and Empire*, 10:1 (1935), 27-42. *Health and Empire* was the journal of the BSHC. For the notoriety of this report, see Chapter 4.

¹²³ See Mass Observation Archive (MO) SxMOA1/2/66/3/G, Report on Cardiff, 4-6 July 1941; Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Turner & Co., 1947); St Clair Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Chicago, 1954).

‘fundamental to the exercise of power’. In this light, the Foucauldian heterotopia is both underdeveloped and reductive, an ‘eclectic mess of heterogeneous [...] absolute spaces within which anything “different” [...] might go on’.¹²⁴ By way of Lefebvre’s theorization of the production of space, Harvey instead argues for a recognition of how

differences captured within the heterotopic spaces are not about segregation and separation, but about potentially transformative relations with all other spaces [...]. The political problem is to find ways to realize their ephemeral potentialities in the face of powerful forces that work to reclaim them for them for the dominant praxis.¹²⁵

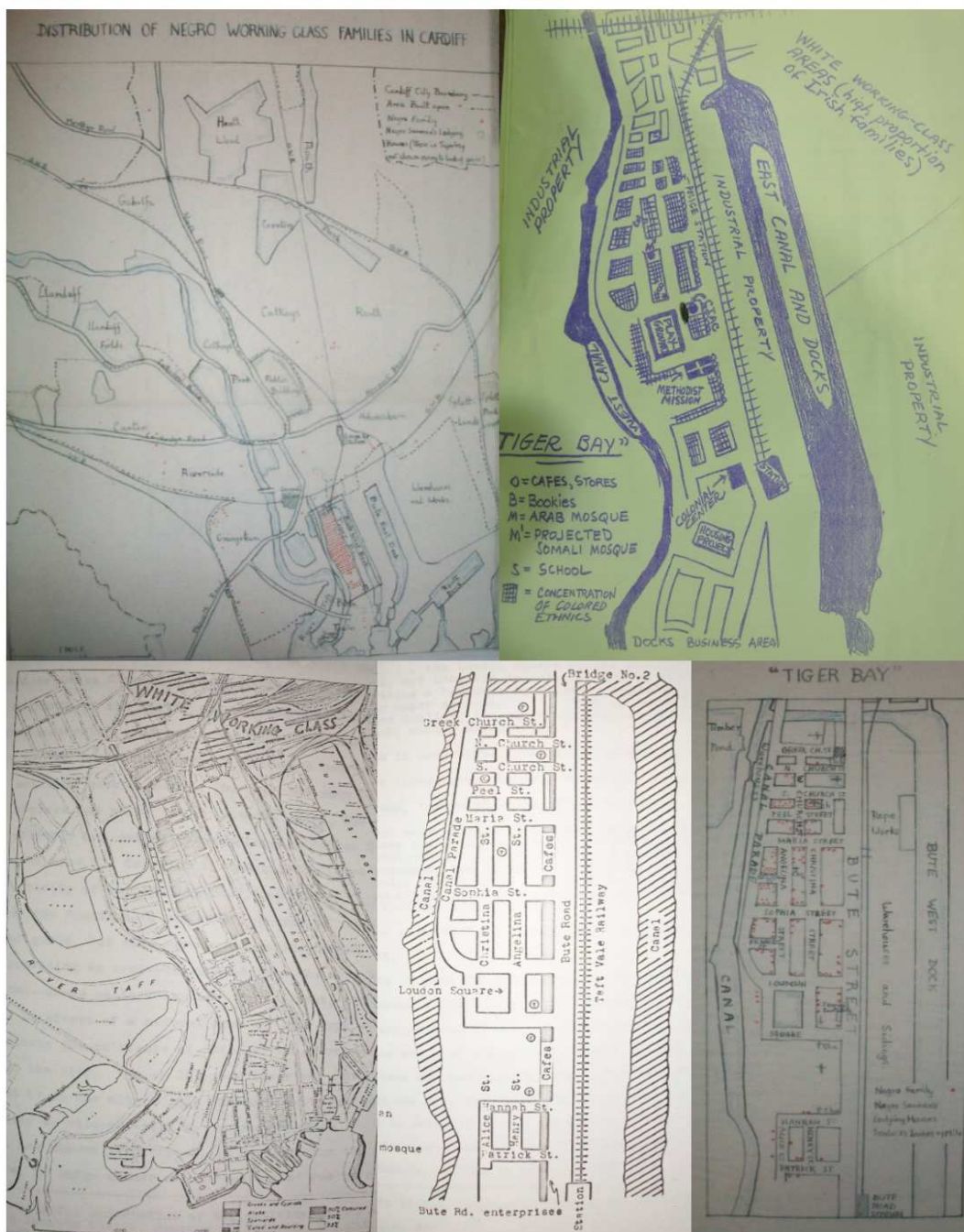
Harvey’s rethinking of the heterotopia provides some valuable insights for considering representations of Butetown, and particularly the site of the Maltese café. Associations between the dockland and prostitution had a more immediate impact on the lives of those living in this district. The cultural and material disconnect of Butetown from the rest of Cardiff drew the attentions of a range of social investigators and sociologists.¹²⁶ This can be seen in Figure 2.1, which details the hand-drawn maps of investigators who sought to illustrate and emphasize the segregation of the area. While their opinions varied to some degree, each of these outsiders was driven by two overarching lines of inquiry: to understand the formation of race relations and the ‘colour bar’ in Butetown, and to comprehend Cardiff’s racial dynamics in geographical terms. Their maps reflect this desire, detailing how Butetown’s multiracial population was

¹²⁴ Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, 159-161.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 161-2. Also see Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, [1970] 2003). For a more Foucauldian take on the heterotopia, see Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

¹²⁶ For contemporary surveys that emphasized this disconnect, see Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’; Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM, ‘Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas’; the aforementioned works of Kenneth Little; and the work of the American social anthropologist, St Clair Drake: *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*; ‘The “Colour Problem” in Britain’. The element of physical and cultural segregation has also drawn the attentions, more recently, of historians and cultural anthropologists. For examples of more recent scholarship, see Ross Cameron, ‘“The most colourful extravaganza in the world”: Images of Tiger Bay, 1845-1970’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31:2 (1997), 59-90; Evans, ‘Regulating the reserve army’; Glenn Jordan: ‘Images of Tiger Bay: Did Howard Spring tell the truth?’, *Llafur*, 5: 1 (1988), 53-59; Jordan and Chris Weedon, ‘The Construction and Negotiation of Racialized Borders in Cardiff Docklands’, in Jane Aaron *et al*, *Gendering Border Studies* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 222-242.

Fig. 2.1: Sketches of segregation: Butetown, c.1930-c.1950



Hand-drawn illustrations of the physical and sociological separation of Butetown from the rest of Cardiff, taken from the work of Nancie Sharpe, Kenneth Little and St Clair Drake. Sources: Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff'; Little, *Negroes in Britain*; Drake, Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles; New York Public Library (NYPL) Sc MG 309, St Clair Drake Papers.

hemmed in by the material contours of the dockland, cutting this community off from the more homogeneous ‘white Cardiff’.

The work of social anthropologists in the 1940s, in particular, help reveal the long-term influence of narratives of place and prostitution on the segregation of the district. The work of the British social anthropologist, Kenneth Little, focused in parts on how the ghettoization of Butetown had the effect of drawing marginalized people to the district, in turn reinforcing the negative perceptions of the area.¹²⁷ For Little,

seafarers [...] as racially distinctive strangers, their alien quality and the corresponding isolation has a twofold basis. The fact that other ‘isolated’ types, such as prostitutes, who are likewise out of status with the greater society, should also be found in the same area seems to add further theoretical point to this suggestion.¹²⁸

To some degree Little’s comments echoed the notions of slum areas that had abounded since the late-Victorian years, for he awarded agency to the space of Butetown, which he saw as drawing ‘out of status’ peoples, such as prostitutes, to the district from elsewhere.¹²⁹ Greater detail on ghettoization can be found in the observations of Little’s successor, St Clair Drake, an African-American social anthropologist who studied Butetown for his Chicago PhD thesis, and subsequently became a pioneer of the study of race relations in the USA. While Little gestured towards outsiders’ perceptions of links between prostitution and the wider population, Drake displayed a more acute awareness of how ‘the reputation of Tiger Bay as a whole’ rested upon the outsiders’ conception of the ‘actual or assumed activities’ of Bute Street. Drake awarded these perceptions to both the historical development of Butetown’s transient shipping workforce, and that sailors were often customers of Bute Street prostitutes. Such links were then reinforced by the material and social segregation of ‘coloured Butetown’ from ‘white Cardiff’. As Drake summarized:

¹²⁷ For a more detailed discussion of Little’s work, with some biographical detail, see Chapter 4.

¹²⁸ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, 43, n. 2.

¹²⁹ Also see comments in Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 743.

the colored population shares whatever opprobrium attaches to the area. Race relations in Cardiff can only be understood in terms of the historic association of the colored population with The Bay, and if it is realized that discussion of the color problem usually proceeds along with a discussion of the control of vice.¹³⁰

Drake thus saw prostitution as a central element of how the place of Butetown was perceived. On this basis, ‘the reputation of Tiger Bay as a whole rests upon the outsiders’ conception of the actual or assumed activities that take place on [Bute] street.’¹³¹ These associations affected how residents of Butetown were treated in other parts of the city. Drake noted how cultural connections between interracial prostitution and Butetown influenced an unsystematic barring of ‘coloured’ men from many hotels and lodging houses in Cardiff, in the fear that the men would use those spaces for various sexual activities.¹³² His observations thus suggest that connections between prostitution and place in Butetown informed desires to separate Butetown’s ‘coloured’ population from the rest of Cardiff.¹³³

Drake also noted that, through the negative attention brought on the community by a multitude of social surveys, Butetown’s residents had likewise become reluctant to engage with outsiders. He wrote how

of all British race relations situations, Cardiff has been viewed as the one ‘most in need of study’. It has also been the hardest one to study, for the coloured population, aware of the appraisals that have been made for them, have resisted most of the attempts to study them.¹³⁴

Drake recorded one of his interviewees stating that ‘the memory of the 1919 riot’ and the racialized narrative of the area that perpetuated during the 1920s had combined to cement fears of the area. Butetown residents were said to ‘resent “outsiders”’ and were ‘quick to throw the

¹³⁰ Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 196, 201, 203-4.

¹³¹ Ibid. The anthropologist Sydney Collins also remarked on how perception maintained a ‘rigid white-coloured division’ as outsiders were convinced that ‘immorality, lawlessness and social depravity [...] characterize the community.’ Sydney Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain: Studies in British Race Relations based on African, West Indian, and Asiatic Immigrants* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), 117.

¹³² Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 215-6.

¹³³ This point is extended in Chapter 7’s exploration of materiality and spatial regulation.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 181-2.

word “slummer” at people who come in to do social work.’ This meant that, ‘while the colored people [in Butetown] resent and speak against segregation, they really fear to break out of the ghetto.’¹³⁵

Drake saw that ‘The sociological significance of Bute Town lies in the process by which a relatively organized, stable, residential area has arisen and persisted amidst the disorder engendered by [Bute Street].’¹³⁶ Hence, Butetown can be interpreted as being ‘heterotopic’ by Harvey’s definition: through possessing ‘potentialities in the face of dominant forces’, a stable multiracial community was built in response to external prejudice.¹³⁷ In light of both this notion and Drake’s observations in the late-1940s, the 1919 riots marked a formative moment in the existence of the Butetown community, instituting a form of knowledge and memory that served to consolidate its residents as outsiders emphasized their distinction and separation from the rest of Cardiff.¹³⁸ The potentialities of Butetown’s ‘heterotopia’ extended to the operation of café prostitution. Instead of revolving around the popular perception of young women being exploited by Maltese café keepers, it was more likely shaped by the actions of the women who sold sex themselves.¹³⁹ Café prostitution was observed by Drake as simply being an aspect of the district’s nightlife, with ‘wild parties’ being held at Bute Street cafés following dances at other venues, which involved visiting seamen, ‘café girl’ prostitutes, and a ‘small segment of coloured girls who were known as prostitutes or semi-prostitutes’. Drake recorded that numbers of ‘coloured’ prostitutes only amounted to around a dozen, and were living in Bute Street cafés

¹³⁵ NYPL MG309/62/1, St Clair Drake Papers.

¹³⁶ St Clair Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 196, 201-10.

¹³⁷ Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*, 161-2. Sydney Collins likewise remarked how, despite being ethnically and culturally heterogeneous, ‘Against such strong social pressure from the whites, the solidarity of the [...] community is strengthened to such an extent that tribal and national segments, although large enough to organize themselves separately, are welded together into associations with a common [...] membership.’ Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain*, 117.

¹³⁸ Also see discussion in Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 122.

¹³⁹ Court records also reveal that Maltese men sometimes ran café-brothels in conjunction with their British wives or partners, an aspect almost wholly overlooked in the vitriolic rhetoric of the police and the press during the interwar years. See Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’

through having formed ‘clique relations’ with white prostitutes.¹⁴⁰ These observations offered a degree of agency and independence to Bute Street café prostitutes, and differed greatly to the ideas of entrapment and exploitation symbolic of popular representations of the place of Butetown.¹⁴¹

Place and prostitution in the 1950s

St Clair Drake conducted his fieldwork on the eve of some significant shifts in both demography and perceptions of Butetown. While the image of Butetown as a racialized place of prostitution had endured, in 1955 the *Western Mail* claimed that this was an outmoded impression based on ‘the recorded reputation of the past’. In this sense, temporality influenced perceptions of place not simply through how behaviours were seen to shift through different times of the day, nor by how moral geographies shifted in response to wider discourses across decades. Just as the 1919 riots had fomented a collective identity within Butetown, the heightened racialized narratives of the interwar years shaped a collective, living memory of behaviours associated with Butetown amongst outsiders, which served as a reference point for how this place was culturally demarcated from the rest of Cardiff.¹⁴² Yet by the mid-1950s attitudes were beginning to shift. Chief Constable W. Francis Thomas, who assumed his post in 1954, argued that

It cannot be denied that ‘women’ [...] exist at the Docks. It is on record that [...] prostitutes do carry out their work [there]; but the position is no worse than in any other seaport in the country, or even in the world. However, [...] to find the vices [one] would have to look very hard. The area no longer deserves the bad name it once had.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 284.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴² Also see discussion in Allan Cochrane, ‘Spatial Divisions and Regional Assemblages’, in David Featherstone and Joe Painter (eds), *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 90; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, Chapter 6.

¹⁴³ *Western Mail*, 22 July 1955. The *Western Mail* was responding to an article by Michael Fogarty, professor of industrial relations at University College, Cardiff and a later Liberal Party parliamentary candidate, which had featured in Catholic magazines published in Paris (*Way Forum*) and New York (*Commonweal*).

One constable also informed the *Western Mail* that, while ‘In the old days we could expect most of our crime to come from the docks’, in the 1950s ‘the docks are dying. Very few foreign seamen go ashore there now’.¹⁴⁴ By the mid-1950s the type of ‘vice’ so closely associated with the streets of Butetown was seen as an anachronism in Cardiff, and instead something more intrinsic to the metropolitan confines of London.

In 1956 the Welsh Sunday title *Empire News* ran a series of columns entitled ‘Welsh Girls in Peril’ which stressed the threat of London to innocent Welsh girls. The series was penned by Metropolitan police officer-turned memoirist/novelist, Robert Fabian, and coincided with the BBC’s primetime dramatization of his first book, *Fabian of the Yard*.¹⁴⁵ While Fabian warned that ‘Just as in London, the capital of Wales has its vice dens’, the ‘terrible dangers menacing young girls’ and ‘Welsh parents’ in the 1950s led to London, and not Butetown’s cafés.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to interwar anxiety over Bute Street’s Maltese men luring and exploiting local girls to work as café prostitutes, Cardiff’s taverns and cafés were now places to find ‘lonely, impressionable young girls’ that could be lured into prostitution in London. Instead of Cardiff-based Maltese men being cited as the instigators, it was now a wider ‘vice operation [connected] to gangs in Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Blackpool and London’ that Fabian identified as the problem, with direct links to London’s notorious Messina brothers.¹⁴⁷

Some newspaper coverage in the 1950s appears to suggest a degree of synergy with concerns expressed in London. In 1956, a number of complaints were made by residents in Riverside and Grangetown regarding the prevalence of prostitution along Riverside’s Fitzhamon Embankment, particularly in the form of curb-crawling.¹⁴⁸ Responses from the

¹⁴⁴ *Western Mail*, 22 July 1955 and 8 May 1958.

¹⁴⁵ Paul Lawrence, ‘Fabian, Robert Honey (1901–1978)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/77433>, accessed 9 Dec 2014]

¹⁴⁶ *Empire News and Sunday Chronicle*, 26 February 1956.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Also see *Empire News and Sunday Chronicle*, 4 March 1956; 11 March 1956; 19 February 1956; 13 May 1956; 27 May 1956; 20 May 1956; 3 June 1956; 17 June 1956; 24 June 1956; 1 July 1956; 8 July 1956; 15 July 1956.

¹⁴⁸ The embankment areas of Riverside and north Grangetown continue to be prominent spaces of curb-crawling and solicitation in the early twenty-first century. See Tracy Sagar, ‘Street Watch: Concept and Practice: Civilian

press and local councillors made direct comparisons to London, and argued that ‘this once-respectable suburb’ had been transformed into ‘a Welsh “Piccadilly Prowl”’ [...] being best known in Cardiff for its sordid night-life of sex and vice’.¹⁴⁹ However, concern over Riverside had little influence on regulation, which had instead turned to focus on soliciting in the city centre.¹⁵⁰ This again might be attributable to metropolitan trends, particularly with regards to the work of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution. The Committee was established in 1954 in response to sensational press coverage of street prostitution in London, and its report influenced the ratification of the 1959 Street Offences Act, which strengthened the definition of the ‘common prostitute’ and informed a clearance of women soliciting on London’s streets.¹⁵¹ Yet shifts in the spatial methods of the police and perceptions of place in 1950s Cardiff were not wholly attributable to legal developments and press coverage of London. A diminution in concerns over Butetown as a place of prostitution had coincided with continued economic decline in the port, fewer foreign seafarers visiting the city, and renewed concerns over street prostitution in the city centre in response to regeneration proposals. As subsequent chapters will reveal, the shifting moral geography of prostitution in Cardiff was the result of a more complex interplay of discourses of race and sexuality, as well as wider efforts to reshape and rezone particular districts.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the centrality of place in shaping perceptions of prostitution. As opposed to being an overt concern in itself, prostitution was framed within broader moral

Participation in Street Prostitution Control’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 45:1 (2005), 98-112; Sagar and Debbie Jones, *Community Perceptions of Street Sex Work in Cardiff* (Cardiff: Safer Wales, 2010); Sagar and Jones, *On-Street Sex Work in Cardiff: Findings from Engagement Events* (Cardiff: Safer Wales, 2010).

¹⁴⁹ *Cardiff and South Wales Times*, 22 June 1956. Also see the letter from Councillor Sidney Doxey of Riverside Ward in *Cardiff and South Wales Times*, 13 July 1956.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapters 1 and 5.

¹⁵¹ See Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), Chapter 11.

geographies, and was linked to other ‘problem’ behaviours. Before 1914, the city centre’s residential district was the main place of concern. While anxieties over this area were expressed using familiar and widely-circulated stereotypes of urban space, these depictions also reflected concerns over civic development. Representations of the central slum hinged on its proximity to the main commercial thoroughfares. Through this, the overspill and visibility of prostitutes to ‘respectable’ eyes was framed as posing a threat to Cardiff’s image as both modern city and Britain’s premier coal port. While there was a degree of geographical separation between slum and suburb in most other British urban centres, due to longer phases of urbanization, this was not the case in Cardiff. Concerns over place in Cardiff were thus not merely repetitious of familiar stereotypes, but representative of the city’s rapid and haphazard pattern of development and a compact urban geography characterized by the mixed use of space.

In Edwardian Cardiff, prostitution was frequently linked to drunkenness. While this was a common feature of responses to the social problems of urbanization in British cities, there was a particular emphasis on this issue in Cardiff through the context of the 1881 Welsh Sunday Closing Act. Links between places of prostitution and places of drink were driven through the influence of the Liberal-Nonconformist community, which framed these two concerns as a blight on civic development – in both a moral and economic sense.¹⁵² In terms of place, prostitution and drunkenness occupied the same moral geography: inhabiting the central slum, these behaviours were seen to seep into the ‘respectable’ spaces of the main commercial thoroughfares, particularly during the evenings. This suggests that place was not only conceived of in geographical terms, but was temporal, with behaviours seen to shift at different times of day.

Place was also temporal in a broader sense, as moral geographies of prostitution moved south during the interwar years towards Butetown. Rather than the more familiar images of

¹⁵² See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of the influence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity.

drunkenness and slum conditions, prostitution became mired in distinct racial fears over the dockland. Of particular concern were Maltese cafés, which were seen to facilitate miscegenation through operating as covert brothels. Representations of this site resemble the Foucauldian heterotopia, given how they were depicted as clandestine ‘counter-sites’ that inverted cultural norms. While the chief constable was a prominent agent in promoting this particular image, it was also reproduced in national and transnational contexts through the involvement of the Home Office, coverage in newspapers such as *The Times*, the involvement of groups like the British Social Hygiene Council, and the work of British and American sociologists in the 1940s. This attention to race and prostitution in the dockland signified an ongoing perception of Cardiff as a ‘problem’ port. While these more explicit connections over race and sex in the dockland had emerged in the 1920s, wider attention to social conditions in Cardiff had fomented in the Edwardian years, and had drawn the interests of journalists from other cities, and prominent social reformers such as George Sims. Hence, moral geographies might be seen as operating on two levels: first, as representing the contested and fluid boundaries between respectability and immorality within Cardiff, and second, as a mapping of Cardiff as a problem space within the British imperial context.

Returning to Jerram’s concerns over the conflation of ‘space’ with ‘place’, it is important to consider place in isolation to understand how moral geographies and representations of place were formed. Yet, by doing so, we also encounter difficulties in untangling representational place from practiced space and the material environment of the city, such as the influence of spatial perceptions over community identity in Butetown.¹⁵³ The contingent and temporal qualities of place also call into question Soja’s notion that historicism

¹⁵³ Also see Simon Gunn, ‘The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place’, in Simon Gunn and Robert J. Morris (eds), *Identities in Spaces: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 9.

and temporality can obscure power relations embedded in ‘the spatial’.¹⁵⁴ This chapter has demonstrated that the spatial and temporal are intertwined, how place is relational to space, and how representational place is informed by, and informs, spatial practice and lived experience. This can be seen through St Clair Drake’s observations on Butetown, which reveal how the heterotopic images of the dockland went beyond the imaginations and fears of outside observers. Rather, representations of Butetown and its connections with prostitution both ghettoized the area and solidified a sense of community amongst its residents. As such, place played a role in the formations of urban consciousness, both in ‘coloured’ Butetown and ‘white’ Cardiff. Place can thus be described as having differing resonances in local and national contexts, being characterized as temporal as well as spatial, and entangled with spatial practice, social relations, and materiality. Subsequent chapters will attempt to unpick these complex formations in more detail.

¹⁵⁴ See Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, [1989] 1993), Chapter 1.

3. Who Sold Sex?

The opening chapters of this thesis considered questions of *where* prostitution occurred in Cardiff. But *who* sold sex? Julia Laite has rightly identified that historians too often emphasize the views of middle-class observers, which can overlook both the lives of prostitutes and working-class attitudes towards commercial sex.¹ Yet, much like spatial issues, the question of ‘who?’ is not easy to answer. The primary obstacle to revealing the lives of those who sold sex lies in how the source material presents us with layers of representation and contradiction that rarely reveal the prostitute from her own standpoint.² As Judith Walkowitz has recently noted with reference to the nineteenth century, ‘illiterate women rarely left ego documents [and] personal statements extracted from legal testimonies were heavily mediated “through the discourse of those doing the recording”.’³ While prostitutes in the twentieth century were not the same as illiterate woman of the nineteenth, the available sources rarely offer a profile of who sold sex, nor how these women perceived prostitution or how commercial sex interacted with other facets of their lives. Other historians have also emphasized that most evidence relating to prostitution is primarily an arbitrated male narrative that offers ‘shared imaginings’ of the prostitute: the result being that ‘the pursuit of elusive subaltern voices’ often produces little more than a ‘quixotic search for agency and resistance’.⁴

¹ Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 11.

² Also see general discussion in Gabrielle Spiegel, ‘The Task of the Historian’, *American Historical Review*, 114:1 (2009), esp. 14.

³ Judith Walkowitz, ‘The Politics of Prostitution and Sexual Labour’, *History Workshop Journal*, 82 (2016), 188-198.

⁴ See Timothy Gilfoyle, ‘Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity’, *American Historical Review*, 104:1 (1999), 129; Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, [1997] 1999), 14, Chapter 2; Alain Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), Chapter 6.

Aside from these general observations, source material for Cardiff poses four specific problems to identifying who sold sex. First, the petty sessions registers recorded no detail on women arrested for prostitution-related offences beyond their name, location of arrest, and age – data which is also marred by inconsistency. Second, given that the 1824 Vagrancy Act required constables to identify women previously criminalized as ‘common prostitutes’, we are mainly limited to the most visible women who were sometimes arrested as ‘prostitutes’ yet for behaviours other than selling sex.⁵ Third, we can glean information on prostitutes’ lives from newspaper reports on court proceedings, but again, we are limited to the most visible prostitutes who generated the most interest. Journalists focused on a narrow range of cases that both emphasized stereotypes of the common prostitute and served wider agendas, such as a fascination with recidivism that reinforced popular narratives of working-class prostitutes.⁶ This was particularly prevalent in the Edwardian period when newspapers, such as the *South Wales Daily News* (SWDN), supported Nonconformist campaigns for repressive police action against soliciting.⁷ In addition, coverage of prostitution in the press symbolized broader concerns over gender, degeneration, and migration, meaning that we are presented with little more than a composite picture of the prostitute.⁸ Fourth, from the 1920s the arrest rate for street prostitution offences fell considerably, and the figure of the prostitute became a less prominent topic of debate. Hence, while the Edwardian period offers a mediated image of prostitutes as an ‘outcast group’, by the interwar years we are left with increasingly fragmented evidence on

⁵ For the ‘common prostitute’ and criminalization, see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999), Chapter 1; Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), 38; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*. See Chapter 5 of this thesis for a discussion of the laws relating to the regulation of prostitution.

⁶ For examples of recidivism, see *Western Mail*, 17 August 1909; *South Wales Daily News*, 15 September 1909; *Western Mail*, 11 and 12 April 1911. For explorations of images of the prostitute, also see Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. 94-95; Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth Century Medical Discourse* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997); Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, [1992] 1994).

⁷ For Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity and the press, see Chapters 2 and 6.

⁸ Also see discussion in Nina Attwood, *The Prostitute’s Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

a group of women who had become entirely marginalized.⁹ What little evidence there is of the interwar 'café girl' placed far less focus on the circumstances of individuals, and offers only generalizations and stereotypes.

Our principal task thus becomes what Gabrielle Spiegel has termed 'an engagement with absence'.¹⁰ This does not mean that we cannot focus our attentions on the lives of those who sold sex, but to do so we have to be mindful of the mediated and fragmentary nature of the source material. The pitfalls of evidence require a careful and nuanced approach that can speculate on some of the features of the lives of prostitutes. Rather than uncovering the experiences, subjectivity, and agency of those who sold sex, we can only solicit fragments of prostitutes' lives from evidence that mainly points to a number of other representations. To negotiate these obstacles, this chapter examines various themes associated with the women who sold sex in Cardiff to explore both the prostitute as discursive construct, and what might be revealed of their lives. It begins by looking at the general stereotype of the 'common prostitute', and explores how ideas of appearance and behaviours were deployed to signify allied fears over drink, and perceived threats to normative notions of femininity. This evidence reveals different sets of fears than those covered in the existing literature on the prostitute's dress, with an emphasis on grotesquery rather than finery or gaudiness.¹¹

From a consideration of stereotypes of the body and behaviour, the chapter turns to examine patterns of migration. Migrant prostitutes were frequently reported on in the local press, presenting an image that both externalized vice to outsiders and referenced broader fears, such as those over Jewish immigration. Notwithstanding the drawbacks of this evidence, a careful reading suggests that some women selling sex did so through commuting from Cardiff's

⁹ For prostitutes as an 'outcast group', see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, esp. Chapters 1 and 10.

¹⁰ Spiegel, 'The Task of the Historian', 4.

¹¹ Mariana Valverde, 'The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse', *Victorian Studies*, 32:2 (1989), 169-189; Melissa Bellanta and Alana Piper, 'Looking Flash: Disreputable Women's Dress and Modernity, 1870-1910', *History Workshop Journal*, 78 (2014), 58-81.

hinterland, highlighting more quotidian patterns of movement and migration than those suggested in other studies.¹² The chapter then uses a combination of census data and newspaper reports to explore the extent to which poverty and a dearth of employment opportunities might have influenced the selling of sex, with prostitution being an aspect of a wider ‘makeshift economy’.¹³ While work on the nineteenth century has suggested that prostitution was frequently a transient phase towards ‘respectable’ working-class status, evidence from Edwardian Cardiff implies that it had come to provide a more central means of subsistence for significant proportion of recorded ‘prostitutes’.¹⁴ The absence of other classes of prostitute in these debates is not to say that they did not exist in Edwardian Cardiff, but that it was not a point of discussion for those observers who mediated the voice of the prostitute.¹⁵

The chapter ends by examining a distinct shift in perceptions in the interwar years, revealing a contrast to the heightened criminalization of the common prostitute in London.¹⁶ Rather than the common prostitute of the central slum, debates shifted instead towards the ‘café girl’: a semi-professional prostitute seen to be linked to dockland cafés and exploited by their Maltese keepers. While repurposing familiar language and imagery, such as appearance and a desire to protect young women from entering prostitution, the development of the ‘café girl’ stereotype in interwar Cardiff deviated from the notion of the common prostitute. This evidence

¹² Most discussions of migration have focused on transnational movements. For example Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 6; Stefan Slater, ‘Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London’, *The London Journal*, 32:1 (2007), 53-74. Country-urban movement and the intertwining of prostitution with seasonal work is touched upon in Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 15, 193; and Catherine Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886: Deviance, Surveillance and Morality* (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 21, but not in great detail.

¹³ Also see Lee, *Policing Prostitution*.

¹⁴ For prostitution as a transient phase, see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*. Also see Walkowitz, ‘“We Are Not Beasts of the Field”: Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts’, *Feminist Studies*, 1:3/4, (1973), 73-106; Walkowitz, ‘The Politics of Prostitution’, *Signs*, 6:1 (1980), 123-135; Walkowitz, ‘Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, 13:1 (1982), 79-93.

¹⁵ In Victorian Cardiff, there was some discussion of different ‘classes’ of prostitute being associated with different districts in the town. See *Western Mail*, 1 and 2 December 1869.

¹⁶ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; and Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints: Prostitutes and Legal Identity in Early Twentieth-Century London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 65:1 (2008), 96-116.

both underscores the difficulties in identifying the lives of the women who sold sex, and how stereotypes of prostitution were not static but temporally shaped through an amalgamation of broader discourses and anxieties.

The ‘common prostitute’

Depictions of women selling sex in Edwardian Cardiff frequently drew from stereotypes associated with the figure of the ‘common prostitute’, a vague legal category derived from the 1824 Vagrancy Act that distinguished often impoverished working-class women as identifiable legal subjects and assigned them ‘outcast’ status.¹⁷ This classification of the women who sold sex went beyond legal discourse, and was accompanied by cultural stereotypes that pathologized their alleged behaviours. Drunkenness was a familiar motif in descriptions of the common prostitute, with alcohol being seen as means to stimulate ‘animal passions’ and reduce sexual inhibitions.¹⁸ It is unsurprising that drunkenness, as opposed to venereal disease, was the most common feature of how the common prostitute in Cardiff was imagined.¹⁹ In part, this was symbolic of wider concerns over seaports, as transient seafarers were frequently seen to be drawn to prostitution in ‘sailortown’, which in turn was seen as conducive to ‘misery drinking’.²⁰ In addition to these broader cultural connections between prostitution, drink, and the port environment, attention to drunkenness was driven by two other factors: connections between drink and the ‘riotous’ behaviour of the prostitute enshrined in the 1824 Vagrancy Act

¹⁷ See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, Chapter 1; Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 38.

¹⁸ Bartley, *Prostitution*, 6.

¹⁹ For venereal diseases and the prostitute, see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; Sponberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*.

²⁰ See W. C. Sullivan, ‘A Statistical Note on the Social Causes of Alcoholism’, *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 50:210 (1904), 427; Graeme Milne, *People, Place and Power on the Nineteenth-Century Waterfront: Sailortown* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Valerie Burton, ‘Boundaries and Identities in the Nineteenth-Century English Port: Sailortown Narratives and Urban Space’, in Simon Gunn and Robert Morris (eds), *Identities in Spaces: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 137-151; Stan Hugill, *Sailortown* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul/E. P. Dutton & Co., 1967).

(see Chapter 5), and the influence of the Welsh Nonconformist community, which saw drink and prostitution as twin evils blighting civic and moral progress in Cardiff.²¹

In 1902, the *Western Mail* published an editorial on conditions in the central slum, which emphasized the alleged threats that this place posed to civic development. The editorial also commented on the ‘common prostitute’ to be found there, which drew from a broader frame of reference of prostitutes being the embodiment of atavistic sexuality.²² For the *Western Mail*,

One of the saddest of the distressing sights with which life in large towns makes us familiar is the unsexed woman, the wretched creature whom drink and vice and despair have driven practically outside the bounds of civilization. [...] these poor creatures [are] at once the plague of the police and the despair of the authorities.²³

The idea of drink and prostitution creating a class of ‘unsexed’ women further emphasized a notion that the appearance and behaviours of the ‘common prostitute’ transgressed and ‘degraded’ normative feminine traits and behaviours.²⁴ In October 1902, the *SWDN* ran an editorial on the common prostitute under the title of ‘Degraded Womanhood’. In this piece, the newspaper claimed that

the most distressing sign of the times is the overwhelming preponderance of women charged [...] with drunkenness and riotous conduct in the public thoroughfares [...] women are unfortunately by far the greatest offenders in this respect. You have only to read the annual statistics to see that; and there is also the fact that in a very large number of cases women are the instigators to disorderly scenes. [...] Old and hardened offenders in most cases they were, and their bloated faces and extreme nervousness rendered in many instances the constables’ evidence almost superfluous.²⁵

²¹ See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, Chapter 3; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 5, 44-6; Attwood, *The Prostitute’s Body*, 49-50; Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*; Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27: 3 (1982), 290-323; Martin Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), 222-3. See Chapter 6 of this thesis for a detailed discussion on the influence of Nonconformist groups.

²² Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001), 57.

²³ *Western Mail*, 26 April 1902.

²⁴ See Jill Matus, *Unstable Bodies: Victorian Representations of Sexuality and Maternity* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 48. Also see discussion in Attwood, *The Prostitute’s Body*; and Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*.

²⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 15 November 1902. Similar examples can be found in: *Western Mail*, 19 August 1902; *South Wales Daily News*, 5 January 1903; *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1907. Also see a range of evidence cited in Chapter 2.

The editorial clearly emphasized a connection between drunkenness and the prostitute, with the signs of drink being framed as an element of the prostitute's appearance ('bloated faces') and demeanour ('extreme nervousness'). This depiction also placed a notion of blame onto individual women as opposed to external factors such as poverty. To some degree there were also parallels with concomitant concerns over suffragettes, in terms of women being perceived as becoming 'unsexed' through transgressing normative femininity, and in the use of terms such as 'virago' – a frequent negative descriptor of suffragettes – being used by the Cardiff press to describe prostitutes.²⁶ In essence, the 'common prostitute' was presented as embodying broader threats to idealized notions of femininity, primarily through themes of drunkenness, appearance, behaviour, and recidivism.

In particular cases, the local press singled out repeat offenders as recidivists who embodied the problems of both prostitution and 'degraded womanhood' more generally. In January 1903, for instance, Emily Popjoy was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment under the Vagrancy Act. Echoing the notions of place the drove debate over Cardiff's prostitution (see Chapter 2), the *SWDN* described her appearance in court as being 'if she had emerged from one of Hogarth's pictures, [and] had a forlorn experience.'²⁷ The symbolic threat of the prostitute was accentuated by imagery that had abounded during the Victorian period in which the prostitute was often depicted as wearing gaudy clothing, being pitiful or visibly diseased, and frequently drunk.²⁸ The supposed visibility of these women and such distinct visual imagery reinforced this popular stereotype. Such generalizations presented a simplified

²⁶ See Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914* (London: Routledge, [1987] 1990), 13, 40-1, 204; Lisa Carstens, 'Unbecoming Women: Sex Reversal in the Scientific Discourse on Female Deviance in Britain, 1880-1920', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 20:1 (2011), 62-94; *South Wales Daily News*, 15 May 1906; *Western Mail*, 16 May 1906; *Western Mail*, 31 December 1907. In addition, 'white' girls employed in dockland boarding houses were described as being 'as happy as doves (or as suffragettes)' to be in sexual relationships with non-white men. *Western Mail*, 15 May 1907. Also see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

²⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 5 January 1903.

²⁸ See Attwood, *The Prostitute's Body*, 5; Valverde, 'The Love of Finery'.

illustration of a multifarious group of women who used commercial sex in various ways and for various reasons.²⁹

These stereotypes were also subject to some variation, and were repurposed to emphasize particular fears. In the case of appearance and dress, in Cardiff the familiar trope of gaudy clothing gave way to depictions that emphasized grotesquery. In an editorial published in 1908, the *SWDN* claimed that, in the central slum,

Women sat on almost every door-step, their garments brutally grotesque. Women hobbled along the pavements with lamentable feet and blobs of flapping leather. Women staggered across the street, their tattered skirts dabbling in the mud. [...] Horribly defeatured [*sic.*] and defaced were many of these white Englishwomen and Welshwomen. Once they were young and good to look upon; but that was before they were drawn into the black depths of Cardiff. Their numbers are being recruited each year from these same black depths [...] a vice which eats into the very vitals of the community.³⁰

The zealous emphasis on how prostitutes' clothing was 'brutally grotesque' and how they were often barefoot and dressed in tatters depicted these women as embodying the extremes of slumland and the residuum. This depiction of grotesquery suggests that there was a more complex taxonomy of dress and appearance than suggested in the existing literature on the appearance and dress of the prostitute. If dress code signified morality then, in the absence of 'finery', we see less a notion of the gaudy common prostitute as a cheap imitation of 'respectable' femininity.³¹ Instead, the grotesque, 'unsexed' prostitute was beyond fallen and unsalvageable, a notion that served to buttress calls from the Nonconformist community and supporting newspapers, such as the *SWDN*, for the police to take more repressive action to eradicate street prostitutes from Cardiff's central ward (see Chapter 6).

²⁹ Attwood, *The Prostitute's Body*, 52.

³⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 29 September 1908. For another example, see *South Wales Echo*, 16 June 1904. The *Echo* recounted a 'tale' of a conversation in a cell between two prostitutes: one a 'good-looking, stylishly dressed' 'West Wales girl' of 'superior parentage' who had recently moved to Cardiff, and a middle-aged woman described as a 'wreck' who had 'sunk about as low as a woman can sink'.

³¹ Valverde, 'The Love of Finery'; Bellanta and Piper, 'Looking Flash'; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 26

This image of the prostitute served as a metaphor for degeneration, characterized in both physical and moral terms as grotesque, vulgar, and a source of contagion.³² This was explicit in the previous excerpt from an *SWDN* editorial, which posed that the ‘black depths’ of slumland could ‘defeature’ and ‘deface’ ‘white’ English- and Welshwomen. Degeneracy was commonly perceived as being hereditary, and depictions of a contagious element to prostitution in Cardiff drew on wider ideas that prolific breeding amongst the poor was contributing to wider racial and moral degradation.³³ A letter to the *Western Mail* in 1908 explicitly referenced such notions through arguing that ‘A little closer study of the natural history of the unfortunate would teach anyone that a large proportion of the Cardiff women belong to the class of hereditary Magdalenes.’³⁴ Commentary on age, appearance, and hereditariness served to represent the dangers of prostitution and the rapidity by which women could fall from the vigour of youthful femininity to premature old age, disease, and intemperance.³⁵ Such emphasis on young and ‘good to look upon’ women becoming disfigured by prostitution also mirrored wider discourses of class, sexual consent and marriage.³⁶

Migration

Marriage and familial breakdown frequently appeared as a theme in depictions of migrant prostitutes. In the following examples we will see how this trope externalized the threat of ‘vice’ and degeneration to incomers to Cardiff, and underscored broader fears over the place of the central slum as a site of both drunkenness and prostitution, and a corrupting influence

³² See Gillian Swanson, ‘Locomotive Stomachs and Downcast Looks: Urban Pathology and the Destabilized Body’, in Jane Crisp, et al (eds), *Deciphering Culture: Ordinary Curiosities and Subjective Narratives* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 144.

³³ See Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 224-5; Jane Caplan, ‘“Educating the Eye”: The Tattooed Prostitute’, in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (eds), *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 100-116.

³⁴ *Western Mail*, 24 October 1908.

³⁵ See Attwood, *The Prostitute’s Body*, 5.

³⁶ See Philippa Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender and Empire’, in Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 135.

on the morals of the city. Invoking notions of spatial agency, the residuum from other ports were seen to gravitate to Cardiff, leading to moral decline.³⁷ In an editorial in 1902, the *SWDN* argued that ‘the off-scourings of every port in the kingdom [...] steadily drifted to Cardiff’, compounding both ‘the evil record that lies in the Court books’ and efforts to maintain ‘public order’.³⁸ Within a narrative of incomers exacerbating the degradation of morals in Cardiff, prostitutes were often depicted as spurning marriage and normative relationships in order to sell sex – perceptions that also chimed with wider fears over falling birth rates and degeneration.³⁹ In essence, representations of migrant prostitutes in Edwardian Cardiff reinforced a binary between the idealized wife and mother, and the debased and degenerate prostitute.⁴⁰

While accounts of migrant prostitutes were refracted through broader fears over degeneration and perceived threats to normative femininity, they did echo common patterns of migration from other parts of Wales and the West Country into Cardiff. We can see these interconnections in the case of David John Hughes who was arrested in 1903 for living on the earnings of his wife’s prostitution. An account of the case in the *South Wales Daily News* (*SWDN*) revealed how they had moved from Merthyr Tydfil to Riverside in 1902, with some suggestion that a combination of poverty and domestic violence had forced Mrs Hughes to sell sex.⁴¹ In a similar case, Llanelli-born Carrie Gilmour had moved to Cardiff after marrying Welsh Regiment Reservist Patsy Gilmour in Merthyr in 1897. Carrie turned to prostitution while Patsy had been fighting in the Boer War, and on his return they moved to Neath where

³⁷ On these themes, also see Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), Chapter 7; Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, ‘Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialization of Virtue’, *Environment and Planning D*, 17 (1999), 744.

³⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 May 1902.

³⁹ For concerns over gender roles and the spurning of marriage by women, see Carstens, ‘Unbecoming Women’, 63. For falling birth rates and degeneration, see Soloway, *Democracy and Degeneration*, esp. Chapter 3; Ina Zweininger-Bargielowska, Ina, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain, 1889-1939* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chapter 3; Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 224-6.

⁴⁰ This veneration of marriage promoted a notion of ‘pure’ femininity threatened by both the suffrage movement and fears over the ‘common prostitute’. See Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain*, 60, and Chapter 3.

⁴¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 23 September 1903.

Patsy had found work as a labourer. Following this, Gilmour cohabited with a German seaman at Barry Dock and commuted into Cardiff to sell sex. It was reported that, through her drinking habits, and after twenty convictions at Barry for various minor offences, Fred and Carrie's relationship broke down. Following this, Gilmour lodged at a boarding house in Mary Ann Street in Cardiff city centre where she remained, selling sex around Butetown and the Mary Ann Street vicinity until her death in 1907.⁴² The failures of the Boer War signified racial degeneration and the image of the weakened male working-class body, meaning that readers of the Gilmour case would likely have drawn connections between the Boer War reference, the breakdown of her marriage, and subsequent involvement in prostitution and with foreign seamen.⁴³ Furthermore, the level of detail on Gilmour's presents us with an atypical example as she was murdered by a potential client in August 1907, which led to a degree of fascination over her personal circumstances that was absent from everyday reporting on 'common prostitutes'.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, reports on the atypical case of Carrie Gilmour, while reflecting broader fears and stereotypes associated with prostitution, highlight patterns of women commuting into Cardiff for the purpose of prostitution. Like Gilmour, other women from Barry Dock were also recorded as having moved to and from Cardiff to sell sex, such as Maria Lewis and Jeanie Gilbert, both arrested under the Vagrancy Act at Bute Street in September 1907.⁴⁵ Others, such as Ellen O'Brien of Abertridwr were also reported to 'visit[...] Cardiff [...] periodically'.⁴⁶ Comments in the *SWDN* likewise imply that, in addition to women intermittently utilizing 'Valley trains' to sell sex, others travelled from Somerset and Devon for short periods using

⁴² *South Wales Daily News*, 29 August 1907. Like Carrie Gilmour, other women from Barry Dock were also recorded as having moved to Cardiff to sell sex, such as Maria Lewis and Jeanie Gilbert, both arrested under the Vagrancy Act at Bute Street in September 1907 when they were sixteen years old. *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1907.

⁴³ See Soloway, *Democracy and Degeneration*, 41-2.

⁴⁴ *Western Mail*, 30 August 1907; Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/4/1/7, Inquest Book, June 1907-January 1909. See Chapter 5 for discussion on the some of the dangers faced by women selling sex.

⁴⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1907.

⁴⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1913.

Bristol Channel steamer services.⁴⁷ While migration has been discussed by other historians of prostitution, their focus has predominantly been on transnational immigration as opposed to movements between British rural and urban districts, or the quotidian flows of sexual labour suggested by patterns of transience or commuting.⁴⁸ The aforementioned examples reveal that prostitution intertwined with working-class movement from rural and industrial Wales into Cardiff, as well as being representative of quotidian connections between the city and the surrounding region.⁴⁹ This point raises some interesting questions that are beyond the scope of this thesis, particularly around the connections between prostitution and industrial development in South Wales, migratory sexual labour across South Wales and the South West of England, and the role of sexual economies in linking the urban centre to both the wider region and further afield.⁵⁰ What we can deduce here is that themes of migration emphasized by newspapers were less representative of the complexities of migration into Cardiff and the everyday movements of people between the city and its hinterland. Instead, we are presented with a narrative in which outsiders were seen to exacerbate prostitution and pose threats to civic development. In cases at the petty sessions, including those covering prostitution-related offences, offenders

⁴⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 2 July 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 20 September 1911.

⁴⁸ For example, see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, esp. Chapter 6; and Stefan Slater, 'Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London', *London Journal*, 32:1 (2007), 53-74. Country-urban movement and the intertwinement of prostitution with seasonal work is touched upon in Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 15, 193; Lee, *Policing Prostitution*, 21.

⁴⁹ While there is a substantial body of work on connections between prostitution, mining, industrial development and 'frontier' regions in Africa and the Americas, this area has been overlooked by historians of South Wales. For an overview of the historiography on Africa and the Americas, see Julia Laite, 'Historical Perspectives on Industrial Development, Mining, and Prostitution', *Historical Journal*, 52:3 (2009), 739-761.

⁵⁰ Similar patterns are evident from reports of prostitutes who had migrated from the nearby English counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Devon, as well as some cases from Lancashire and County Durham. For examples, see *South Wales Daily News*, 13 October 1905; *South Wales Daily News*, 1 October 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 31 August 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 23 October 1907; *Western Mail*, 12 April 1911; *Western Mail*, 9 September 1912. For migration into Cardiff and South Wales, see Deirdre Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 32-4; Philip Jones, 'Some aspects of immigration into the Glamorgan coalfield between 1881 and 1911', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (1969), 83-4; T. M. Hodges, 'The Peopling of the Hinterland and the Port of Cardiff (1801-1914)', in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales 1750-1914: Essays in Welsh Economic History* (London and New York: Routledge, [1969] 2006), 3-18; Brinley Thomas, 'The Migration of Labour into the Glamorganshire Coalfield, 1861-1911', in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Industrial South Wales 1750-1914*, 37-58. Also see Gwyn Williams, *The Welsh in their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 181-4.

from the surrounding region were often denigrated as uncivilized folk from ‘the hills’.⁵¹ This evidence poses obstacles to revealing the extent of migrant sexual labour from within the region, for it was framed within concerns over civic image (see Chapter 2), and how progress in Cardiff was expressed through a contrast against the more proletarian culture of the industrial valleys.⁵²

A different narrative was expressed in relation to Jewish prostitutes, being symbolic of wider anxieties over Jewish migration from Russia and Eastern Europe from the turn of the century.⁵³ These fears resulted in the passing of 1905 Aliens Act, which enabled the refusal of entry to immigrants based on ‘health’, and provided limited deportation powers through allowing magistrates to recommend expulsion if the ‘alien’ had committed an imprisonable or prostitution-related offence.⁵⁴ As a result of this Act, foreign women in London, especially Russian and German Jews, were frequently targeted by both the press and the police.⁵⁵ In similar vein to London, exaggerated claims about the scale of Jewish prostitution were expressed in Edwardian Cardiff.⁵⁶ While the *SWDN* alleged that ‘shameless traffic’ in the Saltmead area was characterized by ‘foreigners’ and ‘younger Continental girls’ moving

⁵¹ See, for example, *Western Mail*, 3 September 1901; *South Wales Daily News*, 14 June 1905.

⁵² See Neil Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City: The Middle Class, Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff’, *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1983), 351-387; Martin Johnes, ‘Cardiff: The Making and Development of the Capital City of Wales’, *Contemporary British History*, 26:4 (2012), 509-528.

⁵³ See a number of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/22, Newscuttings, November 1903-April 1904. Later examples include *South Wales Daily News*, 4 May 1907; *Western Mail*, 4 May 1907; *Western Mail*, 9 May 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908.

⁵⁴ For wider fears over Jewish migration, see Helena Wray, ‘The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), 302-323; David Cesarani, ‘Anti-alienism in England after the First World War’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 6:1 (1987), 5-29; Cesarani, ‘An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 11:3 (1992), 24-52; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 105, 112-4; Jill Pellew, ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’, *Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), 369-385; Alison Bashford and Catie Gilchrist, ‘The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:3 (2012), 409-437.

⁵⁵ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 107.

⁵⁶ Jewish prostitutes recorded in these years included Sarah Friedman, who was arrested for importuning at St Mary Street in May 1906. See *Western Mail* and *South Wales Daily News*, 3 May 1906. Another example was Rebecca Greenbaum, who mistakenly solicited an off-duty sergeant on the Golate, also in May 1906. See *South Wales Daily News*, 5 May 1906. In 1908, a ‘Jewish citizen’ named H. Stone filed a complaint to the Watch Committee as ‘he knew of about twenty men who lived on the earnings of the Jewish disorderly women in the city’, yet there is scant additional evidence to confirm that Jewish-organized prostitution existed to this extent. *Western Mail*, 27 October 1908.

between Cardiff and other urban centres, there is little evidence to qualify this.⁵⁷ Only isolated cases can offer potential evidence for such movements of continental or non-‘British’ prostitutes. One example is Rose Ribenbach, a Warsaw-born ‘German Jewess’ who was arrested for soliciting at Westgate Street in March 1911. Ribenbach had reportedly been resident in Cardiff for five months, with police evidence suggesting that she ‘had come over from Paris five months ago with two other women, who made a practice of going to and fro between Paris and Cardiff.’⁵⁸ Yet it is difficult to qualify claims over Ribenbach’s movements and how common such activities might have been. In 1909, local Jewish magistrate Isaac Samuel spoke out against arguments that ‘there was a host of German Jewesses at the bottom of St Mary-street’, stating that there were only ‘Russian Jewesses’ in Cardiff, and that these were ‘sober and orderly’. Samuel noted that some Jewish women were simply using prostitution as temporary means to obtain income: ‘after they have saved enough money, go back to their homes, and in many cases leave the past behind them and live a new and a better life.’⁵⁹

Thus, while there were Jewish prostitutes in Edwardian Cardiff, evidence of their existence and practices was characteristic of broader fears over Jewish immigration during the Edwardian years. The use of common stereotypes associated with working-class Jewish immigrants is also evident in the comments of Chief Constable McKenzie. Writing to the Lord Mayor, McKenzie argued that

foreign Jewish prostitutes [...] ply their calling with great cunning. They are usually well behaved and rarely commit themselves in such a manner as to bring them into the hands of the police. They never enter public houses, are well dressed and although their purpose in the streets is ostensible, they are

⁵⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 10 March 1908.

⁵⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 24 March 1911.

⁵⁹ *Western Mail*, 24 April 1909. Samuel was a prominent figure in Edwardian Cardiff from a notable family. In addition to being a partner in Symonds, Samuel & Co., he had founded a furnishings company with his brother, sat on the council of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire and had endowed the university with funding for scholarships, was a committee member of the Royal Infirmary, vice-president of the Lifeboat Fund, treasurer for the Cardiff Freemasons, and owned two ships: one registered at Penarth, the other on the Tyne. See Ursula R. Q. Henriques, ‘The Jewish Community of Cardiff, 1813-1914’, in Ursula R. Q. Henriques, (ed.), *The Jews of South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, [1993] 2013), 19.

never obtrusive and when they accost they do so in an undertone, which makes it most difficult to prove a case of solicitation against them [...]. These women apparently follow their immoral life, not from any licentious feeling but entirely with a view to making money. They invariably live in houses, tenanted by themselves, to which they take men for immoral purposes but no other women are ever allowed there.⁶⁰

The chief constable thus viewed Jewish prostitutes as a class apart from the rest of the city's prostitutes. Unlike the 'common prostitute' they were depicted as living in their own houses as opposed to being associated with the boarding houses and public houses of the slum, and, unlike non-Jewish prostitutes, unidentifiable by their behaviour or appearance.⁶¹ In speaking of Jewish prostitutes' 'cunning' nature, evasive methods, and use of prostitution purely to obtain money (as opposed to being driven by alcohol), McKenzie ascribed to typical and contradictory stereotypes associated with Jewish migrants.⁶² Hence, these accounts were more representative of concerns over – and stereotypes of – race and migration than they were of the prevalence and experiences of migrant prostitutes. Migration from Cardiff's more immediate hinterland was emphasized through a different set of anxieties, namely a notion that prostitution was a blight on civic image and ambition. While the city's prosperity had been built on exporting the natural resources of the coalfields that surrounded it, its image as a modern, commercial city was often contrasted against the industrial, working-class mining towns of its hinterland. That some women selling sex in Cardiff had initially moved to the city from 'the hills' is somewhat unsurprising, given that employment opportunities in the valleys were limited to the masculine realm of heavy industry. To what degree, then, can poverty be inferred as an element shaping the lives of Cardiff prostitutes and the reasons why they came to sell sex?

⁶⁰ TNA HO/45/10354/129/817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1908.

⁶¹ Also see Paul Knepper, "'Jewish Trafficking' and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6:3 (2007), 239-256.

⁶² See Lara Marks, 'Race, Class and Gender: The Experience of Jewish Prostitutes and other Jewish Women in the East End of London at the Turn of the Century', in Joan Grant (ed.), *Women, Migration and Empire* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham, 1996), 31-50.

Poverty and makeshift economies

Historians of nineteenth-century prostitution have suggested that prostitution provided a ‘common means’ for working-class women to earn a living, being reflective of the narrow economic and social opportunities open to them. Prostitution has been shown to have offered ways of augmenting wages from other employment, of complementing seasonal work, or to supplement income from partners’ work in precarious forms of labour, such as seafaring.⁶³ Such conditions can be observed in Edwardian Cardiff.⁶⁴ While specific statistics for Cardiff are unavailable, women’s participation rates in the Welsh workforce were ‘strikingly low’: just 23.6 percent in both 1901 and 1911, compared to 32.8 percent in England. Additionally, while migrant labour flocked to the prosperity of South Wales’ coalfield and ports, in 1911 only 14.4 percent of women participated in the workforce of the mining centre of the Rhondda – as might be expected given the nature of the work in the region. Of those women who did work, over 50 percent were employed in domestic service.⁶⁵ In light of work characterized by low wages and ‘drudgery’, and in a climate where there were few employment opportunities, reports in the press suggest that prostitution offered an alternative – and sometimes vital – means of subsistence.

There are limits to the degree to which we can reveal the experiences of impoverished women who sold sex in Cardiff. Again, we are faced with the obstacle of much of the source material presenting us with mediated images of criminalized repeat offenders, or atypical cases that overlooked the mundane aspects of the lives of those who sold sex. However, we can infer

⁶³ Lee, *Policing Prostitution*, Chapter 1; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, esp. Chapter 10. Also see Levine, ‘Rough Usage’, 266-7.

⁶⁴ In addition to the examples that follow in the text, see *South Wales Daily News*, 27 June 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 10 November 1906; *Western Mail*, 10 April 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 2 October 1908; *Western Mail*, 5 October 1908; *South Wales Daily News*, 13 October 1908; *Western Mail*, 14 August 1912; *Western Mail*, 23 November 1914.

⁶⁵ Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows*, 31.

aspects of prostitution's makeshift economy from some evidence. By cross-referencing names from the petty sessions registers against the 1911 census, we can speculate that a number of women fit the argument that low-paid casual work was an important causal factor in decisions to sell sex. Mary Nowland, for instance, lived on Portmanmoor Road, Splott, where she worked as a domestic servant, while nineteen-year-old laundry packer Agnes Mills lodged with a friend at Strathnairn Street, Roath.⁶⁶ Other women found themselves in a worse financial predicament; for instance, Liverpool-born Annie Hammond lived as an unemployed widow at Dispenser Street, Riverside.⁶⁷ Boarding houses also provided cheap accommodation for impoverished women who used prostitution to supplement wages from low-paid casual jobs. Evidence from the 1911 census shows how a number of women recorded as prostitutes that year resided together at a boarding house at 25 Mary Ann Street. These included Maggie Morgan (twenty-seven arrests), Ellen O'Brien (eighteen), Catherine Collins (sixteen), Emily Compton (one), Sarah Stew (eight), Margaret Dance (seven), Elizabeth Bondfield (four), and Margaret Hayes (five). All undertook char and domestic work, with the exception of Margaret Dance and Elizabeth Bondfield whose occupations were 'match maker' and 'show woman', respectively.⁶⁸ However, census data only provides a limited amount of information into women's circumstances, and, given the paucity of personal information on offenders in petty sessions registers, we are ultimately restricted to searching for those with less common names.

Poverty also emerges as a theme in newspaper reports on court proceedings. One motive claimed by women at the petty sessions was that they had sold sex to replace income lost through unemployment. In December 1905, for instance, Edith Marshall informed magistrates that she had 'resorted to immorality' after losing her job as a barmaid at a city centre hotel.⁶⁹ Likewise, in May 1907 Beatrice St Clair received a fine of 40s for keeping a

⁶⁶ 1911 Census of England and Wales, 588, 29, 270, 5; 588, 06, 95, 5.

⁶⁷ 1911 Census of England and Wales, 588, 03, 236, 3.

⁶⁸ 1911 Census of England and Wales, 588, 19, 166.

⁶⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 December 1905.

'brothel' at Beauchamp Street, Riverside, after losing her job at 'one of the leading hotels in the city'.⁷⁰ Unemployment was also reported as influencing nineteen-year-old Cardiffian Annie Davies to sell sex in Bristol, where she had been arrested in September 1909. Davies had previously worked at Spiller's Biscuit Factory in Butetown, followed by a short period of work in another Cardiff factory before finding herself with 'no regular employment'. She subsequently married one John Phillips, who also found it difficult to continue to find work as a horse-and-trolley driver, and the pair had moved to Bristol with just £2 16s between them.⁷¹

In addition to supplanting income lost through unemployment, reports drew attention to how prostitution also provided a means to supplement existing income from precarious labour. Laura Green, who appeared in court in October 1909 and pleaded poverty, had worked casually as a barmaid, a chorus girl, and a domestic servant.⁷² In other cases, women appear to have supplemented household income by turning to prostitution whilst their husbands were away at work, suggesting that poverty as a casual factor for prostitution resulted from wider issues than the paucity of work for working-class women.⁷³ However, the concerns of the Nonconformist community and the local press hinged on an image of the prostitute as grotesque and ravaged by poverty, and a corrupting influence on both the morals of the city, and civic development. This means that attention to cases of prostitution concerning poverty would have stoked fears associated with particular stereotypes, as opposed to being representative of the socio-economic conditions common to the lives of women who sold sex. In the case of Laura Green, her occupations also had long-standing cultural connections with prostitution, and while women were indeed drawn to prostitution due to the low wages and precarious nature of these

⁷⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 29 May 1907. It was likely that this site was her own residence as opposed to a 'brothel' in an organized sense. For more on the casual nature of Edwardian 'brothels', see Chapter 1.

⁷¹ *Western Mail*, 2 October 1909. In addition to poverty and unemployment shaping decisions to enter prostitution, Annie Davies's case also helps illustrate how the casual use of prostitution was an aspect of migratory labour between South Wales and the West Country. For a similar case, see *Western Mail*, 14 August 1912.

⁷² *Western Mail*, 8 October 1909.

⁷³ *Western Mail*, 10 April 1907. Also see *Western Mail*, 17 December 1912.

jobs they also provided familiar imagery of prostitution and working-class life.⁷⁴ Furthermore, while prostitution might well have played a role in supporting impoverished women with no support networks, magistrates often took a more lenient approach to first-time offenders. This suggests that pleas of economic hardship may have been overemphasized as a tactic to reduce punishment served by paternalistic JPs.⁷⁵ We are, therefore, presented with an interceded narrative from which we are unable to ascertain the realities of how social and economic circumstances might have informed women's decisions to sell sex. Additionally, we are unable to gauge the extent to which prostitution offered a constant, rather than a casual means of subsistence for working-class women.

Professionalization?

In her seminal work on nineteenth-century prostitution, Walkowitz used age as an indicator of a shift towards a 'professionalization' of prostitution, meaning that prostitution provided less a transitory phase for some working-class women than a longer-term source of income. Under the Contagious Diseases Acts, most prostitutes recorded in her case studies of Plymouth and Southampton were in their late-teens, suggesting that prostitution provided a temporary means of subsistence for younger, working-class women. By the late-nineteenth century a more significant proportion of recorded prostitutes were around the age of thirty. For Walkowitz, this shift in recorded ages signified an increased 'longevity' in selling sex as a form of labour, with the stigmatizing label of the 'common prostitute' and increased police attention making it difficult for these women to pursue alternative means of income.⁷⁶ A similar pattern might be

⁷⁴ For an overview, see Bartley, *Prostitution*, 1-24.

⁷⁵ See, for example *Western Mail*, 24 April 1906. Other examples can be seen in *Western Mail*, 2 January 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 7 September 1914. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the approaches of Cardiff magistrates.

⁷⁶ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 18-19, 209-10.

seen in Cardiff. Petty sessions registers reveal how, between 1915 and 1959, street prostitutes were an average age of twenty-nine.⁷⁷

However, it is difficult to say with any certainty that the majority of women recorded as prostitutes in Edwardian Cardiff were selling sex in a ‘professional’ manner by nature of the limited detail on prostitutes recorded in petty sessions, and press accounts being refracted through wider stereotypes. Another obstacle to determining age and levels of ‘professionalization’ is that the court only began recording the ages of prostitutes after 1915, prior to which its clerks had only noted the ages of offenders under sixteen. Furthermore, there are inconsistencies in age data contained in petty sessions registers. For instance, on appearing in court in July 1915, Agnes Mills was recorded as being twenty-eight years old, but when she next faced magistrates in March 1916, her age was noted as twenty-six. Likewise, Amelia Jones, who appeared before the petty sessions four times between March 1916 and May 1917, was recorded as being twenty-seven, thirty-one, thirty-six, and thirty-seven years of age.⁷⁸ It is not possible to ascertain whether irregularities in age data were intentional on behalf of the women facing charges, or merely administrative errors. Age does appear in other sources on Cardiff’s prostitutes, yet this came to function as less of an accurate indicator of age or ‘professionalization’. Rather, age was used as a metaphor to emphasize notions of prostitution as a threat to young women, idealized (male) notions of femininity, and civic development. As we have seen, these anxieties were frequently expressed through focus on the appearance and behaviours of the stereotypical ‘common prostitute’. If reports on prostitutes’ ages served to signal wider fears, then age data is a problematic indicator of the extent of ‘professionalization’. Equally, this data is skewed towards the most visible ‘recidivists’, who equally drew attention from journalists who responded to concerns over the visibility of ‘common prostitutes’ in the

⁷⁷ GA PSCBO/4/71-200, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1915-1959.

⁷⁸ See GA PSCBO/4/75-82, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, July 1915-May 1917.

central ward. This leaves much of the more clandestine and casual use of prostitution concealed.

By looking at certain repeat offenders, we also see more complex situations leading to the longer-term use of prostitution than general patterns of professionalization. Rose Gray, for instance, appeared continuously at the police courts from 1905 until 1927, when she was around forty-eight years old. Gray essentially alternated her time between soliciting and short terms of imprisonment for the entire period, and was reliant on prostitution to cover frequent fines of sums between 5s and 20s.⁷⁹ In this example we also see how the attitudes of police and magistrates towards repeat offenders marginalized and stigmatized them, and made it difficult for them to seek a living through other means. As such, prostitution had not become ‘professionalized’ in such cases, but had become a constant fixture through a combination of economic hardship and the repressive attitudes of magistrates. As the Cardiff venereologist Dr Erie Evans later complained, Cardiff JPs had consistently imposed fines on prostitutes with no consideration over how impoverished young women who relied on prostitution for subsistence were to pay fines without resorting to selling sex. She argued that fines

can only urge a woman to pursue the trade of prostitution with greater assiduity. In proportion as a woman depends on prostitution for her livelihood she is unfitted to earn her living by any other means, and to punish her [...] cannot induce her to relinquish prostitution.⁸⁰

The case of Annie Evans also suggests that police action made it difficult for some women to leave prostitution. In September 1910, Evans made her fifty-fourth appearance before magistrates for being a disorderly prostitute at Millicent Street. The *SWDN* reported that she

said she was ‘sick of the life,’ and she looked it as she stood in the dock, sobbing and pleading in a tremulous state. She complained that the police gave her no chance, and that she was always in prison, and then she meandered off into maudlin talk, ‘There’s a God above. He knows the truth, that’s a fact.’ She was sent below for six weeks.⁸¹

⁷⁹ GA PSCBO/4/20-114, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, January 1905-March 1927.

⁸⁰ *British Medical Journal*, 31 March 1917. Letters to Cardiff’s newspapers also raised this complaint. See *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908.

⁸¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 October 1910.

Erie Evans's observations, alongside the examples of Annie Evans and Rose Gray, reveal how pressure from police and magistrates might have restricted some women from 'breaking out' of prostitution.⁸² For women like Rose Gray, prostitution likely provided a more constant and vital income stream as opposed to a temporary means of subsistence.⁸³ Taking a sample from petty sessions registers for the period 1910-1914, we see that while 283 women made only one appearance before magistrates for a prostitution-related offence, 605 women made fifteen or more appearances in the same period, with 176 women standing before magistrates over twenty-seven times.⁸⁴ That a significantly higher proportion of women were repeat offenders might suggest that prostitution had become more 'professionalized' in Cardiff during the first decades of the twentieth century. Yet we can only make such deductions from evidence on the most visible prostitutes or those who generated the most concern. The 283 women who appeared before magistrates only once between 1910 and 1914 might only reflect a small percentage of women who continued to use prostitution a part of a makeshift economy and a more fluid means of financial subsistence.

If the problematic nature of the evidence means it is difficult to ascertain levels of 'professionalization' and the extent to which prostitution was used as a makeshift economy, then we are also presented with obstacles in determining how Cardiff's prostitution was organized. Arrests of men for living on the earnings of prostitution were far lower than those for prostitutes, and cases of 'pimping' garnered less attention from the press. This was a consequence of both the 'common prostitute' providing a greater source of fascination and anxiety, and the relative ease by which constables could identify and arrest 'common prostitutes' in contrast to third parties (see Chapter 5). Nonetheless, it is evident that some men

⁸² The targeting of street prostitutes by beat constables is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁸³ Also see arguments regarding the 'outcomes of prostitution' in the nineteenth century in Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886*, 34-8.

⁸⁴ GA PSCBO/4/43-71, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-1914.

exerted influence over the organization of prostitution in Cardiff, with a number of reports suggesting that third parties escorted some women to spaces of solicitation, and then to a site where sex could take place, such as a private residence.⁸⁵ Yet it is difficult to establish who was involved in third-party organization and why some men became involved in it. In some cases, poverty might have been the cause, although pleas of financial hardship at the petty sessions were likely a tactic to encourage a lesser punishment.⁸⁶ However, just as depictions of Cardiff's 'common prostitutes' were refracted through broader stereotypes, detail on the backgrounds of pimps only emerge in response to wider sets of fears, such as migration and the alleged threat of 'foreign' pimps in advance of the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act (see Chapter 5).⁸⁷

In essence, the men who organized prostitution in Edwardian Cardiff were seen as a far lesser threat than the women who sold sex. As we have seen so far, the perception of the 'common prostitute' as grotesque, unruly, and a stain on the city's morals obscured the lives of those who sold sex in Edwardian Cardiff. However, a different set of fears over prostitution emerged in the interwar years, which pose additional obstacles in pursuing the question of 'who' sold sex. The perception and policing of prostitution in Cardiff from the mid-1920s was dominated by anxieties over sexual relations between black men and white women in Butetown, with greater emphasis on the role of 'foreign' pimps in controlling commercial sex in the city. Within this racialized narrative, representations of the prostitute primarily featured the stereotype of the 'café girl': a sometimes semi-professional prostitute who masqueraded as a waitress and was tied to Maltese-owned cafés along the dockland's central thoroughfare.

⁸⁵ For example, see *South Wales Daily News*, 24 October 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 7 January 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 14 January 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 16 January 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 23 January 1907; *Western Mail*, 3 September 1909.

⁸⁶ For example, see *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908; *Western Mail*, 24 December 1909; *Western Mail*, 18 March 1910; *Western Mail*, 10 May 1912; *Western Mail*, 17 December 1912; *Western Mail*, 21 November 1913.

⁸⁷ For example *Western Mail*, 23 March 1910; *South Wales Daily News*, 20 August 1910; *Western Mail*, 31 January 1911, and 14 December 1912.

Hence, rather than an increasing criminalization of the common prostitute, as has been observed for London, a new stereotype emerged in Cardiff that further obscured the lives, practices, and experiences of prostitutes.

Café girls

In January 1929, the *South Wales Echo* ran an editorial that emphasized a ‘new’ form of prostitution that had developed in dockland cafés. This newspaper claimed that

In the licensed houses, in a bar liberally sprinkled with sawdust, sitting on rickety chairs, before liquor-stained tables, are women prematurely wrinkled and aged by obvious dissipation. [...] Their attempts at flippant character are as pitiful as their vain efforts to preserve a Peter Pan-like youth. [...] The tragedy of Bute-road, however, is to be found in the girls who habituate the cafés. Most of them are girls, still in their teens, or early twenties, of respectable parents, who have been forced to seek a living in Cardiff. Force of circumstances has finally driven them to Bute-road, where they are paid and exploited by unscrupulous café proprietors [...].⁸⁸

In this excerpt we see a distinct contrast between ‘old’ and ‘new’ forms of prostitution to be found in Cardiff. In terms of the former, we are presented with an image of the ‘common prostitute’, identifiable through her drink-soaked appearance and associations with public houses. The latter image presented a different stereotype. The ‘café girl’ was, in essence, an amalgamation of older stereotypes the ‘fallen woman’, the faceless victims of ‘white slavery’, and panic over the ‘amateur’ that emerged during the latter years of the First World War – meaning that the ‘café girl’ re-appropriated a range of established concerns. Much like the class-specific representation of the ‘fallen woman’ as having dropped out of ‘respectable society’ via ‘seduction and betrayal’, the ‘café girl’ was often framed as being lured from a respectable background into the exploitative hands of the Maltese.⁸⁹ In other cases, the predicament of ‘café girls’ was seen as a consequence of sexual adventure, an idea closely associated with the ‘amateur’. Despite claims that a new form of prostitution had emerged in

⁸⁸ *South Wales Echo*, 29 January 1929, 7.

⁸⁹ See Nead, *Myths of Sexuality*, 95-6.

1920s Cardiff, the stereotype of the café girl essentially gave new forms to existing images associated with the prostitute, including themes of entrapment, dress, and racial fears.

The First World War was accompanied by heightened concerns over female sexuality and promiscuity, which has led some historians, such as Angela Woollacott, to describe the period as a ‘climactic time of concern about young women’s social and sexual behaviour’.⁹⁰ This emphasis on female sexual behaviour in general saw the promiscuous ‘amateur’ supersede the ‘prostitute’ as a source of concern over venereal disease.⁹¹ For contemporaries, the ‘amateur’ marked ‘the modern phase of the problem’ of prostitution, using transactions which ‘may not be in cash but in kind, a “good time”, a week-end, clothes, jewels, etc.’⁹² However, while the ‘amateur’ represented growing concerns over youthful female sexuality and venereal disease, the term also occupied a grey area between the ‘professional’ or ‘common prostitute’, and women of ‘complete respectability’. This unclear distinction between the ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ was symbolic of overlapping debates around issues of class, gender, and popular culture, as well as wartime reinforcement of sexually ‘deviant’ behaviours amidst worries over the prevalence of venereal disease.⁹³ The boundaries between notions of the ‘prostitute’ and

⁹⁰ Angela Woollacott, “‘Khaki Fever’ and its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29:2 (1994), 325-347. Also see Arthur Marwick, *The Great Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, [1965] 1991); Sandra Gilbert, ‘Soldier’s Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War’, in Margaret Higonnet, *et al* (eds), *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 197-226; Deirdre Beddoe, ‘Munitionettes, Maids and Mams: Women in Wales, 1914-1939’ in Angela V. John (ed.), *Our Mothers’ Land: Chapters in Welsh Women’s History, 1830-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 189-209; Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows*; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion, [1996] 1999); Lucy Noakes, ‘Demobilizing the Military Woman: Constructions of Class and Gender in Britain after the First World War’, *Gender and History*, 19:1 (2007), 143-162; Janet S. K. Watson, ‘Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy’s Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain’, *International History Review*, 19:1 (1997), 32-51; Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁹¹ Lucy Bland and Frank Mort, ‘Look Out for the “Good Time” Girl: Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National Health’, in Bill Schwarz (ed.), *Formations of a Nation and People* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 139. Also see Samantha Caslin, ‘Flappers, Amateurs and Professionals: The Spectrum of Promiscuity in 1920s Britain’, in Kate Hardy et al (eds), *New Sociologies of Sex Work* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 11-22.

⁹² M. F., *Prostitution: The Moral Bearings of the Problem* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1917), 114.

⁹³ Caslin, ‘Flappers, Amateurs and Professionals’, 11-22; Lesley Hall, *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 50.

the ‘amateur’ continued to blur in the interwar years, with no consensus offered as to the separation of these two ideas of ‘deviance’.⁹⁴

Concerns over female promiscuity influenced perceptions at a local level in Cardiff. Medical practitioners expressed concern over the threat of the ‘amateur’ in increasing the rate of venereal disease cases in the port. Writing in the *British Medical Journal* in 1918, Dr Owen Rhys of King Edward VII Hospital noted that of the first 500 male patients he treated at the venereal disease clinic, the ‘source of infection’ in 279 instances was from ‘prostitutes’, while ‘amateurs’ constituted the source of 183 infections. Despite ‘prostitutes’ providing higher rates of infection, Rhys argued that

Were all infections caused by prostitutes the task [of prevention] would be simple, but how can the non-professional infectious woman be dealt with? By ‘prostitute’ in this note is meant a woman who receives a money payment, but many so-called amateurs allow complete strangers to go with them. [...] No amount of lecturing, either by scientists or religious bodies, has any bearings on such cases. [The average man] is suspicious of the prostitute but not of the girl he casually picks up.⁹⁵

In essence, Rhys framed the risk of the ‘amateur’ as centring around a lack of visibility, in that while the ‘common prostitute’ was easily identifiable the ‘non-professional’ was not, and was hence perceived as a greater threat of venereal disease. This issue of inconspicuousness was a dominant feature of concerns over prostitution in the interwar years, which served to focus attentions on the employment, and alleged exploitation, of young women in Maltese-run cafés.⁹⁶

A perceived decline in ‘professional’ prostitution and concerns over the rise of the ‘amateur’ continued into the 1920s. On a national level this coincided with the rise of

⁹⁴ Caslin, ‘Flappers, Amateurs and Professionals’, 11; Roger Davidson and Lesley Hall, ‘Introduction’, in Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall (eds), *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2001), 8-11. Also see Lucy Bland and Frank Mort, ‘Look Out for the “Good Time” Girl: Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National Health’, in Bill Schwarz (ed.), *Formations of a Nation and People* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 131-151.

⁹⁵ *British Medical Journal*, 19 October 1918.

⁹⁶ Also see the discussion of the Maltese café, place, visibility, and heterotopias in Chapter 2.

commercialized recreational activities and spaces aimed at young people – including cinemas and dancehalls – which offered a wider range of opportunities for them to meet and seek sexual relationships in more casual and unsupervised ways, and a wider range of places to be concerned about.⁹⁷ In Cardiff, however, owing to a growing reputation as a problem port with regards to miscegenation and racial regulation, a different site and stereotype became the locus of concern. For the city’s chief constable, the Maltese ‘café scheme’ was a greater threat through having transformed the organization and practice of prostitution in the city.⁹⁸ The contrast between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ forms of prostitution that featured in the excerpt that opened this section also emphasized age, in terms of the perceived dangers that the ‘café scheme’ posed to young women. This demonstrates both continuities with earlier notions of prostitution’s threats to youthful femininity, and concerns that the ‘force of circumstances’ resulting from the Depression was influencing young women to seek out alternative means of subsistence in Butetown.⁹⁹ By turn, the ‘café girl’ also embodied an explicitly racialized concern over degeneration, which, to a degree, was representative of earlier notions of migration from county districts adding to the ranks of the urban residuum.¹⁰⁰ Yet this imagery was more reflective of the growing reputation of Cardiff as a place of miscegenation, with the café girl operating as a metaphor for concerns over racial mixing and desires for greater immigration controls (see Chapter 4).

The ‘café girl’ stereotype was thus produced through a confluence of images of degeneration, white slavery, and interwar anxieties over miscegenation and racial controls in British port districts. A common feature of this convergence of themes was an emphasis on

⁹⁷ Hall, *Hidden Anxieties*, 52.

⁹⁸ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Chief Constable James Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927. Also see Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis, and Simon Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958.

⁹⁹ For the Depression in South Wales, see Steven Thompson, *Unemployment, Poverty and Health in Interwar South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006); Stephanie Ward, *Unemployment and the State in Britain: The Means Test and Protest in 1930s South Wales and North-East England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁰ See Soloway, *Democracy and Degeneration*, 39.

exploitation and entrapment, as is evident in newspaper coverage of court cases relating to Bute Street cafés. In May 1929, the *Western Mail* reported on a case that presented an idea of young women being procured for café prostitution, and then undergoing a process of transformation in which they became procurers on behalf of Maltese men. The case stressed how one Mary Jane Mercia had formerly been married to a collier in the South Wales valleys, but had subsequently entered café prostitution and become ‘the mistress of a Maltese’. Under the direction of a Maltese ‘pimp’, Mercia was alleged to have travelled to Bristol and industrial towns in South Wales to recruit young women into café prostitution.¹⁰¹ For this newspaper, such cases epitomized how ‘young girls are being lured from the Rhondda and Monmouthshire valleys into the haunts frequented by coloured men and other foreign seamen in the Docks district.’¹⁰²

In essence, the intensification of fears over dockland prostitution and connections with race in the interwar years gave new forms to old images, particular those of entrapment, and dress. The ‘café girl’ stereotype reflected both a fear of young women from the surrounding region being exploited and forced into prostitution and how this process had a transformative effect on them. According to the sensational memoir of former Metropolitan Police detective, Cecil Bishop, the café girl in Cardiff, once ‘trapped violently in this fashion’, had no hope of escape, leaving her ‘degenerate’ and in a state of despair.¹⁰³ As detailed in an image of a ‘dockland degenerate’ taken from Bishop’s memoir (see Figure 3.1), the café girl was imagined as being young, wearing gaudy make-up, driven to drink, and in the process of degradation. In a sense, Bishop’s depiction of the café girl drew on some familiar ideas of the prostitute’s appearance, such as drunkenness, finery, and physical and psychological degradation.¹⁰⁴ The reminiscences of Cardiff resident Bill Twamley also suggest that appearance was a means of

¹⁰¹ *Western Mail*, 11 May 1929 and 10 June 1929.

¹⁰² *Western Mail*, 17 December 1930.

¹⁰³ Cecil Bishop, *Women and Crime* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931), 111-5.

¹⁰⁴ See Attwood, *The Prostitute’s Body*, 5; Valverde, ‘The Love of Finery’

Fig. 3.1: 'A Dockland Degenerate'



The café girl as imagined in Cecil Bishop, *Women and Crime* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931), 121.

identifying café prostitutes. Twamley claimed that 'Outside many of the [Bute Street] cafés [...] the strange girls, many from the valleys, standing in the doorways with painted faces and short sleeved frocks showing me an armful of tattoos, short skirts and long earrings and [...] all smoking a cigarette.'¹⁰⁵ However, alongside the more familiar images of finery and drunkenness, Bishop's illustration of the café girl presented her as in a state of flux. This imagery served to accentuate a notion that young local women might be saved from the alleged clutches of 'foreign' pimps and clients. This was contrasted against the older 'common

¹⁰⁵ Bill Twamley, *Cardiff and Me Sixty Years Ago: Growing up during the Twenties and Thirties* (Newport: The Starling Press, 1984), 50. For connections between tattoos and female criminality see Chapter 2 of this thesis and Jane Caplan, "'Speaking Scars": The Tattoo in Popular Practice and Medico-Legal Debate in Nineteenth-Century Europe', *History Workshop Journal*, 44 (1997), 145-169; James Bradley, 'Body Commodification? Class and Tattoos in Victorian Britain', in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (London: Reaktion, 2000), 136-155.

prostitute', who was framed as permanently tainted and unsalvageable from drink and prostitution: in essence, an anachronistic social problem for this port.

New stereotypes, old causes?

But what lay beneath the café girl stereotype? Despite being a frequent topic of debate in police reports and the press, interwar prostitutes were more marginalized than their predecessors, being reduced to a faceless stereotype with no discussion about individual cases. Ultimately, prostitutes had become a secondary concern for the police, who instead focused their attentions on Maltese café owners and black male clients.¹⁰⁶ However, police conviction cards from the late-1920s, compiled as part of a dossier of evidence that Chief Constable Wilson had built up against the Maltese, can provide a glimpse into the backgrounds of some café prostitutes. These conviction records, which detail criminal records prior to the intensification of concerns over the Maltese in the mid-1920s, reveal some continuities with the patterns of migration and poverty that had characterized Edwardian prostitution. Elizabeth Coles, for instance, had previous convictions for theft at Aberavon and Port Talbot in 1919 and 1920, and was first arrested for prostitution in Cardiff in 1925. Esther Radford, meanwhile, had served a six-month sentence for the concealment of birth in Swansea in 1920. Following her release, she was arrested for solicitation in Barry in 1923, followed by a string of offences in Cardiff from 1924 onwards. Other women had previous convictions in Cardiff, suggesting that they had become involved in the 'café system' in order to evade arrest.¹⁰⁷

While there was a distinct shift in perceptions of Cardiff's prostitutes in the interwar years, there were continuities in what influenced women to turn to prostitution. While the racialized debates instigated by the police and the press argued that the Maltese had created a systemic shift in the 'nature' of Cardiff's prostitution, some prostitutes simply sought more

¹⁰⁶ See Chapters 4 and 5, and Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?'

¹⁰⁷ GA DCONC/7/7, Chief Constable Wilson's convictions dossier relating to Bute Street cafés.

clandestine methods to avoid detection from police constables. In other cases, some women found themselves drawn to prostitution as a result of difficult financial circumstances emanating from the Depression. An influential 1932 survey of the dockland, for instance, remarked on how there were few factories and ‘almost no work for women and girls’, which was observed as being an influential factor in leading young, poor women to enter café-based prostitution.¹⁰⁸ The interwar period hence marked less a new system of prostitution in Cardiff, and more a new framework of representation that reflected shifts in perceptions of the places linked to prostitution and broader anxieties over miscegenation. Similar observations were made in the fieldwork of the American social anthropologist St Clair Drake. While researching Butetown in the late-1940s, he observed how young women from the valleys and other industrial areas in South Wales continued to ‘drift’ from poverty and difficult familial circumstances to the ‘café system’, which also offered casual accommodation. As opposed to the police-driven narrative of an exploitative form of prostitution organized by the Maltese, Drake only observed ‘café girls’ involved in a makeshift economy of ‘semi-organized prostitution. For many [...] this is only a temporary adjustment, as some of the girls do not prefer to be prostitutes and, as soon as they can make a match will do so’.¹⁰⁹ Rather than a form of entrapment, café prostitution was likely used as a temporary measure to supplant or provide short-term income.

Likewise, while popular narratives in Cardiff depicted girls being trapped into prostitution in concealed and clandestine cafés, Drake observed café prostitutes soliciting elsewhere, such as at clubs and dances in other parts of the dockland, before bringing men ‘to supper’ at a café for the price of 5s, with rear rooms being used for prostitution.¹¹⁰ Drake thus

¹⁰⁸ Cardiff Local Studies Library (CLS) LC84:301.185 SHA, Nancie Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’ (1932), 92.

¹⁰⁹ St Clair Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Chicago, 1954), 256-7, 284.

¹¹⁰ New York Public Library (NYPL) Sc MG309/62/1, St Clair Drake Papers.

offered a degree of agency to café prostitutes, and saw the café scheme as a part of Butetown's wider nightlife. Equally, a Mass Observation (MO) survey noted how the cafés only 'come into action' after the pubs closed at 10.30pm, operating as a place for after-hours drinking and music, in addition to being a space to buy sex.¹¹¹ While these women may have operated with agency as part of a semi-organized form of prostitution that intertwined with the dockland's nightlife, their lives and the practices they used to sell sex were obscured by a narrative that focused on an idea that 'café girls' were being trapped and exploited by Maltese men. The image of the café girl was a central and enduring trope in depictions of the place of Butetown. We will see in greater detail in subsequent chapters how, even as external observers tried to rethink the predicament of Butetown's community, the idea that young local women were mainly forced into prostitution in the area endured. This can be seen in the work of Learie Constantine, the League of Coloured Peoples member, activist, and former West Indian cricketer. In his writings on the 'colour bar' in early-1950s Britain, Constantine repeated the view of Bute Street cafés and prostitutes that had been formulated in the 1920s. In his otherwise sympathetic account of the social predicament of black British communities, Constantine argued that young women became café prostitutes through being 'Attracted by promises of clothes, money and excitement [...] and are terrorized into the situation.'¹¹²

Ideas of exploitation were mirrored in popular narratives on Butetown, such as a 1953 photojournalism article published in the magazine *Illustrated*, which featured dubious images of police officers scouring Butetown's cafés for girls on the run from their parents and remand homes (Figure 3.2). The familiar imagery of the café girl was also deployed by pulp fiction

¹¹¹ Mass Observation Archive (MO) SxMOA1/2/66/3/G, Cardiff, 1941. These observations are also verified by a 1939 survey of social conditions in the dockland: MO SxMOA1/2/75/4A/10, Enquiry into Seamen's Welfare in Ports: International Labour Recommendation No. 48. Port: Cardiff, Draft Interim Report 2-10 February 1939/Seamen's Welfare in the Ports of Cardiff and Barry (Seamen's Welfare Officer), April 1941.

¹¹² Learie Constantine, *Colour Bar* (London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1954), 64.

Fig. 3.2: 'Policewoman Connie Hunts Missing Girls'

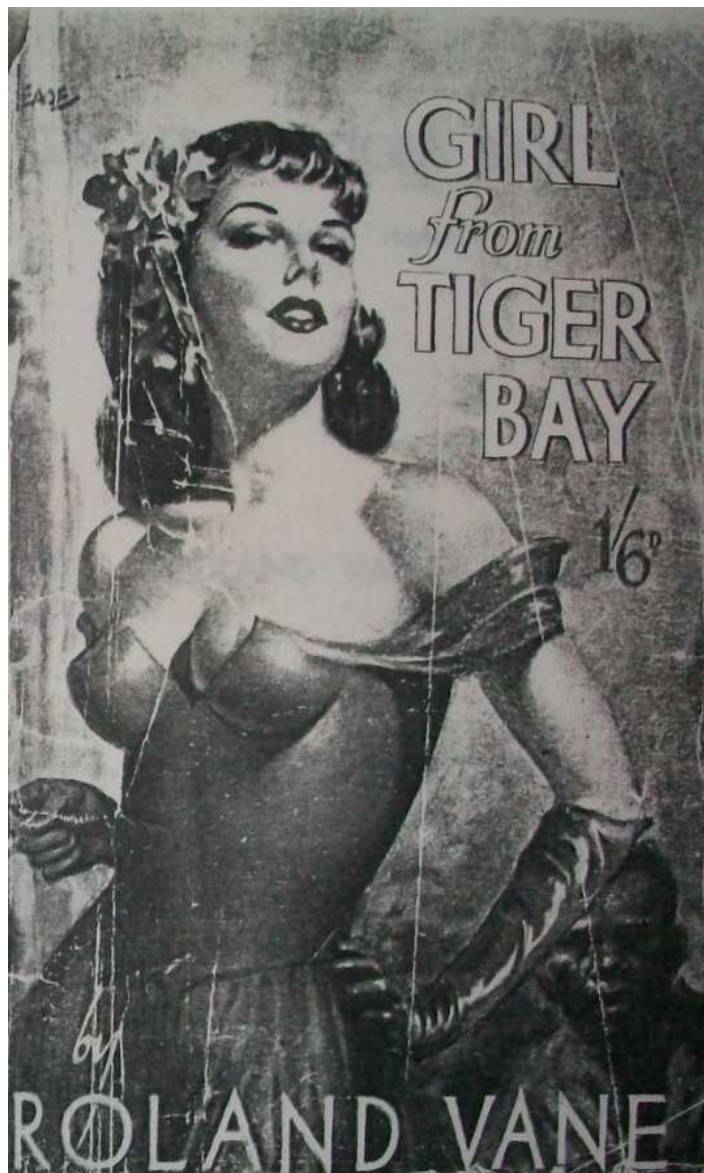


PC Connie Shackson scouring Bute Street cafés for girls on the run from remand homes.
Illustrated, 14 February 1953.

writers, such as Roland Vane.¹¹³ In his *Girl from Tiger Bay*, Gwen, the protagonist and daughter of a café prostitute, is 'born in a Cardiff slum and reared in the sordid sophistication' of the surrounding environment. Early in the novel she drifts to London to find solace in the arms of 'a coloured man', only to be exploited. Highlighting the notoriety of Cardiff's dockland prostitution, Gwen enters an East End café-brothel in the early stages of the novel, yet 'Sordid

¹¹³ For other examples of pulp fiction that used Cardiff docklands as their setting, see David Martin, *Tiger Bay* (London: Martin & Reid, 1946); J. M. Walsh, *Once in Tiger Bay* (London: Collins, 1947); Walsh, *Return to Tiger Bay* (London: Collins, 1950); Walsh, *King of Tiger Bay* (London: Collins, 1952).

Fig. 3.3: The café girl in fiction: *Girl from Tiger Bay*



Artwork featured on the front cover of Roland Vane's *Girl from Tiger Bay* (Stoke-on-Trent: Archer Press, 1950)

as the place was, Gwen was not revolted. She had seen worse in her native Cardiff'.¹¹⁴ The cover art for Vane's novel likewise drew on the familiar image of the café girl, depicting her in scanty and gaudy clothing, with a black man looking on to underscore the ongoing racial dimension of this stereotype (Figure 3.3). Thus, while an observer such as Learie Constantine had a distinctly different aim to Roland Vane, both drew on a widely-circulated stereotype of

¹¹⁴ Roland Vane, *Girl from Tiger Bay* (Stoke-on-Trent: Archer Press, 1950), 7. Later, the novel shifts to a scene at a London night club: 'She had heard of such places. It did not shock her to see so many white girls dancing with negroes. That was a commonplace occurrence in Cardiff – at least in the "Tiger Bay" area where she had spent most of her early life' (10).

café prostitution which entirely marginalized the lives of those who sold sex in post-war Cardiff. Such depictions were at odds with the semi-organized form of café prostitution that Drake observed during his fieldwork, in which impoverished young women continued to sell sex – often independently – as a form of makeshift economy.

Conclusion

While we are presented with a mediated narrative of prostitution and a composite picture of the prostitute, centring both on stereotypes of the ‘common prostitute’ and of place, we can infer some elements of the lives of prostitutes in Edwardian Cardiff. Women facing magistrates were often from impoverished backgrounds, and utilized prostitution as part of a makeshift economy of precarious labour. Some were migrants from other parts of South Wales, the West Country, and further afield, and prostitution frequently provided a more vital means of subsistence for some than a temporary phase. Yet it is important to remember that we are limited to examining the most visible women criminalized as ‘common prostitutes’. Thus, to a significant degree, such accounts were less a reflection of prostitutes’ circumstances and more a response to broader fears. These included concerns over migrant prostitutes and familial breakdown, common anxieties over slum environments and degeneration, and perceived threats to normative notions of femininity. Our ability to uncover the lives of those who sold sex is, therefore, limited to repeat offenders who generated concern as a result of their alleged behaviours in the central slum, or atypical cases such as the murder of Carrie Gilmour. This leaves us unable to explore the quotidian aspects of the lives of those who sold sex, or to make any real judgment over the extent to which prostitution was ‘professionalized’.

The distinct shift in perceptions of the prostitute that occurred during the 1920s reveals a clear contrast with the ongoing attention on the ‘common prostitute’ in London. The interwar stereotype of the ‘café girl’ was formed through a confluence of ideas and anxieties around

'white slavery', the promiscuous 'amateur', and the place-specific concerns over miscegenation in Butetown. While drawing on familiar imagery associated with the common prostitute, such as age and appearance, the café girl represented a break with concerns that had characterized the idea of the prostitute in Edwardian Cardiff. By contrast to the café girl, the common prostitute was seen as anachronism, and of lesser relevance to debates over miscegenation and dockland prostitution. Unlike the already-degenerate prostitute, the café girl was frequently presented as being in the midst of degradation at the hands of Maltese 'pimps', which acted to emphasize anxieties over race and miscegenation in the dockland.

If it is difficult to reveal who sold sex in Edwardian Cardiff, then we are faced with further obstacles for exploring the lives of prostitutes in the interwar years. Alongside the development of the faceless stereotype of the 'café girl' was a significant decrease in the arrest rate of street prostitutes, meaning that we are presented with a dearth in both qualitative information on interwar prostitutes and data from the petty sessions. From limited evidence in police reports and the later observations of social anthropologists working in Butetown, we can only speculate that poverty continued to be a causal factor in why some women sold sex, and that the dockland 'café scheme' might have been used in a more casual manner than suggested in sensationalized reports on Maltese cafés. The interwar café girl thus resembles Hershatter's notion of studying the prostitute as being a quixotic quest in which we peel away at many layers of representation only to find silences and ambiguities.¹¹⁵ However, that our task is idealistic does not make it futile. As long as historians remain aware of the limitations of the source material, and do not augment the glimpses of agency and experience that are uncovered, we can provide at least some answers to questions over who sold sex.

¹¹⁵ See Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, 27-8.

4. Race and Prostitution

In October 1930, Chief Constable James Wilson, sent a report to the Home Office which alleged that Maltese cafés in Butetown were being operated as covert brothels. Wilson felt that the Maltese, through their ‘café system’, were exploiting ‘young British prostitutes’ and forcing them into sexual relations with black seafarers.¹ In the chief constable’s eyes this behaviour was inherent to the Maltese, and was ‘ingrained’ in their character. In addition to the Maltese, the black clients of prostitutes were depicted as being hypersexual, and that their sexual liaisons were producing a growing ‘half-caste’ population that contained the ‘vicious hereditary taint’ seen to lie in both parents. Why were matters of race and sexuality of such concern to Wilson? And why did an overt connection between prostitution and miscegenation emerge in the interwar years?

While earlier scholarship on race in interwar British ports examined connections between the 1919 race riots and labour relations, studies by Lucy Bland and Laura Tabili have emphasized the need to think about sex and sexuality as contributing factors to both racial conflict, and formations of racial identity and difference.² Yet, despite a focus on

¹ Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/7/7, Report from Chief Constable James Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930.

² Lucy Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour: Miscegenation Fears in Britain after the Great War’, *Gender and History*, 17:1 (2005), 29-61; Laura Tabili, “‘Women of a Very Low Type’: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain”, in Laura Frader and Sonya Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-90. For earlier work on race relations in British ports, see Neil Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919’, *Llafur*, 3:1 (1980), 5-29; Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a Documentary Postscript’, *Llafur*, 3:4 (1983), 76-88; Evans, ‘Regulating the Reserve Army: Arabs, Blacks, and the Local State in Cardiff, 1919-45’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 68-115; and Evans, ‘Across the Universe: Racial Violence and the Post-War Crisis in Imperial Britain’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 13:2-3 (1994), 59-88. Also see Jacqueline Jenkinson, ‘The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 43-67; Jenkinson, ‘Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of “Britishness” following the First World War’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:1 (2008), 29-60; Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009). For more general analyses and surveys of race in twentieth-century Britain, see Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London and Sydney: Pluto, 1984); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2002); and Paul Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1986] 1990).

miscegenation, the relationship between prostitution and race in Britain remains relatively unexplored.³ Notwithstanding explorations of more generalized fears over white slavery surrounding the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA), studies of London have suggested that explicit concerns over race – including the involvement of black and Maltese men as clients and third parties – did not become pronounced until after the Second World War.⁴ Connections between race and prostitution in Cardiff thus predated the emergence of similar anxieties in London.⁵ In addition, we also see a distinct contrast in how the alleged role of Maltese ‘pimps’ and black clients became the dominant concern, as opposed to the criminalization of the common prostitute.⁶ This chapter unpicks the formation of connections between race and prostitution in Cardiff. It begins by charting the development of racial anxieties up to the 1919 race riots, revealing how concerns linked to imperial crises, legal debates, and degeneration fears combined to influence moments of racial anxiety and hostility. Through the recruitment of colonial labour and post-war unemployment, the conflict intensified racial fears – particularly over miscegenation, which fuelled rioting in 1919. As Tabili suggests, ‘Imperial processes both shaped the Black presence in Britain and rendered it

³ Race has been a prominent feature of work on prostitution regulation in colonial contexts. See Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); Philip Howell, ‘Prostitution and Racialized Sexuality: The Regulation of Prostitution in Britain and the British Empire before the Contagious Diseases Acts’, *Environment and Planning D*, 18 (2000), 321-339; Howell, ‘Race, Space and the Regulation of Prostitution in Colonial Hong Kong’, *Urban History*, 31:2 (2004), 229-248.

⁴ See Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), esp. Chapters 6, 9, 10 and 11; Stefan Slater, ‘Pimps, Police and *Fille de Joie*: Foreign Prostitution in Interwar London’, *The London Journal*, 32:1 (2007), 53-74. For the debates around the 1912 CLAA: Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001), 197-8; Rachael Attwood, ‘Lock Up Your Daughters! Male Activists, “Patriotic Domesticity” and the Fight Against Sex Trafficking in England, 1880-1912’, *Gender and History*, 27:3 (2015), 611-627; Ian Christopher Fletcher, ‘Opposition by Journalism? The Socialist and Suffragist Press and the Passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912’, *Parliamentary History*, 25:1 (2006), 88-114; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 6; Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), Chapter 2.

⁵ Also see Simon Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958; Jenkins, ‘Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927-47’, *Cultural and Social History*, 11:4 (2014), 575-596.

⁶ For the criminalization of the common prostitute in the interwar years, see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints: Prostitutes and Legal Identity in Early Twentieth-Century London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 65:1 (2008), 96-116.

problematic' and in Cardiff both black men and their white partners were pathologized for their sexual activities.⁷ The connection between race and prostitution after 1919 might thus be seen as an expression of a broader crisis of hegemony, in which fears over miscegenation in British ports represents an attempt to reassert the racial boundaries of empire.⁸

However, a notion of hegemony, as analytical framework, poses dangers of essentialism and can overlook the genealogies and discontinuities in formations and expressions of racial difference.⁹ An epistemological approach can help to understand why identities such as 'race' became more pronounced in particular periods and contexts.¹⁰ 'Race' was not simply a reaction to, or symptomatic of momentary hegemonic crises, but, as Stoler notes,

the organizing grammar of an imperial order in which modernity, the civilizing mission and the "measure of man" were framed. [...] the psychological scaffolding for the exploitative structures of colonial rule.¹¹

Sexuality thus lied at the heart of the imperial project, and the inability to fix racial and colonial distinctions fomented anxieties over race and sex.¹² Cultural connections between race and sexuality had also been fortified through the discourse of degeneracy, and it was this

⁷ Tabili, "'Women of a Very Low Type'", 168.

⁸ See Stuart Hall, 'Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity', in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (eds), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 422; Antonio Gramsci, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, ed. David Forgacs (London: Lawrence and Wishart, [1988] 1999), 189-221; Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed., trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 321-77. Also see Robert Carley, 'Agile Materialisms: Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall, Racialization, and Modernity', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 26:4 (2013), 413-441.

⁹ See discussion in: Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London and New York: Verso, [1985] 2001), 134-8; Perry Anderson, 'The Heirs of Gramsci', *New Left Review*, 100 (2016), 71-97; Brennon Wood, 'Stuart Hall's Cultural Studies and the Problem of Hegemony', *British Journal of Sociology*, 49:3 (1998), 399-414; T. J. Jackson Lears, 'The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities', *American Historical Review*, 90:3 (1985), 567-593.

¹⁰ See Simon Gunn, 'From Hegemony to Governmentality: Changing Conceptions of Power in Social History', *Journal of Social History*, 39:3 (2006), 711.

¹¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 27.

¹² Also see Philippa Levine, 'Sexuality and Empire', in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 122; Levine, 'Battle Colours: Race, Sex, and Colonial Soldierly in World War I', *Journal of Women's History*, 9:4 (1998), 104-130; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Empire*, Chapter 7.

combination of the instability of imperial dominance and anxiety over the future of the ‘race’ that shaped interwar responses to Cardiff’s prostitution.¹³

The chapter then turns to examine questions around race and masculinity. Marking how empire was seen as a masculine enterprise, the masculinity of Maltese and black men was heavily emphasized in the chief constable’s reports on prostitution.¹⁴ In the case of the former, a notion of racial difference was formed on a perception of Maltese men being predisposed towards the sexual exploitation of ‘white girls’ and non-heteronormative sexual behaviours.¹⁵ With regards to black men, racial difference was applied through longstanding colonial notions of hypersexuality and intellectual inferiority. These views were not limited to the chief constable, and were likewise expressed in the reports of social investigators, and in regional and national newspapers. They also featured a contradictory and shifting focus of blame in which the ‘café girl’ was placed on a shifting scale between the promiscuous ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ or ‘common prostitute’. Central to these concerns was a fear over miscegenation, through which a growing ‘half-caste population with the vicious hereditary taint of both sets of parents’ was seen to threaten racial health.¹⁶ By 1930, prostitution had thus become a symptom of a wider ‘racial problem’ associated with the port of Cardiff as opposed to an overt concern in itself. This emphasis on the supposed dangers of interracial sex drew on a broader colonial discourses in which imperial identities were stabilized against notions of the sexuality of ‘uncivilized’ races.¹⁷

¹³ Levine, ‘Sexuality and Empire’, 31; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1989] 1996); Bill Luckin, ‘Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain, 1830-1900’, *Urban History*, 32:2 (2006), 234-252.

¹⁴ See Philippa Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender and Empire’, in Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 137.

¹⁵ For a more detailed discussion on the racialization of the Maltese in interwar Cardiff, see Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’

¹⁶ Women’s Library (WL) 3AMS/B/08/02, James Wilson, ‘Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929; and Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, April 10, 1929.

¹⁷ See Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, Chapter 4; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 47.

The expression of fears over miscegenation through the image of racialized bodies was also symptomatic of a wider biopolitical desire to control populations and national ‘health’ influenced by the ideas of eugenics.¹⁸ The chapter ends by considering how miscegenation concerns in Cardiff reflected a wider shift from social purity to social hygiene, a movement which first emerged in response to venereal disease fears around the First World War and featured greater emphasis on the reproductive elements of sex as opposed to moralism.¹⁹ These discourses influenced a range of outsiders to take interest in Cardiff’s dockland prostitution during the 1930s, such as the prominent British Social Hygiene Council, which commissioned a notorious report that served to maintain links between race and prostitution. Further national and international attention towards the racialization of prostitution came in the 1940s through the work of British and American social anthropologists who were intrigued by how cultural narratives of dockland sexualities had shaped race relations. This flurry of surveys in the 1930s and 1940s calls into question Laite’s assertion that London was ‘the reference point for national and international commentators on British prostitution’.²⁰ While London featured more

¹⁸ For the concept of biopolitics/biopower, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, [2004] 2008); Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Allen Lane, [1997] 2003); Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; and Singapore: Sage, [1999] 2010), Chapter 5. For biopolitics in colonial settings, see Stephen Legg, ‘Foucault’s Population Geographies: Classifications, Biopolitics and Governmental Spaces’, *Population, Space and Place*, 11 (2005), 137-156; Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 32-6; Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender and Empire’. For sex and eugenics, see Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan, 2004), 164; Lucy Bland, ‘British Eugenics and “Race Crossing”: Study of an Interwar Investigation’, *New Formations*, 60 (2007), 66-78; Lucy Bland and Lesley Hall, ‘Eugenics in Britain: The View from the Metropole’, in Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 213-227; Marius Turda, ‘Race, Science, and Eugenics in the Twentieth Century’, in Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 62-79; John Walter, ‘Ideas of Heredity, Reproduction and Eugenics in Britain, 1800-1875’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C*, 32:3 (2011), 457-489; Lesley Hall, “‘Disinterested Enthusiasm for Sexual Misconduct’: The British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology, 1913-47”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30:4 (1995), 665-686; Véronique Mottier and Natalia Gerodetti, ‘Eugenics and Social Democracy: or, How the European Left tried to Eliminate the “Weeds” from its National Gardens’, *New Formations*, 60 (2004), 35-49.

¹⁹ See Julia Laite, ‘The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)’, *Women’s History Review*, 17:2 (2008), 207-223; Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830, Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2000), 160-3; Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender, and Empire’, 145.

²⁰ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18.

prominently as an example in legal debates, given both its status and how the Metropolitan Police was answerable to the Home Office, the racialization of Cardiff's prostitution drew international attention in relation to how it was positioned within concerns over social hygiene and race relations in port districts. This is revealing of how perceptions and understandings of prostitution and sexuality varied both temporally and geographically, but also how the genealogies of colonialism intertwined with periodic crises to shape understandings of both racial and sexual 'difference'.

The sexual dimension of post-war racial conflict

While Butetown had been seen as racially distinct since the Victorian period, Edwardian concerns over the area's prostitution were secondary to that of the city centre. More direct concerns over race and sex emerged in 1908 amidst debate over the employment of, and alleged sexual contact between white women and black men in dockland boarding houses.²¹ The intensification of concerns over race in Cardiff also coincided with renewed public interest in white slavery and 'foreign' pimps that culminated in the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act.²² For instance, at a 1909 social purity conference organized by the prominent pressure group the Cardiff and District Citizen Union (CDCU) speakers argued how Cardiff had become home to 'foreign bullies who were a terror to the poor women and a menace to the purity of this land.'²³ These notions of 'foreign' influence damaging national 'purity' emerged within broader crises of British hegemony through the failures of the Boer War, questions over national efficiency,

²¹ See Chapter 2.

²² See *Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix* (London: HMSO, 1903); Alison Bashford and Catie Gilchrist, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40:3 (2012), 409-437; David Cesarani, 'An alien concept? The continuity of anti-alienism in British society before 1940', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 11:3 (1992), 24-52; Jill Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', *Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), 369-385; Helena Wray, 'The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma', *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), 302-323. For the 1912 CLAA, see Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001), 297-304; Ian Christopher Fletcher, 'Opposition by Journalism? The Socialist and Suffragist Press and the Passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912', *Parliamentary History*, 25:1 (2006), 88-114.

²³ *Western Mail*, 23 April 1909.

and ideas of ‘white labourism’.²⁴ It was against the backdrop of these wider anxieties that open hostility to immigrant groups in Cardiff, such as the Chinese, was openly expressed. This antagonism can be seen in the writings of Captain Edward Tupper, a National Union of Seamen organizer who played a central role in stoking racial antagonism during the Cardiff seamen’s strike in 1911.²⁵ In Tupper’s eyes Butetown ‘was a cesspool [...] it wasn’t part of our civilization’, filled with ‘Red Lamps of the lowest, filthiest type’ and ‘white girls enslaved in Chinese laundries... Cardiff Dockland was a ghastly hole.’²⁶

Concerns over Butetown’s boarding houses and the Chinese community did not focus on prostitution per se, but they did contain elements which were central to later connections between race and commercial sex. Linked to the fears over ‘foreign’ pimps surrounding the 1912 CLAA, these debates expressed a desire to protect ‘white girls’ from exploitation at the hands of ‘foreign’ men. This attention to ‘foreign’ pimps and groups like the Chinese might be seen as symptomatic of an urge to assert cultural and racial dominance over colonial subjects amidst a moment of imperial weakness. Just as fears over seamen’s boarding houses and the Chinese exploiting ‘white girls’ can be drawn to broader concerns over national efficiency and white slavery narratives, it was another crisis that served to intensify debates around

²⁴ See G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Thought and Politics, 1899-1914* (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971); Jonathan Hyslop, ‘The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself “White”: White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12:4 (1999), 398-421; Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), esp. Chapter 6; Richard Smith, ‘The Black Male Body in the White Imagination during the First World War’, in Paul Cornish and Nicholas Saunders (eds), *Bodies in Conflict: Corporeality, Materiality and Transformation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 42.

²⁵ See Neil Evans, ‘Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826-2002’, in Charlotte Williams et al, *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 93-108; Campbell Balfour, ‘Captain Tupper and the 1911 Seamen’s Strike in Cardiff’, *Morgannwg*, 14 (1907), 62-80.

²⁶ Edward Tupper, *Seamen’s Torch: The Life Story of Captain Edward Tupper* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1938), 20-23. For anti-Chinese sentiment and rioting, see articles collected in GA DCONC/5/35-38, Newscuttings, July 1909-July 1911, and particularly *Western Mail*, 12 May 1910 and 12 July 1910; Evans, ‘Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence’; Joanne Cayford, ‘In search of “John Chinaman”: Press Representations of the Chinese in Cardiff, 1906-1911’, *Llafur*, 5: 4 (1991), 37-50. For miscegenation and the Chinese in the interwar years, see Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), Chapter 2.

miscegenation. While Butetown had been home to a variety of nationalities since the nineteenth century, labour shortages and an increased demand for seafarers to bolster Britain's shipping industry during the First World War led to a rise in seamen from Britain's colonies in the Indian sub-continent, Somalia, West Africa, the West Indies, the Yemen, and elsewhere.²⁷ As a result, Cardiff's black population increased from around 700 in 1914 to an estimated 3,000 by late-1918.²⁸ Given the nature of shipping and soldiery these incomers were almost exclusively male, an aspect which served to fuel tensions when white seamen returned to Britain after the war.²⁹

The ruptures of the First World War instigated an increasingly racialized perception of Cardiff's prostitution. Yet concerns over sex and race did not emerge suddenly in 1918.³⁰ Fears of miscegenation had escalated during wartime, framed within wider concerns over the promiscuous 'amateur' and racial degeneration. In 1917, for instance, the *Western Mail* complained of black men's sexual preference for white girls, focusing on two core elements: how the racialized place of Butetown enabling sexual contact between black men and 'white girls', and how black men were feared to be more attractive than white working-class men.

²⁷ However, Cardiff may have seen a particular increase in African and West Indian seamen settling in the port due to racialized recruitment practices on coal-burning vessels as it was often believed that 'black' men employed as firemen, trimmers and stokers could 'withstand the heat' better than 'white' men. See Anonymous, 'Storm Over Tiger Bay: A Protest Movement Against Segregation on the British Isles', *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations*, 3 (1945), 40; Evans, 'Regulating the Reserve Army'; Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice': Workers and Racial Difference in Late-Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994); Tabili, "'A Maritime Race": Masculinity and the Racial Division of Labour in British Merchant Ships, 1900-1939', in Margaret Creighton and Lisa Iorling (eds), *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 169-188.

²⁸ Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour', 34; Fryer, *Staying Power*, 304. In 1948, the American social anthropologist St Clair Drake estimated that Cardiff was home to around 5,000 'coloured' residents – approximately 2.5 per cent of Cardiff's then population. St. Clair Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Chicago, 1954), 180. However, Cardiff's shipping authorities and Board of Trade kept no records of numbers of seamen residing in the port, and, given that Cardiff was the centre of Britain's transient tramp shipping trade the population constantly fluctuated and thus concrete figures are almost impossible to pinpoint. See GA DCONC/7/7, Report from PC Lionel Brint to Superintendent [unnamed], 13 October 1930. The difficulty of estimating numbers of 'coloured seamen' residing in Cardiff was also stressed in a 1939 Mass Observation report: MO SxMOA1/2/75/4/A/10, Seamen's Welfare in Ports: Cardiff Draft Interim Report, 2-10 February 1939. Cardiff City Police later claimed that they had recorded 'approximately half a million aliens' passing through the port during the war. William Harrison, 'The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races', *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2:2 (1936), 197-204.

²⁹ See Bland, 'White Women and Men of Colour'.

³⁰ For trajectories of connections between race, sex, and imperialism, see Levine, 'Sexuality and Empire', 134.

This article's emphasis on dress reflected ongoing concerns over national efficiency and the impact of the First World War on the bodies of British soldiers:³¹

[‘coloured’ men] like having a good time, as may be observed any evening by visiting the fair ground off Bute Street, a place eminently suitable for striking up an acquaintance with foolish white girls. [...] They are particularly keen on gold rings and other adornments dear to the female heart.³²

In the opinion of Cardiff's Watch Committee, the ‘problem’ of black men in Cardiff was not limited to ‘the menace’ of their ‘increasing practice of [...] consorting with white girls, often of a tender age’. In addition to sexual relations in Butetown, the Watch Committee held concerns over black men ‘monopolising the cricket pitches of Llandaff Fields’, and being present around the Great Western Railway Station and the Riverside district. One member demanded that the chair of the Watch Committee and the police ‘Keep them in Tiger Bay. Do not allow them to go all over the city.’³³ This was a less a case of the threat that visibility posed to civic image, as was characteristic of Edwardian debates about Cardiff's prostitution. Rather, desires for residential segregation reveal how the boundaries of imperial identity were expressed in spatial, as well as sexual terms.³⁴ This spatial aspect of racial anxieties in Cardiff was also representative of colonial ideas of ‘cultural hygiene’, which framed colonial settings as spaces of potential health hazards that required management and rationalization.³⁵

A desire to control and contain British colonial subjects continued into the immediate post-war years and was expressed in terms of a perceived threat that colonial seafarers posed to racial health. In an April 1919 editorial, for example, the *Western Mail* reflected on how,

³¹ See Smith, ‘The Black Male Body in the White Imagination during the First World War’, 47-8; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion, [1996] 1999).

³² *Western Mail*, 23 July 1917. Headlines such as ‘coloured pests’, ‘black menace’ and ‘the black problem’ also became more common by late-1917. See GA DCONC/5/54, Newscuttings, May 1917-Nov 1917.

³³ *Western Mail*, 19 July 1916. As we will see both in this chapter, and in Chapter 6, this was essentially the crux of outsiders' attitudes towards Butetown, with containment being a significant aspect of post-Second World War regeneration plans.

³⁴ Also see Smith, ‘The Black Male Body in the White Imagination during the First World War’, 48.

³⁵ See Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures’, *American Ethnologist*, 16:4 (1989), 636; Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

following the end of the war, ‘The British people will never again consent to allow their country to become the indiscriminate dumping-ground of aliens of all sorts – often of a bad sort – to the grave prejudice and injury of the native population.’³⁶ This anxiety to control immigrant populations in Britain hinged on fears over interracial relationships, which fuelled race rioting in British ports in June 1919. While unemployment played a role in stoking the fears of rioters, the trigger for unrest in Cardiff was an attack on an outing of black men and their white partners. A week of anti-black rioting followed, which saw the deaths of three men, dozens injured, and damages in excess of £3,000 to the Corporation.³⁷ In its reports on the riots, the *Western Mail* explicitly emphasized the role of sex in fuelling the violence. It argued that ‘the consorting of black men and white women’ was a main cause of racial tension, adding:

Such consorting is necessarily an *ill*-assorting; it exhibits either a state of depravity or a squalid infatuation; it is repugnant to all our finer instincts. [...] Nothing could give the British white seaman greater offence than to find that a sister or other relative had attached herself to a coloured man, and so for years the feeling of resentment has grown.³⁸

Likewise, a report in *The Times* claimed that the ‘sober-minded citizens of Cardiff [...] deplore the familiar association between white women and negroes’, and that interracial sex was a ‘provocative cause’ for white rioters.³⁹ Arguments for miscegenation as the primary cause were not limited to press accounts, as Chief Constable Williams’ report for the Home Office also

³⁶ *Western Mail*, 2 April 1919.

³⁷ There is a significant body of work on the riots and their aftermath. See Evans, ‘Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence’; Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919’; Evans, ‘The South Wales Race Riots of 1919: a Documentary Postscript’; Evans, ‘Regulating the Reserve Army’; Evans, ‘Across the Universe’; Fryer, *Staying Power*, 303-9. For surveys of rioting elsewhere, see Jacqueline Jenkinson, ‘The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), 43-67; Jenkinson, ‘Black Sailors on Red Clydeside’; Jenkinson, *Black 1919*.

³⁸ *Western Mail*, 13 June 1919. The role of miscegenation anxieties in fuelling the riots has been explored in some detail by Lucy Bland and Laura Tabili. See Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour’; Tabili, ‘“Women of a Very Low Type”: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain’, in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-90.

³⁹ *The Times*, 13 June 1919. On raiding one Butetown building and finding ‘four white girls in night attire’ alone, a crowd of rioters was reported to have exclaimed their happiness at finding ‘British’ girls ‘who would not consort with black men.

cited white women being ‘enticed’ by black men as both instigating rioting and being a prominent concern for the police.⁴⁰

As Bland has documented, white working-class British masculinity faced challenges to two of its main definers after the First World War: the ability to work and the ability to attract the opposite sex. Fears over the latter were often expressed through myths of black sexual potency, animalism, and hypersexuality – stereotypes which framed the connections between prostitution and race in Butetown during the interwar years.⁴¹ These associations were sustained through fears over the potential for further riots. For instance, a 1922 Home Office report on Cardiff claimed that ‘there is always danger of riot where coloured men are mixing with white women, but these are spontaneous outbursts which quickly lead to riot without premeditation and cannot be accurately foreseen’.⁴² As such, the presence of black seafarers in the port and their relationships with white women was seen to pose a latent threat of racial conflict. On the one hand, this centred on a belief that the docks provided an ‘open door for aliens’ to ‘flock into Cardiff’ with the police having inadequate powers to regulate their numbers.⁴³ On the other was the more immediate and ongoing concern over miscegenation.

Symbolic of Cardiff’s growing status as a ‘problem’ port, the *Western Mail* pointed towards how ‘unnatural unions’ and ‘Inter-racial alliances’ were ‘far more prevalent’ in Cardiff than at other ports. In Cardiff, ‘one finds white women (often of ill-repute, it is true) married to men of practically every nationality and clime’. Referencing established notions of black hypersexuality, the newspaper argued,

This is only to be expected [...] since the average coloured man is more primitive than his white brother, and, therefore, less capable of curbing his passions. It is all very well for some misguided folk to plead for equality on

⁴⁰ National Archives (TNA) HO45/11017/377969/11, Correspondence from Chief Constable Williams to the Home Office on race rioting at Cardiff, 13 June 1919.

⁴¹ Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour’, esp. 37-9.

⁴² TNA HO45/11897/60, Immigration Officer’s Report on Cardiff, 18 March 1922.

⁴³ *Western Mail*, 5 February 1921. Also see GA DCONC/5/60, Newscuttings, October 1920-March 1921. These concerns were expressed amidst wider debates over overcrowding and unemployment in Cardiff, the need to extend city boundaries, and an increase in overall recorded offences.

behalf of the coloured man, but he is still largely a barbarian at heart, and even the advantages of western civilisation have not helped to alter his nature. He regards women as chattels, and treats them as such; he has little or no sense of chivalry, and his moral standard is anything but high. Surely it is time steps were taken to prohibit marital relations between British women and coloured men, for [...] such unions are responsible for many disturbances in Cardiff and in other seaport towns.⁴⁴

This editorial drew on a range of stereotypes to express fears over interracial relations in Cardiff's dockland. This included concepts of black savagery, hypersexuality, and a notion that colonial subjects were inherently antithetical to, and incompatible with 'western civilisation'. In contrasting British 'chivalry' to the alleged use of women as 'chattels' by black men, a nexus of racial-sexual difference was explicitly expressed to deploy notions of colonial subjects being inherently 'primitive' and more inclined towards 'immoral' sexual behaviours.

Similar sentiments were expressed by some local councillors, including J. Trott of the Health Committee. At a public meeting, Trott called on the police to take action against 'these [coloured] men debauching our children [...] these niggers are undesirable as boarding-house keepers. I would rather be shot tomorrow than allow such a thing.'⁴⁵ Councillor Rhoda Parker also expressed her concern that 'a certain amount of temptation is thrown in the coloured man's path, and that when he comes ashore he is literally besieged by certain types of women.'⁴⁶ This shifting and contradictory notion of blame was symbolic of the image of the 'common prostitute' of the residuum who, in degeneration narratives, was often framed as being closer

⁴⁴ *Western Mail*, 9 August 1921. Also see *Western Mail*, 10 August 1921, and GA DCONC/5/61, Newscuttings, April 1921-August 1921.

⁴⁵ *Western Mail*, 22 December 1921. In response, Butetown residents organized a meeting at the Bute Street Sailors' Rest in order to stage a protest against Trott's racist outburst, as such comments were helping to create a 'stigma [...] against boarding house masters and coloured people of the local municipal South Ward.' The meeting's organizer, A. A. Mossell, felt that their collective voice was needed in order to prevent 'a repetition of the racial wars in Cardiff in 1919, which were caused by such statements as those made by Mr Trott'. A 'Cardiff Coloured International Coloured Association' was subsequently formed to further these aims and to safeguard the interests of 'the coloured races of Cardiff and South Wales.' One keeper, an 'Englishman' protested that 'We are so apt to forget that the coloured people of Cardiff in great part are as "British" as the Cardiff-born, and that they know no other language than English.' Some other councillors also criticized Trott for his explicitly racist views. Yet, while the physical violence of 1919 was unrepeated, the protests of Butetown residents had little impact on outsiders' views of the area. See *South Wales News*, 6 January 1922; *Western Mail*, 9 January 1922; *South Wales News*, 16 January 1922.

⁴⁶ *Western Mail*, 24 January 1922.

to the colonized than the colonizer.⁴⁷ Like the police and the Home Office, Parker's concerns over miscegenation also rested on a fear of how it could fuel further rioting.

Civilisation has gone pretty far [...] but it can never make East West. [...] All the racial riots we have experienced in South Wales have been the result of quarrels over white women [...] Coloured men must be made to realise that though they may be good British subjects, they cannot be allowed to have marital relations with British girls.⁴⁸

Hence, the presence of immigrant men in interwar Cardiff presented a distinct racial threat in the eyes of local politicians, the police, and the press alike. Parker's comments, with her overt references to imperial racial hierarchies, demonstrate how the instabilities of racial-cultural hegemony was a palpable aspect of the formation of connections between race, sex, and rioting after the First World War. Similar to the bursts of hostility towards immigrant groups in the late-Edwardian years, this open antagonism towards Cardiff's non-white population occurred within a broader crisis punctuated by the First World War.⁴⁹ For South Wales this translated into the slow decline of the coal industry, which dismantled South Wales' 'imperial' status, revealed its underlying economic fragility, and led to outward migration from the coalfield and the end of population growth in Cardiff.⁵⁰ Within this wider context, particular fears over the need to regulate the numbers of 'foreign' seamen in Cardiff came to the fore, particularly with regards to Maltese men, whom the police believed had transformed the organization and nature of prostitution in the city.

⁴⁷ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 100; Levine, 'Sexuality and Empire', 130; Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*; Luckin, 'Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain, 1830-1900'; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, 184-6.

⁴⁸ *Western Mail*, 24 January 1922.

⁴⁹ Jim Tomlinson, 'Thrice Denied: "Declinism" as a Recurrent Theme in British History in the Long Twentieth Century', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20:2 (2009), 232.

⁵⁰ See Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London: Penguin, 1999), 282; Gwyn Williams, *When Was Wales? A History of the Welsh* (London: Penguin, 1985), Chapters 10 and 11; Kenneth Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), Chapter 5; Steven Thompson, *Unemployment, Poverty and Health in Interwar South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 1. Concerns over the tailing off of population growth had been evident since 1912, amidst debate over unemployment and slow economic growth. The dominance of the docks in the local economy was often cited as being problematic through encouraging transience, as opposed to industries that might encourage more people to settle in the city. See GA DCONC/5/42, Newscuttings, November 1912-May 1913.

Maltese men and the café scheme

The appointment of a new chief constable in October 1920 marked a turning point in perceptions of prostitution in Cardiff. Leeds-born James Arthur Wilson had joined the Glamorgan County Constabulary in 1896 at the age of nineteen, and had risen to the position of chief constable of Merthyr when the town was given control of its own police force in 1908. Reflecting his growing status in the field of policing, Wilson had received both an MBE for his work on Merthyr's food control committee during the war, and commendations from Lord Rhondda in the House of Commons. Wilson's renown led him to be shortlisted for chief constableships in Bristol, Cardiff, Leeds, and Sunderland after the war, with him winning the Cardiff contest in October 1920.⁵¹ Assuming his role in the aftermath of the 1919 riots – and amidst growing anti-alien sentiment and ongoing concerns over the potential for further rioting – Wilson focused his attentions on Butetown's Maltese community, whom he saw as facilitating both prostitution and miscegenation. While overt concerns about Maltese cafés emerged in the mid-1920s, connections between prostitution and cafés were not necessarily new. For instance, in August 1902, Daniel Jones and Louisa Snelling were charged with running a 'house of ill-fame' from a refreshment house on Court Road in Saltmead.⁵² Additionally, there had been some connection between Maltese men and brothels prior to the First World War, as in February 1904 when a Maltese fireman received a £5 fine for keeping a brothel at Compton Street, also in Saltmead.⁵³ Other Mediterranean groups, such as Greek men, had also been linked to prostitution in the early-twentieth century, but this did not escalate into moral panic. Instead, censure and pressure from Nonconformist vigilance groups and the

⁵¹ *South Wales News*, 27 and 28 October 1920, and 3 June 1924.

⁵² *South Wales Daily News*, 1 September 1902.

⁵³ *South Wales Daily News*, 15 February 1904. As we have also seen, immigrant-owned businesses were periodically the subject of moral panic in the local press, particularly those run by Chinese men, which were seen to be linked to opium and the exploitation of white women. For examples of this, see *Western Mail*, 30 April 1907; *South Wales Daily News*, 19 April 1916. Also see Cayford, 'In search of "John Chinaman"'.

press was reserved for prostitutes in the central slum and Saltmead.⁵⁴ What, therefore, accounts for Maltese involvement in prostitution in the interwar years, and why were the Maltese of such concern to Chief Constable Wilson?

While not having as great a presence in the port as ‘Arab’, Indian, West African, and West Indian seafarers, the Maltese had become an established part of Butetown society by the interwar years.⁵⁵ This is apparent from the variety of Maltese businesses on Bute Street, the district’s main thoroughfare, that were listed in trade directories from the late-1920s. While the Maltese were involved in a number of businesses – including boarding houses, general stores, and butchers – cafés had become the most prominent Maltese enterprise.⁵⁶ Information included in reports prepared by Chief Constable Wilson for the Home Office reveal that the number of Maltese cafés increased during the late-1920s. Of forty-three cafés on Bute Street in 1927, twenty-three were run by Maltese men, one possibly by a Maltese man, and three by the British wives of Maltese men; by 1929 the number of Maltese cafés at Bute Street had risen to twenty-nine.⁵⁷ While evidence on exactly why the Maltese came to run most of Butetown’s cafés in the 1920s is scarce, it was likely a result of two factors: one, that they were exempt from ‘alien’ status under the 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act; and two, that keeping a café might have appealed to out-of-work seamen who had no barrier to settling in the port.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ See *South Wales Daily News*, 25 October 1904. Also see *Western Mail*, 1 January 1913. In December 1912, for instance, John and Elizabeth Balich were observed operating a brothel from a small restaurant on Caroline Street, with ‘young girls under twenty years of age’ providing services to a clientele of ‘coloured men and foreign seamen’. Similar anxieties were expressed in Edinburgh and Glasgow with regards to Italian ice cream parlours, which had become a meeting-place for men and ‘juvenile girls’ and a perceived source of venereal disease. See Roger Davidson, *Dangerous Liaisons: A Social History of Venereal Disease in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 2000), 31. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the influence of the Edwardian press and Nonconformist-aligned pressure groups.

⁵⁵ See Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’ for greater detail on demographic data relating to the Maltese and this group’s position in Butetown’s social make-up.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, and: *Western Mail Cardiff Directory*, numerous editions (Cardiff: Western Mail, 1897-1937).

⁵⁷ *Western Mail Cardiff Directory* (Cardiff: Western Mail, 1929); GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, September 23, 1927. The other sixteen were operated by West African, West Indian, ‘Arab’ and Spanish men, and the wife of a Malaysian man.

⁵⁸ See Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain’; and ‘*We Ask for British Justice*’: *Workers and Racial Difference in Late-Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Additionally, the police had previously targeted premises operated by other minority groups, such as the Chinese, which likely opened up business opportunities in Bute Street.⁵⁹ These sites then became more commonly used by prostitutes as heavy police action on central thoroughfares had encouraged the use of clandestine methods.⁶⁰

For Wilson it was not inequalities resulting from British capitalist-imperialism nor police action against street prostitutes which had created favourable conditions for clandestine prostitution. Rather, the cause was seen as ‘immorality’ ingrained in Maltese men, whom Wilson believed to be inherently ‘different’ to the ‘British’.⁶¹ In essence, Wilson used prostitution as a tool to assign racial difference to the Maltese and to gather support in his attempts to remove them from the city.⁶² By contrast, his force had significant control over black seafarers through the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, which demanded that undocumented black seamen in Britain register themselves as ‘aliens’. The 1925 Order further impaired the ability for black seafarers to obtain work at a time when work on ships was becoming harder to find, and many were threatened with deportation.⁶³ An investigation by the League of Coloured Peoples (LCP), a prominent civil rights group, discovered that Cardiff’s police had ‘employed any and every means to compel [all] coloured seamen to register as aliens’, even those who had been born in British territory and had been living in Cardiff for over twenty years.⁶⁴ These comments can be verified by the frequency of

⁵⁹ Observers like local Maltese resident Michael Camilleri and Ercole Valenzia, Secretary of the Maltese National Union of Seamen, noted how in Butetown ‘a certain gang of Maltese’ had ‘taken upon themselves the dirty work that was done in years past by Italians, Greeks and Chinese, i.e. that of keeping Cafés [*sic.*] of ill-fame.’ GA DCONC/7/7 Letter from Michael illeri to the Minister for Migration, Malta, 15 August 1930; Correspondence from Ercole Valenzia to H. Arrigo, Superintendent, Malta Emigration Office, [n.d., ca. September 1930].

⁶⁰ See Chapter 1.

⁶¹ Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’

⁶² See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Wilson’s attempts to expel the Maltese.

⁶³ See Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain’.

⁶⁴ G. W. Brown, ‘Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff’, *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 19. Wilson described the LCP’s claims that Cardiff City Police used ‘questionable’ and ‘illegal’ methods around aliens registration as ‘balderdash’ and that ‘No one has gone out of his way more to assist coloured seamen than I have. [...] Cardiff has as many coloured seamen as all the other ports, including London, Liverpool, Newcastle and Shields, put together. We have a problem here that no one else has, and the coloured seamen have no reason to complain in any way as to the manner in which they have been dealt with.’ *Daily Mail*, 4 October 1935.

‘alien’ cases at Cardiff Petty Sessions from the late-1920s, as the police clearly sought to limit the numbers of ‘coloured’ seamen in the port.⁶⁵ Hence, the targeting of the Maltese for their involvement in the organization of prostitution was part of a wider effort to control Cardiff’s immigrant/‘foreign’ population.⁶⁶

Wilson produced a series of reports between 1927 and 1930 for the Home Office and Cardiff’s Watch Committee that encapsulated the racialized stereotype of the Maltese – and of prostitution in Butetown more generally – that abounded into the middle of the century. Wilson also sought a kindred spirit in the Home Secretary, William Joynson-Hicks: a prominent ‘anti-alien’, on assuming office in late-1924 Joynson-Hicks had announced a crusade against ‘aliens’ and had visited British ports in order to impart his zeal onto immigration officials.⁶⁷ Joynson-Hicks’s approach to immigration received favourable reports in Cardiff newspapers, providing further impetus for Wilson’s crusade against the Maltese.⁶⁸ In reports for both the home secretary and Cardiff’s Watch Committee, Wilson wrote about the ‘low moral character’ and ‘evil influence’ of the Maltese, describing them as ‘immoral’, ‘dishonest’, and ‘debased and degenerate types’. For Wilson, their involvement in organizing prostitution was inherent, as they possessed ‘disreputable vices ingrained in them from their early environment’.⁶⁹ These ‘ingrained vices’ were seen to have led them to create a systemic shift in the organization of prostitution from ‘the old style brothel which was a house used by prostitutes for their own purposes’ to ‘a so-called café in which prostitutes and immoral women under the guise of waitresses and dance partners cater for the sexual licence of the floating population’.⁷⁰ As we

⁶⁵ See GA PSCBO/4/108-122 Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1925-1929.

⁶⁶ See Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice’.

⁶⁷ Cesarani, ‘Anti-alienism in England after the First World War’, 19.

⁶⁸ For example, see *Western Mail*, 20 January 1925; *South Wales News*, 27 January 1925; *Western Mail*, 25 July 1925. As we will come to see in greater detail in subsequent chapters, favourable press coverage of Joynson-Hicks’s anti-alienism marked a shift in attitudes that the chief constable tapped into.

⁶⁹ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927; WL 3AMS/08/B/02 Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff,’ January 6, 1929. For the Home Office response and the futility of seeking to use aliens legislation to regulate the Maltese and their cafés, see Chapter 5 of this thesis and Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’.

⁷⁰ *Western Mail*, 1 February 1930; GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930.

saw in Chapter 3, perceptions of the 'café girl' often hinged on a narrative of 'respectable' girls being lured from the wider region into the dockland by the Maltese, where they were forced to engage in prostitution with 'coloured men and other foreign seamen'.⁷¹ Wilson's argument thus suggested that prostitution had become more insidious and harder to regulate under the influence of the Maltese, and that this posed a threat of degeneration.⁷² Hence, via connections between 'foreign' men and white slavery that had been prominent around the ratification of the 1912 CLAA, the Maltese were marked out as a distinct threat to the young women of not only Cardiff, but also to the wider region and nation.

However, the perceived threat of the Maltese was not limited to the exploitation of young white women and concerns over racial degeneration. The 'new' form of prostitution that the Maltese had allegedly instigated was also seen to involve non-heteronormative sexual behaviours, as detailed in the following excerpt from a 1930 report for the Home Office:

No. 212 Bute Street is kept as a café by a Maltese named Jack Gauci and his wife who was formerly a prostitute. They have living with them another Maltese named Tony Ferrugia and his wife who was formerly a prostitute. A fortnight after the marriage of Mrs Ferrugia she was found in the act of prostitution with an African negro with the knowledge and consent of her husband who was keeping observation outside the door of the room whilst immorality took place.⁷³

Wilson thus saw 'ingrained' vices within Maltese men as providing the means for not only prostitution and miscegenation, but also as tendencies towards sexual practices that challenged his perception of hegemony over colonial 'others'.⁷⁴ Unconventional sexual practices, sexual deviancy, and miscegenation – alongside a wider discourse over the need for enhanced

⁷¹ See Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?' For specific examples of this narrative, see *Western Mail*, 11 May 1929, 10 June 1929, and 17 December 1930.

⁷² Also see Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable', 644.

⁷³ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, 14 October 1930.

⁷⁴ See Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?' for a further discussion of how these tropes were employed as a means of racializing the Maltese. Additionally, that a Maltese man was then said to engage in voyeurism of prostitution explicitly involving an 'African negro' and his ex-prostitute wife echoes conceptions of 'Africa as the quintessential zone of sexual aberration' and a reflection of 'forbidden sexual desires and fears' projected onto African colonial subjects. See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 22.

immigration controls – thus marked out the Maltese and prostitution in Butetown as threats to national and racial health.⁷⁵ Sexual monogamy was, therefore, central to Wilson’s conception of a ‘British moral code’, revealing the utilization of different forms of masculinity to mark out racial difference. This included acts of voyeurism and polyandry, which echoed colonial notions of alternative sexualities as being immoral or amoral.⁷⁶ This can also be seen in pornographic depictions of ‘foreign’ sexuality, which was frequently exoticized through being placed outside the bounds of ‘normative’ sexual behaviour.⁷⁷ As such, themes like cuckolding, voyeurism, and interracial prostitution – all features of Wilson’s reports on Maltese cafés in Cardiff – were images that reinforced the symbolic importance of race, and how sex was central to the invoking of racial stereotypes.

Miscegenation

Prostitution was thus used as a mechanism to help define the status of Maltese men as racially different. However, this is not to say that Wilson was unconcerned by prostitution in the dockland. Representative of broader racial anxieties over Butetown, sexual relations between ‘café girls’ and black seamen were also seen to be the source of a growing ‘half-caste’ population and a distinct racial threat. This connection garnered national attention, leading to widespread cultural associations between Butetown and a racialized form of prostitution. In a January 1929 report for the Watch Committee, Wilson lamented the police’s ‘limitation in dealing with a form of vice’ that he believed had emerged through the Maltese café scheme: namely, sexual contact between black men and white ‘prostitutes and women of loose moral

⁷⁵ Also see Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 34.

⁷⁶ See Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender, and Empire’, 151; Angela Willey, “‘Christian Nations’, “Polygamic Races” and Women’s Rights: Toward a Genealogy of Non/Monogamy and Whiteness’, *Sexualities*, 9:5 (2006), 531-532. Also see discussion in: Bland, *Modern Women on Trial*, Chapter 4. Missionaries in British colonies in Africa, such as Sierra Leone, also tried to divert local populations away from polygamic practices, promoting what they considered to be ‘civilized’ customs. See Richard Phillips, ‘Heterogeneous Imperialism and the Regulation of Sexuality in British West Africa’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 14:3 (2005), 291-315.

⁷⁷ Lisa Sigel, *Governing Pleasure: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815-1914* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 98, 126, 153. Also see Stoler, ‘Making Empire Respectable’.

character'. The chief constable believed that such 'illicit carnal intercourse' was creating a 'half-caste population with the vicious hereditary taint of both sets of parents', which, in his view, presented a threat to racial health.⁷⁸ In a subsequent Watch Committee report, he went as far as to advocate legislation along the lines of South Africa's 1927 Immorality Act in order to prohibit interracial sex.⁷⁹

Wilson forwarded his reports to authorities in other ports, Cardiff MPs, and the Home Office, with 'a view to securing cooperative effort towards strengthening legislation in respect of the evils'.⁸⁰ Through this, national newspapers picked up on his arguments and relayed them to a wider audience.⁸¹ For instance, *The Times* placed the cafés at the centre of a 'social evil in Cardiff', while the *Daily Herald* sensationally echoed Wilson's views through describing the Maltese as 'debased and degenerate' and their 'tragic cafés' as the source of 'hundreds of half-caste children' and a 'devaluation of life'.⁸² The *Daily Herald* drew attention to the 'problem' of miscegenation through screaming headlines, including:

COLOURED MEN AND WHITE GIRLS
Revelations of Life in a Seaport NO REMEDY
Hundreds of Half-Caste Children⁸³

Signalling Cardiff's growing reputation as a 'problem' port with regards to racial regulation, these ideas resonated beyond the reports of the chief constable and sensational press accounts. Concerns over 'uncurbed' black sexuality were highlighted in a 1932 Wesleyan-funded comparative study of living conditions in black communities in Cardiff and London,

⁷⁸ Wilson's argument drew from a much wider discursive framework of 'racial mixing' from colonial settings, in which 'mixed-blood' children embodied fears of subversion and racialized the dangers of sex. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 46.

⁷⁹ WL 3AMS/B/08/02, Wilson, 'Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929; and Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, January 23, 1929.

⁸¹ Cardiff Local Studies Library (CLS), City of Cardiff, *Reports of Council and Committees, Nov. 1928-Nov. 1929*.

⁸² See *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929; *Daily Telegraph*, 10 January 1929; *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929, 11 January 1929, and 23 January 1929; *The Times*, 11 January 1929; and *Western Mail*, 11 January 1929, 23 January 1929, 28 January 1929, 29 January 1929, and 1 February 1930; *South Wales Echo*, 10 January 1929.

⁸³ *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929. Also see *Daily Herald*, 11 January 1929.

commissioned as a result of concerns expressed by Butetown's Loudoun Square Methodist Church. Its report was prepared by Nancie Sharpe, a social investigator with no prior research experience yet who subsequently wrote for the *Keys*, the journal of the LCP.⁸⁴ Nancie Sharpe's report proved to be a pivotal enquiry: a prominent American social anthropologist later remarked how her 'quasi-scientific investigation' was the 'baseline for all subsequent studies of race relations in Cardiff.'⁸⁵ Sharpe's study was also informed by wider concerns over race in interwar Britain, as it intended to counter a survey conducted by Muriel Fletcher for the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured Children.⁸⁶ Fletcher's report was primarily concerned with Liverpool's 'half-caste' children, which she believed were more inferior than both sets of parents and 'low-type' white working-class children, and argued for greater controls over black settlements in Liverpool and other ports, including Cardiff.⁸⁷

Despite being sympathetic to the predicament of black communities, Sharpe's 1932 survey repeated stereotypes of non-white sexuality with little critique. Aside from Sharpe's own inexperience as a social investigator, these stereotypes drew on wider scientific and

⁸⁴ Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 83. The LCP was a prominent organization founded in 1931 by a Jamaican, Harold Moody, and deployed a British-imperial identity in seeking equal rights for black Britons. Supported by both black 'colonials' and white 'British', it was a prominent organization in this period and successfully campaigned to restore British citizenship to 'coloured' seamen in Cardiff in 1936. For the LCP, see Anne Spry Rush, 'Imperial Identity in Colonial Minds: Harold Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples, 1931-50', *Twentieth Century British History*, 13:4 (2002), 356-383, and *Bonds of Empire*, chapter 5. For examples of the LCP's work in Cardiff, see Brown, 'Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff'; Cecil Lewis, 'Cardiff Report – General Survey', *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 16-18; Cecil P. Lewis and G. W. Brown, 'We Too Were in Cardiff', *Keys*, 3:1 (1935), 4; Harold Moody, 'The League of Coloured Peoples and the Problem of the Coloured Colonial Seamen in the United Kingdom', *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 22-24; Nancie Sharpe, 'Cardiff's Coloured Population', *Keys*, 1:3 (1934), 44. For further context on the LCP's work, see Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*.

⁸⁵ Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 182.

⁸⁶ This organization had been formed following the work of Rachel Fleming, a research assistant of the prominent anthropologist H. J. Fleure of University College, Aberystwyth, who in 1927 published findings of an anthropometric study of mixed-race children in Liverpool, Cardiff and east London. Rachel Fleming, 'Anthropological Studies of Children', *Eugenics Review*, 18:4 (1927), 294-301. Also see Bland, 'British Eugenics and "Race Crossing"'.
⁸⁷ TNA HO45/2504/9, Muriel Fletcher, 'Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and other Ports,' (Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children, 1930); Mark Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21:2-3 (2008), 213-241; Peter Aspinall, 'The Social Evolution of the Term "Half-Caste" in Britain: The Paradox of its Use as Both Derogatory Racial Category and Self-Descriptor', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 26:4 (2013), 503-526; Paul Rich, 'Philanthropic Racism in Britain: The Liverpool University Settlement, the Anti-Slavery Society and the Issue of "Half-Caste" Children', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 3:1 (1984), 69-88.

colonial notions of sexual and physical characteristics being markers of racial difference and intellectual inferiority.⁸⁸ Her perceptions echoed those expressed in press reports on the 1919 riots, in which ‘coloured’ men were presented as hypersexual in contrast to the more ‘moral’ practices of the ‘Englishman’.⁸⁹ Some of Sharpe’s comments also reveal the pervasiveness of imperialistic notions of black sexuality, which, as Levine has noted, ‘rendered colonial men not manly but animalistic.’⁹⁰ Fears over the hypersexual black masculinity were expressed by Wilson, who had complained to the Watch Committee of black men possessing a ‘lack of moral standard, compatible with our modern conception of decency’, and an ‘uncurbed sexual passion’ that ‘dominates their actions’.⁹¹ In similar vein, Sharpe’s account spoke of men who were ‘hot-blooded’, ‘extremely interested in sex’, and

[more] desirous of a sexual outlet, and often in their wish for this they make use of a girl of 17, 16, or even 15, whom an Englishman would still consider a child. Th[is is because] people from hot countries mature before people in more temperate climates, and the social customs are different.⁹²

Sharpe likewise noted that ‘Negroes make undue sexual demands on their [white] wives and that women resent it,’ suggesting ideas of both predatory sexuality on behalf of the men, and sexual docility, servitude, and victimhood for the women.⁹³ In her view, ‘coloured men’ did not have the ability to ascertain the ‘standards’ of white women as they had ‘not the judgement of Englishmen’, who were ‘less likely to indulge in irregular intercourse’.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender and Empire’, 136.

⁸⁹ See press examples cited in Bland, ‘White Women and Men of Colour’.

⁹⁰ Philippa Levine, ‘Naked Truths: Bodies, Knowledge, and the Erotics of Colonial Power’, *Journal of British Studies*, 52:1 (2013), 18. Also see Levine: ‘Sexuality, Gender and Empire’, 134-155; Levine, ‘Sexuality and Empire’. Highlighting her initial inexperience, Sharpe more carefully challenged racialized assumptions of black sexuality in her subsequent article for the *Keys*. See Sharpe, ‘Cardiff’s Coloured Population’.

⁹¹ WL 3AMS/08/B/02, Wilson, ‘Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929; *South Wales Echo*, 10 January 1929.

⁹² CLS LC84:301.185 SHA, Nancie Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’ (1932), 23, 95, 33.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 47-8; Levine, ‘Sexuality and Empire’, 134.

⁹⁴ Sharpe, ‘Cardiff’s Coloured Population’, 44; Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’, 70.

With regards to women linked to café prostitution, Sharpe drew on wider perceptions of the ‘amateur’ in arguing that those involved in sexual relations with black men could be plotted on a graduated scale between the ‘prostitute’ and ‘complete respectability’.⁹⁵ This framework essentially echoed three elements of concern: the ‘common prostitute’, female promiscuity, and the white slavery-informed desire to protect ‘respectable’ young women from sexual exploitation. These gradations represented a complex pattern in which blame was shifted across different ‘classes’ of women, and the alleged predatory hypersexuality of black men.⁹⁶ Sharpe also claimed that the ‘class of women’ in relationships with black men included ‘semi-prostitutes and those who have illegitimate children’, whom she saw as ‘mainly not well balanced or a little dull’ – in the sense that their promiscuity could be explained by them having learning disabilities.⁹⁷ The ‘feeble-minded’ woman was more broadly seen as a source of illegitimacy and disease, and although links between mental deficiency and prostitution were less prominent by the interwar years, notions of feeble-mindedness continued to provide a frame of reference for anxieties over female sexuality.⁹⁸ Within the context of increasing unemployment and declining birth rates, the ‘feeble-minded’ continued to represent a degenerate, hereditary strain that could manifest in crime and immorality, posing a distinct threat to perceptions of national health and future populations.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’, 33-34, 43. These ideas were also evident in a 1933 survey of British prostitution conducted by the conservative social investigator Gladys Mary Hall, in which Cardiff was used as the main example for seaports. Hall claimed that Butetown’s ‘attractions usually include women who are themselves drawn there from mercenary motives, or by the fascination which the foreign seamen possesses for very many of the younger women.’ Stressing the allure of the docklands, she further wrote of ‘a certain mystery which attracts adventurous white girls like a magnet [...] The negro is generous, and his usually magnificent physique powerfully attracts some girls.’ Gladys Mary Hall, *Prostitution: A Survey and a Challenge* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1933), 48. For a discussion of the ‘amateur’, see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁹⁶ For an overview of contradictory stances towards sexuality in interwar Britain, see Lesley Hall, ‘Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s’, in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (eds), *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 135-149.

⁹⁷ Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’, 43.

⁹⁸ See Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy, and Social Policy in Britain c.1870-1959* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 251-2.

⁹⁹ Mathew Thomson, ‘Disability, Psychiatry, and Eugenics’, in Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 119. Also see discussion in Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975*, trans. Graham Burchell (London and New York: Verso, [2003] 2016), Chapter 11, esp. 317-8.

Notions of feeble-mindedness were likewise applied to black men, being representative of the contingent relationship between class and race anxieties in imperial discourse.¹⁰⁰ It was this mutability in defining the boundaries of race that underpinned the contradictory notions of blame evident in Sharpe's work. The paradoxical character of this debate is also revealing of the intersectional nature of ideas of race and gender. Despite emphasizing the hypersexuality of black men, Sharpe also felt that they had 'no self-control' in responding to the port environment with 'no idea of the reasons for it'. This lack of awareness then led them to be victims of predatory prostitutes who 'specialized' in 'coloured men', as opposed to exploiting 'feeble-minded' or promiscuous young women.¹⁰¹ These opinions were not limited to Sharpe's report, suggesting that contradictory notions of racial-sexual difference were more widespread. In a 1933 survey of prostitution in Britain, in which Cardiff was the main case study for ports, the non-white seaman was described 'as a rule noticeably generous and simple-minded, and he is not unnaturally a desirable customer for prostitutes and others whose object is money.'¹⁰² In a similar vein, the *Western Mail* reported on the 'excusable ignorance' of black seamen, in that it was not surprising that venereal disease was 'common amongst them' as unlike 'enlightened men' they were unable to perceive its 'dangers'.¹⁰³ A Butetown religious worker, echoing the rhetoric of Chief Constable Wilson, likewise claimed that 'Coloured men [...] have not our moral code. Therefore they are not to be blamed: but neither are the poor girls who live with them.'¹⁰⁴

Connections between race and prostitution were symbolic of wider fears over racial health and degeneration, as opposed to a particular concern over prostitution in itself, and

¹⁰⁰ See Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 100; Foucault, *Abnormal*, Chapter 11; Levine, 'Sexuality and Empire', 130; Patricia L. Garside, "'Unhealthy Areas": Town Planning, Eugenics and the Slums, 1890-1945', *Planning Perspectives* 3:1 (1988), 28.

¹⁰¹ Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff', 5; 'Cardiff's Coloured Population', 32.

¹⁰² Gladys Mary Hall, *Prostitution*, 47.

¹⁰³ *Western Mail*, 8 July 1935, 9.

¹⁰⁴ *South Wales Echo*, 10 January 1929, 7.

represented discontinuities and contradictions in the defining of racial difference.¹⁰⁵ This is also evident from discussions around the children of interracial relationships, who were often seen to possess an inferior intellect to both sets of parents, and the ‘vicious hereditary taint’ from both.¹⁰⁶ In its coverage of the chief constable’s 1929 report for the Watch Committee, the *Daily Herald* explicitly linked the presence of ‘half-caste’ children to prostitution, claiming that their ‘existence’ was ‘disturbing’.¹⁰⁷ The Reverend of Butetown’s St Michael’s Church equally claimed that ‘the Anglo-Negroid mixture is vicious and a menace to the community’, while Nancie Sharpe wrote that ‘the mixture of races tends to the emergence of the lowest common denominator of customs.’¹⁰⁸ Representative of contradictions in the construction of racial difference, the *Western Mail* also placed less focus on the ‘hereditary taint’ of prostitutes and instead suggested that it was ‘foreign’ and imported. An editorial argued that the social fabric of Butetown was ‘dominated by social and moral standards imported [...] from countries where civilized conditions are in a state of development and where the moral conventions are wholly at variance with our own’.¹⁰⁹ In a later article entitled ‘The Coloured Man in Our Midst’ the *Western Mail* invoked notions of an ‘island race’ in arguing that ‘We can no longer tolerate the [...] burden on our doorstep’, and advocated the repatriation of colonial immigrants in order to cease ‘the ethnological experiment of cross-breeding which has made the problem of the half-caste girl one of the most heart-breaking facing our social workers’.¹¹⁰ Prostitution in interwar Cardiff was thus embedded in wider debates around racial health and notions of racial

¹⁰⁵ See Bland, ‘British Eugenics and “Race Crossing”’; Thomson, ‘Disability, Psychiatry, and Eugenics’, 124; Lucy Bland and Lesley Hall, ‘Eugenics in Britain: The View from the Metropole’ in Bashford and Levine (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, 213.

¹⁰⁶ For interwar eugenics, see Bland, ‘British Eugenics and “Race Crossing”’.

¹⁰⁷ *Daily Herald*, 10 January 1929, 5; 11 January 1929, 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Herald*, 11 January 1929, 2; Sharpe, ‘Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff’, 88.

¹⁰⁹ *Western Mail*, 28 January 1929.

¹¹⁰ *Western Mail*, 8 July 1935. The newspaper claimed that ‘half-caste’ girls were ‘characteristically disinclined’ towards work and were thus likely to end up as prostitutes, although providing no evidence to support this claim. For notions of an ‘island race’, see Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain: Theatres of Memory, Volume II* (London and New York: Verso, [1998] 1999), 21-73.

difference derived through colonial genealogies of sexual variance and racial-biological inferiority.

Social hygiene, social anthropology and the Second World War

National attention on Butetown's so-called 'racial problem' drew the interest of the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC). Initially formed as the National Council for Combatting Venereal Diseases in 1914, in 1925 the organization changed its name due to the Council's desire to tackle the wider remit of 'social hygiene', being 'matters of sex in its various aspects: physiological, psychological and morbid, especially as these affect social and family life.'¹¹¹ The BSHC also shifted its focus towards the imperial dimensions of 'port welfare' and the social conditions of the mercantile marine, which was also influenced by an increase in venereal disease cases in England and Wales during 1925-1931 and the general effects of the Depression on port districts.¹¹² In order to examine issues in British ports, the BSHC formed a Committee on Port Welfare with the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine (BCWMM), itself an offshoot of the BSHC, in 1934.¹¹³ With work initially planned for Liverpool and London, the group included Cardiff at general secretary Sybil Nevill-Rolfe's insistence, due to what she saw as 'a special problem there in regard to the resident coloured seamen.' Along with establishing Port Welfare Committees in these areas, the BSHC and BCWMM commissioned an ex-naval officer to produce a report on social conditions in the docklands of Cardiff, Liverpool, and London (the 'Richardson Survey'), to be delivered at a national conference on the mercantile marine in July 1935.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Cited in Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 171.

¹¹² BSHC, *Empire Social Hygiene Year-book, 1934*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934), 35.

¹¹³ The BCWMM was established in 1926 by the BSHC in order to allow greater focus on issues relating to seamen's welfare, as opposed to the BSHC's more general focus on venereal disease. See Alfred Salter (BSHC), 'Great Britain and the Welfare of Seamen', in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1929), 40.

¹¹⁴ Wellcome Library (WLL) SHA BSH/B.4/1, Minutes of the Committee on Port Welfare (Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM), 18 December 1934. For an overview of the BSHC's interests in the mercantile marine and social conditions in British ports, see 'The British Social Hygiene Council and the Mercantile Marine', *Health*

While the BSHC's approach was informed by concerns over rising venereal disease rates, Cardiff had seen only a marginal increase. The infection rate had risen from 1,473 new cases in 1925 to 1,747 in 1929 – far lower than the 2,916 cases that had been recorded in Cardiff in 1921.¹¹⁵ As such, while the Richardson Survey covered the social conditions of port areas in Cardiff, Liverpool, and London, Cardiff was the only port cited in the Richardson Survey with regards to sex, revealing how its 'special problem' regarding race and sex had become widely recognized. The survey repeated Chief Constable Wilson's views in arguing that 'coloured men' were 'not imbued with moral codes similar to our own', nor 'our conventions of life.' Richardson argued that black men drawn to 'intimate contact with white women, principally those who unfortunately are of loose moral character, with the result that a half-caste population is brought into the world.' His account also displayed continuities with perceptions of black men as intellectual inferior, arguing 'That venereal disease is common amongst them is not surprising, for they cannot know the dangers that exist as other and more enlightened men would know them.' In addition, Richardson echoed discourses surrounding the 1919 riots through stating that 'Indian and Negro seamen' were 'more attractive to the prostitutes' than the British, and that 'Once a girl has been in company with a coloured man she seems to prefer them to other types of seamen.'¹¹⁶

As we will see in Chapter 7, the Richardson Survey was also accompanied by the active involvement of the BSHC in Butetown. A Port Welfare Committee was established by the BSHC in Cardiff, involving the city council, the port authority, and religious organizations, with an aim of reshaping spaces in the dockland to divert the attentions of its men away from

and Empire, 10:1 (1935), 27-42. The report was also received and considered by representatives of all large British seaports at the School of Tropical Hygiene in London. See *South Wales Echo*, 8 July 1935.

¹¹⁵ Cardiff University Special Collections and Archives (SCOLAR) WG4.38.C, City and Port of Cardiff, *Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health and School Medical Officer*, 1926-1930. Venereal disease expenditure had also decreased in this period, from £6,120 in 1927 to £5,764 in 1929.

¹¹⁶ WL 3AMS/B/08/03, Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM, 'Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas: London, Liverpool, Cardiff', 1935.

‘immoral’ conduct.¹¹⁷ While the work of the Port Welfare Committee was short-lived, its involvement did have a long-term influence on Cardiff Council’s approach towards Butetown in relation to the clearance and rebuilding of the residential district. However, despite influencing a longer-term project of urban renewal in Butetown, the Richardson Survey also marked the highpoint of connections between prostitution and miscegenation. The report was followed by a noticeable decline in racialized narratives of prostitution in Cardiff. In part, this was a result of local controversy over the report. Richardson’s comments on employability created anger amongst Butetown’s black community, and some men wrote to the press to complain of their stereotyping as being innately disinclined towards work.¹¹⁸ In response to this criticism, Cardiff’s Medical Officer of Health (MOH), Greenwood Wilson, informed the *Western Mail* that he ‘had nothing to do with the preparation of that report’ and that Richardson drew all of his conclusions from his own personal observations.¹¹⁹ However, the minutes of the BSHC and BCWMM’s Committee on Port Welfare reveal that the MOH had in fact provided Richardson with much of his information on Cardiff, and that he had confirmed to the Joint Committee before publication that Richardson’s account was accurate and ‘excellent’.¹²⁰ In one sense, criticism over the sources of who informed the report caused prominent civic officials like Greenwood Wilson to renege on their previous stance. Yet this reversal also represented a more general shift in police attitudes towards the Maltese. As we will come to see in Chapter 5, the police had essentially manufactured a problem that they could not solve,

¹¹⁷ WLL SA/BSH/B.4/1, Minutes of the Joint Committee on Port Welfare (BSHC and BCWMM), 1 July 1935.

¹¹⁸ See the coverage in *Western Mail*, 8 July 1935; *Western Mail*, 9 July 1935; *South Wales Echo*, 8 July 1935.

¹¹⁹ *Western Mail*, 9 July 1935.

¹²⁰ WLL SHA BSH/B.4.1, Minutes of the Committee on Port Welfare (Joint Council of BSHC and BCWMM), 1 July 1935. In his annual report for 1934, the MOH had likewise stressed that the nearby port of Bristol ‘has not Cardiff’s problem of alien seamen, who intermarry, settle and produce half-caste children.’ SCOLAR WG4.38.C. City and Port of Cardiff, *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health*, 1934. Neil Evans has made some inaccurate observations in this respect by praising the MoH and his officers for their ‘professionalism’, for not indulging in such ‘tendentious mélange’, and ‘to refuse to be concerned with such racist accusation which went far beyond the eugenicist position common amongst medical professionals in this period and reached the outer limits of right-wing extremism.’ As the evidence discussed in this chapter has illustrated, such ideas were in fact common in discussions of sexuality in Cardiff in the interwar years. Evans, “‘Sea Wall against Disease: Port Health in Cardiff, 1850-1950’”, in Pamela Michael and Charles Webster (eds), *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 88.

leading them to focus less on Maltese café keepers and Butetown's prostitution by the late-1930s.¹²¹ The involvement of the BSHC also marked the end of social surveys on Butetown's interwar 'racial problem', for while further reports had been planned during the late-1930s the outbreak of the Second World War prevented them from being conducted.¹²² The war also brought an increase in employment to Butetown and took many of the community's men out to sea, which may also help to explain a diminution of concerns over dockland prostitution during wartime in contrast to the interwar period, when unemployment and racial tensions were heightened.¹²³

The next major survey of Butetown was conducted in the early-1940s, and marked a significant departure from the overtly racialized depictions that characterized the interwar years. After being declared unfit for military service in 1940, Kenneth Little, a mature student at Cambridge, travelled to Cardiff to conduct anthropometric research into the 'Anglo-Negroid cross'.¹²⁴ Having reached a dead end in this particular line of enquiry, Little instead developed an interest in the 'colour bar', being the social aspects of racial interaction and discrimination.¹²⁵ Under the tutelage of renowned ethnographer Raymond Firth, Little set about studying race relations in Butetown for a University of London doctorate, drawing influence from the British tradition of social investigation (notably that of Nancie Sharpe) and the Chicago School of sociology, especially Louis Wirth's seminal 1928 work, *The Ghetto*.¹²⁶

¹²¹ See Chapter 5 of this thesis, and Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?'

¹²² Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 183.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹²⁴ Michael Banton, 'Little, Kenneth Lindsay (1908–1991)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Little's initial line of inquiry was very much in the vein of previous social anthropologists such as H. J. Fluere and Rachel Fleming, as well as Sharpe's 1932 survey. A glimpse of his anthropometric work can be seen in: Kenneth Little, 'Racial Mixture in Great Britain: Some Anthropological Characteristics of the Anglo-Negroid Cross: A Preliminary Report', *Eugenics Review*, 33:4 (1942), 112-120.

¹²⁵ Banton, 'Little'.

¹²⁶ Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1928] 1956).

His resultant work on Cardiff, particularly his monograph, *Negroes in Britain*, was highly influential in both Britain and the United States.¹²⁷

The aim of Little's work was to survey the 'social interactions and reactions resulting from the presence of coloured people in Britain', and to plead for more 'scientific attention' to be awarded to racial relations with urban environments.¹²⁸ Generally, he succeeded in these aims through providing the first exploration of non-white British communities that moved beyond established racial stereotypes, focusing instead on the structural causes of racism and social segregation. In some cases, this also applied to interracial relationships in the dockland, as he recognized the role of Cardiff City Police in promoting racial stereotypes and a 'rationalization of what seems to the average white man an almost outrageous phenomenon.'¹²⁹ However, notwithstanding attempts to empathize with Butetown's communities, Little's work primarily retained racialized conceptions when dealing with the topics of sex and prostitution. Much like Sharpe's account, notions of blame were fluid, shifting between ideas of prostitutes targeting seafarers and Maltese men exploiting prostitutes. Little noted how the 'café girls' of Bute Street were 'invariably white' with some specializing in 'coloured' men, and utilized the

¹²⁷ Kenneth Little, *The Coloured Folk of Cardiff – A Challenge to Reconstruction*, *New Statesman and Nation*, 19 December 1942, 406; Little, *Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – I (An Aspect of Race Relations in English Society)*, *Sociological Review*, 34:1- 2 (1942), 12-33; Little, 'Loudoun Square: A Community Survey – II (An Aspect of Race Relations in English Society)', *Sociological Review*, 34:3-4 (1942), 119-146; Little, 'Race Relations in English Society: Preliminary Report on a Community Survey', *Man*, Vol. 42 (1942), 90-91; Little, 'The Psychological Background of White-Coloured Contacts in Britain', *Sociological Review*, 35:1-2 (1943), 12-28; Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Turner & Co., 1947). Following the publication of *Negroes in Britain*, Little established a British approach to sociology/social anthropology during his tenure at the University of Edinburgh (often referred to as the 'Edinburgh School'). Demonstrating *Negroes in Britain*'s international reach, a review of the work of Sydney Collins (Little's student) by the prominent American cultural anthropologist Ruth Landes claimed that Little's work had 'pioneer[ed] anthropological descriptions of negroes in Britain'. Landes, 'Review: *Coloured Minorities in Britain* by Sydney Collins', *American Anthropologist*, 61:1 (1959), 173-174. For those influenced by Little, see Sydney Collins, 'The Social Position of White and "Half-Caste" Women in Coloured Groupings in Britain', *American Sociological Review*, 16: 6 (1951), 796-802; Collins, 'The British-Born Coloured', *Sociological Review*, 3:1 (1955), 77-92; Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain: Studies in British Race Relations based on African, West Indian, and Asiatic Immigrants* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957). The latter text also focused on Butetown's 'negro' and 'moslem' communities, as well as others across Britain. Also see St Clair Drake, 'The "Colour Problem" in Britain: A Study in Social Definitions', *Sociological Review*, 17: 5 (1955), 197-217; Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*.

¹²⁸ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, xi-xiii.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 115, n. 1.

tropes of ‘a spirit of adventure’ associated with amateur to explain how ‘fresh’ girls entered café prostitution. To a degree, he also followed Chief Constable Wilson’s ideas through his emphasis on the notion of the innately exploitative Maltese ‘pimp’ in describing how girls were ‘broken’ into café prostitution.¹³⁰

Little’s work thus reveals how notions of racial-sexual difference continued to be unstable, characterized not by binaries but by shifting notions of deviance and responsibility. Like Wilson’s fears over non-heteronormative sexual behaviours in Butetown cafés, Little argued that households operating under “‘polyandrous” lines’ were symbolic of ‘irregularities’ arising from how ‘social and sexual contacts between white and coloured persons’ that differed from those of ‘English society’. Little suggested that such ‘arrangements’ frequently involved prostitution, offering the following depiction of the polyandrous household:

In addition to either a legal or socially recognized husband, such a woman may have one or even two other temporary ‘husbands’, whom she accommodates in their house on return from sea. In some cases, she is virtually a professional ‘freelance’. In a few cases the husband connives at the practice; in others, where it is less frequent, he may be unaware of what is going on. In any case, the woman concerned is in receipt as a rule of at least two and sometimes even more separate allotments, which in a general sense may be regarded as ‘retaining fees’. The business, though precarious, can be a very profitable one while it lasts.¹³¹

Little’s description of polyandry calls to mind Walkowitz’s observations on ‘sailor’s wives’, in that the transience of seafaring meant that some women developed semi-permanent relationships with sailors, using prostitution to supplement income when their partners were at sea.¹³² However, the language used by Little equally demonstrates the pervasiveness of stereotypes around sex and race, for he contrasted polyandry and prostitution against the norms

¹³⁰ Ibid., 49-50, n. 4.

¹³¹ Ibid., 137.

¹³² Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999), 197. Also see Valerie Burton, ‘Boundaries and Identities in the Nineteenth-Century English Port: Sailortown Narratives and Urban Space’, in Simon Gunn and Robert Morris (eds), *Identities in Spaces: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 140.

of ‘English society’. Little expressed this distinction in terms of place, describing Butetown as a “‘red light’ quarter’ characterized by its plentiful women (prostitutes) and cafés/quasi-public houses (brothels). In ‘Differing from other great ports of the kingdom’, he argued that such ‘indoor diversions’ existed in place of ‘football and cricket pitches, bowling greens or swimming baths’, those respectable (and discernibly ‘British’/‘English’) public leisure activities present in other districts.¹³³ Notwithstanding Little’s more sympathetic stance towards Butetown than his predecessors, his discussion of sexuality was contrasted against notions of ‘English’ cultural norms. In essence, Little drew from a similar racial-sexual framework as Chief Constable Wilson, who set racial difference against a notions of ‘British’ monogamy and heteronormativity.

Set against the ‘sensibilities’ of ‘Britishness’ or ‘Englishness’, racialized sexuality thus continued to signify cultural hybridity, subversion, and inversion.¹³⁴ Although the intensity of debate over Butetown had weakened, imperialistic notions of racial difference were pervasive and persistent. In 1942, for instance, Justice Charles of the Glamorgan Assizes complained of ‘a lamentable state of affairs’ in Butetown, characterized by ‘the utter immorality of these white women with black men, a state so shocking that [...] it is a discredit to a great city’.¹³⁵ Miscegenation also continued to be linked to Maltese cafés. Echoing the Chief Constable’s views from the late-1920s, a 1941 Mass Observation survey of Cardiff noted how the Maltese café-brothel opened only late at night, and how any women to be found there were ‘ostensibly provisions’ (i.e. for sale).¹³⁶ Similarly, a 1941 report on ‘seamen’s welfare’ in Cardiff recorded how

The shops in [Bute Street] are for the most part in a dilapidated condition. [...] Interspersed between the empty shops are a number of mean looking cafés of extremely doubtful reputation. [...] This impression would be

¹³³ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, 42.

¹³⁴ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 52.

¹³⁵ *Western Mail*, 18 December 1942.

¹³⁶ Mass Observation Archive (MO) SxMOA1/2/66/3/6, Cardiff, 1941.

strengthened by the uninspiring appearance of the side streets and the large number of coloured people and half caste children to be seen.¹³⁷

For this author, the presence of ‘coloured’ and ‘half caste’ people was a signifier of café prostitution, and is revealing of how racialized prostitution was central in shaping wider perceptions of Butetown and its ‘racial problem’.

1944 also saw the emergence of links between race and prostitution in other parts of the city, as anxieties were driven by the presence of black GIs.¹³⁸ While Butetown brothels continued to feature in hearings at the petty sessions, attention shifted eastwards towards the Tremorfa area, where a brothel had been set up to capitalize on a US army base at nearby St Mellons.¹³⁹ Concerns also moved north to the streets around Maindy Barracks, when, in September 1945, the *Western Mail* reported on the ‘Burma Road scandal’, with ‘Burma’ not referring to an actual street but being an acronym for the sensational ‘be undressed and ready my angel’. The ‘road’ in question was a lane behind the barracks which had reportedly become the site of unsavoury ‘conduct’ between ‘women tramps’ and ‘coloured soldiers’.¹⁴⁰ The siting of ‘coloured troops’ at Maindy was, in the eyes of the *Western Mail*, an allure to prostitutes. ‘The Docks’, claimed the paper,

the one area where they would be made welcome [...] is out of bounds. [...] Little wonder then that the soldiers are ready to talk to anyone who will show them a little friendliness. That’s where the harpies come in. Here we would like to say that we are in no way defending them. On the contrary, we are as anxious to see this sort of thing stamped out as any other respectable citizen.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ MO SxMOA1/2/75/4/A/10, Seamen’s Welfare in the Ports of Cardiff and Barry (Seamen’s Welfare Officer), April 1941.

¹³⁸ For an overview of connections between GIs and prostitution, see David Reynolds, *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942-1945* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 201-8; Sonya Rose, ‘Girls and GIs: Race, Sex, and Diplomacy in Second World War’, *International History Review*, 19:1 (1997), 146-160; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 9.

¹³⁹ GA PSCBO/4/163-165, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1944-1945; GA CL/QSCBO/31/37 Cardiff Quarter Sessions Recorder’s Notebook, 1943-1944. Evidence provided by police officers, who recalled streams of American soldiers entering and leaving the Willows Avenue property ‘at all times of day’.

¹⁴⁰ *Western Mail*, 14 September 1945.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Aside from demonstrating how wartime conditions forged new links regarding race and prostitution with areas surrounding military barracks, the *Western Mail*'s report on the 'Burma Road scandal' also included an important point. In referring to Butetown as 'the one area where [black GIs] would be made welcome', the newspaper singled out the dockland as the only place acceptable for black men to be present. Much like concerns over the visibility of black men in 'respectable' districts during the latter stage of the First World War, debate in the press over race and prostitution at Maindy Barracks emphasized the spatial boundaries of race and empire. In essence, the *Western Mail* called for a containment of black GIs in the discernibly 'coloured' place of Butetown. To understand these spatial implications, we will turn, following a discussion of policing and regulation more generally, to discuss materiality and the regulation of space. Subsequent chapters will reveal how racial anxieties went beyond discourse and sensational coverage in newspapers like the *Western Mail*, and became a shaping force in both the policing of prostitution, and wider efforts at reshaping and regulating urban space.

Conclusion

The Second World War marked the demise of overtly racialized concerns over prostitution in Butetown. In 1957, Kenneth Little's protégé, Sydney Collins, remarked how the increased employment opportunities of the war had lessened Butetown's 'state of isolation', and had reduced outsiders' concerns over the area.¹⁴² Cardiff's renown as a multiracial 'problem' port further diminished during the post-war years as the city did not attract the high rates of colonial migration characteristic of inland and industrial cities in Northern England and the Midlands.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Collins, *Coloured Minorities in Britain*, 121.

¹⁴³ See Roberta Bivins, *Contagious Communities: Medicine, Migration, and the NHS in Post War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 134; Kieran Connell, 'Race, Prostitution and the New Left: The Post-war Inner City Through Janet Mendelsohn's "Social Eye"', *History Workshop Journal* (forthcoming, 2016); Max Farrar, 'The Zone of the Other: Imposing and Resisting Alien Identities in Chapeltown, Leeds, during the Twentieth Century', in Gunn and Morris (eds), *Identities in Spaces*, 117-133; Chris Waters, "'Dark Strangers" in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 36:2 (1997), 207-238; Marcus Collins, 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40:3 (2001), 391-418.

Instead, Cardiff's press and senior police officers were in agreement that Butetown's 'vice story' had become 'out-of-date', and their attentions returned to focusing on street prostitution in the city centre amidst clearance and regeneration plans.¹⁴⁴ Yet, despite a gradual diminution in concerns over Butetown since the 1930s, links between race and prostitution had endured into the middle of the century. What accounted for the pervasiveness of the racialization of prostitution in Cardiff?

Moments of crisis fuelled the expression of racial fears in early-twentieth century Cardiff. Anxieties emerged over connections between 'white girls' and Chinese men and the employment of white women in seamen's boarding houses in response to concerns over national efficiency and degeneracy following the Boer War, and subsequent fears over white slavery in advance of the 1912 CLAA. Likewise, concerns over interracial sexual relations intensified in response to demographic and social shifts during the latter stages of the First World War. In this sense, we might see the formation of connections over race and sexual behaviour being triggered by broader events that challenged Britain's imperial standing. Yet to purely draw attention to hegemonic ruptures is to overlook the broader epistemological framework from which connections between race and prostitution were drawn, and how notions of racial difference were (re)produced within particular contexts. The formation of links between prostitution and race were symbolic of the cultural genealogies of colonialism, through which sexual behaviours had become a marker of imperial identity and racial difference. As a result, fears over black and Maltese masculinities were as much about reasserting a sense of British imperial masculinity as they were about denigrating the supposed sexual tendencies of 'others'. While drawing on this wider and established framework of racial-sexual difference, it is important to note that a particular form of knowledge was created

¹⁴⁴ *Western Mail*, 22 July 1955. See Chapter 7 for the impact of slum clearance and zoning on the regulation of prostitution.

through debates over the ‘problem’ port of Cardiff.¹⁴⁵ Cardiff’s ‘racial problem’ was a central element of discourse over the perceived need to regulate port spaces to counter the threat that miscegenation allegedly posed to racial health. Thus, if metropolitan concerns over race and prostitution became more explicit in the post-war years, then these were rooted in a broader trajectory of formations of racial difference and sexual knowledge. Debates over interwar Cardiff were central to how this was produced.

Additionally, the racialization of prostitution in Cardiff did not happen in isolation. Through wider perceptions of Cardiff being a ‘problem’ port that had abounded since the Edwardian years, the city drew the interest and attention of the Home Office, national newspapers, social investigators, the social hygiene movement, and sociologists. The focus on prostitution as a source of a growing ‘half-caste’ population framed dockland commercial sex as a threat to racial health. These accounts featured fluid and unstable notions of blame and responsibility, which shifted between images of the hypersexual black male, the exploitative Maltese pimp, the promiscuous ‘amateur’, predatory prostitutes who exploited black intellectual inferiority, and ‘feeble-minded’ prostitutes exploited by black men. This contradictory discourse was produced through a convergence of a range of fears over racial health and degeneracy. It is also revealing of the unfixed and discontinuous nature of constructions of racial ‘difference’, and the intersectionality of categories of class, race, and gender in shaping these formations. However, it is important to note that the racialization of prostitution went beyond discourse. As we will see in the next chapter, it became the dominant aspect of how prostitution was policed in the interwar period, marking a significant contrast to the prior and subsequent approaches of the city’s force.

¹⁴⁵ For similar arguments with regards to the production of scientific knowledge, see David Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

5. Policing Prostitution

In October 1908 Chief Constable McKenzie wrote to Cardiff's Lord Mayor to provide an overview of police action on prostitution in the city. McKenzie claimed that a significant increase in arrest rates was indicative of 'the steady and persistent efforts put forth by the police to grapple with this evil'.¹ In the interwar years, a different picture was offered by a different chief constable. Amidst steadily declining arrest rates, James Wilson assured Cardiff's Watch Committee that his force was making the utmost effort to tackle dockland prostitution. Yet these efforts were not characterized by using laws pertaining to prostitution-related offences – i.e. the 1824 Vagrancy Act and the 1847 Town and Police Clauses act – but through efforts at racial regulation.² What accounts for this distinct shift in police action between the Edwardian and interwar years? And, given the differing strategies of the interwar period to the Edwardian years, what configuration of laws were used to police prostitution?

Regulation and legal intervention have been dominant themes in the historiography on prostitution. Studies of nineteenth-century prostitution are characterized by a focus on the impact of feminist politics on legislation, and the 'medico-moral' aspects of Victorian regulation.³ The literature on twentieth-century prostitution has maintained this emphasis on

¹ National Archives (TNA) HO 45/10354/129817/3, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1908.

² Women's Library (WL) 3AMS/B/08/02, James Wilson, 'Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929; and Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929.

³ Judith Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field": Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Feminist Studies*, 1:3/4, (1973), 73-106; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999). Also see Catherine Lee, 'Prostitution and Victorian Society Revisited: the Contagious Diseases Acts in Kent', *Women's History Review*, 21:2 (2012), 301-316; Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886: Deviance, Surveillance and Morality* (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering & Chatto, 2013); Mary Spongberg, *Feminising Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth Century Medical Discourse* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997); Pamela Cox, 'Compulsion, Voluntarism, and Venereal Disease: Governing Sexual Health in England after the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:1 (2007), 91-115. For the intersections between medical and moral regulation, see Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830, Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2000). For more general remarks on the study of the regulation of prostitution, see Philippa Levine, 'Rough Usage:

law and regulation, yet with greater attention on urban policing. Stefan Slater has suggested that the Metropolitan Police enforced a policy of containment, in which arrests were concentrated on known prostitutes in the West End, while a more tolerant and discretionary approach was used in other areas.⁴ Through looking at legal developments in greater detail, Julia Laite's work has countered this argument, revealing how policing in London was characterized not by containment within particular areas, but by the increasing criminalization of the 'common prostitute'.⁵ On this basis, Laite also suggests that 'the entire system of street-prostitution control in England and Wales rested' on this criminalization.⁶ However, despite being the source of most arrests in England and Wales, it is important to recognize that patterns of regulation in London cannot be read as symbolic for other urban centres.⁷ As the Metropolitan Police force was answerable to the Home Office, instead of local Watch Committees like other English and Welsh forces, the London context was, unsurprisingly, more prevalent within legal discourse than developments in other cities and regions.⁸ Work on

Prostitution, Law and the Social Historian', in Adrian Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and its Interpretation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 266-292.

⁴ Stefan Slater, 'Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959', *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357. Also see Slater, 'Lady Astor and the Ladies of the Night: The Home Office, the Metropolitan Police and the Politics of the Street Offences Committee, 1927-28', *Law and History Review*, 30:2 (2012), 533-573; Slater, 'Street Disorder in the Metropolis, 1905-39', *Law, Crime and History*, 1 (2012), 59-91.

⁵ Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)', *Women's History Review*, 17:2 (2008), 207-223; Laite, 'Taking Nellie Johnson's Fingerprints: Prostitutes and Legal Identity in Early Twentieth-Century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 65:1 (2008), 96-116.

⁶ See Laite, 'Taking Nellie Johnson's Fingerprints'.

⁷ Despite some acknowledgement of municipal 'idiosyncrasies', Laite has offered the somewhat totalizing view that, based on arrest statistics, twentieth-century London was 'the symbolic and actual epicentre of prostitution in the nation'. Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 18. Some contrasts in policing are covered in Louise Settle's study of Glasgow and Edinburgh, albeit within the Scottish legal context: *Sex for Sale in Scotland: Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016). For a discussion of how an emphasis on metropolitan trends risks obscuring different patterns of regulation in other cities and regions, see Louise Jackson, *Women Police: Gender, Welfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 174; Carolyn Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London, Boston, MA, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1994), 9; Robert Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880', *Journal of Social History*, 9:4 (1976), 481-509. Also see arguments in John Welshman, "Eugenics and Public Health in Britain, 1900-40: Scenes from Provincial Life," *Urban History*, 24:1 (1997), 56-75.

⁸ For general surveys of the police forces of England and Wales, see Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (Harlow: Longman, 1987); Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (London and

London thus raises questions over whether an increasing criminalization of the ‘common prostitute’ was a general aspect of the policing of prostitution across England and Wales, and the extent to which policing outside London responded to the metropolitan context of policing and legal discourse.

This chapter opens with a discussion of the legal framework that underpinned police activities towards prostitution.⁹ The most prominent law for regulating prostitution was the 1824 Vagrancy Act, seen by Laite as ‘the single most important piece of the legal canon [...] directed against prostitution.’¹⁰ However, ‘solicitation laws’ such as the Vagrancy Act need to be seen as part of a wider configuration of statutes that covered the regulation of prostitution. This included laws related to third parties, but also legislation that was not specifically linked to prostitution, such as the Aliens Acts, temporary wartime measures, and local byelaws. Following a consideration of the legal framework, the chapter examines the micro-level activities of the constable’s beat. Evidence of beat policing reveals how a constable’s knowledge of particular districts was central to securing convictions, particularly in the case of brothel-keeping. Reflecting Storch’s notion of the ‘domestic missionary’, in addition to more targeted activities relating to brothels, beat constables used discretionary tactics that reflected a broader desire to regulate social behaviours as opposed to simply applying the law with regards to prostitution.¹¹ Yet this is not to say that the criminalization of prostitutes was not an aspect of policing in Edwardian Cardiff. Buttressed by the legal pathologization of the ‘common prostitute’ via the Vagrancy Act, the harassment of individual street prostitutes

New York: Longman, [1991] 1996). For the South Wales context, see David Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century: The South Wales Experience* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996).

⁹ For the development of prostitution-related legislation in England and Wales, see Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), Chapter 2.

¹⁰ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 6.

¹¹ See Storch, ‘The Policeman as Domestic Missionary’.

reflected both broader cultures of police chauvinism and how legal categories enabled police forces to target particular women.¹²

However, the interwar years marked a distinct departure from broader regulatory trends. While a decline in the arrest rate mirrored wider statistics for England and Wales, this was not driven by police apathy, as has been argued for Liverpool and Scotland.¹³ Rather, prostitution continued to be a concern for Cardiff City Police, yet it was regulated via more diffuse means, including the use of probation and the Police Court Mission.¹⁴ More significantly, however, efforts at racial regulation in the dockland became the proxy means to police prostitution. This reflected the racial discourses and biopolitical concerns that we explored in the previous chapter, as attempts to regulate the numbers of colonial seafarers in Cardiff was also a tool to reduce the prevalence of dockland prostitution and miscegenation. Thus, in addition to temporal and geographical variances with regards to the legal framework, the policing of prostitution cannot be fully traced through a consideration of criminal statistics and criminalization. Rather, we must consider the diffuse nature of how prostitution was regulated, and how it was bound to temporal concerns. This evidence is revealing of wider attempts to steer conduct in towns and cities, and is symbolic of how the geography of law is structured not simply through centralized directives but through contextual interpretations.¹⁵

¹² For chauvinism in police culture, see Francis Dodsworth, 'Men on a Mission: Masculinity, Violence, and the Self-Presentation of Policemen in England, c. 1870-1914', in David Barrie and Susan Broomhall (eds), *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700-2010* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 123-140; Mark Clapson and Clive Emsley, 'Street, Beat, and Respectability: The Culture and Self-image of the Late Victorian and Edwardian Urban Policeman', in Louis Knofla (ed.), *Policing and War in Europe* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood, 2002), 123; Emsley, *The English Police*, esp. 206-223

¹³ Mike Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat: Policing Liverpool between the Wars* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 124; Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*.

¹⁴ Cardiff Local Studies Library (CLS) CAR, Cardiff Police Court and Rescue Mission Annual Reports, 1936-41.

¹⁵ Also see Miles Ogborn, 'Local Power and State Regulation in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 17:2 (1992), 217.

The legal framework

Before examining police action towards prostitution in Cardiff, it is necessary to briefly outline the legal context for England and Wales.¹⁶ Until 1959 the law most commonly used to arrest street prostitutes was the 1824 Vagrancy Act, under which a ‘common prostitute’ could be arrested for ‘behaving in a riotous or indecent Manner’.¹⁷ The implementation of the 1824 Act rested on the interpretation of the arresting constable and required no supporting evidence from a third party. If deemed ‘idle and disorderly’, the ‘common prostitute’ faced a penalty of a fine or up to a month in prison. As work on London has shown, the recording of certain women as ‘common prostitutes’ provided constables with a constant reference to their character’ and ‘proof’ of their ‘unrespectable’ behaviour and their crime.¹⁸ The 1824 Vagrancy Act thus pathologized women who sold sex, making it possible, as Self notes, to ‘distinguish a group of women as separate and identifiable legal subjects’.¹⁹ The 1847 Town and Police Clauses Act (TPCA) also enabled constables to arrest prostitutes if they were found to be ‘loitering and importuning’ (i.e. soliciting) passers-by, empowering magistrates to impose a fine of up to £2 or a short term of imprisonment.²⁰ However, as can be seen in Figure 5.1, far fewer arrests were recorded under the TPCA, given that successful prosecution rested on the acquisition of evidence from an offended third party. As arrests could be made purely on the basis of a constable identifying a repeat offender, the legal category of ‘common prostitute’ thus played a prominent role in the policing of women criminalized through this legal category.

The regulation of brothels was provided through the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA). Walkowitz has seen this Act to mark a turning point in attitudes towards

¹⁶ For a detailed discussion of the development of the legal context, see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, esp. Chapter 2. Also see discussion in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

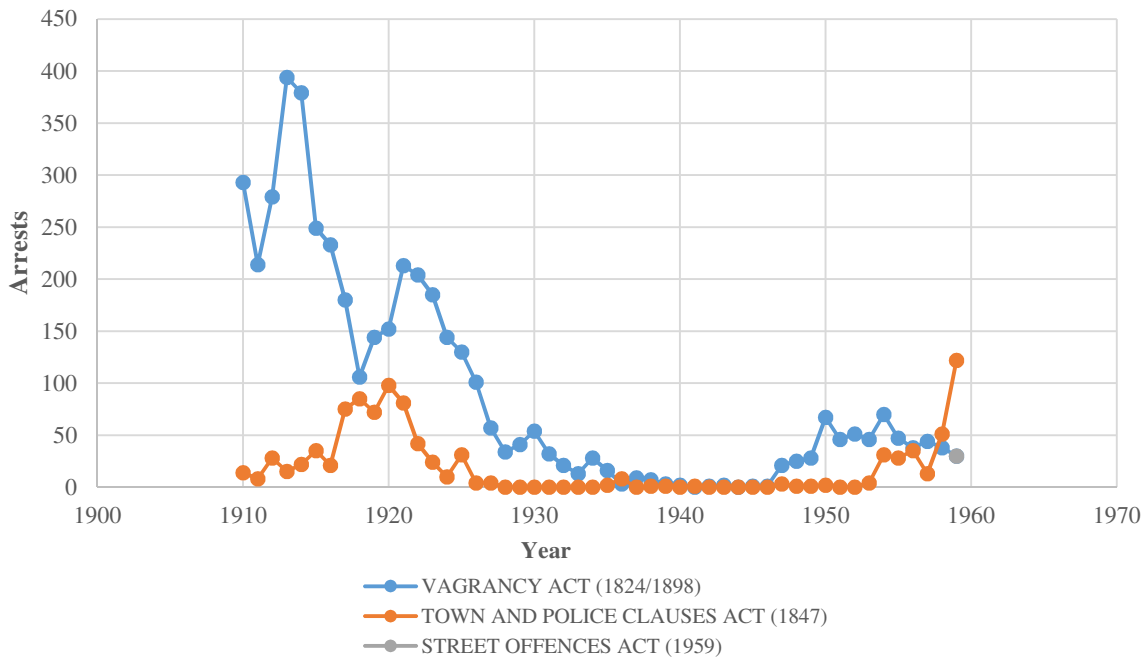
¹⁷ 1824 Vagrancy Act, s 3.

¹⁸ Also see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 121; Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints’.

¹⁹ Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 38.

²⁰ 1847 Town and Police Clauses Act, s 28. While provincial areas were covered by the TPCA, London was covered by the 1839 Metropolitan Police Act. For the use of this law, see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

Fig. 5.1: Arrests of women for street prostitution offences in Cardiff by statute, 1910-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-59

prostitution, influencing a social purity-driven repression of lodging-house brothels across Britain.²¹ The first part of the Act provided a lengthy array of clauses pertaining to the protection of women and girls, most notably raising the age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen. It also provided the means to prosecute persons for the procurement of women younger than twenty-one years old – provided they were not a ‘common prostitute, or of known immoral character’ – and ‘indecent’ acts between consenting males. Part II of the CLAA enabled summary proceedings to be taken against anyone keeping, managing, or assisting in the management of a brothel; any tenant or occupier of a premises found permitting it to be used for ‘habitual prostitution’; and any landlord allowing their property to be used as a ‘brothel’.²² While brothel keeping was criminalized by the 1885 CLAA, the means to prosecute other third-party organizers – ‘pimps’ – was provided by the 1898 Vagrancy Law Amendment

²¹ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 211. Also see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, [1992] 1994), Chapters 3 and 4.

²² 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, s 2 (13) (1-3).

Act (VLAA). Covering any man who ‘knowingly lives [...] on the earnings of prostitution’ or ‘importunes’ for an ‘immoral purpose’ in a public place, this Act essentially brought the male ‘pimp’ into the definition of ‘rogue and vagabond’ as stipulated in the 1824 Vagrancy Act.²³ Despite some attempt at reform in the 1920s, this combination of laws remained the basis through which prostitution was regulated until after the Second World War.²⁴

Further means for proceeding against third parties were established in 1912 through another Criminal Law Amendment Act, ratified amidst renewed public interest in white slavery and fears over the procurement of young girls by ‘foreign’ men.²⁵ The 1912 Act also replaced a clause in the 1898 VLAA regarding pimps with ‘no visible means of subsistence’, with men ‘proved to have exercised control, direction, or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner’ with the effect of ‘compelling her prostitution’.²⁶ The 1912 CLAA thus represented a double standard, providing protection for women and children from sexual abuse and trafficking while the ‘common prostitute’ continued to be criminalized through the Vagrancy Act.²⁷ In its focus on the role of ‘foreign’ pimps it also exhibited a xenophobic slant characteristic of a wider range of ‘aliens’ laws ratified in the early-twentieth century, that were later used to regulate prostitution and miscegenation in Cardiff.²⁸ Enacted following anxiety

²³ 1898 Vagrancy Law Amendment Act, s 1 (a-b).

²⁴ Amidst growing concern from vigilance and abolitionist groups such as the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH) over the misappropriation of the law by constables (in terms of assuming a woman’s guilt through being identified as a ‘common prostitute’), the Street Offences Committee (SOC) was established in 1928 under the chairmanship of Hugh Macmillan, KC. However, the SOC made no impact on legislation, with neither Stanley Baldwin’s Conservative Government nor Ramsay MacDonald’s subsequent Labour administration paying the report much attention. This apathetic stance was mirrored in both general attitudes of police officers towards prostitution in this period, and in a falling arrest rates for street offences. The Street Offences Committee had also been preceded by a failed attempt to repeal all references to ‘common prostitutes’ during 1925-6 in the form of the Public Places (Order) Bill, led by Lady Nancy Astor. See Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 4-9; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 7; Stefan Slater, ‘Lady Astor and the Ladies of the Night: The Home Office, the Metropolitan Police and the Politics of the Street Offences Committee, 1927-28’, *Law and History Review*, 30:2 (2012), 533-573.

²⁵ For an overview of debates around the 1912 CLAA, see Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001), 297-304; Ian Christopher Fletcher, ‘Opposition by Journalism? The Socialist and Suffragist Press and the Passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912’, *Parliamentary History*, 25:1 (2006), 88-114; and Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, Chapter 2.

²⁶ 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act, s 7 (1); Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 50.

²⁷ Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 49-50.

²⁸ For discussions of legislature covering the control of ‘aliens’, see Jill Pellew, ‘The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905’, *Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), 369-385; Helena Wray, ‘The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration

over predominantly Jewish migration from Russia and Eastern Europe, the 1905 Aliens Act enabled magistrates to recommend that an ‘immigrant or alien’ be deported on the basis that they could be deemed a ‘rogue and vagabond within the meaning’ of the 1824 Vagrancy Act.²⁹ Likewise, the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, linked to the 1919 Aliens Restriction Amendment Act, was equally used in relation to prostitution as Cardiff’s police sought to regulate the numbers of black and Maltese seafarers in the port.³⁰ As we will see later in this chapter, attempts at controlling the numbers of ‘foreign’ seafarers in the port became a proxy tactic for regulating prostitution, suggesting that the port context and Cardiff’s particular notoriety for racial ‘problems’ allowed for a broader configuration of laws to be used to target commercial sex.

In addition to geographical variance in use of the law, prostitution was also subject to temporal forms of legislation. The regulation of prostitutes in Cardiff was enhanced in the early stages of the First World War, when a curfew was issued under the Regulation 13A of the 1914 Defence of the Realm Act (DoRA) that prohibited ‘women of a certain character’ to be outdoors between the hours of 19:00 and 08:00 in Cardiff, unless they were in possession of ‘a permit from a competent military authority’.³¹ Under this curfew, Cardiff’s military police arrested five women, and each were given a sixty-day sentence – harsher than the regular 20s fine or fourteen-day prison term that magistrates handed out to prostitutes.³² During the closing months of the war, DoRA Regulation 40D also made it an offence for any woman with venereal disease to invite or enter into sexual contact with military personnel, which led cases under this

Dilemma’, *Journal of Law and Society*, 33:2 (2006), 302-323; David Cesarani, ‘Anti-Alienism in England after the First World War’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 6:1 (1987), 5-29; Cesarani, ‘An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 11:3 (1992), 24-52; Laura Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), 54-98.

²⁹ 1905 Aliens Act, s 4 (1), s 7 (1).

³⁰ See Simon Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958.

³¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 8 December 1914.

³² Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 54.

charge to be overseen by the military rather than the police.³³ Similar tactics were used during the Second World War: in November 1942 Defence Regulation 33B was issued, requiring venereologists to forward information on the sexual partners of VD patients to the medical officer of health, with any suspect named twice to be served a notice that they required examination and treatment.³⁴

The regulation of prostitution was thus facilitated through a number of intersecting, and sometimes temporal, pieces of legislation. These covered not simply prostitution but general behaviours in urban spaces, immigration, and wartime sexual behaviours. Municipal acts, being a legacy of Victorian municipal independence and self-confidence, also provided supplementary means for regulating prostitution.³⁵ In Cardiff, these included the 'Bye-Laws for the Good Rule & Government of the City of Cardiff'. Via section 23 of the 1882 Municipal Corporations Act, this byelaw provided assistance in arresting and convicting women for solicitation under the 1847 TPCA and the 1824 Vagrancy Act, as well as men who had 'aided and abetted' their behaviour.³⁶ Cardiff also had some special powers to regulate 'disorderly houses' through the 1862 Cardiff Borough Act, the 1871 Cardiff Improvement Act, and the 1894 Cardiff Corporation Act. In the case of the 1862 Act, any space used for 'Public Dancing, Music or other public entertainment of the like Kind' without first obtaining a license from the Corporation could lead the building in question to be deemed a 'disorderly house'.³⁷ The 1871

³³ Levine, 'Rough Usage', 274.

³⁴ Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 55-6.

³⁵ See Chris A. Williams, 'Rotten Boroughs: The Crisis of Urban Policing and the Decline of Municipal Independence 1914-64', in J. Moore and J. B. Smith (eds), *Corruption in Urban Politics and Society: Britain 1780-1950* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 156-6. For municipal bye-laws and prostitution in Liverpool, see Kerry Chamberlain, 'Hardened offenders', 'respectable prostitutes' and 'good-time girls': *The Regulation, Representation and Experience of Prostitution in Interwar Liverpool* (Unpublished PhD thesis: Keele University, 2013), 101.

³⁶ Women's Library (WL) 3AMS/B/04/08, correspondence from Chief Constable J. A. Wilson to Alison Neilans, Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, 8 November 1926. For the context in which these byelaws were enacted, see Neil Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914', *International Review of Social History*, 27: 3 (1982), 290-323.

³⁷ Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/7/7, 1862 Cardiff Borough Act; included as part of papers compiled on the regulation of refreshment houses run by aliens, ca.1927-1933.

Act declared that anyone allowing ‘disorderly persons’ or those of ‘notoriously bad character’ to congregate at a refreshment house be liable to a fine, and supervision by a police constable following a conviction.³⁸ This Act supplemented the 1885 CLAA through allowing fines of up to £100 or a prison term of up to twelve months to be issued to those convicted of brothel keeping, and awarded Cardiff’s force with powers to raise special warrants to enter and search suspected brothels.³⁹ Meanwhile, the 1894 Corporation Act enabled magistrates to annul a tenancy or lease following a brothel-related conviction, as the owner of a property, following a conviction of their tenant, could be called upon to pay a bond of £50 as a promise that the house would not subsequently be used as a ‘brothel’.⁴⁰ These local byelaws were just one aspect of a broad legal framework that reflected a wider set of concerns than prostitution alone, and was characterized by temporal and geographic variance, and wider attempts to steer conduct in urban centres.⁴¹

Criminal statistics

While criminal statistics have been covered in Chapter 1, it is worth detailing some additional aspects regarding arrest data to consider how evidence from Cardiff points towards plurality and temporality in the application of the law. In Figures 5.2 and 5.3 we see how high arrest rates of women street prostitution in the Edwardian years mirrored broader criminal statistics for England and Wales. While following broader trends, peaks in the arrest and conviction rates during 1905-09 were a result of significant public censure from Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist newspapers and pressure groups.⁴² A sharp decline in the arrest rate during the interwar years

³⁸ See Chapters 2 and 3 for a discussion of connections between ‘common prostitutes’ and public houses.

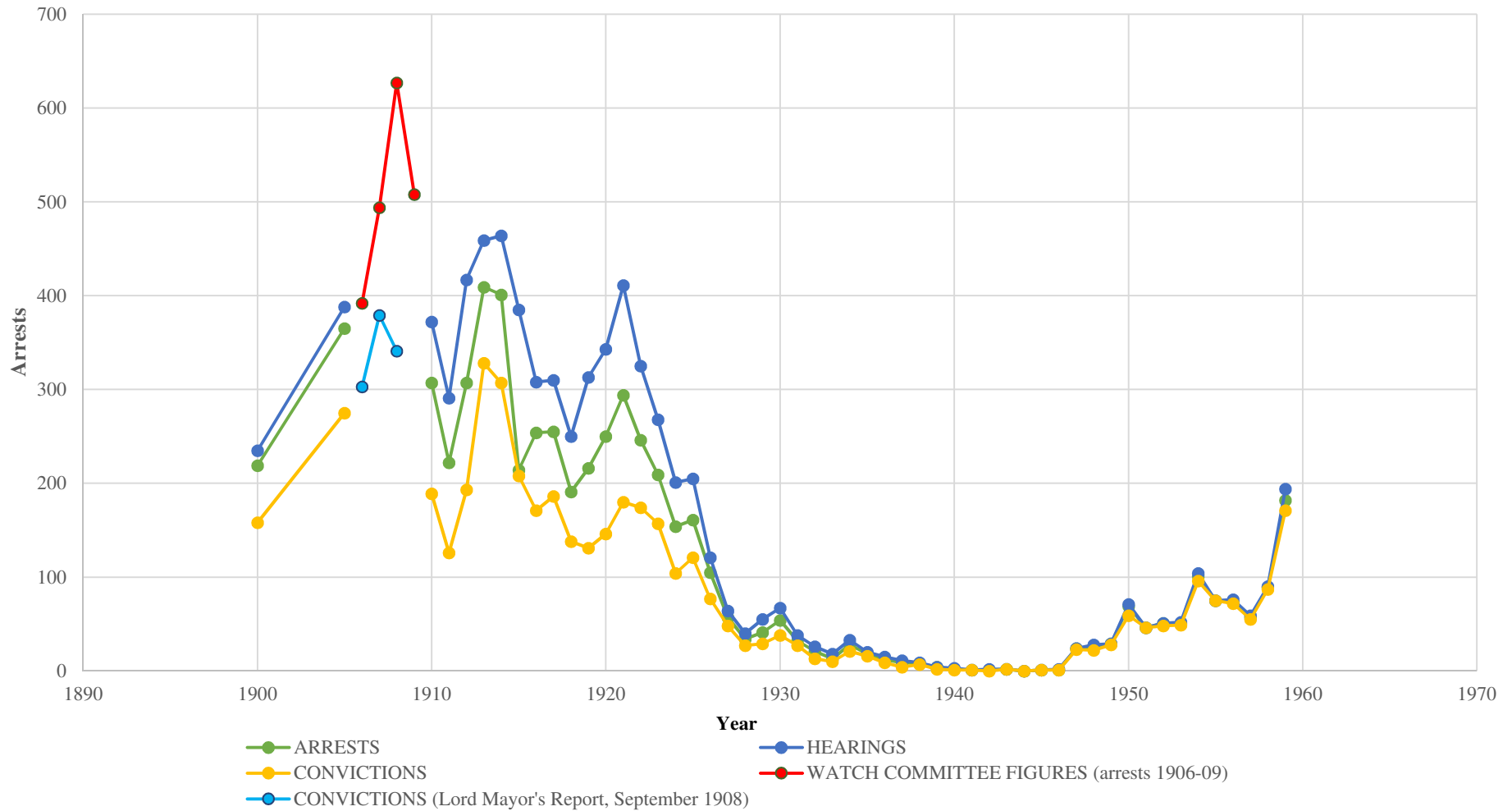
³⁹ This contrasted against the provisions of the 1885 CLAA, which stipulated that a first offence would warrant a maximum penalty of £20 or three months for first-time offenders, and £40 or four months for repeat offences. 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, s 2 (13).

⁴⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 October 1908.

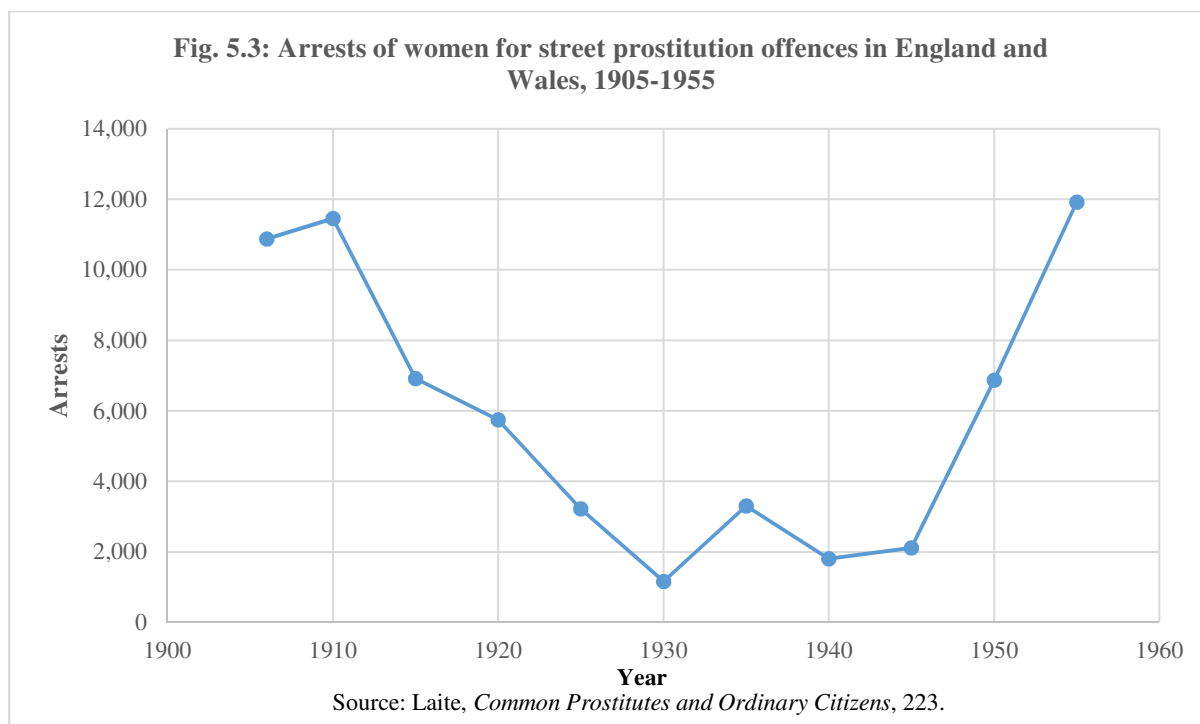
⁴¹ Also see Ogborn, ‘Local Power and State Regulation in Nineteenth Century Britain’; Margo Huxley, ‘Geographies of Governmentality’, in Jeremy Crampton and Stuart Elden (eds), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 187.

⁴² See Chapter 6.

Fig. 5.2: Arrests of women for street prostitution offences in Cardiff, 1900-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, GA PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-59; GA DCONC/1/1/2, Reports of the Chief Constable to the Watch Committee, 1906-09; TNA HO/45/10354/129817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, October 1908.



can also be interpreted as following national trends. Work on London, Liverpool, and Scotland has suggested that many interwar constables found policing prostitution to be an ‘obnoxious’ part of their duties and ‘something to be tolerated’, which influenced a diminution in arrests.⁴³ Yet this is not wholly reflective of attitudes toward prostitution in Cardiff. Prostitution continued to be an open concern for Cardiff’s police force, but through the lens of the dockland’s ‘racial problem’. Instead of apathy leading to a decline in arrests, the city’s police force had diverted its attentions away from street prostitutes in commercial thoroughfares, and onto Butetown’s cafés.

Despite a strategic focus on the dockland, Cardiff City Police also continued to regulate street prostitutes via more diffuse means. In a report for the Watch Committee in 1923, Chief Constable Wilson argued that a 50 percent reduction in crime among ‘girls’ was attributable to the work of Cardiff Police Court’s Rescue Mission and its probation workers.⁴⁴ This mission

⁴³ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 132-4; Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, 124; Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*.

⁴⁴ *South Wales News*, 29 March 1924. For an overview of the development of probation work, see Raymond Gard, *Rehabilitation and Probation in England and Wales, 1876-1962* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

housed and worked with young women, often first-time offenders, who had been referred to them by magistrates.⁴⁵ While little detail on the mission has survived, probation committee minutes offer a small glimpse into its work. In some instances, probation officers conducted preventative work with both young women whom they feared would turn to prostitution, and ‘common prostitutes’ with a previous record of offences.⁴⁶ Reports from the late-1930s reveal that the mission’s work was also not limited to prostitutes and involved work with ‘mental defectives’, young pregnant women, cases of ‘domestic troubles’, and visits to the law courts and the poor law union.⁴⁷ As such, the work of the police court mission can be seen as both a continuation of the charitable reform work that had characterized the late-Victorian and Edwardian years, and interwar concerns over racial degeneracy which linked ‘feeble-minded’ young women with prostitution and an increase in the ‘half-caste’ population.⁴⁸ The mission also provided a more pragmatic means of dealing with street prostitution, as Cardiff’s officers had experienced difficulties in obtaining evidence against importuning. As Wilson admitted in 1935, ‘The law on the subject is weak and the Police are unable to provide Courts with the evidence they require before they will convict prostitutes for importuning.’⁴⁹ As such, the city’s force was still concerned with the regulation of street prostitutes in the interwar years, but acted via more diffuse and informal means. This was a less a form of ‘penal-welfare’, as has been argued for Scotland, and represented a more strategic approach to focusing policing on other aspects of commercial sex.⁵⁰ As we will explore later, the use of more diffuse methods allowed Wilson’s officers to devote greater time to regulating Butetown cafés, and aided the chief

⁴⁵ *Western Mail*, 2 September 1909; *South Wales News*, 29 March 1924; Cardiff Local Studies (CLS) CAR, Cardiff Police Court and Rescue Mission Annual Report, 1936.

⁴⁶ See GA PSCBO/60/1, Minutes of the Probation Committee, 20 March 1922; GA PSCBO/60/1, Minutes of the Probation Committee, 19 December 1927.

⁴⁷ CLS CAR, Cardiff Police Court and Rescue Mission Annual Reports, 1936-41.

⁴⁸ For reform work see Chapter 6 and Bartley, *Prostitution*. Feeble-mindedness and racial degeneration in the interwar years is discussed in Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century*, 33.

⁵⁰ For arguments with regards to the development of progressive ‘penal-welfare’ methods involving a combination of probation and voluntary work, see Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*, Chapter 4.

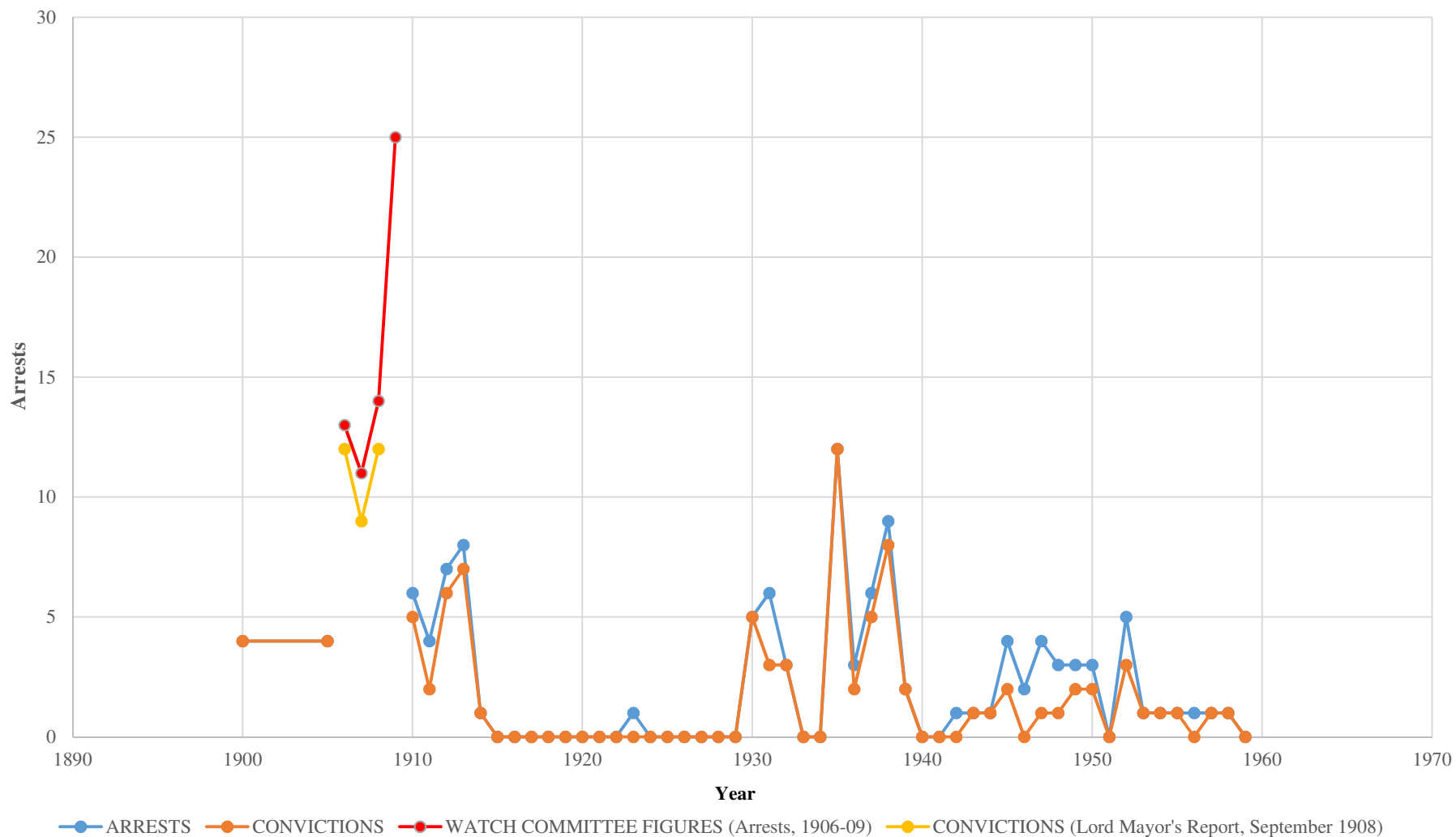
constable's attempts to quell calls for the introduction of female officers to assist in policing prostitutes.⁵¹

If police priorities had shifted away from the 'common prostitute', then what do criminal statistics reveal about those involved in the organization of prostitution? Figure 5.4, which details the arrests and convictions of men for living on the earnings of prostitution, reveals different patterns than data on the arrests of street prostitutes. While the spike in cases between 1905 and 1909 mirrors increased arrests of 'common prostitutes' in response to public censure (see Chapter 6), other peaks in rates relating to 'pimps' were influenced by different factors. For example, an increase in arrests around 1912 was informed by debates surrounding the 1912 CLAA, while a slight increase around 1930 represented growing concerns in Cardiff over the role of Maltese men in organizing dockland prostitution. In Figure 5.5 we can observe how these trends were also evident in data relating to the crimes of brothel keeping, meaning that racial discourse was the dominant influence in shaping police action on third-party organization in this cosmopolitan port. As with the arrest rate for street prostitution, data covering the arrests of third parties reflects how police action on commercial sex was temporal, linked to periods of public censure and wider concerns such as the focus on race regulation in interwar ports.⁵² However, while arrest statistics correspond with broader contextual factors, such as heightened racial fears, success in securing convictions against third-parties was also reliant on the micro-level activities and knowledge of the beat constable.

⁵¹ See GA DCONC/1/1/7, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 23 March 1927; GA DCONC/1/1/8, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 11 May 1931; GA DCONC/1/1/11, Chief Constable's Reports to the Watch Committee, 8 January 1944 and 10 May 1944.

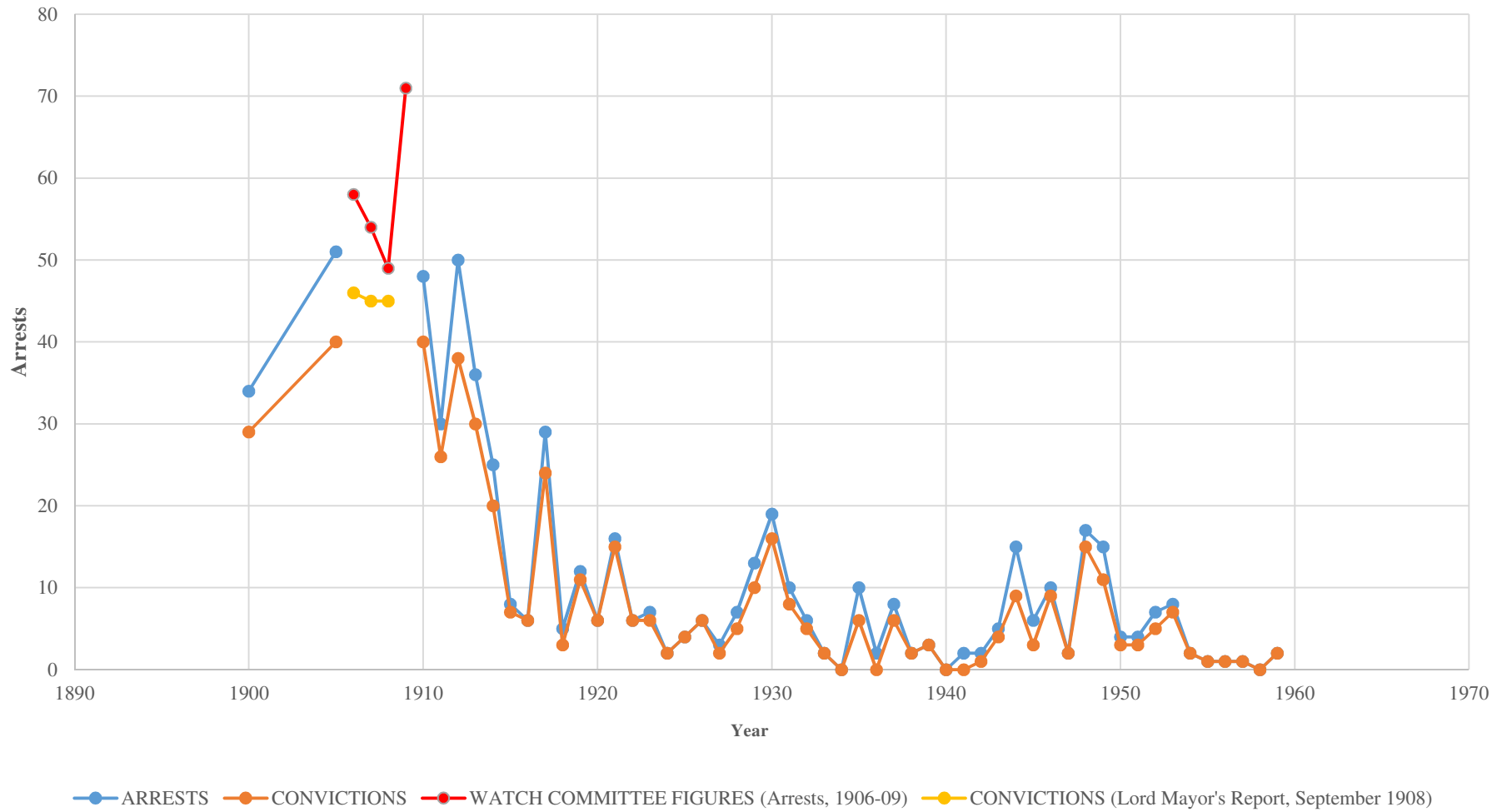
⁵² For censure, social purity, and policing, also see Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 211.

Fig. 5.4: Arrests of men for living on the earnings of prostitution in Cardiff, 1900-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, GA PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-59; GA DCONC/1/1/2, Reports of the Chief Constable to the Watch Committee, 1906-09; TNA HO/45/10354/129817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, October 1908.

Fig. 5.5: Arrests of persons keeping or assisting in the management of a brothel in Cardiff, 1900-1959



Source: GA PSCBO/4/1-200, GA PSCBO/2/8-9, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-59; GA DCONC/1/1/2, Reports of the Chief Constable to the Watch Committee, 1906-09; TNA HO/45/10354/129817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, October 1908.

Beat constables

The policing of prostitution was part of the routine and often mundane work of the beat, which constituted around 40 percent of the average constable's activities.⁵³ While routine, the police beat, with its daily rhythms wound into urban life, played an important role in creating knowledge of districts and the crimes they were associated with.⁵⁴ Daily and nightly beats provided the foundation of urban policing, and represented wider efforts to regulate city spaces and social problems associated with urbanization.⁵⁵ The everyday practices of the beat constable in Cardiff mainly focused on the A Division and its problem places in the central slum and dockland, and thus intertwined with the moral geographies we explored in Chapter 2.⁵⁶ As part of the quotidian methods of the beat, constables sometimes used less coercive tactics than simply applying the law. Following concerns in the local press about 'rampant' prostitution in Grangetown's Saltmead neighbourhood in 1903, William Isaac of Clare Road Congregational Chapel noted how the

police [...] took stringent measures to stamp out the evil. They stationed themselves at street corners and stopped the cabs, sending the man back and the woman to her home. They followed people who kept bad houses from street to street, and gave them no rest [...] though they were greatly handicapped by the difficulty in obtaining evidence to secure a conviction.⁵⁷

Through the constable's knowledge of urban environments, the individuals that sold sex, and the methods they used, those working the beat sometimes played a more discretionary role in regulating prostitution. Through diverting potential clients away from prostitutes, constables' work went beyond simply applying the law and involved more flexible and indirect methods

⁵³ See Emsley, *The English Police*, Chapter 10.

⁵⁴ For the everyday and the formation of knowledge of urban space, see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 110-111. Also see Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004).

⁵⁵ See Shane Ewen, 'Managing Police Constables and Firefighters: Uniformed Public Services in English Cities, c.1870-1930', *International Review of Social History*, 51 (2006), 41-67.

⁵⁶ For additional thoughts on place and the beat, see Slater, 'Containment', 335. For press coverage and perceptions of the prostitute, see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁵⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 17 July 1903.

of maintaining social order.⁵⁸ These diversionary tactics call to mind Storch's notion of the constable as 'domestic missionary', with a broader mission to 'act as an all-purpose lever of urban discipline' on top of repressing crime.⁵⁹

Alongside providing more general surveillance, beat practices were also fundamental in obtaining sufficient evidence to pursue cases against brothel keeping.⁶⁰ Making the case against brothel keeping was difficult as it often required surveillance on a suspected property in order to gather enough evidence to conduct a search and make proceedings.⁶¹ In September 1900, for example, a warrant to enter and search Elizabeth Harding's property was only granted after PC Welsher had made a number of observations of 'the prisoner at the door admitting persons of both sexes and letting them out again'.⁶² Likewise that same month, after having observed men and women enter Ann Bracciafuri's property on Bute Street (by day a greengrocer's shop) between 10:00pm and 11:30pm PCs Chedzey, Dix, and Reed entered the property under the power of a warrant, which led to her arrest and conviction.⁶³ While beat knowledge played a role in securing arrests, Cardiff City Police also strategically targeted specific sites through the use of plain-clothes officers.⁶⁴ As Chief Constable McKenzie confirmed to the Lord Mayor in September 1908, plain-clothes constables were 'employed regularly in the watching of suspected brothels and also in detecting cases of solicitation' for they had greater ease in obtaining evidence.⁶⁵ In October 1912, for example, after having been observed 'accosting' four men, Margaret Burke/McLaren then solicited PC Allmond, who was patrolling the Kingsway in plain clothes.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Also see Slater, 'Containment', 337, 341; Ewen, 'Managing Police Constables and Firefighters', 42.

⁵⁹ Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary', 481.

⁶⁰ Also see Ewen, 'Managing Police Constables and Firefighters', 54.

⁶¹ For more general remarks on the importance of locality in the police constable's work, see Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary', and Emsley, *The English Police*, Chapter 10.

⁶² *Western Mail*, 10 September 1900.

⁶³ *Western Mail*, 2 October 1900. Also see a range of other articles in GA DCONC/5/12-34, Newscuttings, January 1900-July 1909.

⁶⁴ See *South Wales Daily News*, 26 August 1909.

⁶⁵ TNA HO 45/10354/129817/3, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1908.

⁶⁶ *Western Mail*, 10 October 1912.

While the charge of ‘loitering and importuning’ under the 1847 TPCA required evidence from a third party, the 1824 Vagrancy Act only required a constable to identify a woman as a ‘common prostitute’, and to perceive her as behaving in either a ‘riotous’ or ‘indecent’ manner. As such, beat constables were easily able to target repeat offenders for arrest.⁶⁷ This made it straightforward for the city’s force to inflate the arrest rate in periods of heightened public censure, particularly in the late-Edwardian years.⁶⁸ In May 1909, for instance, despite working ‘arm-in-arm’ with four other women at St Mary Street, Beatrice Jenkins/St Clair was singled out by a police constable for arrest as she had had a previous record.⁶⁹ Similarly, in July 1913 Martha Evans was arrested on Penarth Road under the Vagrancy Act, yet she argued that she was only drinking on a grass verge, and the police had simply singled her out as a ‘common prostitute’.⁷⁰ Annie Daniels, arrested for being a ‘common prostitute’ and drunk at Bute Street in 1913, likewise complained that constables persistently targeted her, regardless of what she was doing.⁷¹

While prostitutes experienced violence from a number of sources – from pimps, clients, and other prostitutes – police constables also presented a threat of physical abuse.⁷² For example, Kate Davies appeared before magistrates in July 1906 with a black eye and swollen

⁶⁷ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 77-8; Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*, Chapter 2.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the role of censure in driving regulation.

⁶⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 13 May 1909.

⁷⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 3 July 1913.

⁷¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 28 July 1913. Similar complaints were also made by Mary Ann Smith and Dorothy Evans, also arrested in 1913 at Mary Ann Street and The Hayes, respectively. *South Wales Daily News*, 27 February 1914.

⁷² For clients as a source of danger, see the murder of Carrie Gilmour: GA DCONC/4/1/7, Inquest Book, June 1907-January 1909; *South Wales Daily News*, 29 August 1907; *Western Mail*, 30 August 1907. For pimps as a source of violence, see *South Wales Daily News*, 31 October 1900; *Western Mail*, 31 October 1900; *Western Mail*, 7 March 1905; *South Wales Daily News*, 24 October 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 26 April 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 25 May 1909; *Western Mail*, 30 August 1909; *Western Mail*, 18 July 1900; *Western Mail*, 11 October 1900; *Western Mail*, 13 October 1900; *South Wales Daily News*, 9 November 1900; *South Wales Daily News*, 23 November 1900; *Western Mail*, 7 March 1905; 30 August 1909; *South Wales Daily News*, 26 April 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 24 October 1906; *South Wales Daily News*, 25 May 1909. For violence between prostitutes, see *South Wales Daily News*, 12 April 1905; *South Wales Daily News*, 21 May 1906; and a range of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/12-34, Newscuttings, 1900-09.

jaw, after being arrested for 'being a prostitute' in Bute Street. In the dock she claimed that one

PC J. Jenkins

caught hold of her by the left arm, and used force to get her to the police station, although she was prepared to go quietly. When she got to the cells she showed her [injured] ears to the police matron, and complained that the constables had done it, that her arm was black and blue, and that the swelling on her jaw was caused by Jenkins smacking her in the face.⁷³

Evidence from newspaper reports also reveals that some prostitutes were subjected to public ridicule by police officers, as detailed in a letter to the *SWDN* in September 1908. This reader complained about 'the method of conveying [...] unfortunates to the police station', having witnessed 'a woman hauled through the streets bordering on indecency (resulting through her struggles) and followed by a crowd of young people of both sexes, and being to older people an object of derision, and what is sadder, of fun.'⁷⁴ These reports likely represent a small minority of such cases, particularly if the 'common prostitute' – demonized as grotesque and a blight on the city – was commonly an 'object of derision'.⁷⁵ Thus, much of the quotidian violence or mockery directed towards prostitutes likely went unreported, or was overlooked and seen as unproblematic, especially as other reports commented upon the prostitute as a source of violence towards police constables.⁷⁶

The harassment of individual street prostitutes might be seen as reflecting broader cultures of chauvinism in British police forces. As police historians have shown, forces recruited unskilled working-class young men for the 'rigours' of beat work, and constables often sought to exert an image of being a 'working-class hard man' – particularly to maintain authority in districts where violence was commonplace in their work.⁷⁷ The aggressive stance

⁷³ *South Wales Daily News*, 3 July 1908. For similar examples, see *South Wales Daily News*, 5 December 1907; 14 November 1913. Also see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the tactics of beat constables.

⁷⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 28 September 1908.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ For example: *South Wales Daily News*, 16 May 1906; GA DCONC/5/12-34, Newscuttings, 1900-09.

⁷⁷ See Ewen, 'Managing Police Constables and Firefighters', 46; Dodsworth, 'Men on a Mission'; Clapson and Emsley, 'Street, Beat, and Respectability', 123; Emsley, *The English Police*, esp. 206-223; Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century*, 225; Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, 124-7; Williams, 'Rotten Boroughs', 158-9.

of some constables towards prostitutes was reinforced by law. As we have seen, the ‘common prostitute’, once identified, did not necessarily need to be caught soliciting or in a sexual act with a client, meaning that this legal definition was a process of classification that both stigmatized certain women and extended to a range of behaviours.⁷⁸ A Home Office report recorded how, at the height of public censure in 1908 (see Chapter 6), the ‘vigilance’ of plain-clothes officers was ‘largely directed [...] to 5 or 6 of the most abandoned women in Cardiff’, as opposed to specific incidences of solicitation or sex acts.⁷⁹ The identification of ‘common prostitutes’ during periods of repressive police action was not simply reliant on the beat constable’s knowledge of individuals, but was underscored by more systematic methods. While fingerprinting was used by the Metropolitan Police, Cardiff’s beat constables were assisted in identifying prostitutes through a photographic register of the city’s offenders (see Figure 5.6).⁸⁰ Writing in the *Metropolitan Police College Journal* later in 1936, Chief Constable Wilson noted how the force had developed this ‘system’ in order to record ‘every movement of a known criminal or suspect [...] observed by the police, whether by day or by night’.⁸¹ Containing far fewer offenders than the petty sessions records, these registers provided a photographic record of the city’s most ‘notorious’ criminals for use in identifying and targeting particular individuals.⁸²

This combination of beat knowledge and the more systematic method of the photographic register is suggestive of a panoptic form of scrutiny, in which the knowledge obtained from beat work was both centralized and used to inform the activities of constables.⁸³

⁷⁸ This is evidence by the high frequency of comments regarding obscene language, violent behaviour, damaging property, and drunkenness alongside ‘common prostitutes’ listed in petty sessions registers: For instance, see GA DCONC/4/43-71, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1910-14. Also see Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints’.

⁷⁹ TNA HO 144/903/175845/6, Memo regarding Home Office Visit to Cardiff, 3 March 1909.

⁸⁰ See Laite, ‘Taking Nellie Johnson’s Fingerprints’.

⁸¹ James Wilson, ‘The Cardiff City Police’, *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2: 1 (1936), 36.

⁸² GA DCONC/3/2/1-7, Fingerprint and Photographic Registers, 1904-1933.

⁸³ For a discussion of panoptic, oligoptic, and omnioptic forms of regulatory scrutiny, see Joyce, *the Rule of Freedom*, 109-10; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 181.

Fig. 5.6: Images of women arrested for prostitution-related offences in Cardiff, taken from the police photographic register



Source: GA DCONC/3/2/1-7, Fingerprint and Photographic Registers, 1904-1933

The notebooks of PC Hodge, who covered beats in Butetown, Cathays Park, and the city centre in the 1920s, reveal how the photographic register continued to be used as a tool by beat constables into the interwar years. While Hodge's name appeared frequently in petty sessions registers as the arresting officer of prostitutes, he recorded far fewer prostitution-related offences in his notebooks. This suggests that interwar constables mainly focused on recording more 'notorious' individuals or instances of conflict.⁸⁴ With regards to the routine nature of

⁸⁴ For instance, see an entry on 4 February 1923, in which Hodge recorded being physically assaulted by 'riotous prostitutes' Mary Roberts and Gladys Parry at Canal Parade, Butetown. GA DCONC/UNL/57, PC Hodge's notebook, July 1922-March 1923. For a discussion of the police as a source of violence towards prostitutes, see Chapter 3.

policing prostitution and the use of discretionary methods, Hodge's notebooks show how he often provided streetwalkers with a verbal warning as opposed to arresting them.⁸⁵ Such verbal warnings were likely to have applied to potential arrests under the 1847 TPCA, which required a third party to present evidence to the court in order to acquire a conviction.⁸⁶ Hence, beat constables dealt with prostitutes in a range of informal and unrecorded ways, meaning that criminal statistics only provide a small glimpse of those women who were regulated by the city's force.⁸⁷

While work on interwar policing suggests that there was a general malaise with the routine regulation of prostitution across England and Wales, Hodge's tolerance of street prostitution, much like the declining arrest rate of street prostitutes, was driven by other factors.⁸⁸ Another cause was the redirecting of constables away from beat duties and towards traffic duties – an area of specific concern for the interwar chief constable, James Wilson.⁸⁹ Moreover, however, this apparent decline in concern over prostitution also reflected shifting police priorities with regards to commercial sex. By the late-1920s Wilson had become more concerned with the role of Maltese men in controlling prostitution as opposed to the activities of individual 'common prostitutes'.⁹⁰ PC Hodge's notebooks reveal how Wilson had tasked

⁸⁵ GA DCONC/UNL/57, PC Hodge's notebook, October 1924-July 1925. For instance, see the cases of Rose Evans/Ford, and Lizzie Thomas/Wilkie in Hodge's entries for 10 December 1924.

⁸⁶ Chief Constable Wilson claimed in 1935 that 'The law on the subject is weak and the Police are unable to provide Courts with the evidence they require before they will convict prostitutes for importuning.' In his study of policing in South Wales, David Jones claimed that such cautions represented half of prostitutes dealt with by the city's force, but without sufficient evidence. It is also unclear whether this refers to magistrates' cautions or informal cautions by beat constables. See Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century*, 33.

⁸⁷ The informal aspects of Hodge's methods call to mind Storch's observations on nineteenth-century policing, being both 'domestic missionary' and 'all-purpose lever of urban discipline'. Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary', 481.

⁸⁸ See arguments in Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 132-4; Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, 124.

⁸⁹ Joanna Klein, 'Traffic, Telephones and Police Boxes: The Deterioration of Beat Policing in Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester Between the World Wars', in Gerald Blaney (ed.), *Policing Interwar Europe: Continuity, Change and Crisis, 1918-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), 215-236; GA DCONC/5/68, Newscuttings, June-December 1925; GA DCONC/5/78, Newscuttings, August 1935-November 1936.

⁹⁰ It is likely that the domineering Wilson had a considerable impact on the working culture within Cardiff City Police. As Jones highlighted in his survey of Welsh police forces, Wilson, like Lionel Lindsay, his counterpart in the Glamorgan force, 'believed in the virtues of teaching recruits by example, and no doubt many [...] cultural traits [with regards to 'female inadequacies and inter-race liaisons'] were passed on from older to younger officers. Certainly, there were many female complaints in the first half of the century of "uncivil behaviour", suggestive language and sexual advances by Cardiff's police officers.' See Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth*

beat constables to compile evidence against the Maltese from as early as 1925. Hodge recorded a number of observations on ‘Special Watched Premises’ on Bute Street that were occupied by Maltese men, as well as public interactions between women and Maltese men at night.⁹¹ Additionally, Wilson used evidence collected by his constables and superintendents to build a personally-maintained dossier of individuals (both Maltese men and ‘prostitutes’) linked to cafés suspected as being covert brothels.⁹² Even after anxieties over Maltese cafés subsided in the early-1930s, beat constables continued to provide watch over Maltese-run premises.⁹³ To target dockland cafés, Wilson thus drew on the methods and knowledge of beat constables. Rather than the constable acting purely as domestic missionary, the beat was strategically deployed as means of targeting particular groups and problems. Before considering broader police strategies in more detail, we will first examine another facet of micro-level regulation that prostitutes faced following arrest by a beat constable.

Magistrates

Once arrested, prostitutes and third parties passed through an additional layer of regulatory oversight: the magistrates of the petty sessions courts. If evidence of Edwardian beat policing reveals how constables arrested identifiable ‘common prostitutes’ in line with strategies to respond to public censure, the records of the police court tell a slightly different story. In 1905, when 365 ‘common prostitutes’ were arrested, 107 cases led to either a caution, withdrawal, or the woman in question being remanded or ‘bound over’ on good behaviour for a short period.⁹⁴

Century, 225. For chauvinism in police cultures, also see Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, 124-7; Emsley, *the English Police*, 217-223.

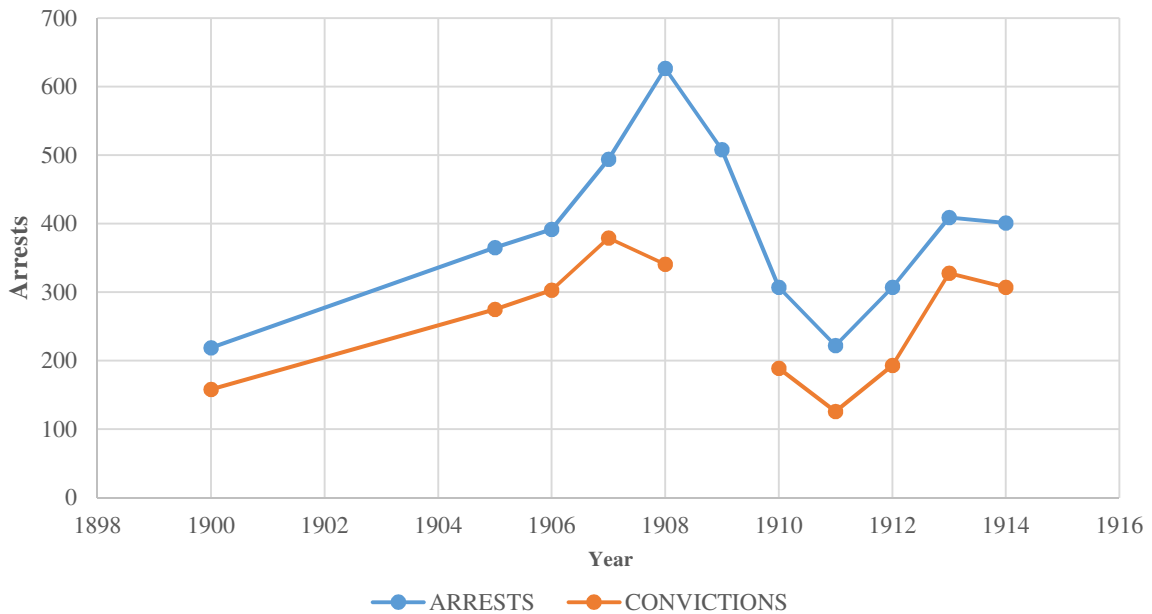
⁹¹ GA DCONC/UNL/57, PC Hodge’s notebook, July 1925-April 1926.

⁹² In 1927 he informed the press that a register of Bute Street café prostitutes was kept by the police to make them more easily identifiable. GA DCONC/7/7, Chief Constable Wilson’s convictions dossier relating to Bute Street cafés; *Western Mail*, 6 October 1927.

⁹³ Between 10:15pm and 10:55pm as part of his Butetown beat on 5 September 1937, PC Hodge conducted an inspection of thirteen Bute Street refreshment houses, which were all found to be ‘correct’ on this occasion. The same thirteen premises were inspected again weekly in October 1937. GA DCONC/UNL/57, PC Hodge’s notebook, August-October 1937.

⁹⁴ GA PSCBO/4/19-23, Cardiff Petty Sessions, Second Court Registers, 1905.

Fig. 5.7: Arrests and convictions of women for street prostitution offences in Cardiff, 1900-1914



Source: GA PSCBO/2/8-9, GA PSCBO/4/19-71, GA DCONC/1/1/2, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-14; TNA HO 45/10354/129817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, October 1908.

Likewise, when the arrest rate soared between 1906 and 1908 due to mounting public censure, the conviction rate remained relatively static (see Figure 5.7), much to the dismay of the press and Nonconformist groups.⁹⁵ This use of cautions and dismissals is evident of magistrates' leniency towards younger women or first-time offenders, and is suggestive of a more paternalistic approach. For instance, sixteen-year-old Catherine Crowley appeared before magistrates in August 1905 for having had 'relations with Militiamen and others' in timber yards, and for 'disorderly conduct' at Queen Street. Crowley expressed preference for being sent to a Salvation Army home and the bench 'adjourned the case for two months, to give the girl a chance to mend her ways.'⁹⁶ Likewise, while eighteen-year-old Catherine O'Connor had 'been given three chances to reform', on the advice of the court missionary in November 1909

⁹⁵ The impact of public censure is discussed in full in Chapter 6.

⁹⁶ *Western Mail*, 28 August 1905; *South Wales Daily News*, 28 August 1905.

magistrates allowed her to enter a convent and dismissed her charges of ‘disorderly’ behaviour at Millicent Street.⁹⁷

The leniency of Edwardian magistrates towards some prostitutes did not find approval from the city’s police. Chief Constable McKenzie looked unfavourably upon magistrates’ approaches to first-time offenders, and stated that although discharged prostitutes claimed that they would enter a rescue home or the workhouse, they frequently returned to ‘their old haunts and old habits’. In response to McKenzie’s criticisms, magistrates took a harsher stance towards repeat offenders, who were emphasized as being a problem for the city’s force.⁹⁸ For these women, legally designated as ‘common prostitutes’ by the 1824 Vagrancy Act, the average punishment was a fine of either 10s or 12s with an alternative of fourteen days’ or one month’s imprisonment.⁹⁹ While overlooking the role of fines in encouraging prostitution (see Chapter 3), some magistrates did acknowledge the futility of imprisonment. In July 1914 Annie Evans appeared before the police court for the ninety-ninth time, which led to the presiding JP to complain that prison did not offer any benefits as Evans simply returned there each time she was released. Nonetheless, this magistrate sentenced her again to fourteen days’ imprisonment.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, when Court Inspector Price remarked in October 1914 that ‘a good

⁹⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 23 November 1909. In an example from August 1909, eighteen-year-old Theresa Alexander was arrested alongside repeat offenders Margaret Jane Copley and Bridget Rawle at Bute Street. While the latter two women received prison sentences, Alexander was bound over on the grounds that she would enter a rescue home to give her a ‘last chance [at] leading a different life.’ Others, like Bridgett Mitchell, arrested for brothel management in November 1914, voluntarily entered the workhouse with her children in order to get her case adjourned for three months. *South Wales Daily News*, 14 August 1909; *South Wales Daily News*, 23 November 1914. Nonetheless, the use of reform homes often failed to curb reoffending. In June 1911, Kate Fury and Dorothy Pyle faced magistrates for organizing a ‘revolt’ at the convent to which they had been sent following prior charges for prostitution-related offences. Sisters at Penylan’s Good Shepherd Convent reported that Fury and Pyle had ‘returned with [...] with several other girls to [their] old life’, and noted that they were using their rooms at the convent to sell sex. In response, magistrates remanded Fury in charge of a lady missionary for one month, while Pyle was returned to the convent, whose Mother Superior was to send her to Canada. See *Western Mail*, 9 June 1911.

⁹⁸ TNA HO 45/10354/129817/3, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1908.

⁹⁹ GA PSCBO/2/8-9, GA PSCBO/4/19-71, GA DCONC/1/1/2, Petty Sessions Registers, 1900-59.

¹⁰⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 10 July 1914.

deal of money has been spent on [Annie Davies] to help her reform, but she won't do it', magistrates instead committed her to fourteen days in prison.¹⁰¹

The actions of magistrates were thus characterized by a combination of individual discretion, periodic attempts to appease criticism, and efforts to maintain co-operation with the political priorities of the chief constable. One tactic used by magistrates to counter public censure in the early-twentieth century was to remove certain repeat offenders from the city, providing they had migrated into Cardiff or had connections elsewhere. In October 1905 magistrate Louis Samuel personally paid the train fare for Emily Popjoy, who had been convicted forty-two times under the Vagrancy Act, to return to Bristol, even calling on the police court missionary to accompany her to the station to make sure she got on the train.¹⁰² Similarly, a case against Beatrice Jenkins/St Clair in May 1909 was dismissed on her promise to go back to her family home in 'the hills' (i.e. the South Wales valleys).¹⁰³ Other women had their train fare paid from the poor box for them to return to places further afield, such as Northern England and the Midlands.¹⁰⁴ A different stance, however, was taken towards Jewish women who fell under the auspices of the 1905 Aliens Act.¹⁰⁵ At a 1909 social purity conference organized by the prominent Cardiff and District Citizens' Union (CDCU), it was claimed that thirty-five 'Jewesses' had been deported using the Aliens Act following convictions for prostitution-related offences. Concerns over links between 'aliens' and prostitution also extended to third parties, as the CDCU had raised criticisms over magistrates discharging two other Jewish women as they 'had the means of bringing 60 other Jewesses to

¹⁰¹ *Western Mail*, 27 October 1914.

¹⁰² *South Wales Daily News*, 13 October 1905.

¹⁰³ *South Wales Daily News*, 13 May 1909.

¹⁰⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 October 1906; *Western Mail*, 4 March 1910. This approach was sometimes unsuccessful, as with the case of Margaret Williams, who was sentenced to two months' imprisonment in September 1923 following being arrested under the Vagrancy Act at Bute Street. The court inspector remarked that 'much had been done for Williams to help her to give up her mode of living. Twice her fare to her home at Aberayron [*sic.*, Cardiganshire] had been paid from the poor-box, but on each occasion she had very quickly returned to the city.' *Western Mail*, 2 October 1923.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of concerns over Jewish prostitutes.

Cardiff, who were on the streets of the city [...] and foreign bullies [...] living on the shame of these poor women.’¹⁰⁶

The use of deportation orders increased after 1910, particularly in relation to cases against male third parties. This increase occurred in tandem with wider fears over ‘foreign’ men and white slavery.¹⁰⁷ As Lucy Bland has argued, the years 1910-12 were clearly marked by ‘renewed public interest in the phenomenon of “white slavery”’, which drew on escalating concerns over immigration into Britain and fears over ‘foreign’ men acting as ‘abductors and pimps’. These debates were marked by powerful and sensationalized narratives that focused on ‘foreign’ men procuring respectable middle-class country girls for the sex trade. These fears received significant coverage in the South Wales press and influenced magistrates’ decisions, as deportation recommendations became more common in cases of ‘pimping’ in 1910 and 1911.¹⁰⁸ Magistrates’ use of deportation orders are reflective of different patterns of punishment based on gender. Through adopting a paternalistic stance towards first-time offenders and younger women and taking a harder line against repeat offending ‘common prostitutes’, magistrates reflected the legal double standard of protecting some women while pathologizing others.¹⁰⁹

The use of deportation orders for ‘foreign’ pimps was symbolic of growing anti-alienism in the early-twentieth century. However, while Self suggests that this focus on ‘foreigners’ predominantly demonized Jewish men, the context of tramp shipping in Cardiff

¹⁰⁶ *Western Mail*, 23 April 1909. In December 1909, for instance, Inspector Bingham applied to magistrates to expel Mary Lorenti, whom had been convicted a few months beforehand for keeping a brothel in Butetown. Her husband had also been convicted of a similar offence and had successfully been deported under the Aliens Act, and the police also considered her ‘a very undesirable alien’. Magistrates granted the request and wrote to the Home Secretary to carry out the order. *Western Mail*, 2 December 1909.

¹⁰⁷ See Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 297-304. Also see Fletcher, ‘Opposition by Journalism?’

¹⁰⁸ For the general context on these fears, see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 50-2. For responses in South Wales, see *Western Mail*, 4 June 1912; *South Wales Daily News*, 27 June 1912; *South Wales Daily News*, 27 June 1912; *Western Mail*, 2 November 1912; *Western Mail*, 11 November 1912; and other articles collected in GA DCONC/5/41-2, Newscuttings, May 1912-May 1913.

¹⁰⁹ Also see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 49-50.

reveals a different pattern.¹¹⁰ Magistrates at Cardiff's petty and quarter sessions focused on particular minority groups that had become prominent in Cardiff due to the port's maritime connections.¹¹¹ For instance, deportation was ordered in August 1910 for one 'foreign bully', the Virginia-born merchant fireman and former US Naval seaman Henry Johnston. After being charged with living on the earnings of Jenny Gilbert in February 1910, Johnston, whose homosexuality was hinted at in the case, wept in court as he was recommended for deportation. Johnston, being 'foreign', a 'pimp', and homosexual led the chief constable to demonize him as 'one of the worst criminals in the city'.¹¹² Deportation was also recommended for Frenchman Vincent Bancellon after he had served three months in prison for living on the earnings of his partner.¹¹³ Others were sent further afield, like Jose Gomez, a Mexican fireman, who was recommended for deportation after serving five months' imprisonment for assaulting and living on the earnings of Minnie Morgan.¹¹⁴

However, not all deportation recommendations were successful, given that many seafarers were British subjects having been born in British territories.¹¹⁵ For instance, Joseph St Clair or Devonish, a West Indian man who worked as a collier near Caerphilly, was also recommended for deportation for living on the earnings of two Cardiff women. St Clair pleaded that he was a British subject and thus could not be deported, yet the police stressed that he 'was born on Portuguese territory' knowing that it would be difficult for him to provide proof of his status to the Home Office.¹¹⁶ Hence, local magistrates used deportation as a means of expelling

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of seafaring and the formation of racial anxieties.

¹¹² *Western Mail*, 10 February 1910.

¹¹³ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 August 1910.

¹¹⁴ *Western Mail*, 28 October 1911. Deportation orders were also sought for foreign brothel keepers. For example, see *Western Mail*, 12 July 1910.

¹¹⁵ In other instances, acquiring deportation orders proved difficult due to the offender having no prior record. For example, in April 1910 court officer Inspector Bingham had also sought an order to deport James Williams, 'a coloured man' to 'Portuguese territory in South America', for living on the earnings of his wife, yet this was declined by the Home Office as it was a first offence. *Western Mail*, 12 April 1910.

¹¹⁶ *Western Mail*, 25 March 1910.

‘foreign’ men, whether they had been born on British territory or not.¹¹⁷ This was less a response to national debates in the approach to the 1912 CLAA, but more a reflection of the growing concerns over the regulation of colonial subjects in this particular port.

The particularities of the port context do not mean that magistrates’ actions in Cardiff were detached from other trends. Fears over the influence of ‘foreign’ pimps increased during 1912 amidst the drafting of a White Slave Traffic Bill aimed at closing gaps in the 1885 CLAA and 1898 VLAA. This led to increased concern in the South Wales press over the presence of exploitative ‘foreign’ pimps in Cardiff.¹¹⁸ For example, an *SWDN* editorial in May 1912 complained of how

At all the great ports in the country the shipment of girls and women who have been captured in the toils of these procurers is carried on under elaborate disguises. And the punishment for those who come within reach of the arm of the law is so light as to be comparatively useless as a preventative. [...] Men so steeped in depravity cannot be driven from our shores by mild terms of imprisonment.¹¹⁹

In response, that month Frenchman Arsene Durand was charged with living on the earnings of prostitution. While Durand received a punishment of £5 or a month’s imprisonment, the court was unable to secure an expulsion order, which outraged the local press.¹²⁰ Another *SWDN* editorial argued that

So long as magistrates fail to use their powers to the fullest limit in such cases there is little hope of checking the white slave trade. It is not altogether the fault of the law [...] that scoundrels flock to this country to live on the earnings of prostitution. If the Aliens Act were faithfully and rigorously administered in all the courts there would soon be a marked diminution of such cases. But an expulsion order seems to be the exception rather than the rule [...].¹²¹

¹¹⁷ For similar examples, see *South Wales Daily News*, 11 March 1910; *Western Mail*, 13 September 1910; *South Wales Daily News*, 10 May 1911.

¹¹⁸ See a number of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/41, Newscuttings, May 1912–October 1912.

¹¹⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 11 May 1912.

¹²⁰ *Western Mail*, 22 May 1912.

¹²¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 22 May 1912.

Hence, for the press, anxieties over the regulation of prostitution was becoming less bound to the figure of the ‘common prostitute’, but one of immigration control in one of Britain’s principal ports. As we will see in greater detail in Chapter 6, this was reflective of a growing statist aspect of policing, with local forces assuming a greater role in regulating numbers of colonial and ‘alien’ seafarers.

The White Slave Traffic Bill received Royal Assent on 13 December 1912, forming a new Criminal Law Amendment Act that affected sections of both its 1885 predecessor and the 1898 VLAA.¹²² Under its auspices, any man guilty of procuration could also be flogged and imprisoned, sentences were lengthened for those guilty of having ‘influence over the movements of a prostitute’, and magistrates could prosecute the landlords of premises being used as brothels.¹²³ Cardiff City Police welcomed the new law, arguing that although little ‘procuring’ occurred in the city, flogging would provide ‘a very powerful deterrent’, and that the Act would make it easier to police brothels and help build a ‘purer city’.¹²⁴ A few high profile cases in Cardiff followed the ratification of the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act, with one involving a couple whose attempt to procure a young girl from Abercynon provided sensational material for the press.¹²⁵ However, despite ongoing protestations from local vigilance groups over the prominence of white slavery, new Chief Constable David Williams repeatedly emphasized that procurement was rare in Cardiff, and that white slavery was almost non-existent.¹²⁶ Hence, whereas Bland and others have observed discourses surrounding the 1912 CLAA as being representative of wider fears over the role of ‘foreign’ men with regards

¹²² See the earlier discussion in this chapter regarding the legal framework.

¹²³ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 December 1912.

¹²⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 16 December 1912.

¹²⁵ See *Western Mail*, 18 February and 2 May 1913.

¹²⁶ See GA DCONC/5/42, Newscuttings, November 1912-May 1913; *South Wales Daily News*, 9 May 1913. Williams’ debasing of the white slavery narrative echoed a prominent report by the feminist and former member of the WSPU and Women’s Freedom League, Teresa Billington-Greig. Her account offered a scathing critique of debates around the 1912 CLAA as a baseless and sensationalized narrative that echoed the furore surrounding the 1885 CLAA: Teresa Billington-Greig, ‘The Truth About White Slavery’, *English Review*, June 1913, 428-446.

to white slavery, this proved a slightly lesser concern in Cardiff.¹²⁷ Instead, the police and magistrates focused on transient seafarers who had come to be involved in third party organization. This emphasis on ‘foreign’ seamen was emblematic of Butetown’s growing notoriety as a ‘problem’ space of miscegenation, and a precursor to an approach which dominated the regulation of prostitution after the First World War.

Regulating prostitution during the First World War

Police concern over prostitution diminished during wartime. In late-1914 and early-1915 the local press gleefully noted that there was ‘very definite evidence to hand that the war’ was ‘producing a chastening effect upon all classes of criminals’, with Chief Constable Williams reporting ‘a gratifying diminution of crime in the city.’¹²⁸ However, this was less a result of a decrease in crime than a consequence of wartime circumstances. The war depleted police forces, and Cardiff’s force had been reduced by 17.75 percent by 1916.¹²⁹ Chief Constable Williams remarked how, due to diminished ranks, his force experienced ‘increasing difficulty in securing sufficient evidence to institute proceedings against persons keeping brothels and men living upon prostitutes’ immoral earnings.’¹³⁰ Coupled with wartime priorities, such as reprimanding German nationals, this led to a more general decline in police action towards street prostitution, as detailed in Figure 5.8.¹³¹ Proceedings against ‘common prostitutes’ fell steadily from 464 in 1914, to 250 in 1918. Meanwhile, arrests for living on the earnings of

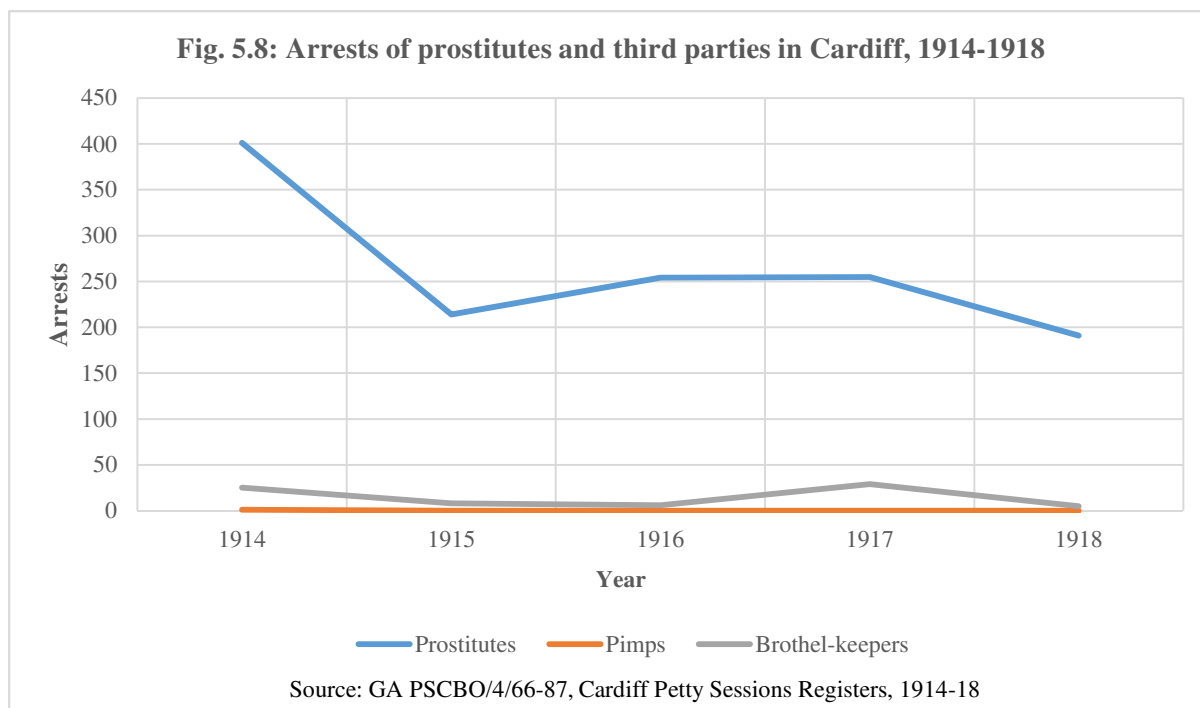
¹²⁷ Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 297-304; Fletcher, ‘Opposition by Journalism?; Rachael Attwood, ‘Lock Up Your Daughters! Male Activists, “Patriotic Domesticity” and the Fight Against Sex Trafficking in England, 1880-1912’, *Gender and History*, 27:3 (2015), 611-627.

¹²⁸ *Western Mail*, 23 September 1914; *South Wales Daily News*, 8 October 1914; *Western Mail*, 15 January 1915. It was also widely believed that many criminals were serving in the army, and that the war had led to greater restrictions on ‘undesirable aliens’. See Emsley, *The English Police*, 123.

¹²⁹ *Western Mail*, 11 March 1916. By the end of the first year of war alone, the size of the combined police forces of England and Wales had reduced by 20 percent. See Emsley, *The English Police*, 121-3.

¹³⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 11 February 1915.

¹³¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 10 February 1916; *Western Mail*, 11 March 1916.



prostitution likewise fell from a peak of eight amidst the debates over the 1912 CLAA, to zero by 1915, while arrests for brothel offences also fell from fifty in 1912 to just five in 1918.

Broader wartime concerns, along with an unprecedented degree of central involvement in local policing, also influenced a reduction in police attention towards prostitution.¹³² Female promiscuity and the ‘amateur’ usurped both the common prostitute and foreign pimp as figures of moral danger. The threat of venereal disease during wartime also led to the introduction of military regulation, which relieved pressures on police forces to regulate prostitutes.¹³³ According to the YMCA’s South Wales divisional secretary, military police in Cardiff had taken on much of the work of regulating prostitution during the war, with support from women police patrols that monitored ‘morality’ around military camps.¹³⁴ Alongside the work of military officers and women patrols, the police targeted ‘well-known women who frequented

¹³² Williams, ‘Rotten Boroughs’, 160.

¹³³ See Philippa Levine, “‘Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should’”: Women Police in World War I’, *Journal of Modern History*, 66:1 (1994), 43-4.

¹³⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 and 3 September 1917; *Western Mail*, 10 September 1914; Emsley, *The English Police*, 127-8. For detailed discussions of women patrols, see Levine, “‘Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should’”; Lucy Bland, ‘In the Name of Protection: The Policing of Women in the First World War’, in Julia Brophy and Carol Smart (eds), *Women-in-Law: Explorations in Law, Family and Sexuality* (London; Boston, MA; Melbourne and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 23-49; Jackson, *Women Police*, Chapter 3.

camps and depots' as opposed to central thoroughfares.¹³⁵ Wartime regulatory measures also assisted with the policing of prostitution, including the aforementioned curfew imposed under the DoRA.¹³⁶ If caught without 'a permit from a competent military authority' then 'women of a certain character' could be charged with both being a 'common prostitute' and for breaking the curfew conditions, which led to imprisonment without the option of a fine.¹³⁷ However, while the involvement of military police in the First World War led to a decrease in arrests in relation to prostitution, Cardiff City Police continued to play an active role. In December 1914, Staff Captain O'Dare of the Severn Defences remarked that 'whilst the order applied to all women of a certain class in certain areas, a selection had been made of particular persons', meaning that military police utilized the local force's knowledge and resources (i.e. the photographic register).¹³⁸ Wartime criminal statistics therefore obscure the informal role that the city's force played in the regulation of prostitution, alongside wartime assistance from military authorities and women patrols. These figures are also symbolic of how policing commercial sex was temporal, in terms of both legislation and shifting patterns of concern – a point that is further evidenced by how prostitution intersected with racial regulation in the 1920s and 1930s.

Chief Constable Wilson, prostitution, and racial regulation

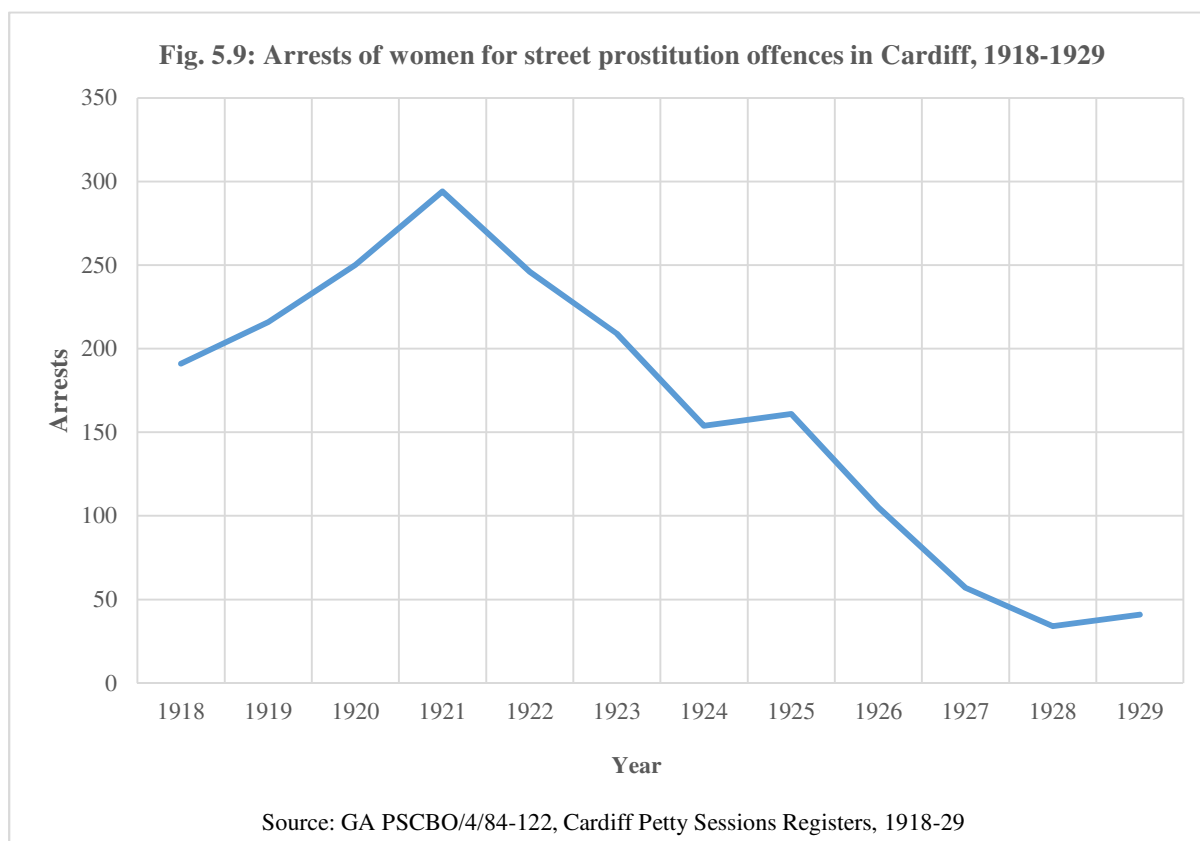
As force numbers increased at the end of the war, so too did the arrest rate of street prostitutes. These statistics, detailed in Figure 5.9, marked the introduction of a new chief constable, whose approach towards prostitution influenced a spike in arrests during the early-1920s. A rise in the

¹³⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 25 November 1914.

¹³⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, 8 December 1914. Similar legislation was also passed in Plymouth, raising criticisms from Sylvia Pankhurst. Pankhurst informed the War Office of her bemusement that these orders intended to regulate vice and alcohol consumption by only applying to women. *Western Mail*, 26 January 1915. For some discussion regarding the use of the curfew in Cardiff, see *Western Mail*, 30 November 1914; *South Wales Daily News*, 30 November 1914; *South Wales Daily News*, 26 December 1914.

¹³⁷ For example, see GA PSCBO/4/71, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, October 1914-January 1915.

¹³⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 26 December 1914.



arrest rate of street prostitutes mirrored James Wilson’s concerns over the visibility of ‘immorality’ in the proximity of commercial streets, and was central to the public image that Wilson tried to construct of himself during the early years of his tenure: conservative, blunt, domineering and effective.¹³⁹ Wilson was successful in his use of both the press and criminal statistics in building a reputation as forceful and efficient leader: in 1924, on occasion of him receiving an OBE, the *South Wales News* confirmed how he ‘enjoys a reputation for efficiency, discipline, and enterprise second to none in the whole country’.¹⁴⁰ His disciplinarian and chauvinistic approach to policing was mirrored in his responses to numerous requests to introduce women police into the city’s force to assist in the regulation of prostitutes. Despite pressure from the Women’s Citizens’ Association, the Women’s Auxiliary Service, the National Council of Women of Great Britain, and Nancy Astor, Wilson consistently forced the

¹³⁹ See, for example, *South Wales News*, 19 January 1922. For biographical detail on Wilson, see Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ *South Wales News*, 3 June 1924.

Watch Committee's hand to reject all such proposals.¹⁴¹ In reports for the Watch Committee, Wilson persistently reiterated a chauvinistic and patriarchal view that women were both physically and intellectually unsuited to police work.¹⁴² Wilson buttressed his argument through citing the declining arrest rate for street prostitution, which he attributed to the successful work of female probation officers and the Police Court Mission, and to claim that the need for women police had been negated.¹⁴³

The decrease in the arrest rate for prostitution offences in the 1920s did not mean that Wilson's stance on prostitution had softened, nor that probation and mission work had replaced the activities of male police officers. Rather, prostitution had become embroiled in wider anxieties over race and miscegenation, with Wilson driving these fears and positioning himself as the main combatant. Nonetheless, a number of general factors had influenced a diminution in police attention towards street prostitution. These included the aforementioned apathy amongst beat constables towards dealing with street prostitutes and an increase in clandestine practice following the heavy policing of central thoroughfares.¹⁴⁴ A decline in the arrest rate for street prostitution in the mid-1920s was also a consequence of a depleted force, as Cardiff's officers were called to police strikes in the South Wales coalfield.¹⁴⁵ Notwithstanding a decline

¹⁴¹ For pressure on the force and Watch Committee to employ female officers, see *South Wales News*, 6 March 1920; *South Wales News*, 29 March 1924; *South Wales News*, 11 December 1924; *South Wales News*, 24 February 1926; *South Wales News*, 10 February 1927; *South Wales News*, 24 March 1927; *Western Mail*, 29 March 1927; *Western Mail*, 20 March 1929; *Western Mail*, 8 November 1930; *Western Mail*, 31 March 1931; *Western Mail*, 14 May 1931; *Western Mail*, 14 November 1935; *Western Mail*, 5 December 1935; *Western Mail*, 7 December 1943; *Western Mail*, 13 January 1944.

¹⁴² See GA DCONC/1/1/7, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 23 March 1927; GA DCONC/1/1/8, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 11 May 1931; GA DCONC/1/1/11, Chief Constable's Reports to the Watch Committee, 8 January 1944 and 10 May 1944. Wilson's viewpoints also demonstrated continuities with the pre-war opposition of male authority and female virtue that framed 'fears of militant invasion' within government and police forces on the question of women police. See Levine, "'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should"'; Jackson, *Women Police*, 171-185.

¹⁴³ *South Wales News*, 29 March 1924; *Western Mail*, 14 November 1935.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the shift from on- to off-street prostitution in this period. For repressive policing and clandestine methods in London and Liverpool, see Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 132-4; Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat*, 124.

¹⁴⁵ In August 1925, for instance, Cardiff officers were deployed to Ammanford to deal with 'strike tensions' following the closure of the town's No. 1 Pit. See GA DCONC/5/68, Newscuttings, June 1925-December 1925. Evidence for South Wales more generally suggests that 'the worst economic years of the 1920s and 1930s' influenced a decrease in the reporting of crime by members of the public. See Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century*, 6.

in the arrest rate, prostitution had not disappeared as a concern for the city's police. As discussed earlier, this period saw the increasing use of the Police Court Rescue Mission and probation workers to regulate prostitutes, which in turn reduced the arrest rate. More significant, however, was the growing racialization of prostitution in Cardiff from the mid-1920s. Instead of street prostitution, Chief Constable Wilson framed commercial sex as an aspect of a 'racial problem', with Maltese men framed as organizing prostitution for a market of black seafarers.¹⁴⁶

Police strategy on prostitution in Cardiff hence took a new form in the 1920s, including the use of different regulatory methods. Chief Constable Wilson assumed his role in the aftermath of the 1919 race riots, which were characterized by concerns over miscegenation. This expression of racial-sexual concern reflected a wider anxiety over Britain's imperial position after the First World War. Amidst industrial dispute in South Wales, the Home Office and local authorities expressed concern over both the potential for further racial conflict and the perceived threat of miscegenation to racial health (see Chapter 4).¹⁴⁷ These fears were buttressed by 'aliens' legislation, which intended to 'exercise complete and absolute control' over the number of immigrants gaining entry to and remaining resident in Britain.¹⁴⁸ While Wilson had the means to control Cardiff's black population through the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, the Maltese were exempt from such restrictions.¹⁴⁹ Wilson's focus on prostitution as an aspect of a 'racial problem' diverted police action away from the street prostitute and towards the regulation of Maltese café owners. Through this focus

¹⁴⁶ See Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?'

¹⁴⁷ TNA HO 45/11897/33, /35, and /38, Reports on 'destitute coloured seamen at Cardiff', 1921; TNA HO 45/11897/60, Immigration Officer's Report on Cardiff, 18 March 1922

¹⁴⁸ See Becky Taylor, 'Immigration, Statecraft and Public Health: The 1920 Aliens Order, Medical Examinations and the Limitations of the State in England', *Social History of Medicine*, 29:3 (2016), 512-533; Cesarani, 'Anti-alienism in England after the First World War'; Cesarani, 'An Alien Concept?'; Tabili, 'The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain'.

¹⁴⁹ For a detailed analysis of the social impact of the 1925 Order, see Tabili, 'The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain'.

on miscegenation, prostitution was less a concern in itself, and was instead used to attempt to obtain greater controls over colonial subjects who had settled in the port.

Wilson's first strategy was to lobby the home secretary, the notorious 'anti-alien' William Joynson-Hicks, to use the 1920 Aliens Order to shut down Maltese cafés. As we saw with regards to the 'special watched' Maltese premises recorded in PC Hodge's notebooks, Wilson instructed his officers to focus on building up evidence against the Maltese, including a register of Butetown's 'café girls' to bolster evidence. Wilson confirmed to the *Western Mail* that he knew 'of every girl in every café in Cardiff' as a result: 'We have a register of them, and whenever any new face comes into any of the refreshment-houses and places of that kind we know of them and make our inquiries immediately.'¹⁵⁰ Whereas these methods were previously used to regulate street prostitutes, Wilson's concerns now rested not with policing those selling sex within dockland cafés, but the keepers of these establishments. Using evidence compiled by his superintendents, Wilson prepared his first report to the Home Office in September 1927. In this report, he requested Joynson-Hicks assist in the closure of cafés and deportation of the Maltese. To support his demands, Wilson included a list of Butetown's cafés, their owners and previous convictions.¹⁵¹

While Joynson-Hicks shared Wilson's views on the Maltese and was 'anxious that all possible means of dealing with the evil of disorder [...] should be adopted', he was unable to meet Wilson's demands. This was partly a result of Wilson's fabricated evidence: as Table 5.1 details, only three Maltese men included in his report had previous convictions for brothel-related offences, with the others only being included on account of them being Maltese. Additionally, the 1920 Order could not be applied to the Maltese given that they were not legally 'alien', and Joynson-Hicks instead encouraged Wilson to use licensing byelaws to

¹⁵⁰ *Western Mail*, 6 October 1927. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of perceptions of the café girl.

¹⁵¹ GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Wilson to the Home Office, September 23, 1927. While the names of each keeper were included in this report, I have anonymized them here as many were included purely on the basis of being Maltese, and a number did not pass through the criminal justice system.

regulate and shut down Maltese cafés.¹⁵² Wilson followed the home secretary's advice in using licensing laws in an attempt to remove Maltese cafés from Bute Street. As detailed in Table 5.2, convictions of Maltese men for the illegal sale of alcohol at cafés increased after 1927.¹⁵³ That the numbers remained relatively low indicates the difficulties in pursuing this particular tactic, given how cafés sold low-alcohol 'near-beer' to negate requiring a license, and those who did sell alcohol without a license often employed men to keep watch to evade inspection.¹⁵⁴ The years following the initial report to the Home Secretary also saw a continuation of public debate instigated by both Wilson and the press over Butetown, leading him to continue his crusade against the Maltese.¹⁵⁵ Wilson produced two reports for Cardiff's Watch Committee in early 1929, which continued to link Maltese cafés with prostitution and emphasized his desires for police forces to obtain greater controls over immigration and miscegenation.¹⁵⁶ Through this focus on race and immigration controls, Wilson attempted to regulate prostitution not by using the Vagrancy Acts nor the Criminal Law Amendment Acts, but by more diffuse means. This included the use of licensing byelaws, lobbying the Home Office, and using the press to draw attention to 'problems' he saw in Butetown.¹⁵⁷ Hence, revealing the temporality of policing commercial sex, prostitution was an embedded feature of racial regulation in the dockland as opposed to an overt concern in itself.

¹⁵² GA DCONC/7/7, Report from the Home Office to Wilson, October 31, 1927. The byelaws in question being the 1871 Cardiff Improvement Act and 1862 Cardiff Borough Act.

¹⁵³ Wilson also rejected license applications for Bute Street refreshment houses if the person was not deemed to be of "good character." See GA PSCBO/59/1, Minutes of Adjourned General Annual Licensing Meeting, 5 March 1926; Licensing Committee Minutes, 28 January 1930; Licensing Committee minutes, 3 February 1930; and GA DCONC/1/1/8, Chief Constable's Annual Report to Cardiff Watch Committee, 7 June 1933; Chief Constable's Annual Report to Cardiff Watch Committee, 11 October 1933.

¹⁵⁴ GA DCONC/7/7, Superintendent Andrew Fraser, Report on Butetown Cafés, September 1927; GA DCONC/7/7 Report from James. Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927; GA DCONC/7/7, Report from PC Lionel Brint to Superintendent [unnamed], 18 October 1930; Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Turner & Co., 1947), 48-9.

¹⁵⁵ GA DCONC/5/72-74, Newscuttings, November 1927-June 1930. Also see Chapter 4, and Jenkins, 'Aliens and Predators'.

¹⁵⁶ WL 3AMS/08/B/02, Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929; and 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 4 of this thesis for a discussion of Wilson's use of the press, and Jenkins, 'Aliens and Predators'.

Table 5.1: Bute Street cafés, keepers and previous convictions, 1927

CAFÉ	KEEPER GENDER & NATIONALITY	PROSTITUTION CONVICTIONS	OTHER CONVICTIONS
1 Bute Lane	West African male	None	Wilful damage; obscene language; keeping a dog without a licence; assaulting the police; common assault.
155 Bute Street	Maltese male	None	Carrying firearms and possession of ammunition without a certificate; wife maintenance arrears (twice).
157 Bute Street (front)	Maltese male	None	None
158 Bute Street	Maltese male	None	None
160 Bute Street	Spanish male	None	None
161 Bute Street	Maltese male	None	Selling beer without a licence (twice).
163 Bute Street	Maltese male	None	Selling beer and spirits without a licence; lodging seamen without a licence (twice)
164 Bute Street	Unspecified, possibly Maltese male	None	Selling beer without a license
166 Bute Street	Maltese male	None	None
172 Bute Street	Maltese male	Keeping a brothel; previous owner also convicted for keeping a brothel.	Selling beer without a licence (twice); using obscene language.
184 Bute Street (rear)	Wife of Malaysian seaman	None	None
213 Bute Street	Indian male	None	None
255a Bute Street	"Arab"	None	None
27 Bute Street	Unspecified (British/Irish) female, husband of a 'seafaring man'	Disorderly prostitute (four times); former occupier also convicted of keeping a brothel	Using obscene language (twice); 'jostling foot passengers'; 'obstructing the footway'; larceny from the person; larceny; robbery with violence.
42 Loudoun Square (rear)	Cardiff-born wife of Maltese male 'who controls the business'	None	Assault; obscene language.
45 Loudoun Square (rear)	Maltese male	None	Obscene language (three times); assualting the police.
47 Loudoun Square	Chilean male	None	None
Argentine Café	Maltese male	None	None

Barcelona Café	Maltese male	None	None
Bergen Café	Unspecified female, wife of Maltese male, also keeper of Stockholm café	None	None
Buenos Ayres [sic.] Café	Indian male	None	None
Café de Paris	West Indian male	None	Obscene language (twice); gaming with dice; frequenting a common gambling house; assault (twice); aggravated assault.
Café Espano [sic.]	British wife of Maltese man	None	None
Café Madrid	Potuguese male	None	Selling beer without a licence.
Café Roma	Maltese male	None	None
Canadian Café	Maltese male	None	Selling spirits and beer without a licence.
Cape Horn Café	Maltese male	Unspecified	Unspecified
Casa Blanca Café	West Indian male	None	Selling beer and spirits without a licence.
Chicago Café	Maltese male (though mainly run by spouse)	None	Lodging seamen without licence (twice); 'street fighting'; using obscene language; refusing to produce a dog licence; 'once under the Motor Car Acts'.
Denmark Café	Maltese male	None	Selling beer without a licence.
Electric Café	West Indian male	None	Frequenting a gaming house; using obscene language (twice); assaulting the police and 'damage to police uniform'.
Loudoun Café (North Loudoun Place)	Maltese male	Unspecified	Unspecified
Monte Carlo Café	Afghan male	None	None
Norway Café	Maltese male	None	Staying open after hours; selling beer without a licence.
Queen's Café	Maltese male	None	None
Shamrock Café	Maltese male	None (former occupiers convicted of keeping a brothel)	None
Stockholm Café (212 Bute Street)	Maltese male	None	Selling beer without a licence; permitting dancing without a licence; 'allowing the chimney to be on fire'.

Stockholm Café (44 Bute Street)	Maltese male	None	None but police remarked owner 'has been engaged in managing several businesses of ill repute [...] he is a very powerful man and exercises a bad influence over the Maltese'.
Sweden Café	Maltese male	None (former occupiers convicted of keeping a brothel)	Selling beer without a licence; unlawful wounding; obscene language.
Valencia Café	Spanish male	None	Keeping a dog without a licence; 'committing a nuisance'; selling beer without a licence; assaulting a civilian; staying open after hours.
Victoria Café	Maltese male	Assisting in the management of a brothel	None
Victoria Café (175 Bute Street)	Maltese male	Keeping a brothel. Keeper's wife also convicted for the management of a brothel. Police believed the keeper to be 'the principal figure' in control of a number of cafés and a 'leading man amongst the Maltese'.	Selling spirits out of hours; keeping a dog without a licence; riding a bicycle without a light; selling whisky without a licence.

Source: GA DCONC/7/7 Report from Chief Constable James Wilson to the Home Office, 23 September 1927

While Maltese men had previously rarely figured in prosecutions for brothel or 'pimping'-related offences, by 1930 hearings at Cardiff Petty Sessions were weighted towards them. Of the thirteen brothels recorded at the petty sessions in 1930, only three were not linked to Maltese men. Likewise, of five men convicted for living on the earnings of prostitution in 1930, four were Maltese (see Table 5.3).¹⁵⁸ Driven by Wilson's rhetoric, the punishments for

¹⁵⁸ GA PSCBO/4/93-125, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1920-1934.

Table 5.2: Maltese resident in Cardiff convicted of unlicensed sale of alcohol, 1925-1930

Year	Name	Address	Punishment
1925	Joseph Camilleri	210 Bute Street	£50 or 3 months
1926	Joseph Camilleri	210 Bute Street	2 months HL
	John Solar	9 Louisa Street	£20 or 2 months
	Joseph Buchaciar	272 Bute Street	£25 or 3 months
	John Vella	214 Bute Street	£25 or 2 months
	Angelo Vella	3 Patrick Street	£25 or 2 months
1927	Michael Debono	161 Bute Street	£25 or 3 months
	Louis Fenech	176 Bute Street	£25 or 2 months
	Rodrigo Fouseca	157 Bute Street	£20 or 2 months
	Frank Teuma	261 Bute Street	£30 or 2 months
	Frank Teuma	261 Bute Street	1 month HL
	Michael Debono	161 Bute Street	3 months HL
	Frank Teuma	261 Bute Street	2 months HL
	Louis Baldashiro	217 Bute Street	£25 or 2 months
	Salvator Cutagar	257 Bute Street	£10 or 2 months
1928	Spero Vella	214 Bute Street	£30 or 3 months
	John Solar	163 Bute Street	£50 or 2 months
	Salvator Cutagar	257 Bute Street	£25 or 2 months
	Michael Buttigieg	210 Bute Street	£25 or 3 months
1929	Frank Gherxi	261 Bute Street	£20 or 3 months
	Michael Deguara	213 Bute Street	£20 or 3 months

Source: GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Chief Constable Wilson to Agent General for Malta, 14 October 1930

Maltese men convicted of prostitution-related crimes were notably harsher than their non-Maltese counterparts. For instance, in December 1930 one Lora Power received a £20 fine or two months' imprisonment for keeping a brothel at Cranbrook Street in the Cathays district, north of Cardiff city centre. In contrast, Edward Camelleri and Andrea Spiteri both received fines of £100 or three months' imprisonment for keeping brothels at Bute Street in May and July 1930, respectively.¹⁵⁹ Magistrates were able to impose a fine of this amount using the 1871 Cardiff Improvement Act, a local byelaw that had not been used in relation to any other cases in the interwar years, nor before. Magistrates thus saw the 1885 CLAA as providing adequate

¹⁵⁹ GA PSCBO/4/123-124 Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1930.

Table 5.3: Maltese resident in Cardiff convicted of brothel keeping, 1925-1930

Year	Name	Address	Punishment
1925	Ernest Pace	49 Bute Street	£25 or 2 months
	Michael Pace		£5 or 1 month
	Charles Grech	26 Bute Street	£20 or 2 months
	Guiseppa Pace		£20 or 2 months
1926	Frank Teuma	261 Bute Street	£20 or 2 months
1929	John Solar	207 Bute Street	£75 or 3 months
	Rosario Borg	168 Bute Street	£25 or 3 months
	Charles Carmelo		£5 or 1 month
	Loretia Celia	44 Bute Street	£25 and costs
1930	Robert Zammit	24 Bute Street	Discharged
	Edward Camilleri	232 Bute Street	£100 or 3 months
	Nazareno Celia		£10 or 2 months
	Guisippi Spiteri	250 Bute Street	£50 or 3 months
	George Grech		£5 or 1 month
	Andrea Spiteri	204 Bute Street	£100 or 3 months
	Antonio Ferrugia		£10 or 2 months
	Nazarino Stevala	173 Bute Street	£20 or 3 months
William Musa	173 Bute Street	Discharged	

Source: GA DCONC/7/7, Report from Chief Constable Wilson to Agent General for Malta, 14 October 1930

punishment for most brothel-keepers, using the byelaw as a means of increasing severity in line with the chief constable's crusade against the Maltese. Likewise, the 1871 byelaw was only used twice in the 1940s: in July 1943 against Maltese John Solar (with a further charge for the unlicensed sale of alcohol), and in April 1946 against Alfred Kajus Eliasson, who had kept a brothel on Newport Road – an area that became more commonly-associated with prostitution during the latter stages of the war due to its proximity to an American military camp.¹⁶⁰ The 1871 Act thus became a tool to increase the severity of punishments for 'foreign' men, and was used in response to temporal concerns.

¹⁶⁰ GA PSCBO/4/162 and 168, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1943 and 1946; GA PSCBO/4/163-165, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1944-1945; GA CL/QSCBO/31/37, Cardiff Quarter Sessions Recorder's Notebook, 1943-1944; *Western Mail*, 14 September 1945. For wartime concerns and the spaces of prostitution, see Chapters 1 and 4 of this thesis.

The policing of the Maltese as a proxy tactic for regulating prostitution marks a significant contrast to evidence for interwar London.¹⁶¹ Rather than being criminalized, Cardiff's prostitutes were marginalized as the city's police framed immigrant men as the source of a 'new' form of prostitution. Evidence from Cardiff also problematizes wider assumptions around falling arrest rates for prostitution in the interwar years. While arrest rates for street prostitution offences fell considerably under Wilson's tenure as chief constable, the regulation of prostitution continued to be a significant priority, meaning that declining arrests were not simply driven by apathy or an increase in clandestine methods by prostitutes. Rather, commercial sex had become embroiled in racial regulation and monitored by more diffuse methods than the Vagrancy Act and other laws specifically pertaining to prostitution.

However, the chief constable experienced limited success in his aim to remove the Maltese from the port via associations with the organization of prostitution. Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government was replaced by Ramsay MacDonald's Labour government in 1929, and Wilson found less support from the new administration than he had when Joynson-Hicks was home secretary.¹⁶² 1930 thus marked the peak in the prosecution of Butetown's Maltese café owners, and, as the decade progressed, the Maltese featured less frequently in the court registers for prostitution-related offences, and received lesser sentences. Yet, as we saw in the previous chapter, this did not signal the demise of racialized narratives of Butetown's prostitution. The corresponding decline in the number of Maltese cafés being targeted by Wilson's force did not represent changing perceptions of dockland prostitution, but rather a diminution of the exaggerated links between Maltese masculinity and pimping. In essence,

¹⁶¹ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*.

¹⁶² If anything, his 1930 report brought some negative repercussions. As I have explored elsewhere, the Maltese National Union of Seamen and Maltese Imperial Government expressed some serious concerns over his actions against the Maltese. See Jenkins, 'Inherent Vice?'; GA DCONC/7/7, Correspondence from Michael Camilleri to Malta Emigration Office, 15 August 1930; Correspondence from Maltese Imperial Government to Agent General for Malta, London, 30 September 1930; Correspondence from Ercole Valenzia to Malta Emigration Office, n. d., ca. September 1930.

Chief Constable Wilson had manufactured a problem that could not be solved – as Cardiff City Police reluctantly came to acknowledge. In 1935, Deputy Chief Constable William Harrison reported to the *Metropolitan Police College Journal* on how their efforts to persecute and drive out the Maltese from the city had ultimately failed:

The natives of the island of Malta, appear to regard Bute Town, Cardiff, as a home from home. Some of them keep very low-class restaurants in the shipping quarter which are not even worthy of the category in which they have been placed. The restaurant keepers employ immoral women as waitresses, and they nefariously commercialize vice. Needless to say, they have been convicted and fined over and over again, and sent to prison. Unfortunately the very special attention they receive from the Police is insufficient to make them pine for the blue sea and sky of their Mediterranean home.¹⁶³

The mid-1930s also saw a shift in the legal status of Maltese immigrants, which made it harder for Wilson to continue to frame the Maltese within a national debate over ‘aliens’. In 1935 the Home Office proposed to extend the special certificate to Maltese British subjects, which would have implicitly redefined their racial identity. The Maltese government intervened, owing to Malta’s dependence on migration and repatriation of wages to relieve unemployment, leading the Home Office to relent on their proposal. This exemption essentially classified Maltese seamen as ‘white’, albeit if they could prove they were Maltese.¹⁶⁴ Wilson and his force therefore had to reluctantly accept that they had failed in their efforts, reducing both the level of vitriol towards Maltese men in police and press reports, and the numbers of Maltese men appearing before magistrates on prostitution-related charges.

The shifting legal status of the Maltese was not the only factor in reducing police action towards this group. Structural shifts in the post-war years helped to diminish police action on Maltese ‘pimps’, as falling trade at the port meant that fewer seamen passed through the port

¹⁶³ William Harrison, ‘The City and Port of Cardiff – Alien and Coloured Races’, *Metropolitan Police College Journal*, 2:2 (1936), 203.

¹⁶⁴ Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain’, 92-3.

and post-war immigration concerns became linked to other urban centres.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the 1950s saw national attention focus on street prostitution in London, where there was an alleged proliferation of ‘vice barons’, ‘foreign’ prostitutes, and ‘rampant’ scenes of both heterosexual and homosexual prostitution.¹⁶⁶ This image was driven by prominent tabloid newspapers such as the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *People*, *Reynolds News*, and the *News of the World*. Moral panic over London’s prostitution influenced the formation of the Wolfenden Committee in 1954, whose 1957 report informed the subsequent 1959 Street Offences Act, which consolidated all prior prostitution-related legislation.¹⁶⁷ It also impacted on the policing of London’s prostitution, informing a clearance of women soliciting on the streets in the early-1960s which in turn stoked fears over the growth of an underground commercial sex industry.¹⁶⁸

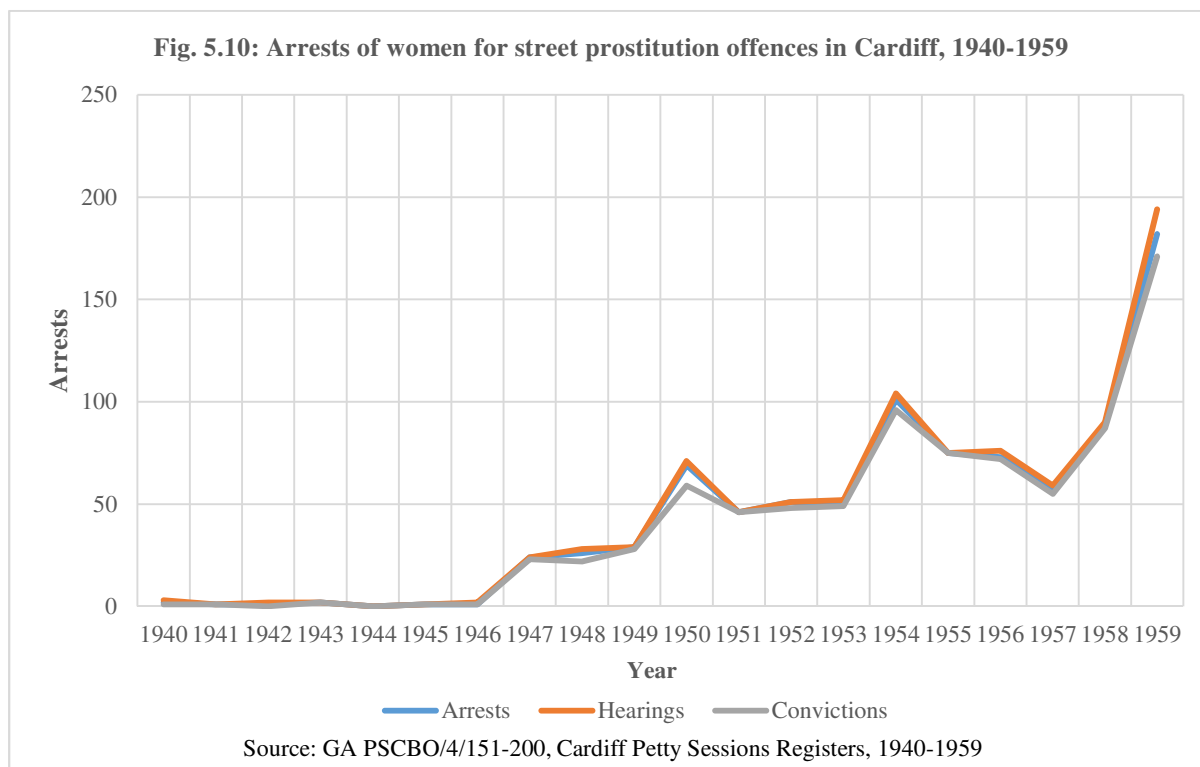
Patterns of policing in Cardiff coincided with metropolitan trends: as Figure 5.10 details, police action returned to street prostitutes, while male prostitution made its first (overt) appearances in the petty sessions having been incorporated into the 1959 SOA. In contrast to disparity between the approach of magistrates and the police in prior decades, the conviction rate had aligned with the arrest rate by the 1950s. This suggests that post-war legal discourse influenced a symbiotic approach towards prostitution within civic contexts. However, it is difficult to fully assess the impact of the Wolfenden Report and the 1959 SOA within the confines of this thesis. The impact of the new legislature and its associated discourse outside

¹⁶⁵ See Chris Waters, “‘Dark Strangers’ in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963”, *Journal of British Studies*, 36:2 (1997), 207-238; Roberta Bivins, *Contagious Communities: Medicine, Migration, and the NHS in Post War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 134.

¹⁶⁶ See Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁷ See *ibid.*; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapters 10 and 11; Laite, ‘Justifiable Sensationalism: Newspapers, Public Opinion and Official Policy about Commercial Sex in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Media History*, 20:2 (2014), 126-145; Frank Mort, ‘Mapping Sexual London: The Wolfenden Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1954-57’, *New Formations*, 37 (1999), 92-113; Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), Chapter 4. For the Scottish response, see Roger Davidson and Gayle Davis, “‘A Festering Sore on the Body of Society’: The Wolfenden Committee and Female Prostitution in Mid-Twentieth-Century Scotland”, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24:1 (2004), 80-98; Davidson and Davis, “‘A Field for Private Members’”: The Wolfenden Committee and Scottish Homosexual Law Reform, 1950-67’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 15:2 (2004), 174-201.

¹⁶⁸ Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 204-5.



of London requires attention in itself, taking into account concentrations in post-war newspaper ownership, the growing influence of national titles and the weakened influence of the local press; the centralization of public services and declining power in local government; and broader cultural questions around sexual liberation and permissiveness in the 1960s. Additionally, while coinciding with debates on street prostitution in London, the increase in the arrest rate for street offences in Cardiff also accompanied the redevelopment of the city centre. In order to examine the converging effects of ‘national’ and ‘local’ factors, the closing chapters of this thesis will turn to consider the influence of more immediate civic priorities over the policing and regulation of commercial sex.

Conclusion

The consolidation of prostitution-related legislation in 1959 re-codified and legitimated the notion of the ‘common prostitute’, strengthening a legal definition and social stigmatization that had characterized the implementation of prostitution-related law since the nineteenth

century.¹⁶⁹ While criminalization of the ‘common prostitute’ had been prevalent in the policing of London’s prostitution in preceding decades, evidence from Cardiff reveals a different picture. The main contrast is one of temporal variance in police action. While the use of the 1824 Vagrancy Act to target ‘common prostitutes’ had been common in the Edwardian years as the police sought to respond to public censure, by the interwar years Cardiff City Police used more diffuse tactics to regulate commercial sex. As prostitution became embroiled in racial anxieties associated with the dockland, immigration controls became a proxy method for policing prostitutes, along with the use of the Police Court Mission and probation workers. Furthermore, while the 1824 Vagrancy Act was, overall, the most prominent statute used for the regulation of prostitution, it was also one aspect of a broader legal framework, which included local byelaws. Municipal acts allowed for magistrates to impose larger fines in cases of brothel-keeping than what the 1885 CLAA alone allowed. Signalling shifts in both concern and method, byelaws were rarely used until the interwar years when they became a lever to increase severity in cases against Maltese café-keepers. The law relating to prostitution thus provided distinctions and definitions for the operation of policing, but did not fully determine the actions and strategies of police forces.

At a micro-level, the routine work of the beat constable played a vital role in securing enough evidence to convict brothel-keepers. This was less a result of specific strategies of surveillance than the accumulated knowledge of the beat, which was sometimes used in more discretionary ways than simply applying the law. Beat work was assisted by the systematic method of the photographic register, which contained the images of ‘common prostitutes’ for ease of identification. Temporal concerns and strategies also shaped the nature of the beat, as

¹⁶⁹ See Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 9-11; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 199. Specifically, the language of the new law echoed its predecessors in stating that it was ‘an offence for a common prostitute to loiter or solicit in a street or public place for the purpose of prostitution’ and that a ‘constable may arrest without warrant anyone he finds in a street or public place and suspects, with reasonable cause, to be committing an offence under this section.’ 1959 Street Offences Act, s 1 (1, 3).

while it was geared towards the arrest of common prostitutes in the Edwardian years, in the 1920s both beat constables and the use of the register were tools for conducting surveillance on Maltese café-keepers. A shift can also be seen in the attitudes of magistrates. Prior to the 1912 CLAA, magistrates' approaches had differed from the priorities of the chief constable, and had included a lenient stance towards first-time offenders and younger women with the use of cautions and dismissals in the case of first-time offenders and younger women. This meant that conviction rates remained relatively static despite beat constables inflating the arrest rate to ease public censure. Data from the 1950s, however, suggests a greater degree of synergy between police strategy and the stances of magistrates, as there was little variance between the arrest and conviction rates. When considered alongside the post-war increase of arrests of street prostitutes, which chimed with national debates around London, this evidence suggests that police action had assumed a statist character that was more responsive to metropolitan patterns. Yet there were other factors at play. As we will explore next, temporal shifts in the regulation of prostitution were shaped by more diffuse means, involving a broad regulatory network and civic efforts towards reshaping the physical environments of particular districts.

6. Networks of Regulation: Pressure Groups, the Press, and Governmentality

The City Watch Committee is a curious organisation or authority for the Twentieth Century. It puts its head under the sand, like the famous bird, and says there is nothing because it cannot see it. But the public sees, and so too, fortunately here and there a member of the Corporation. Unfortunately the evils complained of are not imaginary, and the easy complacency of the Chairman of the Watch Committee will not bring about the desired effect nor remove the deadly canker [...].¹

This passage, from a 1908 *South Wales Echo* editorial, was published amidst a wider campaign against the alleged ineffectiveness of magistrates and the police regarding prostitution. The crusade was driven by prominent Nonconformist pressure groups and regional Liberal newspapers, and had a significant impact on policing through influencing a 60 percent increase in arrests of ‘common prostitutes’ during 1906-08. However, the authority of these groups declined after the First World War, and the interwar chief constable faced little opposition in framing prostitution as an aspect of the dockland’s racial problem. Instead, he shifted questions of regulation away from local pressure groups and into a network involving the Home Office and social hygiene organizations. Why did pressure groups have so much influence over the policing of prostitution before 1914? Why did the authority of Nonconformist groups decline, and how did a new network of influence emerge in the 1920s?

The manner in which a range of agents influenced the regulation of prostitution can be considered under the notion of ‘governmentality’, a concept coined by Michel Foucault during the latter years of his career. Loosely defined as the ‘art of government’ or the ‘conduct of conduct’, Foucault saw a diffuse form of governance emerging through eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberalism, in which

The state is not a universal nor in itself an autonomous source of power. The state is nothing else but the effect, the profile, the [...] insidiously shift[ing] sources of finance, modes of investment, decision-making centers, forms and

¹ *South Wales Echo*, 1 October 1908.

types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority, and so on. [...] The state is nothing else but the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentalities.²

While underdeveloped by Foucault, this notion of modern states achieving objectives through diffuse and decentralized means has been advanced by sociologists and theorists, notably Nikolas Rose and Mitchell Dean.³ In their work, ‘government’ and ‘governance’ are considered less in terms of ‘the state’ and instead a more diffuse regulation of conduct, while ‘liberalism’ features not in the sense of the political philosophy of classical Liberalism, but the ideology and process of creating ‘a regulated and civilised freedom’.⁴ Within this framework, Rose and Dean have pointed to how a range of non-judicial agents, such as the press and religious organizations, are engaged in a wider practice of regulating civic conduct.⁵

For historian Chris Otter, such insights can provide a means to explore the ‘modes of governance irreducible to state, sovereign, or law’.⁶ Like Rose and Dean, he suggests that this should not take the abstract form of the Foucauldian ‘technology of power’ but rather how regulatory power is ‘largely disembedded from the physical systems that sustain it.’⁷ Yet, as

² Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, [2004] 2008), 77. Also see essays in Graham Burchell *et al* (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and Stephen Legg, ‘Subject to Truth: Before and After Governmentality in Foucault’s 1970s’, *Environment and Planning D*, 34:5 (2016), 858-876.

³ See Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Rose *et al*, ‘Governmentality’, *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 2 (2006), 83-104; the ‘Introduction’ to, and essays in, Andrew Barry *et al* (eds), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; and Singapore: Sage, [1999] 2010); Jonathan Joseph, *The Social in the Global: Social Theory, Governmentality and Global Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. Chapter 2.

⁴ Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, ‘Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialization of Virtue’, *Environment and Planning D*, 17 (1999), 737-760.

⁵ See Mitchell Dean, ‘“A Social Structure of Many Souls”: Moral Regulation, Government, and Self-Formation’, *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19:2 (1994), 145-168.

⁶ The state, according to Joyce and Bennett, then becomes ‘a site of passage’ – one node in a network of flows and systems of power – as opposed to an overarching form of rule. See Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett, ‘Material Powers: Introduction’, in Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 2; Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 15.

⁷ Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 2008), 16. Also see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London and New York: Verso, 2003).

an analytical framework, governmentality has distinct limitations.⁸ Even proponents of the method have pointed towards its danger of offering little more than ‘thick descriptions’ of diffuse modes of governance, by turn reproducing the ‘self-understanding of liberal and neoliberal ways of governing.’⁹ A governmentality approach also runs the risk of presenting a totalizing view that assumes the operation of governmental logic and practice, and overlooks the role of individual agency and conflicting rationalities of governance.¹⁰ In emphasizing ‘power beyond the state’, it can produce generalized accounts that neglect the role of the state in shaping behaviours and modes of regulation.¹¹ In addition, the emphasis on the diffuseness of state power can run the danger of reducing the ‘state’ to an underlying and omnipresent source of power without questioning its composition and temporality. Hence, while diffuse and decentralized techniques might be characteristic of modern forms of regulation and governance, we need to pay closer attention to agency, to how techniques of governance functioned, and where they were located.¹²

Actor-network theory (ANT), which emphasizes the formation of networks and the exercise of agency at a micro level, can provide a means to consider the interactions between micro-level agency and macro-governmental or ‘state’ aims.¹³ Grounded in the Deleuzian notion of ‘assemblage’ and closely associated with the work of sociologists Bruno Latour and John Law, ANT offers a means of exploring how social orderings are achieved through groupings of human and nonhuman ‘actants’, and to identify how collective priorities emerge

⁸ See discussion in Simon Gunn, ‘From Hegemony to Governmentality: Changing Conceptions of Power in Social History’, *Journal of Social History*, 39:3 (2006), 705-720.

⁹ See arguments in Mitchell Dean, ‘Foucault Must Not Be Defended’, *History and Theory*, 54 (2015), 389-403. Also see Otter’s comments regarding overtly Foucauldian notions of governmentality in the introduction to *The Victorian Eye*.

¹⁰ See arguments in Randy Lippert and Kevin Stenson, ‘Advancing Governmentality Studies: Lessons from Social Constructionism’, *Theoretical Criminology*, 14:4 (2010), 473-494.

¹¹ See Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 29-30.

¹² See arguments in Patrick Joyce, ‘What is the Social in Social History?’, *Past and Present*, 206 (2010), 213-248.

¹³ As Rose comments, if politics involves ‘exchanges and relations amongst a range of public, private and voluntary organization’ then terms like ‘actor networks’ can ‘describe the actual operation of exchanges through which governance occurs.’ Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 17.

as different agents move towards their goals by working together.¹⁴ Much like governmentality, this framework is not without its limitations, particularly its often atemporal focus on reconstructing networks, and an emphasis on ‘non-human’ agency that some have seen to erase explanatory force.¹⁵ However, a consideration of the formation and influence of different networks, and their temporality, can complement a governmentality approach through bridging micro-level actor-networks with broader efforts at conducting conduct.¹⁶

One important area of consideration for this study is how pressure groups played a significant role at the micro-level of civic politics, and how municipal services depended on ‘tripartite relationships’ between public, private and voluntary bodies.¹⁷ Historians of prostitution have shown how social purity pressure groups influenced legislation and repressive police action against brothels in the wake of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA), and how reform institutions offered more pastoral forms of regulation.¹⁸ However, less attention has been directed at the micro interactions between police forces, reform institutions, and pressure groups, and how this shaped the regulation of prostitution in more diffuse and

¹⁴ See Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), 379-393; Joyce and Bennett, ‘Material Powers’, 5; Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London and New York: Continuum, [1980] 1987)

¹⁵ See discussion in: Frank Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 290; Bert de Munck, ‘Re-assembling Actor-Network Theory and Urban History’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 111-122.

¹⁶ See the approach taken in Ted Rutland and Alex Aylett, ‘The Work of Policy: Actor Networks, Governmentality, and Local Action on Climate Change in Portland, Oregon’, *Environment and Planning D*, 26 (2008), 627-646.

¹⁷ See Barry Doyle, ‘The Changing Functions of Urban Government: Councillors, Officials and Pressure Groups’, in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III, 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 307-11; R. J. Morris, ‘Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns’, in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III, 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 395-426.

¹⁸ See Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001); Paula Bartley, ‘Preventing Prostitution: The Ladies’ Association for the Care and Protection of Young Girls in Birmingham, 1887-1914’, *Women’s History Review*, 7:1 (1998), 37-60; Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830, Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge, [1987] 2000); Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999); Julia Laite, ‘The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)’, *Women’s History Review*, 17:2 (2008), 207-223; Louise Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland: Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), Chapter 4.

subtle ways. Equally, historians have emphasised the role of the press, especially the style of New Journalism, in driving public scrutiny of prostitution.¹⁹ But what of the interconnectedness between the press, pressure groups, and reform institutions in the twentieth century? To what extent did they work in tandem to achieve ‘governmental’ aims?

To answer these questions, this chapter employs less an explicit ANT or governmentality approach, but one which seeks to identify the convergence of localized influence with broader political discourses relating to the regulation of prostitution. It begins with a discussion of the Liberal-Nonconformist *South Wales Daily News* (SWDN), which, through a sustained campaign against the alleged ineffectiveness of police and magistrates, influenced the police to take repressive action against street prostitutes. The SWDN was less a panoptic ‘faceless gaze’ observing the policing of prostitutes, but was one node in a broader Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist network of influence. While the authority of Nonconformity was common to the British urban experience, debates in Cardiff were symbolic of more unique developments to Wales following the Welsh religious revival of 1904-5.²⁰ As opposed to ongoing debates surrounding the 1885 CLAA, it was the power of Welsh Nonconformists that shaped police action towards prostitution in Cardiff. The influence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity over the regulation of prostitution calls into question assumptions over governmentality in urban settings that have focused on the role of bureaucratic and technocratic officialdom in rationalizing and ordering civic behaviours.²¹ Instead, the influence of local

¹⁹ See Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, [1992] 1994); Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Urbana, IL and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 36-43; John Benson, ‘Calculation, Celebrity, and Scandal: The Provincial Press in Edwardian England’, *Journalism Studies*, 10:6 (2009), 837-850; Andy Croll, ‘Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame: Regulating Behaviour in the Public Spaces of the Late Victorian British Town’, *Social History*, 24:3 (1999), 250-268.

²⁰ Through the revival, Nonconformist social reform groups felt a strong sense of confidence in tackling issues of ‘morality’. For the revival, see C. R. Williams, ‘The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 3:3 (1952), 242-259. For the confidence of Welsh Nonconformity in the aftermath of the revival, see Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), Chapter 1.

²¹ For instance, see Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 741.

pressure groups reflected the wider effort of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists to achieve both dominance in civic politics following the religious revival, and to purify Welsh urban life.²² This was not simply a case of localized pressure groups exerting influence in alignment with social purity campaigns following the 1885 CLAA, but symbolic of the peculiarities of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity and the growth of Welsh national sentiments.²³ The bipartisan nature of Welsh political culture in this period equally calls into question the notion of the anonymous 'state' within governmentality studies, with evidence from Cardiff revealing a convergence of multiple governmentalities linked to the centralized, sovereign British state, the local civic state, and Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist politics.

However, Nonconformist groups generally lost influence after 1918, through the rise of the Labour Party and as certain sections of the middle class withdrew their 'controlling interest in the city'.²⁴ Changes in regional press ownership coincided with the general decline in influence of Nonconformity, which also marked the development new networks of influence. While Liberal-Nonconformist groups previously had a voice in the *SWDN*, by the late-1920s the Conservative *Western Mail* had purchased this newspaper and its sister titles. This decline in plurality made it easier for the interwar chief constable to court the press to his advantage and to further his campaign which framed prostitution as an aspect of the port's 'racial problem', drawing influence from anti-alien discourse and the social hygiene movement. Interwar developments demonstrate how the regulation of prostitution was shaped by a shifting network of state functions and non-judiciary actants – a process driven by the interests of individuals seeking to carve out a political space for themselves in both civic and national contexts. These new post-war networks were symbolic of a confluence of political,

²² For the context on Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity in Cardiff, see Martin Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), esp. 222-3.

²³ See Kenneth Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), Chapters 4 and 5.

²⁴ Doyle, 'The Changing Functions of Urban Government', 310-13.

governmental, and civic rationalities and practices.²⁵ Evidence from interwar Cardiff also suggests a shift in the reactions of the police: away from being answerable to the local state and vigilance networks, and towards an agent of governmental aims with regards to race regulation. This conjunction of a range of actor-networks might be termed as a ‘co-production’ of regulatory power and agency, in which power and influence was extended, multifariously and diffusely, to groups and actants both within and without ‘the state’.²⁶ In this light, we see policing and the regulation of prostitution in Cardiff becoming more statist – and more characteristic of ‘governmentality’ – during the interwar years. This evidence suggests that historians should award greater consideration to the temporality and inconsistencies of governmentalities, and the shifting sets of actor-networks that (re)shaped and (re)focused regulatory aims.

‘Darkest Cardiff’ and the *South Wales Daily News*

While a number of newspapers had flourished following Cardiff’s growth in the late-nineteenth century, by the Edwardian period two daily titles were the most dominant and influential: the Conservative *Western Mail* and the Liberal Nonconformist-aligned *SWDN*.²⁷ Established in 1869 and heavily funded by the Bute estate, the *Western Mail* extolled Conservative politics and conservative values.²⁸ The *SWDN* was launched in 1872 as a Liberal alternative by David Duncan, also proprietor of the weekly *Cardiff Times* and, from 1884, the *South Wales Echo*. Through founding the *SWDN*, Duncan came to be seen as a ‘hero in the Liberal Pantheon’, much like John Batchelor, the politician central to the growth of Liberalism in Victorian

²⁵ Also see discussion in Margo Huxley, ‘Geographies of Governmentality’, in Jeremy Crampton and Stuart Elden (eds), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 187-8.

²⁶ For comments on the ‘co-production’ of governmental power, see Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 30-1.

²⁷ Their influence can be attested through making up the vast majority of articles collected in police scrapbooks. See Glamorgan Archives (GA) DCONC/5/12-85, Newscuttings, 1900-1960.

²⁸ For the influence of the *Western Mail*, see Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 45-6.

Cardiff.²⁹ Competition between the two titles played a significant role in shaping the perception and regulation of prostitution in Cardiff until 1928, when the *SWDN* and its sister titles were acquired by the *Western Mail*, which monopolized Cardiff's press by the 1930s.³⁰

Conservatism had held most of its influence in Wales in the marcher borderland and the urban centres of the south-eastern coastal plain. The *Western Mail* was effective in maintaining this dominance through awarding considerable column inches to Welsh happenings and issues – even including the voices of prominent Liberals. In its early existence, the *SWDN* struggled to match the *Western Mail* in terms of circulation, given how it appealed beyond its core Conservative base.³¹ It was not until the Edwardian period that the *SWDN* obtained greater prominence, which coincided with the waning of the Bute family's paternalistic Toryism, and the Butes assuming a more symbolic role in civic life.³² Sensational attention awarded to the regulation of prostitution by the *SWDN* in the Edwardian years can be seen as an attempt to both further the cause of Liberalism in Cardiff, and to increase sales. After the Welsh religious revival of 1904-5, the *SWDN* became a supporter of the Forward Movement's social work, such as in the Saltmead area of Grangetown, and an outspoken opponent of a range of issues that concerned the Nonconformist community – most notably prostitution and intemperance.³³

²⁹ See Neil Evans, 'The Welsh Victorian City: The Middle Class, Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff', *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1983), 351-387.

³⁰ Aled Jones, *Press, Politics, and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 129-30. The dominance of the *Western Mail* by the 1920s is likewise reflected in police newscuttings, making up the majority of articles in scrapbooks from the late 1920s into the 1950s. See *ibid.*

³¹ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 45-6, 51. Also see John Davies, 'Aristocratic Town-Makers and the Coal Metropolis: The Marquesses of Bute and Cardiff, 1776 to 1947', in David Cannadine (ed.), *Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Towns* (Leicester and New York: Leicester University Press and St Martin's Press, 1982), 56-57; Williams, 'The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5'. Also see Chapter 2 of this thesis for a detailed discussion of this newspaper's role in promoting perceptions of place.

³² See Davies, 'Aristocratic Town-Makers and the Coal Metropolis'.

³³ As Morgan noted, the *raison d'être* of the *SWDN* was to fight 'the good fight for Liberalism'. By doing so, it provided 'a unique commentary on the bourgeois elite, Conservative as well as Liberal, who dominated the civic life of Cardiff at its greatest period of expansion [and] the quasi-American ethnic ghettos that underlay Cardiff politics.' Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 51.

From around 1902 the *SWDN* embarked on a campaign against magistrates seen to be accelerating ‘immorality’ through being too lenient on those arrested for prostitution-related offences. The *SWDN* protested that JPs should impose ‘really deterrent penalties to maintain public order’, and to halt ‘the off-scourings of every port in the kingdom steadily drifting to Cardiff’.³⁴ Similar claims were made over punishments given to brothel keepers in Saltmead, where prostitution was believed to be perpetuated by magistrates not imposing hefty enough fines nor naming and shaming ‘brothels’ and their occupants.³⁵ In essence, the *SWDN*’s ‘Darkest Cardiff’ campaign was a project to both shame the police and to increase its circulation, exercised through a series of scathing editorials.³⁶ It also reflected the continued importance of the local press – being a site of information and opinions on a wide range of civic matters – in shaping both policing and public opinion on social issues.³⁷ The *SWDN* provided a network of communication through which concerned ‘respectable’ citizens could learn of – and respond to – the alleged inefficiency of the police and magistrates in dealing with prostitution, using sensational hooks to draw the interest of its readers.³⁸ The *SWDN*’s campaign frequently used ‘white slavery’ as a catch-all term for prostitution in its entirety, whether it be trafficking, brothel keeping, or streetwalking, with the intent of drawing widespread support for its campaign.³⁹ This narrative echoed wider debates on white slavery that culminated in attempts to ratify a ‘White Slave Traffic Bill’ from 1907, driven by both the

³⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 14 May 1902.

³⁵ See *South Wales Daily News*, 31 July 1903.

³⁶ For instance, see editorials collected in GA DCONC/5/24, Newscuttings, October 1904-April 1905. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the cultural aspects of ‘Darkest Cardiff’.

³⁷ For the context of the press in Wales, see Jones, *Press, Politics, and Society*. For arguments on the centrality of the local press to the regulation of behaviours in nineteenth-century towns, see Croll, ‘Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame’. Platt has likewise remarked on how ‘muckraking journalism’ in Manchester was influential in focusing municipal concerns on slum districts. Harold Platt, ‘From Hygeia to the Garden City: Bodies, Houses, and the Rediscovery of the Slum in Manchester, 1875-1910’, *Journal of Urban History*, 33:5 (2007), 762.

³⁸ Also see arguments in Croll, ‘Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame’, who draws on the Habermasian notion of the ‘public sphere’ to explore the dominance of the late-Victorian regional and local press in shaping concerns over urban space. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991)

³⁹ See, for instance, *South Wales Daily News*, 23 October 1906, and GA DCONC/5/24-32, Newscuttings, October 1904-August 1908 for further examples.

National Vigilance Association and a joint committee of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Women and Girls, the Jewish Board of Deputies, and the London Council for the Promotion of Public Morality.⁴⁰ Hence, did the *SWDN* simply refract national discourse through civic concerns over the efficiency of the city police force, or were different factors at play?

While Walkowitz has argued that the period 1890-1914 saw a wave of social purity-driven ‘systematic repression of lodging-house brothels’ across British towns and cities, this is not an adequate explanation for repressive action in Edwardian Cardiff.⁴¹ The 1885 CLAA had had less of an impact in Cardiff, as prostitution had ‘dropped from prominence’ amidst debates over intemperance.⁴² When prostitution became a prominent aspect of civic debate again around 1905, it was Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity, as opposed to broader social purity trends, which drove public censure over the policing of prostitution in Cardiff. The city’s police reacted to this pressure with a significant increase in arrests relating to prostitution.⁴³ While there was an increase in police action against brothel keeping, with arrest rates rising from fifty-eight in 1906 to seventy-nine in 1908, they directed most of their attention on street prostitutes, who were much easier to arrest.⁴⁴ As a result, the arrest rate of female prostitutes increased from 392 arrests in 1906, to 627 in 1908.⁴⁵ Hence, unlike the repression of brothels and lodging houses characteristic of other urban centres, Cardiff’s police force was driven, by

⁴⁰ See Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 197-8. These attempts eventually succeeded with the 1912 CLAA (see Chapter 5). Also see Rachel Attwood, ‘Lock Up Your Daughters! Male Activists, “Patriotic Domesticity” and the Fight Against Sex Trafficking in England, 1880-1912’, *Gender and History*, 27:3 (2015), 611-627.

⁴¹ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 211. Also see Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), Chapter 3.

⁴² See Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27: 3 (1982), 302-3.

⁴³ For arrest and conviction rates, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 5 for an overview of the difficulties in obtaining evidence against brothel keeping in contrast to the relative ease of arresting ‘common prostitutes’ using the 1824 Vagrancy Act.

⁴⁵ National Archives (TNA) HO 45/10354/149817/3, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 29 September 1908. As we saw in Chapter 3, police action against prostitutes often compounded their difficulties, as women were often forced to continue to use prostitution to cover fines. Hence, the *SWDN*’s ‘Darkest Cardiff’ campaign, while enhancing the police’s attention on prostitution, had a negative effect on women reliant on prostitution as a makeshift economy.

the *SWDN* and the Nonconformist community, to take more repressive action against street prostitution.

Policing and the press

The *SWDN*'s persistent attention to the regulation of prostitution drew a response from the public, who expressed their own concerns in the letters pages. Readers wrote to confirm how the *SWDN* was 'doing a great public service in directing attention to this matter', which in turn drew the interest of the Corporation and local politicians. In response to escalating censure, Cardiff City Council tried to reassure citizens that it was 'animated by a spirit equally firm in the enforcement of existing powers'.⁴⁶ Its influence also extended to the Cardiff branch of the Independent Labour Party, which wrote to the Watch Committee to encourage a more repressive approach.⁴⁷ Magistrates periodically attempted to appease this censure by making an example of defendants. However, this did little to quell criticism from the *SWDN*, which had become buoyed by the growing confidence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity following the religious revival.⁴⁸ In response to persistent criticism from the *SWDN* and its supporters, magistrates began to impose imprisonment without the option of a fine, particularly in cases of brothel keeping: a move welcomed by the *SWDN*. In August 1907 an editorial argued that this harsher stance was 'the only way to fight this terrible evil. The small fine with time to pay is a deplorable practice that, it is evident, cannot affect the traffic in any way, unless it goes to encourage it.'⁴⁹

The police's approach drew criticism from some working in the criminal justice system. Solicitor Herbert Samuel criticized both the force and the *SWDN* for ignoring the context of

⁴⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, 12 March 1908. Further responses are detailed over the course of this chapter.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ For example, see *Western Mail*, 11 August 1903.

⁴⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 9 August 1907. For example, also see *South Wales Daily News*, 29 September 1908, and a range of coverage contained in GA DCONC/5/33, Newscuttings, August 1908-January 1909.

individual cases, and for adopting a purely repressive approach towards identifiable ‘common prostitutes’. He highlighted that persistent fines of 40s had been too harsh, and also cited a case in which ‘a comparatively young girl’ with no prior convictions nor cautions was individually targeted by the police. Samuel remarked how she had initially been discharged on 16 September 1908, yet

the police officer concerned in that case, undone by his inability to procure for her a term of imprisonment, sets to work (on his own confession) to entrap her again. [...] I cannot help thinking that the defendant was a victim of police persecution.⁵⁰

Rather than discouraging women against prostitution, Samuel suggested that the response had been nothing more than mindless persecution and criminalization.⁵¹ Samuel had a point. While arrest rates had increased the conviction rate remained relatively static. As such, the police persistently targeted identifiable ‘common prostitutes’ in order to inflate the arrest rate to appease criticism from the *SWDN*. Home Office papers reveal that Cardiff City Police frequently ran ‘effective clearances’ of St Mary Street in this period, repeatedly arresting identifiable ‘common prostitutes’ to increase numbers passing through the petty sessions.⁵² Additionally, in the first half of the twentieth century, Cardiff City Police only provided the Watch Committee with formal arrest statistics between 1905 and 1909. These statistics only covered arrest rates and did not include a breakdown of convictions, which allowed the chief constable to use these figures to project an image that his force was taking action against ‘vice’ and ‘immorality’.⁵³

Rather than the ‘state’ operating via a diffuse a set of groups and agents, we might instead consider governmentality as a shifting configuration of multiple and conflicting rationales. In Edwardian Cardiff we see a contrast between the governmental aims of the

⁵⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 30 September 1908.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² TNA HO45/10345/149817/5, Home Office papers on Prostitution in Cardiff, 1907-8.

⁵³ See GA DCONC/1/1/2, Chief Constable’s Reports to the Watch Committee, 1906-10.

central state and the confidence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists, who constituted a dominant middle-class in urban South Wales and had made Liberal-Nonconformity a distinct political force there.⁵⁴ This steer led to an attempt to reshape regulatory powers through byelaws to meet the demands of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist moral politics. In October 1908, Chief Constable McKenzie, with full support from the Watch Committee, proposed an augmentation of the city's 241-strong police force by twenty-five men. There was, perhaps, a genuine need for this increase given that the size of the police force had not increased since 1899, despite Cardiff's population growing by 30,000 between 1899 and 1908. This had meant that there was one constable to every 801 inhabitants, unlike more favourable ratios in other urban centres.⁵⁵ As an additional means to respond to Liberal-Nonconformist objectives, the police and the Watch Committee sought further controls through the 1908 Corporation Parliamentary Bill, which, much to the approval of the *SWDN*, proposed powers to arrest anyone found in a raid of a 'disorderly house'.⁵⁶ The Bill also sought additional powers to commit any 'habitual prostitute' with more than three offences to their name to a rescue home, which would have provided the city's police and magistrates to have control over the majority of Cardiff's 'common prostitutes' and to more readily respond to censure from the *SWDN*.⁵⁷

However, the Corporation Bill was a failed attempt at appeasement. Home Secretary Herbert Gladstone noted his 'serious objection' to the draft Bill, describing them as 'of a novel and far-reaching character'. With regards to the proposal to prosecute anyone resorting to a brothel or the lodgings of a prostitute, Gladstone pointed out that this would 'introduce into the criminal law a new principle, and one of highly controversial character' given that it would

⁵⁴ See S. J. D. Green, *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularization and Social Change, c. 1920-1960* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 41-2.

⁵⁵ *Western Mail*, 14 October 1908. By contrast, in Liverpool the proportion was one constable to 476 people, in Manchester one to 515, and in Bristol one to 616.

⁵⁶ Another power sought through the Bill was to make it an 'offence for a woman to keep and habitually use a house for immoral purposes'. See *South Wales Daily News*, 15 October 1908. By turn, this proposal also sought to extend the notion of a 'brothel' to any space used by a 'prostitute', regardless of how independently these spaces were used, or how casual this arrangement might have been. See *Western Mail*, 17 October 1908.

⁵⁷ TNA HO45/10354/149817/6, Cardiff Corporation Bill, 24 October 1908.

suggest that it was men, through providing a market for prostitution, that were the source of ‘immorality’.⁵⁸ Despite Gladstone’s concern over criminalizing male clients, it is important to note that neither the Watch Committee nor Cardiff City Police sought to shift the blame for prostitution onto men; rather, they aimed to develop a blanket approach to prostitution that could silence the criticism they were receiving from the *SWDN*.⁵⁹ Artificially inflating the arrest rate had not been enough to quell the *SWDN*’s crusade against them, and they were forced to make additional public attempts to reduce the heat generated by this particular newspaper. In trying to appease the *SWDN*, the actions of the chief constable and the Watch Committee also drew new criticisms from the *Western Mail*, which used it to attack Liberal-Nonconformist influence. The *SWDN*’s competitor felt that the police’s proposals were a token gesture, as ‘there is little reason to believe that Parliament will endow any municipality with such special powers [...] and extra-legal authority is almost a confession of failure on the part of the religious and social agencies working in the city.’ The *Western Mail*’s criticisms of the Bill had support from the Lord Mayor and a senior councillor, who felt that the police’s approach repressively targeted ‘the poor wretch’ over their clients, and that it was simply a reaction to the *SWDN*’s attempts to increase circulation through using sensationalism.⁶⁰

Highlighting the ascendancy of Liberal-Nonconformity in these years, neither the failure of the Bill nor criticism from the *Western Mail* deterred the *SWDN*’s crusade. ‘Despite all opposition,’ argued one editorial,

the campaign against uncleanness will go on in Cardiff. [...] The public are, in a sense, the tribunal. And the law is to be enforced, and order prevail, despite all and any opposition. The public will see to that.’⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Western Mail*, 1 December 1908; TNA HO45/10354/149817/6, Home Office response to the Cardiff Corporation Parliamentary Bill, 1908.

⁵⁹ This echoed wider debates around sex trafficking in the lead-up to the 1912 CLAA, in which men who bought sex were spared the censure that was directed at the foreign prostitute. See Attwood, ‘Lock Up Your Daughters!’, 618.

⁶⁰ *Western Mail*, 17 October 1908.

⁶¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 17 October 1908. The newspaper likewise challenged Gladstone’s rejection of the draft Corporation Bill, arguing that similar laws criminalizing persons frequenting certain spaces for betting could be extended to those ‘who frequent the streets for purposes of prostitution.’ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 December 1908.

In this piece, the *SWDN* referred not simply to the ‘law’ of the 1824 Vagrancy Act or 1885 CLAA, but the moral ‘order’ that Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists sought to impose on the city.⁶² From this viewpoint, the Home Office and *Western Mail* alike were seen as being in opposition to ‘public’ objectives regarding the policing of prostitution in Cardiff. The *SWDN* continued to draw support from its readers, demonstrating the popularity of the campaign, a shared consensus amongst the Liberal-Nonconformist community, and a broader community of interests around tackling prostitution. Moved by the *SWDN*’s ‘valuable service’, one reader even attended police court sessions ‘in order to see for myself how our J.P.’s [*sic.*] did their duty.’ This reader found magistrates’ approach to be ‘stringent’, and wrote to the *SWDN* to report his view that ‘The vice which parades our streets and hides in the dark places of our city can never be suppressed merely by the combined efforts of police or purity leagues until our magistrates do their duty’.⁶³ The ‘Darkest Cardiff’ campaign equally influenced debates in advance of local elections, as Councillor Morgan Thomas, the Liberal and Progressive Candidate for Roath Park, tried to convince his supporters that he would ‘cleanse the streets’ through pressurizing magistrates.⁶⁴

However, local demands for the repression of street prostitution drew negative attention from the Home Office, suggesting conflict between the aims of Welsh Nonconformist moral politics and the Government’s stance with regards to prostitution. Much like the failure of the 1908 Corporation Bill, this reflects how ‘Darkest Cardiff’ had developed from a campaign of shaming the police into a failed attempt – however inadvertently – at reshaping regulatory powers. In December 1908, PC Gurney arrested one Ellen White for being a ‘common prostitute’ and exhibiting ‘indecent behaviour’ at Blenheim Road Lane in the middle-class suburb of Penylan, along with one Reverend Edward Rhodes who was found to be ‘aiding and

⁶² Also see Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 222-3.

⁶³ *South Wales Daily News*, 6 October 1908.

⁶⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 15 October 1908.

abetting' her. While working in plain clothes, Gurney claimed he had spotted White turning into the lane in the company of Rhodes, and when approached he found Rhodes' trousers undone and arrested them both.⁶⁵ Gurney's arrest of Rhodes and his subsequent conviction at the petty sessions caused problems for Cardiff City Police. Rhodes was the curate of St Andrew's Church in Watford and had been visiting family in Cardiff on the night of his arrest. Feeling that he had been wrongly arrested and convicted, Rhodes sought damages of £221. His appeal had some impact, as the Church Parochial Mission Society wrote to Home Secretary Herbert Gladstone to complain about the matter, leading the Home Office to conduct its own inquiry.⁶⁶ While the exact events on the night of Rhodes's arrest are unclear, Rhodes claimed that he had only met White by chance; White corroborated this, stating that she had gone down the lane to 'relieve herself' and had met Rhodes in passing.⁶⁷ The Director of Public Prosecution sided in Rhodes's favour, granting him a free pardon and reporting that PC Gurney had simply identified White as a prostitute and thus assumed that she was providing a service to Rhodes.⁶⁸

The Rhodes case was significant, for it signalled a decline in repressive police action towards street prostitutes and the weakening of the Darkest Cardiff campaign. Along with the failure of the 1908 Corporation Bill, Home Office intervention represented a reassertion of sovereign state power over a situation in Cardiff that had begun to deviate from the main current of legal discourse. It also represented a broader antipathy from the Home Office towards informal local networks. Chris A. Williams argues that the general intent of the Home Office was 'to create outposts of rational governmentality that they would be able to deal with.'

⁶⁵ TNA HO 144/903/175845/3, Home Office report on the arrest of Reverend Edward Rhodes, n.d., ca. February 1909. Also see *Western Mail*, 10 December 1908.

⁶⁶ TNA HO 144/903/175845/4, Bishop of St Alban's character reference for Reverend Edward Rhodes, 16 February 1909; TNA HO 144/903/175845/6, Memo regarding Home Office Visit to Cardiff, 3 March 1909. The Home Office's interest in this particular case was also driven by correspondence regarding the alleged ineffectiveness of Cardiff's police and magistrates in regulating prostitution during 1907-08.

⁶⁷ TNA HO 144/903/175845/3, Home Office report on the arrest of Reverend Edward Rhodes, ca. February 1909.

⁶⁸ TNA HO 144/903/175845/9, Director of Public Prosecution's report re Reverend Edward Rhodes's appeal, 5 April 1909.

However, this reflects less a notion of governmentality than a desire for a direct and overt expression of sovereign power.⁶⁹ Additionally, Home Office intervention in the policing of Cardiff's prostitutes in 1909 was not a condemnation of local attitudes to women selling sex; rather, akin to the failed 1908 Corporation Bill, the Home Office was concerned that police action was bringing 'respectable' male clients into focus, albeit unintentionally. The Home Office's response was thus to ensure that police action in Cardiff did not transgress gender norms within laws relating to the 'common prostitute'.⁷⁰ In terms of broader regulatory trends, repressive police action towards street prostitutes was reflective of anti-vice activity and questions over the proper use of public space that had proliferated since the 1880s.⁷¹ Yet it is important to note that responses in Cardiff did not necessarily correlate with the argument that the 1885 CLAA and social purity groups had encouraged the repression of lodging-house in every British city.⁷² Rather than lodging houses, censure and police repression clearly focused instead on the street prostitute in accordance with the concerns of the Nonconformist community.

'Darkest Cardiff' and its consequences calls to mind the emphasis of governmentality approaches on how regulatory practices are rooted in heterogeneous locales as opposed to the 'state'.⁷³ This, however, is a reductive notion. While the *SWDN*'s campaign had significant influence over local policing methods, this was only a temporary response that ended following Home Office intervention, which in itself was characterized by direct action as opposed to

⁶⁹ See Chris A. Williams, 'Rotten Boroughs: The Crisis of Urban Policing and the Decline of Municipal Independence 1914-64', in J. Moore and J. B. Smith (eds), *Corruption in Urban Politics and Society: Britain 1780-1950* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 160.

⁷⁰ As Self has argued in her survey of laws pertaining to prostitution, legal discourse frequently posed a binary opposition between the 'normal' chaste, maternal woman and the 'abnormal' woman who bore erotic tendencies. See Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), 4. For a discussion of governmentality and how the role of law is not simply as an instrument of rule, but a 'technology of government [with] a much more fundamental affinity with norms', see Dean, *Governmentality*, Chapter 6, esp. 140-5.

⁷¹ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapter 4; Croll, 'Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame'.

⁷² Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 211.

⁷³ Dean, "'A Social Structure of Many Souls'", 153-6.

diffuse multi-agency influence. This was symbolic of the bipartisan aspect of Welsh political culture after the religious revival, during which Wales obtained national institutions and greater confidence in Welsh national identity.⁷⁴ Thus, while the *SWDN* played a prominent role in popularizing the Darkest Cardiff campaign, it would be misleading to argue that the local press simply embodied a public ‘gaze’ by which the actions of the police were placed under surveillance.⁷⁵ As we will see through the rise of a prominent vigilance group in 1908, the influence of the *SWDN* represented a broader network of Liberal-Nonconformist influence in civic life. To understand the diffuse character of regulatory influence and power, closer attention thus needs to be awarded to the temporal and shifting influence of pressure groups and non-judicial bodies in ‘heterogeneous locales’. Having examined the influence of the *SWDN* the next section considers the underpinning network and how its influence was advanced by particular individuals.

Nonconformist networks

The rise in Liberal-Nonconformist influence over the regulation of prostitution coincided with the Welsh religious revival, which was an effort to stimulate religious engagement from non-denominational groups and to combat religious disaffection in urban, industrial South Wales.⁷⁶ In response to concerns from the wider Nonconformist community over ‘immorality’ in Saltmead, the Forward Movement – being the social arm of the Calvinistic Methodists – had established Treborth Preventive Home there in November 1905, providing space for sixty women.⁷⁷ Prostitution was a central focus of this work, with the Forward Movement promoting

⁷⁴ See Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 111, and Chapter 5 in general.

⁷⁵ See arguments in Croll, ‘Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame’.

⁷⁶ See Williams, ‘The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5’; Pope, *Building Jerusalem*. One missionary commented on how the work of Nonconformists in these years was akin to riding ‘a mighty wave’ and ‘catching the fire’ of the confidence of the times. See GA DX819/9/1-2, Notes on the history of Angelina Street Mission, written by Mr W Bowyer, first superintendent of Angelina Street Mission Hall, ca.1906-1932.

⁷⁷ *Torch*, 2:1 (1906), 5; *Torch*, 8:7 (1912), 143-4. The *Torch* was the journal of the Forward Movement, copies of which are held at Cardiff Local Studies Library. See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion over the links between

their activities through exaggerated claims of between 2,000 and 3,000 prostitutes operating in Cardiff.⁷⁸ In addition to reform work at Treborth, preventative work was undertaken at the Forward Movement's Saltmead Hall. This work aimed to 'reclaim the children' from environments of 'vice' through providing shelter, and promoting physical health through games, a gymnasium, and a playground for the children of the neighbourhood.⁷⁹ A 'Sister' of the Forward Movement's Women's Branch also went 'in and out of the homes of the people' in Saltmead, in order to 'win their confidence and trust' and bring them into Calvinistic Methodism and its social institutions.⁸⁰

While tied to broader concerns over health in slum areas and efforts to instil a sense of self-regulation in citizens, this work, and the support it received, was also reflective of the particularities of the Welsh context, in which Liberal-Nonconformity had achieved far greater influence than the forms of social purity politics characteristic of English cities.⁸¹ In essence, the Forward Movement's work in Saltmead was more than a remedial approach towards prostitutes, and represented a wider attempt to reshape behaviours associated with particular districts.⁸² Organized religion was promoted as a means to construct the moral basis for self-

prostitution and the Saltmead area. For the reform of prostitutes, see Bartley, *Prostitution*; Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990).

⁷⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 3 June 1905. By contrast, Cardiff Petty Sessions only dealt with 190 women for street prostitution-related offences in 1905. See GA PSCBO/4/19-23, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, 1905.

⁷⁹ Similar schemes were desired by religious leaders in other districts. For instance, Gilbert Heaton, the vicar of St Mary's parish, wished for 'club rooms, with a gymnasium' to be established in the city centre 'slum' in order for the area's children to be led away from the temptations of the street. It was also announced that the parish had set aside £1,000 for the development of such facilities. *Western Mail*, 24 and 27 October 1908.

⁸⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 10 October 1908; *Torch*, 6:1 (1909), 6. This use of visitation bears similarities to methods of house-to-house charity visiting and sanitary inspection since the nineteenth century, revealing ongoing connections between ideas of moral and medical contagion. For house-to-house inspection, see Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, 102-4. Echoing wider concerns over national efficiency and child health, the Health Committee was also of the opinion that 'children living in these congested districts' would directly benefit from 'religious teaching'. See *South Wales Daily News*, 17 October 1908; John Welshman, 'Child Health, National Fitness, and Physical Education in Britain, 1900-1940', in Marika Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 61-84; Lyubov Gurjeva, 'Child Health, Commerce and Family Values: The domestic Production of the Middle Class in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth century Britain', in Gijswijt-Hofstra and Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, 103-126; Siân Pooley, "'All we parents want is that our children's health and lives should be regarded'": Child Health and Parental Concern in England, c. 1860-1910', *Social History of Medicine*, 23:3 (2010), 528-548.

⁸¹ See Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 222-3.

⁸² See discussion in Chapters 2 and 7.

regulation in the city's poorest areas, and demonstrated a rationality of self-government tied to the moral politics of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity.⁸³ This was less a form of 'mixed economy' or 'penal welfare', as has been argued for other urban centres, and instead reveals the dominance of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist concerns in civic life in Edwardian Cardiff and their efforts towards encouraging working-class citizens to govern themselves in accordance to moral and spiritual norms.⁸⁴ Efforts in Cardiff were thus characterized by the particular moral politics of Welsh Nonconformity, which sought to suppress prostitution and drunkenness through an active role in the 'Good Government of the City and District'.⁸⁵ As we have seen, through the *SWDN*'s campaign, the Corporation was vocal in its support of the Nonconformist stance on prostitution, which led to the failed 1908 Corporation Bill. In essence, the period 1905-08 saw the formation of a network between Nonconformist social organizations, the *SWDN*, and the Corporation, that shaped police action on prostitution. This was less a coordinated effort, but improvisatory and reactive: the *SWDN* capitalized on the growth of Nonconformity and its social activities following the 1905 religious revival to increase its circulation, by turn pressuring the Corporation, Watch Committee, and police force to take more repressive action against street prostitution.

The Corporation also lent its support to Nonconformist social efforts, and encouraged the Forward Movement to expand its rescue mission in 1909 through opening the Kingswood-Treborth Home in Canton.⁸⁶ This institution provided rooms for up to forty women and taught religious instruction, sewing, laundry work, 'thrift', and 'prudence' to encourage certain

⁸³ Also see Chris Otter, 'Cleansing and Clarifying: Technology and Perception in Nineteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 43:1 (2004), 42; Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*.

⁸⁴ For the mixed economy, see Geoffrey Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare, 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1:2 (1990), 183-206; Marguerite Dupree, 'The Provision of Social Services', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III, 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 351-394. For 'penal welfare', see Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland*, 8, Chapter 4. For self-formation, subjectification and moral norms, see Huxley, 'Geographies of Governmentality', 188.

⁸⁵ Cardiff Local Studies Library (CLS) 948.2 (561) CAR, Cardiff and District Citizens' Union, *The Daysman: A guide to citizenship and Eleventh Annual Report for the year ending September 30th, 1918*.

⁸⁶ See *Western Mail*, 24 and 27 October 1908.

women – not only prostitutes but those experiencing a range of difficult circumstances – to follow a more ‘moral’ direction. The work of the Forward Movement homes exerted a form of ‘pastoral power’ in the sense that through a duty of care this religious organization sought to redirect certain women away from prostitution and towards more ‘acceptable’ behaviours of domestic labour – precepts of a wider emphasis on domesticity promoted by male anti-trafficking campaigners since the 1880s.⁸⁷ Hence, while concerned by prostitution, the Forward Movement’s homes attempted to encourage a sense of moral self-regulation that could reinforce female domesticity, and were aligned to general liberal rationalities. The Forward Movement might thus be described as active in imposing ‘practices of training’ to shape self-governance within particular communities.⁸⁸ While targeting female prostitutes from its Canton and Saltmead institutes, the Forward Movement’s work was thus part of a more general approach to tackling the social mores that the Nonconformist community saw as entrenched in working-class districts. As efforts at reforming prostitutes were an aspect of a broader attempt at reshaping life in impoverished areas, such as through children’s play facilities in Saltmead, the Forward Movement promoted both a sense of communal and familial obligation, and drew on established notions of the prostitute as a dangerous influence.⁸⁹

It is important to note that the Forward Movement was not the only organization undertaking such work in Edwardian Cardiff. Rather than being the sole agent, Liberal-Nonconformist groups were the most vocal actor in a broader network that drove the contours of debate and non-judicial regulatory activity. According to a directory produced by the Cardiff Charity Organization Society (COS) in 1910, of forty-seven charities in operation that year,

⁸⁷ For notions of governmentality and pastoral power, see Dean, *Governmentality*, Chapter 4; for anti-trafficking and domesticity, see Attwood, ‘Lock Up Your Daughters!’. For these aspects within reform work, see Bartley, *Prostitution*.

⁸⁸ See Dean, *Governmentality*, 10.

⁸⁹ Bartley, *Prostitution*, 31. See Chapter 7 of this thesis for a detailed examination of attempts to instil self-regulation within particular districts.

eight were listed as being dedicated to ‘prostitution and crime’.⁹⁰ For example, a Home for Friendless Girls had operated on The Parade, Roath, since the late-nineteenth century, while newspaper evidence suggests that the suburban Good Shepherd and Nazareth House convents also worked with young female prostitutes.⁹¹ The Salvation Army was likewise active in conducting rescue and preventative work, and ran two rescue homes in the city, while also visiting police courts and cells in an attempt to assist young women who had been arrested for prostitution-related offences.⁹²

While less evidence has survived for other organizations, it is clear that the work of the Forward Movement was complemented by that of a range of other groups. There was also some synergy in their approaches. The Salvation Army’s work, for instance, echoed that of the Forward Movement. Alongside rescue and reform work at Kingswood-Treborth, Forward Movement personnel also developed a range of ‘outside methods’ to identify women to ‘save’, including distributing business cards to brothels, approaching ‘any poor girl’ in the streets ‘whose face may indicate that she is in need of a friend’, and through the matron’s daily visits

⁹⁰ See Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, 296-7. However, as covered in this section, activities relating to prostitution were more diffuse and less defined than this directory would suggest. For the activities of one such charity, see GA D224/1, ‘First Report of the Cardiff Institute for Improving and Enforcing the Laws for the Protection of Women’ (1860). In addition, while the COS aimed to act as a pivot for philanthropic concerns, its emphasis on a ‘scientific’ approach to improving moral conditions could not hold sway amidst the religious fervour of the revival. See Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, 317-8. Cardiff was also home to a University Settlement from 1901. However, it was based in the Splott district, where there was little concern over prostitution. See GA DCE/1/1-70, DCE/2/1-2, and DCE/4/-12: letters, miscellaneous material, publications and notes on the University Settlement, Splott.

⁹¹ These two latter institutions had also been financial beneficiaries of the philanthropy of the Bute Estate, particularly from the Third Marquess of Bute, who was particularly generous to Roman Catholic causes. For evidence of its wide-ranging reform work, see Cardiff Local Studies Library CLS 948.2 (567) CAR, Cardiff Home for Friendless Girls and Free Registry, ‘Tenth Annual Report’ (1893); *South Wales Daily News*, 19 February 1908 and 10 October 1908; *Western Mail*, 13 October 1909 and 20 September 1911; *Western Mail*, 27 September 1927; Robert Pope, ‘Congregations and Community’, in Lesley Hussenbee and Paul Ballard (eds), *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare 1800-2010* (London and New York: Continuum, 2012), 41; Davies, ‘Aristocratic Town-Makers and the Coal Metropolis’, 50. Also see Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy’, esp. 293, for the involvement of the Bute Estate in funding charitable work.

⁹² The organization ran two homes in Cardiff from the turn of the century, one in Adamsdown and the other on Charles Street in the city centre, while a Newport Road women’s hostel was in operation by at least 1912. See Bramwell Booth, *Notes on the Salvation Army Social Work (The Darkest England Scheme) in 1896* (London: Salvation Army, 1896); Salvation Army, *Talks with Rescuers: Being a General Review of the Work during 1898, including a Special report of the Cardiff Branch* (London: Salvation Army, 1899); *Western Mail*, 20 September 1911; *South Wales Daily News*, 2 May 1912.

to the petty sessions.⁹³ By doing so, these activities demonstrated continuities with nineteenth-century evangelical work that focused on working-class women being saved by their middle-class superiors, and suggested an attempt to make the Forward Movement's work a visible aspect of the regulation of prostitution.⁹⁴ Similarly, alongside its rescue homes and visits to the petty sessions, the Salvation Army conducted social work in Butetown.⁹⁵ Butetown was also served by local Evangelical endeavours, such as the Angelina Street Welcome Mission, which attempted to combat the dockland's 'underworld' and rescue the women 'lured' to its 'haunts of shame' through introducing them to Christianity.⁹⁶ 'Outside methods' were common to the approaches of religious organizations seeking to combat prostitution in Cardiff. Both the Forward Movement and the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association (SWMVA) could be found conducting night-time 'street work' and patrols to 'reclaim [...] hapless girls'.⁹⁷ The YMCA was also involved in preventative work in Cardiff, particularly during the First World War when it converted disused buildings into 'huts' that provided some assistance to men being targeted by 'harpies', and sent rescue workers to the Station Approach at the GWR Station to 'speak[...] to soldiers when they are seen in doubtful company'.⁹⁸

Overlaps in activities – rescue homes, 'street work', and visits – underscores how the Forward Movement was but one organization involved in such actions, albeit it the most dominant and visible. Similarly, rather than the *SWDN* purely resembling a 'public gaze' driving the surveillance of police activity, the newspaper's Darkest Cardiff campaign solidified the work of a configuration of groups that were predominantly aligned to Liberal-

⁹³ This work continued at least until 1912 when Kingswood-Treborth reported financial struggles and limited its intake to between eight and fourteen women, suggesting a slow decline in influence due to a lack of support. CLS 948.2 (488) CAL, Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Branch and of the Kingswood-Treborth Home, 1910-11; *Torch*, 8:9 (1912), 176-7.

⁹⁴ For earlier evangelical reform work, see Bartley, *Prostitution*, esp. Chapter 1.

⁹⁵ *Western Mail*, 13 October 1909.

⁹⁶ GA DX819/9/1-2, Notes on the history of Angelina Street Mission.

⁹⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 9 September 1908.

⁹⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 1 and 3 September 1917. Similar work was also undertaken by Sailors' and Soldiers' Rests during the First World War. See *Welsh Outlook*, 4:2 (1917), 449; *South Wales Daily News*, 15 January 1918; James Glenelg Grant, *The Heart Beneath the Uniform* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1917).

Nonconformity. The role played by the *SWDN* was to translate the concerns of this broader network into public debate, by turn forming agency over the actions of the city's police force.⁹⁹ If this newspaper played a role in coalescing the interests of a network of organizations, then so too did certain individuals who capitalized on this influence as a means of manoeuvring themselves into positions of authority.¹⁰⁰ This was less a case of bureaucratic or technocratic civic officials seeking to classify and rationalize urban life, as is commonly emphasized in governmentality studies, but reflective of the attempts of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists to obtain a moral foothold in civic politics.¹⁰¹ These efforts mirrored a wider institutionalization of Welsh Nonconformity in the Edwardian years, and an intent to influence and control the moral governance of the city.¹⁰²

The Cardiff and District Citizens' Union

After 1908 the mantle of Cardiff's moral purity crusade was carried by Reverend John Thomas, secretary of the Forward Movement. Thomas was born near Pwllheli, later becoming both a preacher in Tremadoc and a student at Bala Theological College, where he received several prizes for his theological work. In 1903 he moved to Cardiff to become an assistant to the prominent Reverend Dr John Pugh, who held positions as the superintendent of the Welsh Forward Movement and pastor of Heath Presbyterian Church.¹⁰³ Reverend Thomas's strategy

⁹⁹ For ANT and processes of 'translation', see Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 48. As Law noted, the core of the ANT approach is 'a concern with how actors and organizations mobilise, juxtapose and [...] how they manage [...] the process of translation itself and so turn a network from a heterogeneous set of bits and pieces each with its own inclinations, into something that passes as a punctualized actor.' Law, 'Notes on the Theory of Actor-Network', 386.

¹⁰⁰ Also see arguments in Rutland and Aylett, 'The Work of Policy', esp. 629-33.

¹⁰¹ For interpretations of governmentality and urban governance that focus on the bureaucratic, see Osborne and Rose, 'Governing Cities'; Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*; Lucy E. Hewitt, 'Ordering the Urban Body: Professional Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Social History*, 41:3 (2016), 313-4.

¹⁰² As Dauntton argued, the Cardiff context was unique from English urban centres. Charity work concerned with social restructuring was characteristic of the latter, yet in Cardiff the middle-class response to the problems of urban society was the Nonconformist focus of drink and prostitution. See Dauntton, *Coal Metropolis*, 222-3.

¹⁰³ *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, 19 October 1919. Rev. Ieuan Phillips, 'Pugh, John (1846-1907)', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2009) [<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-PUGH-JOH-1846.html?query=john+pugh&field=name>, accessed 8 March 2016].

was to become a leading agent in the *SWDN*'s campaign to cleanse Cardiff's working-class areas of prostitution, and to enhance the profile of the Forward Movement's vigilance work.¹⁰⁴ Thomas achieved this through assembling a more distinct network that transformed the Darkest Cardiff campaign into a collective civic priority.

In early-1908, Reverend Thomas capitalized on the *SWDN*-driven narrative of the ineffectiveness of magistrates and the police. In order to 'devise a remedy', Thomas sought to convene a conference led by the Executive of the Cardiff Free Churches Council with representatives from the Watch Committee, the Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy, the Free Churches, the Cardiff Women's Purity League, and the National Vigilance Association. Thomas also took the opportunity to attack George Pike, then-secretary of the SWMVA, who had sympathized with the police's position in the face of criticism from the *SWDN*. For Thomas, Pike had failed the city by looking at the situation from a 'legal as opposed to a 'moral standpoint' like himself. Motions passed at the 1908 conference emphasized Thomas's attack on Meyer, and stressed that to deal with 'the flagrant immorality that was rampant in the city', the Free Churches Council and associated vigilance groups would back 'the public men who attempted to grapple with the evil.'¹⁰⁵ His arguments drew open support from the *SWDN* and its readers, the city's Nonconformist churches, and the Cardiff Women's Purity League. Each called for greater 'co-operation' between non-judiciary agencies to place greater pressure on the police and magistrates.¹⁰⁶ Reverend Thomas exploited these appeals, mobilizing a network

¹⁰⁴ To raise his profile as an agent against 'vice', Thomas alleged that Nonconformity had previously failed Cardiff's 'fallen girls' through not offering rescue homes, and that it was his initiative opening Treborth Home in Grangetown in 1905 that had filled the void. *South Wales Daily News*, 16 April 1908.

¹⁰⁵ See Pike's response in *South Wales Daily News*, 26 February 1908. Also see *South Wales Daily News*, 21 February 1908.

¹⁰⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, 7, 26, and 29 September 1908; *South Wales Daily News*, 4, 6, 8 and 12 October 1908. Thomas additionally targeted the *Western Mail*, whose readership was less likely to be aligned to Nonconformist churches. To reach these citizens he wrote letters urging them to recognize that powers to deal with the boarding houses were 'woefully neglected' while councillors ignored the 'scores of brothels in our midst', which represented a 'moral virus' that would even 'disgrace a heathen citizen'. *Western Mail*, 1 October 1908.

of individuals and organization to further the Nonconformist cause and his own ambition to be a dominant figure in civic politics.

Thomas's campaign achieved significant success, reaching far beyond the immediate support of the Nonconformist community and creating a wider vigilance network. Using the local press and large, interdenominational conferences as a mouthpiece, Thomas drew the support of Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free Churches into his 'great fight' against 'immorality'. He also extended his support base beyond Christian denominations to Cardiff's Jewish community, which had also expressed concerns over prostitution.¹⁰⁷ A Jewish Vigilance Committee had been established earlier in the decade in response to a case in which a Jewish shoemaker was accused of procuring a Jewish woman in Cardiff and trafficking her to Buenos Aires, and wider concerns over 'trafficking' in the British Jewish community.¹⁰⁸ The members of this committee, sanctioned and provided with membership cards by the chief constable, patrolled Cardiff's streets in an attempt to reform Jewish prostitutes.¹⁰⁹ The Jewish Vigilance Committee took a repressive stance towards prostitution, and actively warned potential clients against buying sex from Jewish women. In 1904, the committee's work caused some contention as two of its members had physically assaulted a Jewish prostitute after informing her client that she was a petty thief and had heart disease. Despite this, the case against the committee was dismissed by magistrates, and the committee was simply warned to 'refrain from interfering with these women when walking in the street with men.'¹¹⁰ Their methods were thus supported by both magistrates and the chief constable, with the former claiming that their

¹⁰⁷ *Torch*, 5:11 (1908), 209; *Western Mail*, 23 April 1909. See Chapter 3 of this thesis for discussion of concerns over Jewish prostitutes.

¹⁰⁸ For broader concerns in the British Jewish community, see Paul Knepper, "'Jewish Trafficking' and London Jews in the Age of Migration", *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6:3 (2007), 239-256.

¹⁰⁹ *Western Mail*, 24 December 1903; David Morris, 'Poor Jews in South Wales during the 1900s', *Llafur*, 11:3 (2014), 44.

¹¹⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 9 March 1904; *Western Mail*, 9 March 1904. For another example of leniency towards the violent tactics of the Jewish Vigilance Committee, see *South Wales Daily News*, 4 February 1904.

efforts were ‘prompted by laudable’ and ‘highly praiseworthy’ motives, and the latter suggesting that they had simply been ‘clumsy’ in their approach.¹¹¹

In light of the previous activities of the Jewish Vigilance Committee and how magistrates and the chief constable had endorsed their repressive tactics, Reverend Thomas capitalized on broader antagonism towards the visibility of street prostitutes. Hence, by late-1908, Reverend Thomas had assumed a prominent position in furthering the Darkest Cardiff campaign, and forming a network of concerned individuals from across the wider religious community. Despite drawing support from Jewish congregations, the main current of debate driven by Thomas was rooted in the Welsh Nonconformist focus on prostitution and drunkenness as symbiotic social mores. In October 1908 Reverend Thomas attacked the Watch Committee for thwarting the work of the police in three ways: for not putting enough pressure on magistrates to impose greater fines on brothel keepers; for underfunding the police force, making it difficult for constables to regulate the streets; and through a ‘laxity’ in the use of licensing laws that was causing a proliferation in public houses, which were seen as spaces conducive to prostitution. He also condemned magistrates and the Watch Committee for the ‘disparity’ between the numbers of arrests of ‘disorderly women’ in contrast to the number of convictions.¹¹²

Given the context of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act and the centrality of temperance to Welsh politics, it is unsurprising that Thomas sought to draw greater attention to links between prostitution and drunkenness.¹¹³ Thomas also sought to draw a contrast between Cardiff and Liverpool, another port city with a reputation for drunkenness and prostitution.¹¹⁴ This suggests that Thomas saw an opportunity in situating ‘Darkest Cardiff’ within a broader context of

¹¹¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 9 March 1904; *Western Mail*, 9 March 1904; TNA HO/45/10354/129/817, Report from Chief Constable McKenzie to the Lord Mayor, 28 September 1928.

¹¹² *South Wales Daily News*, 13 October 1908.

¹¹³ Also see the discussion of public houses in the context of place in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁴ See David Beckingham, ‘Gender, Space, and Drunkenness: Liverpool’s Licensed Premises, 1860-1914’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102:3 (2012), 647-666.

problems associated with Britain's principal ports. Thomas saw Liverpool as leading the way in regulating social problems, as the Citizens Vigilance Committee there had pressurized the local Watch Committee into reducing the number of alcohol licenses.¹¹⁵ In making comparisons with Liverpool and perceived successes there, Thomas's argument also reflected shifts within the temperance movement away from reforming the individual and towards prohibition.¹¹⁶ Thomas's approach was successful. Alongside the support of the Liberal-aligned *SWDN*, he courted the attention of the *Western Mail*, suggesting that he had mobilized a broader consensus over the necessity to control 'vice'. The newspaper remained sceptical of Nonconformist influence over policing prostitution, arguing that

Cardiff is just now experiencing one of those waves of hysteria which occasionally break out amongst well-meaning, but very unpractical people. [...] If the advice of these enthusiastic moralists were followed, the police would be compelled to do a number of illegal things, and to bear the consequences of it.¹¹⁷

Yet, despite these reservations, the *Western Mail* supported the involvement of Reverend Thomas – a likely result of the newspaper having featured Liberal voices in order to maintain its dominant role.¹¹⁸ Based on Thomas's work, the *Western Mail* called for 'religious and moral agencies' to take greater action against 'vice' as they were better placed than the police and associated 'administrative measures' to 'get[...] at the root of the evil'.¹¹⁹ This argument encapsulated non-judiciary influence over the policing of prostitution in Edwardian Cardiff, in that a network of religious and moral agencies, headed by Nonconformists, was seen as best placed to guide the hand of the city's police.

¹¹⁵ *Western Mail*, 12 October 1908. In a similar light, Thomas also compared policing methods in Cardiff to Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, emphasizing how Cardiff compared unfavourably with Liverpool with regards to the population and acreage covered by each constable.

¹¹⁶ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; James Kneale, 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2:1 (2001), 43-59.

¹¹⁷ *Western Mail*, 15 October 1908.

¹¹⁸ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 45-6, 51.

¹¹⁹ *Western Mail*, 15 October 1908.

Thomas's role as an opponent against 'the city's flagrant vices', and as a dominant figure in civic life, was cemented on 21 October 1908 through the formation of the Cardiff and District Citizens' Union (CDCU). The group was launched at a 'Great Citizens Protest Meeting' at St Mary Street's Cory Hall, and was publicly backed by the building's namesake, the industrialist, philanthropist, and temperance advocate, John Cory.¹²⁰ Other CDCU members included prominent public figures in Cardiff, such as Frederick de Courcy Hamilton, a solicitor who opened a practice in the city in the 1870s before founding the Cardiff Coal Exchange, and held substantial interests in Cardiff's shopping arcades and a number of building companies.¹²¹ Alongside industrialists and prominent civic figures, Thomas's moral purity crusade drew support from prominent national groups, including the British Women's Temperance Association, and the National Vigilance Association. Thomas's work in founding the CDCU thus created resonances between the interests of a broad network of influential individuals and those concerned with the regulation of drunkenness and prostitution at a national level. As such, the CDCU mobilized powerful local and national actants, which enabled Reverend Thomas to acquire a prominent position as both commentator, on and combatant against 'vice'.¹²²

The *SWDN* described the formation of this group at 'an historic meeting' as 'a complete success' that could 'Let the public conscience be roused and [ensure] the law will be

¹²⁰ *Western Mail*, 21 October 1908. Such was the popularity of this event, owing to the noise generated by both Nonconformist leaders and the *SWDN*, an overflow meeting was also arranged at Pembroke Terrace Methodist Chapel.

¹²¹ See GA DCAC, Records of the Cardiff Arcade Company. Hamilton later assumed the position of Town Clerk, being essentially the corporation's highest-ranked civil servant and in addition to being the 'primary source of legal opinion' for council members, the position was often one of 'social prestige at least as great as the mayor. See James Moore and Richard Rodger, 'Who Really Ran the Cities? Municipal Knowledge and Policy Networks in British Local Government, 1832-1914', in Ralf Roth and Robert Beachy, *Who Ran the Cities? City Elites and Urban Power Structures in Europe and North America, 1750-1940* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 49; Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy'.

¹²² By the mid-1920s he had also effectively merged the CDCU with the SWMVA through assuming the position of general secretary for both organizations. His actions in Edwardian Cardiff led him to obtain international renown on the evangelical circuit, later speaking at religious conferences and holding popular lectures across the United States. *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, 19 October 1919.

enforced.’¹²³ In addition, while predominantly linked to Liberal-Nonconformist groups and the *SWDN*, Reverend Thomas’s founding of the CDCU garnered support from beyond his immediate peers. Reverend Thomas had thus shifted Nonconformist influence beyond its base, and had mobilized the concerns of a wide range of individuals and religious groups. As a result, by 1910 the CDCU’s membership had run into the hundreds. Additionally, its members had developed close relationships with three quarters of the candidates who had been successful in obtaining a seat in the previous municipal election, signalling that the CDCU had become a prominent and influential lobbying force in civic politics.¹²⁴ Through the CDCU, Thomas solidified a vigilance network that also served to cement Nonconformist influence through mobilizing a wider range of actants, which included industrialists, the Jewish community, most municipal politicians, and the supporters from the general public. This approach both led to widespread influence and was central to his personal ambitions, leading him to become influential figures in civic life in the later Edwardian years.

In the first two years of its existence the CDCU effectively took hold of the Darkest Cardiff campaign, using the *SWDN* as a mouthpiece for its work. Thomas led a number of deputations to the city’s Watch Committee and attacks on the approach of magistrates and the police via the press, which influenced the imposition of harsher fines being imposed by magistrates.¹²⁵ The *SWDN* reported favourably on the CDCU’s involvement and magistrates’ responses, claiming how it symbolized the ‘good effect of the Darker Cardiff campaign. [...] This is law, justice, common-sense.’¹²⁶ Riding on this support, Thomas convened the South Wales and Monmouthshire Social Purity Conference at Cory Hall in April 1909. Much like

¹²³ *South Wales Daily News*, 22 October 1908.

¹²⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 19 October 1910; CCL CAR Cardiff and District Citizens’ Union, *Third Annual Report and Balance Sheet for 1909-10*.

¹²⁵ See GA DCONC/5/33-34, Newscuttings, August 1908-July 1909; *Western Mail*, 22 October 1908; *South Wales Daily News*, 22 October 1908; *Western Mail*, 27 October 1908; *South Wales Daily News*, 5 November 1908; *Western Mail*, 31 December 1908; *South Wales Daily News*, 8 January 1909.

¹²⁶ *South Wales Daily News*, 31 December 1908.

earlier attempts at reshaping legislation, the conference called for ‘additional legislative powers’ to ‘enable those in authority to check the moral virus’, including extended powers over brothels that had been rejected as part of the 1908 Corporation Bill. From the CDCU’s standpoint, the Aliens Act was also ‘powerless to check the white slave traffic’, and ‘immorality’ was being augmented by drunkenness and an allegedly wide distribution of pornography in the city.¹²⁷ These complaints and demands chimed with growing concerns over white slavery that culminated in the 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA), which informed a shift in the CDCU’s methods by 1911.¹²⁸ In this sense, Thomas utilized the currents of political debate to maintain momentum for both his CDCU network, and his own pre-eminence in civic affairs.

The municipal lodging house scheme

Despite having taken control of the Darkest Cardiff campaign and having shifted debate to focus on legal issues, the CDCU altered its approach towards prostitution in late-1910. A CDCU-led project to establish a municipal lodging house for women marked a new stance that recognized at least some of the reasons why working-class women sought to use prostitution: namely, the precariousness of women’s work and poor living conditions in the central slum.¹²⁹ It is difficult to pinpoint what caused Thomas to shift the approach of the CDCU, although a decline in financial support for its projects in Saltmead in Canton likely provided an impetus.¹³⁰ While Nonconformist vigilance work had been prominent following the religious revival and the CDCU dominant in civic life since 1908, concentrating its attention on the Darkest Cardiff campaign likely damaged the Forward Movement’s wider activities. Additionally, 1908 had

¹²⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 2 April 1909.

¹²⁸ See Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 197-8.

¹²⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 19 October 1910; CLS CAR, Cardiff and District Citizens’ Union, *Third Annual Report and Balance Sheet for 1909-10*.

¹³⁰ CLS 948.2 (488) CAL, Eighth Annual Report of the Women’s Branch and of the Kingswood-Treborh Home, 1910-11; *Torch*, 8:9 (1912), 176-7.

marked a more general decline in influence of Nonconformity as the major denominations faced structural difficulties and mounting debts through over-expansion during the throes of the revival.¹³¹ As such, the municipal lodging house scheme provided an opportunity for Thomas to re-manoeuvre himself and the CDCU into the main current of debate, particularly through suggesting that it be sited in the central slum area: the dominant place associated with prostitution by the late-Edwardian years. In addition to the financial issues facing the social reform arms of Nonconformist denominations, the lodging house scheme chimed with broader notions of the prostitute as victim amidst national concerns over white slavery, suggesting that Thomas might also have sought to better align the CDCU with national debates.¹³²

By May 1911 a Women's Municipal Lodging-house Committee had been formed to develop the project, with involvement from the Corporation's head engineer and the prominent venereologist Dr Erie Evans.¹³³ The choice of Charles Street in the central ward as the location for the boarding house drew some protest from business owners and ratepayers' associations over its potential to devalue nearby properties.¹³⁴ While the scheme obtained support from the *SWDN*, the *Western Mail*, keeping in line with its conservative values, lent its voice to the case of the ratepayers. In September 1911, this newspaper argued that the establishment of a municipal lodging house predominantly for prostitutes would have a negative effect on overall property values in the vicinity, and the costs of running such a scheme to the ratepayer would be considerable. Additionally, existing 'homes for respectable girls' in Cardiff were said to be

¹³¹ Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 96.

¹³² For instance, a March 1911 SWMVA meeting saw complaints from a range of prominent figures, such as John Cory and the Bishop of Llandaff, calling for 'respectable' and 'wealthy citizens' to confront the white slave traffic. *South Wales Daily News*, 15 March 1911.

¹³³ *South Wales Daily News*, 10 May 1911; *Western Mail*, 4 August 1911 and 15 September 1911. While Evans's involvement in the project suggests that venereal disease was an underlying concern, this was not an overt aspect of the debate over 'Darkest Cardiff'. Also see *South Wales Daily News*, 7 January 1911. This development was welcomed by the *SWDN*, yet some criticisms were raised over its short trial period. Censure from the press increased when the City Council introduced some bureaucratic hurdles through demanding that the Health Committee provide detailed reports before they would consider the scheme. See *South Wales Daily News*, 10 January 1911.

¹³⁴ *Western Mail*, 4 August 1911 and 15 September 1911. For ratepayers' associations, see Doyle, 'The Changing Functions of Urban Government', 307-8.

under-occupied, and the *Western Mail* charged that the Charles Street project would simply produce more unutilized space.¹³⁵ Supported by the Cardiff Chamber of Trade, a prominent Cardiff solicitor, and in letters from its readers, the *Western Mail* felt that it was the ‘voluntary defections’ of individual women that led them to become ‘wayward’, and that ‘the ratepayers are not to be called upon to provide little palaces for girls of that class.’

The *Western Mail* thus placed a notion of blame onto individual women, and rejected the new Liberal-Nonconformist mission to reform – particularly due to concerns over the cost to ratepayers.¹³⁶ The *Western Mail* considered its critique to be of ‘formidable strength’ and placed pressure on the Corporation’s Finance Committee to block the project.¹³⁷ However, the efforts of the *Western Mail* were futile. Owing to the previous censure it had faced from the *SWDN* and the CDCU, alongside a co-ordinated response to the *Western Mail* led by Eirie Evans, the scheme was unanimously approved by the Corporation.¹³⁸ The failure of the *Western Mail* and the ratepayers to convince the Corporation otherwise was also reflective of broader governmental aims regarding prostitution, for the debates leading up to the ratification of the 1912 CLAA emphasized a perception of the prostitute as victim and in need of protection, as opposed to a victim of her own circumstance.¹³⁹ The approval of the scheme was described by the *SWDN* as ‘an overwhelming defeat on those [i.e. the *Western Mail* and the ratepayers’ organizations] who have attempted [...] to make [the scheme] ridiculous in the eyes of the public.’¹⁴⁰

Unfortunately, the records of the municipal scheme have not survived and there was little public debate following its approval. We do know that average numbers of women

¹³⁵ *Western Mail*, 18 September 1911.

¹³⁶ The *Western Mail* also echoed the aforementioned concerns of the Home Office, which felt that the 1908 Corporation Bill and the arrest of Reverend Rhodes was shifting the blame from individual women to ‘respectable’ male clients. Also see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 4.

¹³⁷ *Western Mail*, 19, 20 and 21 September 1911.

¹³⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 19 September 1911.

¹³⁹ See Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 50-1.

¹⁴⁰ *South Wales Daily News* and *Western Mail*, 25 September 1911; *South Wales Daily News*, 26 September 1911.

lodging had increased from five per day in 1911 to eleven per day by late-1912, and in its first year the lodging house accommodated a total of 519 different women.¹⁴¹ Additionally, positive reports in the regional press inspired a similar project in Swansea.¹⁴² Yet, the scheme was costly, and in early 1913 the Finance Committee raised questions over the necessity of the facility as it was alleged to be under-occupied and running a deficit of £288.¹⁴³ The demise of the lodging house marked the culmination of the influence of the *SWDN* and Nonconformist vigilance over the regulation of Cardiff's prostitution, with its dwindling finances mirroring a general decline in Nonconformist influence. This coincided with wartime concerns, and was followed a change of personnel in Cardiff City Police that marked a distinct break with the networks that had informed the regulation of prostitution in Edwardian Cardiff.

The CDCU and public censure during and after the First World War

The CDCU's attention to prostitution diminished during the First World War as their activities shifted to mainly focus on the sale of 'intoxicants and amusements' in Cardiff and Barry, and attempts to lobby the government to extend the restricted area under the 1914 DoRA to all of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.¹⁴⁴ This change in the CDCU's focus reflected, in part, a broader shift in police concerns over 'morals' during wartime from prostitution to drunkenness.¹⁴⁵ Yet it was also an effect of the CDCU's emphasis on Sabbatarianism in 1913, which proved to be a more important local election issue.¹⁴⁶ The scale of the CDCU's attention to drunkenness during wartime led one *Western Mail* reader to remark that the group,

¹⁴¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 November 1912.

¹⁴² *South Wales Daily News*, 23 April 1912.

¹⁴³ *Western Mail*, 20 February 1913. The scheme was defended by the SWMVA, the *SWDN* and the Medical Officer of Health, who had found that 'the hostel served a useful purpose in providing cheap and safe lodgings for women and girls who are temporarily out of employment.' *South Wales Daily News*, 20 and 22 February 1913.

¹⁴⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 6 November 1915. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of wartime legislation and the implications of the 1914 DoRA.

¹⁴⁵ As we saw in the previous chapter, a depleted force and assistance from military police and voluntary patrols led to a reduction in arrests and less demand for the police to act.

¹⁴⁶ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 222.

abandoning its concern over prostitution, had transformed itself into nothing but a ‘non-public-elected body of teetotallers.’¹⁴⁷ The *SWDN* followed suit. Instead of focusing on prostitution, the newspaper now complained that an ‘increase of drunkenness among women’ was ‘one of the most serious social problems of the war.’¹⁴⁸

Wartime conditions marked only a temporary break.¹⁴⁹ Renewed concerns over prostitution emerged in late-1916 and were informed by anxieties over the growing multiracial character of the dockland through wartime recruitment of colonial labour.¹⁵⁰ Within this context, the *SWDN* made complaints about ‘white girls’ from the ‘hills and valleys’ being ‘trapped’ and ‘degraded’ in Butetown boarding houses.¹⁵¹ While these concerns displayed some continuities with the debates surrounding the 1912 CLAA, they differed in how they conflated the exploitation of ‘British’ girls in the dockland with prostitution and fears over interracial sexual relationships.¹⁵² As we saw earlier in this thesis, these concerns escalated during the latter years of the war, receiving regular coverage in regional titles like the *SWDN*.¹⁵³

Agreeing with the *SWDN*, one H. F. Gardiner of the National Sailors’ Society argued that

The number of young girls parading our streets, and who waylay sailors, of late has greatly increased, and so has soliciting. One boatswain told me that he was astonished on his first visit to Cardiff that he, as an American sailor, could not go up to the Law Courts and back without being accosted six times by young girls.¹⁵⁴

On this basis, Gardiner felt that any ‘pair of white gloves’ for the Lord Mayor (which signified a ‘clean sheet’ at the petty sessions) or ‘aldermanic statement “that Cardiff has a record of

¹⁴⁷ *Western Mail*, 11 March 1916.

¹⁴⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 5 February 1915. An editorial added: ‘Excessive drinking among women is admittedly a far greater evil than among men. It affects the rising generation more profoundly, demoralises the homes of the people, and spreads misery and ruin broadcast.’

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 5 for the impact of the war on policing.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 4 for a detailed examination of the connections between race and prostitution.

¹⁵¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 4 September 1916. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of place and geography within debates over Cardiff’s prostitution.

¹⁵² *South Wales Daily News*, 12 December 1916.

¹⁵³ See GA DCONC/5/54-55, Newscuttings, May 1917-March 1918.

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion of age and perceptions of the prostitute, see Chapter 3.

being one of the cleanest cities in Great Britain” was nothing but a façade to conceal the return of ‘Darkest Cardiff’.¹⁵⁵

The idea of ‘Darkest Cardiff’ had thus shifted from concerns over the weakness of the police and magistrates in dealing with prostitution to more prominent concerns over race. The recruitment of colonial labour during the First World War served to intensify concerns over miscegenation, providing a framework for an increasingly racialized perception of Cardiff’s prostitution during the interwar years. Coinciding with the rise in racial anxieties over Butetown and its conceptualization as a sexualized and racialized place, Cardiff’s Nonconformist leaders likewise turned their attentions towards ‘British girls’ being ‘trapped’ and coerced into prostitution in ‘alien boarding houses’. Reverend Thomas explicitly refocused the approach of the CDCU towards this new connection, initiating a ‘Victory Crusade’ to cleanse the city of both ‘alien boarding houses’ and the ‘Slums and brothels [that] flourish in the heart of the city’. In December 1917, the CDCU had submitted a report to the Watch Committee, demanding that it take action against such establishments.¹⁵⁶ Owing to a lack of support, potentially through having become labelled as a band of ‘teetotallers’ through focusing purely on temperance during the early part of the war, the CDCU remained inactive on this front until April 1919. With encouragement from the *SWDN*, the CDCU again called for the employment of white women in ‘alien boarding-houses’ to be banned, even though it was believed that this would likely not ‘prohibit’ relationships between ‘a coloured man and a white woman’. The finger was pointed at the Corporation, with the CDCU highlighting the Watch

¹⁵⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 11 January 1918.

¹⁵⁶ *South Wales Daily News* and *Western Mail*, 14 January 1918; CLS 948.2 (561) CAR, Cardiff and District Citizens’ Union, *The Daysman: A guide to citizenship and Eleventh Annual Report for the year ending September 30th, 1918*. This report caused some consternation amongst Watch Committee members, with the chairperson arguing that the committee should be notified of all female appointments at seamen’s boarding houses as they ‘can refuse to grant the licences if we find that white girls are employed.’ However, a decision to set up a sub-committee on public morals in response to the complaints of Nonconformist groups was deferred, much to the dismay of the leaders of Cardiff’s ‘Victory Crusade’. *Western Mail*, 17 January 1918; *South Wales Daily News*, 12 February 1918.

Committee's inability to act as it had no control over boarding-house licenses, and that the Health Committee had granted licenses against the police's recommendations.¹⁵⁷

Thomas's targeting of boarding houses can be read as attempt to latch onto the main current of debate relating to the city's morals. Yet, unlike their pre-war campaigns, the CDCU achieved far less success in their post-war 'Victory Crusade'.¹⁵⁸ In part, this was a result of the declining influence of Nonconformity in civic affairs.¹⁵⁹ The First World War marked a period in which Nonconformists began to withdraw from politics: owing to the 'secularising effect' of the rise of the Labour movement, Nonconformists instead directed their energies more into evangelism and inter-church cooperation than morality politics.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, Welsh Nonconformist denominations became more introspective in terms of questioning what role they could play in post-war society, concentrating their social concerns on education as opposed to prostitution and intemperance.¹⁶¹ This also echoed a broader decline in civic philanthropy, with Evans remarking on how the First World War marked the 'death' of the urban charitable work that had characterized the late-Victorian and Edwardian period.¹⁶² Another reason for the decline of Nonconformist influence was a more general shift in perceptions of the prostitute during the latter stages of the war. As we saw in Chapter 3, by 1918 the 'amateur' had superseded the 'prostitute' proper as a source of anxiety, blurring the lines between female promiscuity and commercial sex. This was emphasized in concerns that

¹⁵⁷ *South Wales News*, 28 April 1919.

¹⁵⁸ The CDCU gained some support from the Cardiff Child Welfare Council, which sent a deputation to the Health Committee in May 1919 to lobby them to take a harder line against boarding house license applications from Butetown. *South Wales News*, 22 May 1919.

¹⁵⁹ Also see arguments on the declining influence of purity politics in the 1920s in Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, 160-3.

¹⁶⁰ By 1918, the ratio of clergy to the total population had fallen to below the figure recorded for 1851. See Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy', 304-5; D. W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914* (London, Boston, MA and Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 159-60. This shift from Liberal-Nonconformity to Labour politics was especially pertinent in South Wales, and marked a significant turning point leading to the formation of a secularized class-based identity for which Nonconformity became increasingly less relevant. See Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 1-2. Also see arguments in Dai Smith, *Wales! Wales?* (London and Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984); and Dai Smith and Hywel Francis, *The Fed: A History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, [1980] 1998).

¹⁶¹ Pope, *Building Jerusalem*, 224-5.

¹⁶² Evans, 'Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy', 321.

emerged in 1919 over ‘dock prowlers’ boarding ships, which Chief Constable David Williams saw as linked to both promiscuity associated with the ‘amateur’, and the activities of the ‘professional’ prostitute.¹⁶³ These fears continued to build into 1920 when more explicit complaints were made in the press after an incident in Swansea.¹⁶⁴ In the eyes of the *Western Mail*, it was evidence of a ‘growing evil’ of ‘floating harems’ at ‘English ports’, in which ‘young girls’ were allegedly ‘adopting a practice of secretly boarding merchant ships’.¹⁶⁵ The *Western Mail* thus posed a particular problem, in that the port environment had become the site of a form of prostitution involving young women and ‘foreign’ seafarers, which, due to the concealed and ‘floating’ aspect of this alleged behaviour, was difficult to regulate.

Allegations over ‘dock prowlers’ drew interest from beyond South Wales, highlighting both the influence of the *Western Mail* beyond Wales, and Cardiff’s growing reputation as a ‘problem’ port. The National Council for the Combating of Venereal Diseases (NCCVD), the precursor to the British Social Hygiene Council, claimed that Penarth dock in particular was ‘one of the worst cesspits of immorality’ that its executive had ‘ever seen or heard of’.¹⁶⁶ Despite claims of exaggeration from the Penarth Dock Company, concerns over ‘dock prowlers’ in the South Wales ports had national resonance. On providing evidence to a joint parliamentary select committee considering amendments to 1885 CLAA and Sexual Offences Bills, the NCCVD offered details on ‘dock prowlers’ incidents at Cardiff and Penarth docks, and suggested an addition to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill to prohibit prostitutes from boarding ships, and to make harbour authorities accountable for preventing prostitution.¹⁶⁷ While the NCCVD’s suggestions were not included as part of the eventual 1922 CLAA, how

¹⁶³ *South Wales News*, 28 April 1919.

¹⁶⁴ See GA DCONC/5/59, Newscuttings, October 1919-March 1920. Reports were published across the South Wales press of a woman stowing on a ship at Llanelli North Dock with a fireman and ending up in Boulogne. In response, Swansea’s Harbour Trust enforced a bye-law to assist police in arresting prostitutes seen to be ‘prowling or loitering’ near the docks. Meanwhile, at Barry, complaints were made over women dressing in men’s clothing to avoid suspicion from docks police.

¹⁶⁵ *Western Mail*, 9 February 1920.

¹⁶⁶ *South Wales News*, 3 November 1920.

¹⁶⁷ See *Western Mail*, 19 November 1920; *South Wales News*, 9 December 1920.

Cardiff featured in debates at the select committee stage was symbolic of both Cardiff's growing status as a 'problem' port with regard to the connection between prostitution and its dockland, and the emergence of a network that would come to involve Cardiff City Police, the Home Office, and social hygiene organizations, and would explicitly shaped the regulation of prostitution.¹⁶⁸ This network was mobilized by Chief Constable Wilson, who capitalized on the current of national debate relating to immigration controls in principal ports to further his own position in the context of civic politics, and his reputation as one of Britain's foremost police chiefs. The amendment also chimed with broader anxieties over racial regulation and the potential for further race riots in the post-war years – on behalf of both the Home Office and authorities in Cardiff – which reshaped governmental objectives over the regulation of prostitution port cities.¹⁶⁹ This signalled a shift away from the bipartisan Welsh political context which shaped police action on prostitution. Demonstrating the unfixed and temporal nature of methods of governance, interwar approaches towards regulating prostitution – and race – adopted a more characteristically 'governmental' form via a new network headed by Chief Constable Wilson.

Chief Constable Wilson, race, and governmentality

While the influence of Nonconformity had dwindled since the First World War, Thomas had maintained a presence in civic life through having become secretary of the SWMVA around 1925-6.¹⁷⁰ In 1926, Thomas had made a number of accusations over girls being 'lured' into prostitution both in sub-lets with 'coloured men' in Cardiff, and into prostitution in London.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ the enactment of the 1922 CLAA, see Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law*, 50.

¹⁶⁹ For instance, see TNA HO45/11897/60, Immigration Officer's Report on Cardiff, 18 March 1922; and arguments in Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁰ See National Library of Wales (NLW) MS 15450C, Minutes of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, 1919-37.

¹⁷¹ *Western Mail*, 24 September 1927; *South Wales News*, 27 September 1927; NLW MS 15450C, Minutes of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association, 30 December 1926. Also see Mari Williams, 'The New London Welsh', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 9 (2003), 135-151. See Chapter 4 of this thesis for a detailed examination of Thomas's claims within the context of the racialization of prostitution in

For Thomas, this combined threat of ‘new’, racialized sites of prostitution in Cardiff and the lure of prostitution in London marked a ‘new phase’ of white slavery, and was used to attempt to regain his position as the city’s principal combatant against ‘vice’. The following year Thomas was presented with an opportunity to further his cause. In October 1927 allegations were made in *Satan Conduit Le Bal*, a book by French author Georges Anquetil, and in the French newspaper *Le Petit Parisien*, that cafés in Cardiff’s dockland were prominent in global ‘white slave traffic’, and where young girls were into prostitution in Buenos Aires.¹⁷² Thomas publicly agreed with the allegations made by Anquetil and *Le Petit Parisien*, and set out his case in Cardiff’s *Evening Express* in October 1927.¹⁷³

Thomas’s argument was subject to significant criticism. As we saw in Chapters 4 and 5, the appointment of James Wilson as Chief Constable in 1920 marked a turning point in both the perception and regulation of prostitution in Cardiff. After building a reputation as an effective opponent of ‘immorality’ through targeting prostitution on city centre streets, Wilson turned the attentions of his force towards café prostitution in Butetown and the question of immigration.¹⁷⁴ This marked a distinct shift in narrative from the Edwardian years. Despite some focus on the role of ‘foreign’ pimps prior to the 1912 CLAA, there were few cases of procuration and little public debate after the Bill had been passed.¹⁷⁵ However, the connections that Wilson developed between the Maltese and an exploitative form of prostitution captured the temper of the times. Connections between race and prostitution were driven by the racial politics of the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order and concerns over the regulation of colonial subjects in the port of Cardiff. By contrast, Thomas’s views on the

Butetown, and Simon Jenkins, ‘Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927–47’, *Cultural and Social History*, 11:4 (2014), 575-596.

¹⁷² See Chapter 2 for a discussion of place and transnational interest in Cardiff.

¹⁷³ See the overview of the argument as covered in the *South Wales Echo*, 16 November 1927.

¹⁷⁴ For positive coverage of Wilson’s approach, see *South Wales News* and *Western Mail*, 12 January 1922; *South Wales News*, 19 January 1922; *South Wales News*, 3 June 1924; and a range of articles contained in GA DCONC/5/62-68, Newscuttings, October 1921-December 1925. The ‘Daily’ was removed from title of the *South Wales Daily News* in 1919, although for consistency I will continue to refer to ‘SWDN’ in the text

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 5.

trafficking of girls from Cardiff can be seen as anachronistic and a continuation of debates surrounding the 1912 CLAA.¹⁷⁶

Thomas's arguments over white slave traffic signalled an attempt to maintain the authority he had prior to the First World War. Wilson recognized this, and publicly declared Thomas's argument to be 'bunkum' given that he had received no complaints regarding procurement, nor had his force dealt with any such case since 1922.¹⁷⁷ Despite Reverend Thomas's protestations against Wilson's comments in Cardiff's newspapers and some London titles, he received little support.¹⁷⁸ Likewise, the *SWDN*, which had been a constant ally of Thomas and his causes during the Edwardian period, sided with the chief constable. Bemoaning the lack of evidence to support Thomas's claims, the *SWDN* described his arguments as 'silly twaddle'. The newspaper even made a personal attack on his character, describing him and his 'egregious folly' as 'the despair of his friends, the laughing stock of his friends, and the worst enemy of his own cause.'¹⁷⁹ The *Western Mail* joined the criticism of Thomas's character, publishing a full-page article based on excerpts from a 'slashing attack' by Chief Constable Wilson, which further discredited Reverend Thomas and the SWMVA.¹⁸⁰ Wilson's success in debasing Thomas's argument signalled his rise as a prominent figure in civic politics, and caused the SWMVA to distance themselves from Thomas's arguments.¹⁸¹ The chief constable's attack on Thomas in 1927 can thus be read as an attempt to silence a hitherto prominent critic of policing in the city. While Thomas had previously been able to use the press to promote his cause, it was now Wilson who had the upper hand in using the city's newspapers

¹⁷⁶ See Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 297-304.

¹⁷⁷ *Western Mail*, 6 October 1927. Also see his defence to the Watch Committee: GA DCONC/1/1/7, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 15 November 1927.

¹⁷⁸ Even the *Evening Express*, the small circulation newspaper in which he made the allegations, came to distance itself from Thomas's comments. *Evening Express*, 16 November 1927.

¹⁷⁹ *South Wales News*, 10 November 1927; 19 November 1927.

¹⁸⁰ *Western Mail*, 17 November 1927. Also see *South Wales News*, 17 November 1927.

¹⁸¹ *South Wales News*, 25 November 1927. The SWMVA even issued a formal apology in the *Evening Express*, explaining that Thomas's views had simply been 'grossly misrepresented and misunderstood'. *Evening Express*, 24 November 1927. Also see *South Wales Echo*, 24 November 1927.

to emphasize and enforce his arguments.¹⁸² Less concerned by civic moral politics and with Liberal-Nonconformity a spent force, regional titles were instead focused, like Wilson, on the racial element of prostitution, and published favourable accounts of Home Secretary William Joynson-Hicks's efforts to 'keep out undesirable aliens' from ports.¹⁸³

This silencing of Reverend Thomas and the damage inflicted by this debate on the SWMVA essentially marked the end of the influence of local vigilance groups and the Nonconformist community over the regulation of prostitution in Cardiff: by 1935 the work of the SWMVA had effectively been wound up due to a gradual diminution of funding since the mid-1920s.¹⁸⁴ One aspect of Chief Constable Wilson's success in courting the favour of the press was a more politically-savvy approach towards the reporting of criminal statistics, which were used to assert his efficiency in upholding the moral reputation of Cardiff.¹⁸⁵ Akin to how Cardiff's force only provided formal arrest figures to the Watch Committee at the height of the Darkest Cardiff campaign, statistics were used as a political tool by Wilson to enhance his reputation and obtain support from the press.¹⁸⁶ With reference to Wilson's statistical report for 1927, which outlined a considerable decrease in 'social vice crime' since he became chief constable, the *SWDN* argued that:

It is almost incredible that after the recent exposure of the false allegations against the moral reputation of the city of Cardiff [i.e. Reverend Thomas and the SWMVA], there are any citizens of ordinary intelligence who believe they are living in a cesspool of vice and iniquity. But if anything were required to discredit such indefensible scaremongering, it will be found in the report [of]

¹⁸² To an extent, the *Western Mail* recognized Wilson's strategy, noting that 'the chief-constable appears to resent having had attention drawn to these things' and expressed 'condemnation of the press for urging the necessity of inquiry.' *Western Mail*, 17 November 1927.

¹⁸³ See *Western Mail*, 20 January 1925; *South Wales News*, 27 January 1925.

¹⁸⁴ NLW MS 15450C, Minutes of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Vigilance Association and the Cardiff and District Citizens Union, 1919-1937.

¹⁸⁵ For more discussion on Wilson's use of criminal statistics, see Chapter 5.

¹⁸⁶ Also see discussion in John Walliss, 'Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics? Nineteenth Century Crime Statistics for England and Wales as a Historical Source', *History Compass*, 10:8 (2012), 574-583; Howard Taylor, 'Forging the Job: A Crisis of "Modernization" or Redundancy for the Police in England and Wales, 1900-39', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39:1 (1999), 113-135; Stefan Slater, 'Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959', *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357.

Mr J. A. Wilson [...] The improvement is not slight, but extraordinary. [Cardiff] is morally one of the cleanest cities in Britain.¹⁸⁷

Wilson's dominance in civic life was also aided by changes in newspaper ownership in Cardiff. In 1928 the hitherto Liberal-Nonconformist *SWDN* and its sister titles were purchased by the *Western Mail*.¹⁸⁸ The plurality of the regional press in the Edwardian years, along with the influence of the Nonconformist community, meant that Wilson's predecessors had a far more difficult time in courting the support of newspapers than he did in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁸⁹ Wilson's campaign against racial minorities in Butetown during the late-1920s and early-1930s received significant support from the *Western Mail* and associated titles, particularly in response to his targeting of Maltese 'pimps' and connections between prostitution and 'half-caste' children.¹⁹⁰ The racialization of prostitution in these years shifted the blame regarding prostitution away from the police and towards external migrant groups, and towards a wider discourse of anti-alienism and questions around the regulation of colonial subjects resident in Britain.

Wilson's success in courting support from the press can also be explained through considering broader governmental objectives, which included a growing desire for the centralization of police forces in England and Wales.¹⁹¹ While not realized until after the Second World War, the Home Office was of the opinion by the late-1920s that police constables were servants of the Crown rather than local government.¹⁹² Accompanying this

¹⁸⁷ *South Wales News*, 9 February 1928.

¹⁸⁸ Jones, *Press, Politics, and Society*, 129-30.

¹⁸⁹ This decline in press censure is reflected in police press cuttings books, as while individual volumes in the Edwardian years covered around three months' worth of press coverage, by the 1930s each volume covered around a year, and by the 1950s they roughly covered three-year periods. GA DCONC/5/12-85, Newscuttings, 1900-1960.

¹⁹⁰ For instance, see *Western Mail*, December 17, 1930, and a range of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/74-78, Newscuttings, July 1929-November 1936. Also see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the racialization of prostitution.

¹⁹¹ By the late-1920s Watch Committees had become more aligned with policy and finance issues than technical ones. See Bryan Keith-Lucas, 'The Independence of Chief Constables', *Public Administration*, 38 (1960), 3.

¹⁹² Clive Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (London and New York: Longman, [1991] 1996), 153.

was a notion of the police being more effective agents in controlling social issues in Cardiff, particularly around race and sex. This was not limited to prostitution, as both the Home Office and city council were concerned over the potential for further rioting based on interracial sexual relationships in dockland, and the subsequent embroilment of prostitution within racial regulation.¹⁹³ Wilson also explicitly stated his belief that the police were better placed than ‘the social reformer’ to deal with the dual ‘problem’ of race and prostitution in British ports.¹⁹⁴ The statist aspect of interwar police work is also evident in how Cardiff City Police played an active role in immigration control, with reports that they had ‘employed any and every means to compel [all] coloured seamen to register as aliens’, including domiciled seafarers and those born in British territories.¹⁹⁵ When questions over the ineffectiveness of the police in dealing with prostitution did arise, it was not the chief constable’s approach that was seen as to blame, but issues around legislation pertaining to the regulation of ‘aliens’.¹⁹⁶

The conflation of prostitution with racial regulation, amidst a broader climate of anti-alienism, thus represented a shift in police work away from a position of domestic missionary answerable to the local Watch Committee and press, and towards an approach concerned with achieving wider political aims regarding immigration control.¹⁹⁷ In this sense, governance within the civic or regional setting was seen to be illustrative of good governance of threats to

¹⁹³ See TNA HO45/11897/60, Immigration Officer’s Report on Cardiff, 18 March 1922; and the discussion in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

¹⁹⁴ See Women’s Library (WL) 3AMS/B/08/02, James Wilson, ‘Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 6 January 1929 and 10 April 1929.

¹⁹⁵ G. W. Brown, ‘Investigation of Colonial Coloured Seamen in Cardiff’, *Keys*, 3:2 (1935), 19; Laura Tabili, ‘The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33:1 (1994), 54-98. As Dean argues with regards to race, biopolitics and authoritarian forms of governmentality, ‘Under certain conditions [...] frustrations with [...] programmes of improvement may lead to forms of knowledge and political rationality that will identify certain groups as without value and beyond improvement. Liberal regimes of government can thus slide away from the “good despot” for the improvable towards sovereign interventions to confine, to contain, to coerce and to eliminate, if only by prevention, those deemed without value.’ Dean, *Governmentality*, 171.

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 4, and Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice? Maltese Men and the Organization of Prostitution in Interwar Cardiff’, *Journal of Social History*, 49:4 (2016), 928-958.

¹⁹⁷ See Robert Storch, ‘The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880’, *Journal of Social History*, 9:4 (1976), 481-509.

national stability.¹⁹⁸ This can likewise be seen in the attitudes of the South Wales forces towards policing industrial strikes in the 1920s – with Wilson’s officers being called to assist in dealing with striking miners in the Glamorgan coalfield – and towards monitoring potential communists.¹⁹⁹ Whereas vigilance and rescue work dominated responses to prostitution in the Edwardian period, Wilson looked beyond the city for support in his dual campaign to regulate both race and sexual behaviours. This can be read an attempt by Wilson to acquire a position of influence through working with groups that had greater involvement within the discourse of racial regulation. Much like Reverend Thomas’s efforts before 1914, Wilson sought to mobilize a wider group of actants to develop and work towards objectives with regards to both racial and prostitution regulation, and to further his own career. Alongside dialogue with the home secretary in attempts to obtain greater controls over the Maltese, Wilson dismissed interjections from previously influential civic figures, such as Thomas’s ally Frederick de Courcy Hamilton, and sought to construct a national network involving MPs, and other ports ‘a view to securing cooperative effort towards strengthening legislation in respect of the evils’.²⁰⁰ In early-1929, Wilson attended a conference of port immigration officers at the Home Office at which he offered his expertise on how to regulate ‘the problem connected with coloured men’ and how to prevent ‘the flow’ of colonial and ‘alien’ seafarers into British ports.²⁰¹

Wilson also capitalized on the growing interest of the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC) on matters of port and seamen’s welfare. The BSHC had held an international conference in Cardiff in 1925 with the support of the Lord Mayor, and Cardiff’s Medical

¹⁹⁸ See Osborne and Nikolas, ‘Governing Cities’, 740.

¹⁹⁹ *Western Mail*, 31 July 1925; David Jones, *Crime and Policing in the Twentieth Century: The South Wales Experience* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 66, 131-3; Emsley, *The English Police*, 140.

²⁰⁰ See CLS, City of Cardiff, *Reports of Council and Committees, Nov. 1928-Nov. 1929*; *The Times*, January 23, 1929.

²⁰¹ WL 3AMS/B/08/02, Wilson, ‘Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff’, 10 April 1929.

Officer of Health, Thomas Scott, had been a member of the organizing committee of a subsequent conference on seamen's welfare in 1928.²⁰² The BSHC-affiliated British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine (BCWMM) was aware of Wilson's desire for the introduction of South African-style anti-miscegenation laws, and relayed his arguments at an international conference in Geneva in 1929. Much like Wilson, the BCWMM's representative expressed concerns over the connections between black seamen and white prostitutes in Cardiff, and the allegedly resultant 'growth of a half-caste population, alien in sentiment and habits to the native white inhabitants.'²⁰³ In keeping with his positioning of café prostitution as a eugenic and imperial question, he looked to obtain further support from the BSHC, which by 1931 had established a South Wales branch.²⁰⁴ Wilson felt that the influence of the BSHC and the BCWMM 'would be of invaluable assistance to the Cardiff authorities in their effort to deal with the Bute-town problem'.²⁰⁵ Following reports for the Watch Committee on prostitution and 'half-caste' children in Butetown, Wilson attended the BSHC and the BCWMM's National Conference on the Health and Welfare of the British Merchant Navy at Home and in Ports on 3 May 1929.²⁰⁶ His attendance at this conference led to longer-term involvement at Cardiff from the BSHC and BCWMM, which, as we will see in Chapter 7, informed wider plans to reshape the dockland environment and to make it an easier space to regulate.²⁰⁷

Just as Reverend Thomas used the Darkest Cardiff campaign to manoeuvre himself into a prominent position in civic politics, Chief Constable Wilson used the nexus of race and prostitution to obtain a career of national renown, and during his tenure in Cardiff he was

²⁰² Alfred Salter (BSHC), 'Great Britain and the Welfare of Seamen', in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1929), 41-2.

²⁰³ F. Bowes (BCWMM), 'General Welfare Conditions in the Ports of Great Britain', in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1929), 77.

²⁰⁴ Wellcome Library (WLL) SA/BSH/F.1/4, Minutes of the British Social Hygiene Council Executive Committee, 22 September 1931.

²⁰⁵ *Western Mail*, 9 May 1929.

²⁰⁶ GA DCONC/1/17, Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee, 8 May 1929.

²⁰⁷ See Chapters 4 and 5 for a detailed analysis of Wilson's 1929 reports for the Watch Committee and the 1935 Richardson Survey.

frequently called to give evidence to Royal Commissions and parliamentary committees.²⁰⁸ Wilson, who was appointed when Watch Committees had greater power over policing, recognized the growing centralization and professionalization of policing and manoeuvred himself accordingly.²⁰⁹ In capitalizing on broader fears over race and immigration and the growing statist and centralized character of policing in England and Wales, Wilson obtained some significant accolades: just prior to his retirement in June 1946 he received a knighthood for ‘services to Civil Defence’ and had become the most ‘senior Chief Constable of all the cities and boroughs in Britain.’²¹⁰ The appointment of Chief Constable Wilson thus marked a significant decline in the influence of both the press and Nonconformist groups in shaping the regulation of prostitution in Cardiff. In a sense, the regulation of prostitution in Cardiff after the First World War was more ‘governmental’ than it had been in the Edwardian years when it was driven by Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity and characterized by the bipartisan dimension of Welsh politics. In the interwar years it was typified by the biopolitical concerns of social hygiene and desires to more closely regulate race in port districts, with the police assuming a more sustained and statist role less characterized by periodic responses to local censure. This regulatory shift was also driven by the actions of Chief Constable Wilson and the manner in which he mobilized a distributed network of individuals and organizations who shared his concerns over immigration and miscegenation in the interwar years.²¹¹ Hence, despite a greater degree of centralization, the role of localized actor-networks in shaping and co-producing the direction of regulation was still paramount.

²⁰⁸ For example, see *South Wales News*, 3 June 1924; *Western Mail*, 1 February 1930 and 1 January 1946. Also see a range of articles collected in GA DCONC/5/60-83, Newscuttings, October 1920-January 1948.

²⁰⁹ For the centralization of policing, see Williams, ‘Rotten Boroughs’, 162-3.

²¹⁰ *Western Mail*, 1 January 1946 and 16 May 1946. For further discussion of Wilson’s careerism, see Jenkins, ‘Inherent Vice?’, and Chapter 5 of this thesis.

²¹¹ A 1960 survey on the work of chief constables likewise remarked how the balance of power between the Home Office and local Watch Committees rested on the personalities of chief constables. See Keith-Lucas, ‘The Independence of Chief Constables’, 5.

Conclusion

In 1908 the *Western Mail*, while sceptical of Nonconformist zeal, proclaimed that ‘religious and moral agencies’ were better placed than the police and ‘administrative measures’ to ‘get[...] at the root of the evil’ of prostitution.²¹² By the 1920s opinions had reversed. Instead, Chief Constable Wilson, with support from the *Western Mail*, was arguing that police forces were better placed than religious organizations and social reformers to tackle ‘immorality’ in the port. This shift can be explained on two levels. First, it embodied changes in political discourse. The Edwardian years saw the Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist community exert considerable influence over the actions of police and magistrates. The success of this campaign represented the confidence and influence of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity after the religious revival, with Home Office intervention in the Rhodes scandal and the failed 1908 Corporation Bill being symbolic of both the bipartisan character of Welsh political culture in this period and a reassertion of ‘state’ power. Hence, we see an interweaving of the power of the sovereign national state with the influence of a dominant Liberal-Nonconformist network in South Wales.²¹³ Rather than social purity movements being shaped by ‘the magnet of Parliament’, we thus see a more complex – albeit contingent – configuration in how regulatory power was formulated and exercised.²¹⁴ The makeup of these networks changed after 1914 through a general decline in influence of Nonconformist politics, and a distinct shift in concerns in relation to prostitution – particularly within the context of this multiracial port. The confluence of racial and sexual regulation in the interwar years was symbolic of a combination of broader governmental aims over the control of race in port districts, the growing statist character of policing, and desires for the centralization of English and Welsh forces.

²¹² *Western Mail*, 15 October 1908.

²¹³ Also see arguments in Dean, *Governmentality*, 163.

²¹⁴ See discussion in Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 109.

Second, this chapter has emphasized the centrality of actor-networks in shaping the regulation of prostitution. The success of Liberal-Nonconformist pressure campaigns was achieved through the combined influence of the Forward Movement, the *SWDN*, and the larger CDCU network orchestrated by Reverend Thomas. This capitalized on a broader and more diffuse configuration of vigilance, rescue, and reform groups, whose work was not limited to prostitution but was concerned with encouraging the self-regulation of ‘morals’. The prominence of this localized Liberal-Nonconformist network did not mean that the role of the national state played a lesser role in shaping the nature of regulation. Rather, it is reflective of how governmental aims were ‘co-produced’ through a combination of state interests, political discourse, and micro-level networks.²¹⁵ The influence of Chief Constable Wilson in the interwar years is emblematic of co-production, for while Wilson was clearly concerned with regulating a specific location – Butetown – he situated his aims within broader objectives regarding immigration controls and fears over miscegenation. The network in which Wilson operated reflected this – he sought to make connections with the Home Office to obtain greater controls over ‘alien’ and colonial seafarers, and with the eugenically-inclined BSHC to develop more targeted activities within the port context.

These overlapping interests reveal that the exercise of regulatory power was frequently shaped by an improvisatory interplay between various individuals, groups, and networks concerned with both shaping civic behaviours and advancing their own interests.²¹⁶ That regulation in Cardiff became more aligned to government aims in the interwar years was the outcome of rupture and disjunction, as opposed to a deterministic shift towards a more centralized form of governmentality.²¹⁷ Governmentalities are thus multifaceted and temporal, co-produced through shifting forms of decentred agency and converging rationalities, and

²¹⁵ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 30-1.

²¹⁶ Also see Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 740.

²¹⁷ Also see discussion in Simon Gunn, ‘From Hegemony to Governmentality: Changing Conceptions of Power in Social History’, *Journal of Social History*, 39:3 (2006), 708.

realized through the work of actor-networks like those driven by Reverend Thomas and Chief Constable Wilson. A focus on such networks can help counter some of the pitfalls of a governmentality approach, particularly the danger of erasing the subject through assuming that governmental power is naturally diffuse and omnipresent.²¹⁸ Through such a focus we see regulatory knowledge and power not as anonymous and institutional, but directed and practiced through actor-networks. ‘State’ power, with regards to the policing of prostitution, was thus decentred, contingent, relational, and temporal. To better understand how regulatory power and the ‘conduct of conduct’ was exerted in more specific settings, the next chapter will consider questions of materiality, focusing on spatial regulation and the non-human ‘actant’ of the urban environment.

²¹⁸ Also see arguments in Mark Bevir, ‘Rethinking Governmentality: Towards Genealogies of Governance’, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13:4 (2010), 423-441.

7. Materiality and the Regulation of Space

At a Cardiff Council Special Housing and Town Planning Committee meeting in December 1918, concerns were expressed over the ways in which urban spaces presented wider ‘dangers’ to society and nation:

it can be shown that in well-planned areas, sickness, crime, intemperance, lunacy and pauperism are less than in overcrowded badly-planned districts. It is now recognized that the effect of these things extends far beyond the individuals and locality immediately concerned, and, that from a material, as well as a moral, standpoint they are of vital importance to the nation.¹

As the minutes of this meeting reveal, there was an explicit connection between the material and the moral in the minds of the planning committee. For its members, disorderly and degenerate behaviours were seen as consequences of the urban environment. The language expressed in the above excerpt also emphasized the potential for ‘well-planned’ environments to transform problem behaviours, and to combat degeneration.² If moral behaviours were linked to material environments, then to what extent did the regulation of space more generally attempt to control prostitution? And how might this fit into a wider notion of diffuse governmental power?

In recent years, historians have begun to turn their attentions to questions of materiality, notably in response to wider questions of governmentality and urban governance.³ This line of thinking is evident in the work of Patrick Joyce, who has emphasized how the ordering of urban environments enhanced governmental rationalities and power.⁴ Chris Otter’s work has also explored how the material ‘assembling’ of nineteenth century cities

¹ Cardiff Local Studies (CLS) City of Cardiff, *Reports of Council and Committees*, November 1918–November 1919: Minutes of a Special Housing and Town Planning Committee, 16 December 1918.

² For degeneration, see Bill Luckin, ‘Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain, 1830–1900’, *Urban History*, 32:2 (2006), 234–252.

³ For an overview of approaches to materiality, see Frank Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 283–307.

⁴ Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 11.

involved embedding particular notions of liberal civic conduct, in the sense that the material structures of the city were fashioned, in part, to shape social behaviours.⁵ This focus on the material might be applied to questioning the regulation and practice of prostitution. Work on London and Edinburgh has revealed how prostitutes sought out new spaces in response to police action in particular areas, and in how new technologies were used by those selling sex, such as motor cars and telephones.⁶ Yet, despite growing interest in the role of urban space as a method of governance, historians of prostitution have not awarded specific attention to materiality. How, then, might a focus on materiality provide us with a better understanding of the relationships between material space, technologies, and the regulation of prostitution?

For Otter, theories of urban space have frequently reduced the material form of urban environments to a by-product of forces of capital, offering little insight in terms of the ‘material texture’ of the city.⁷ Cultural history’s focus on the urban in terms of imagination and representation has also led to calls for greater attention to be paid to the interactions between the material and the social.⁸ But how might this be achieved? Actor-network theory (ANT) has been the perhaps the most influential framework for exploring material agency through its emphasis on how the ‘material flow’ of everyday life ‘makes things happen’.⁹ Proponents of ANT methods emphasize the importance of non-human actants, how knowledge is embodied in a variety of material forms, and how material ‘things’ contribute

⁵ Chris Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City’, *Social History*, 27:1 (2002), 1-15.

⁶ Louise Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland: Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), esp. Chapter 8.

⁷ Otter makes these remarks with specific reference to David Harvey’s *The Urbanization of Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).

⁸ Chris Otter, ‘Locating Matter: The Place of Materiality in Urban History’, in Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 38-59; Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 30-1; Joyce, ‘What is the Social in Social History?’, *Past and Present*, 206 (2010), 213-248.

⁹ Otter, ‘Locating Matter’; Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History’, 290; Bert de Munck, ‘Re-assembling Actor-Network Theory and Urban History’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 111-122.

to the (re)production of ‘the social’.¹⁰ In this light ‘the social’, in all its manifestations, can be seen as the product of a range of interlocking human and material factors, and of processes of flows and connections.¹¹

An ANT approach to prostitution might therefore consider both space and technologies as shaping the practice and regulation of commercial sex. While evidence for Cardiff does not allow for a consideration of the use of technologies by prostitutes, such as the motor car or telephone – a consequence of the ascendancy of interwar racial discourse – we can consider the role of the material environment in shaping regulation. Instead of a focus on materiality in terms of ‘things’, this chapter is more concerned with the intersections of the material environment, spatial regulation, and attitudes towards the control of prostitution within particular areas.¹² The chapter begins by building on Joyce and Otter’s explorations of the material aspects of rule in modern cities, which included street lighting.¹³ Street lighting was explicitly proposed by the Corporation, the press, and vigilance groups as a means to regulate prostitution. Much like the excerpt cited at the start of this chapter, these suggestions emphasized a desire to create more visible and ordered urban spaces to facilitate ‘civilized’

¹⁰ See Bruno Latour, ‘Technology is Society Made Durable’, in John Law (ed.), *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology, and Domination* (London: Routledge, 1991); Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Latour, ‘Can We Get Our Materialism Back, Please?’, *Isis*, 98 (2007), 138-142; John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice*, 5 (1992), 379-393.

¹¹ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 20. In line with this emphasis on human-technological processes, Otter has recently posed the notion of a ‘technosphere’ to understand the relationship between humans, the built environment and the natural environment, and to overcome abstract notions of the ‘city’ and its agency. Chris Otter, ‘The Technosphere: A New Concept for Urban Studies’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 145-154.

¹² For instance, see the works discussed in Trentmann, ‘Materiality in the Future of History’; and Trentmann’s *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (London and New York: Penguin, 2016). Also see Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), Chapter 4.

¹³ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*; Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable’, Otter, ‘Cleansing and Clarifying: Technology and Perception in Nineteenth-Century London’, *Journal of British Studies*, 43:1 (2004), 40-64; Otter, *The Victorian Eye*. Also see Harold L. Platt, *Shock Cities: The Environmental Transformation and Reform of Manchester and Chicago* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Tom Crook, ‘“Schools for the Moral Training of the People”: Public Baths, Liberalism and the Promotion of Cleanliness in Victorian Britain’, *European Review of History*, 13:1 (2006), 21-47; Angela Loxham, ‘The Uses and Abuses of Public Space: Urban Governance, Social Ordering and Resistance, Avenham Park, Preston, c.1850-1901’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 26:4 (2013), 552-573; Carl Smith, *City Water, City Life: Water and the Infrastructure of Ideas in Urbanizing Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

behaviours. Yet this was an unsystematic approach to regulating prostitution, being periodically overshadowed by conflicting concerns and municipal priorities, and with different solutions being posed for different areas. The question of street lighting came back into focus again in the 1920s. As opposed to creating order and reducing ‘immorality’ in slum districts, this was in the context of the continued development of Cathays Park, the city’s civic centre and a project central to the development of Cardiff’s image and standing.¹⁴ The material development of Cathays Park focused police activity on the area’s prostitutes, not only through a street lighting scheme in the area, but a broader attempt to create a more ordered and symbolic civic space.

While the development of Cathays Park represented civic aims, prostitution played a more overt role in moves to redevelop another district. In the interwar years a number of proposals were made to reshape the environment of Butetown in order to deter the area’s men away from prostitutes, and to reduce venereal disease rates. While such plans did not come to fruition during the interwar years, they did shape the longer-term redevelopment of the dockland. Informed by connections between race and prostitution that had characterized perceptions of the dockland since the 1920s, post-war redevelopment plans aimed to contain Butetown’s ‘coloured’ population and to make it an easier space to regulate. Concurrently, the city centre and Temperance Town were subject to slum clearances and plans for an expansion of the central commercial area. It was this space which saw the biggest increase in arrests for street prostitution in the post-war years, suggesting that broader plans for rezoning the city into more distinct commercial and residential districts influenced police activity with regards to commercial sex. Evidence relating to urban redevelopment thus reveals two overarching

¹⁴ See T. Alwyn Lloyd, ‘Cathays Park, Cardiff: Prospect and Retrospect, 1959’, *Wales*, 45 (1959), 24-26; Ian Morley, ‘Representing a City and Nation: Wales’ Matchless Civic Centre’, *Welsh History Review*, 24:3 (2009), 56-81; Neil Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City: The Middle Class, Civic and National Consciousness in Cardiff’, *Welsh History Review*, 12 (1983), 383; Martin Johnes, ‘Cardiff: The Making and Development of the Capital City of Wales’, *Contemporary British History*, 26:4 (2012), 509-528.

themes with regards to materiality and the spatial regulation of prostitution. First, that a notion of space holding agency over citizens in the central slum area shaped desires for lighting schemes to inhibit and aid the regulation of prostitution. For Butetown, a particular focus on creating recreational deterrents to discourage the use of prostitutes emerged as a response to concerns over miscegenation and port health. Second, that the regulation of prostitution was informed by a broader civic project that intended to reorder the geography of central Cardiff into more distinct districts, which in turn refocused police attention on street prostitution in burgeoning commercial areas. Both themes call to mind central tenets associated with notions of liberal governmentality, in that the civic project intended to rationalize and order the behaviour of its citizens, by turn instilling a sense of self-regulation.

Street lighting and the ordering of urban behaviours

Since the late-Victorian period, street lighting had come to be seen as a ‘technology of rule’ to ‘illuminate’ and ‘improve the environment of the human frame’.¹⁵ Like other aspects of the material fabric in the modern city (curbs, surfaces, etc.), street lighting, aside from providing practical benefits, also mirrored a desire for the ordering of social life.¹⁶ Otter has argued that liberal governmentality was characterized by a ‘mobilization of material resources required consciously to fashion spaces within which civil conduct could be both secured and publicly displayed.’ To counter the ‘moral, physical and biological’ threats posed by particular urban spaces, attempts were made ‘materially to assemble spaces where ruling through freedom could be made possible and visible.’¹⁷ This was true for Edwardian Cardiff, where street lighting was explicitly cited as a means to regulate prostitution. In October 1908, for instance, the Watch

¹⁵ Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable’, esp. 1-5. Also see Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Otter, ‘Cleansing and Clarifying’. For nineteenth-century case studies of urban materiality and socio-moral order, also see Tom Crook, “‘Schools for the Moral Training of the People’”; and Loxham, ‘The Uses and Abuses of Public Space’.

¹⁶ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, 11.

¹⁷ Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable’, 1-5.

Committee discussed the potential use of street lighting to deter women selling sex: one councillor believed that ‘if the city were better lighted in certain parts they would lessen very much the evils which existed’, while another argued that he ‘would rather have ten more public lights than one policeman’.¹⁸ The need for increased street lighting to tackle ‘vice’ was also a point of debate around the formation of the Cardiff and District Citizens’ Union (CDCU). At its inaugural meeting Percy Thomas, a prominent architect and frequent writer of moralizing letters to the local press, stated that ‘much could be done by the better lighting of the slums’ in order to assist the work of the police.¹⁹ The CDCU carried Thomas’s suggestion as a motion, while the *SWDN* called also for ‘more lamps’, adding: ‘Light is the enemy of the evil-doer [...] Any dark spot is a burden; every factor that breeds disease is an incubus.’²⁰

Hence, street lighting was openly put forward by the Corporation, the local press, and vigilance groups as a means to regulate prostitution. The views of the *SWDN* also emphasized concerns over how the slum’s ‘dark spots’ exerted agency over the behaviours of citizens, drawing on the language of disease and sexual morality to underscore how such districts instilled tendencies towards immorality into citizens. The need for light was thus posed as a remedy for the material and metaphorical darkness of slumland spaces from which prostitution was seen to proliferate. Fitting with the dominance of Liberal-Nonconformity in Edwardian Cardiff, the development of street lighting was often expressed in evangelical, rather than technological tones, being described as a ‘crusade for light’ to enable the ‘purification’ of ‘Darker Cardiff’.²¹

Concerns over street lighting subsided between 1908 and 1910 as, despite consensus on the Watch Committee over the need for extensive lighting scheme, the Corporation could

¹⁸ *Western Mail* 13 October 1908.

¹⁹ *Western Mail*, 22 October 1908.

²⁰ *South Wales Daily News*, 4 November 1908.

²¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 January 1911.

not extend funding beyond the £18,000 annual sum already committed.²² In September 1910 the *SWDN* tried to revive interest in the issue through an article which claimed that ‘badly lighted courts and lanes’ in ‘Cardiff slum districts’ were ‘fostering crime’. Explicitly referencing broader concerns over place, the *SWDN* argued that slum areas were characterized by darkness and depravity. To make its point for the necessity for lighting schemes to regulate slums, an editorial posed the familiar contrast between slum and suburb:

The members of the committee occupy snug houses in Canton, Roath, The Heath, etc., and occasionally wake up to the momentous idea that Cathedral-road lamps are weak, or that another lamp is needed in Ninian-road. The word is spoken; the lamp provided. Has any member of the Lighting Committee done anything beyond driving round in a rubber-tyred landau to inspect the lighting of the city? The matter is neglected, and crime is fostered, the name of the city is dragged into the mud, and the Corporation contentedly buy Egyptian lamps to light the corridors into the City Hall.²³

Two areas in particular were singled out for having been neglected by the Corporation: Butetown, ‘where even the police go in twos’, and the central slum, where it was reported that in ‘Mary Ann-street there are three lamps between Bute-terrace and Millicent-street. This is a number not only inadequate, but reflecting very seriously on the authority.’²⁴

The Lighting Committee had considered the lighting of the central slum in October 1910, yet, much to the chagrin of the *SWDN*, had not taken any action. While the exact reason why is unclear, it is likely that the Corporation was less inclined to prioritize matters relating to housing and slum environments. This was partly a result of the particularities of the Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity: unlike London where housing was central to the liberal definition of the social problem, in Cardiff it was prostitution, intemperance, and sabbatarianism.²⁵ Since 1905, the *SWDN* and the wider Liberal-Nonconformist community had persistently placed pressure on the Watch Committee and police force to take repressive action against street

²² *Western Mail* 13 October 1908.

²³ *South Wales Daily News*, 30 September 1910.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ See Martin Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), 101.

prostitutes, meaning that street lighting was a secondary priority. The primacy of policing as a means to tackle prostitution also ran concurrent with a more general decline in local government capital expenditure – a result of the recurrent costs of poor relief, education, and policing.²⁶ Additionally, from 1910 the CDCU encouraged the Corporation to commit funds to develop and maintain a women’s municipal lodging house as a means of tackling prostitution, meaning that funds for street lighting projects in the central slum were limited. Despite supporting the lodging house project the *SWDN* felt that the Corporation’s inaction regarding lighting had left

citizens [...] unaware of the hovels and horrors of Cardiff’s dark side, and the authority is able to keep down expenses and raise up criminals. Cardiff has rescue homes for women [...] and yet it provides schools for crime and immorality.²⁷

For the *SWDN*, such ‘schools’ were facilitated by a lack of lighting, and this could only be tackled once made more visible through streetlight.

This call for street lighting was not simply a proposal to make the actions of prostitutes more visible to police constables. The emphasis on darkened urban corners schooling the behaviours of slum dwellers reveal both a belief that urban space possessed agency, and a notion of slum children being trained in the ‘crime and vice’ associated with these districts.²⁸ As work on child health has shown, within social reform discourse children were a paradigm

²⁶ Robert Millward and Sally Sheard, ‘The Urban Fiscal Problem, 1870-1914: Government Expenditure and Finance in England and Wales’, *Economic History Review*, 48:3 (1995), 501-535.

²⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 January 1911. This article had been preceded by a Health Committee inquiry into the standard of housing and streets in the city centre ‘slum district’ The Health Committee found the district’s housing to be rife with poor ventilation and sanitation, and ‘the resort of characters of the worst type, and [in] the part being unlit the nuisance created is intensified.’ These concerns led Dr Walford, the Medical Officer of Health, to issue closing orders to premises in Nora Street, Little Frederick Street, Williams Court, and Hills Street, and to draw the matter to the attention of the Lighting Committee. See *South Wales Daily News*, 6 January 1911.

²⁸ Such notions were explicit in the 1884-5 Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Class and the views of George Sims. See Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, 64-5. For spatial agency, also see the discussion of place in Chapter 2 of this thesis, and arguments in Dorothee Brantz, ‘Assembling the Multitude: Questions about Agency in the Urban Environment’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 130-136; Robert Lewis, ‘Comments on Urban Agency: Relational Space and Intentionality’, *Urban History*, 44:1 (2017), 137-144.

for urban decay, the social body, and its future development.²⁹ Hence, the *SWDN* was stressing the need to provide visibility in these areas as a means of not simply making ‘immorality’ easier to detect and supervise, but as an attempt to redirect behaviours more generally. Less a form of panoptic surveillance, street lighting was a civilizing technology that could construct order in urban space and instil a sense of self-regulation into slum residents.³⁰ Through headlines like ‘More Light! The Needs of Darker Cardiff’, the *SWDN* also made a discursive connection with its public campaigns of the Edwardian years, stressing the need for street lighting to be seen as an issue of morality.³¹ In addition to being an expression of evangelical Christian sentiment, these ideas exhibited similarities with debates from the burgeoning town planning profession. In particular, they chimed with Patrick Geddes’s connection between social processes with spatial forms, and broader visions of enhance civility and morality through altering urban space.³² Hence, calls for street lighting as a means to regulate commercial sex and reorder urban behaviours in Cardiff might be seen as a refraction of wider ideas around urban rationalization through the lens of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity.

While explicitly cited as a tool to regulate prostitution, attitudes towards street lighting were temporal and reflected the changing interests of prominent Liberal-Nonconformist groups, such as the CDCU. Concerns over street lighting abated again in 1911 when the development of the municipal lodging house in Charles Street became the prime focus of debate for both the press and the Corporation. Thus, while technologies such as electric lighting might be seen as a ‘governmental’ tool, implementation was unsystematic, subject to shifting

²⁹ See Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850-1949* (London: UCL Press, 1995), Chapter 2; David Beckingham, ‘Scale and the Moral Geographies of Victorian and Edwardian Child Protection’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (2013), 1401-151.

³⁰ Also see Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable’, 6; Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, Chapters 2 and 3; Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, 109.

³¹ See, for example, *South Wales Daily News*, 6 January 1912.

³² See Helen Meller, ‘Planning Theory and Women’s Role in the City’, *Urban History*, 17 (1990), 86-7; Margo Huxley, ‘Geographies of Governmentality’, in Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (eds), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 198.

public censure, and hampered by fiscal issues.³³ Such techniques of governance were less a rigid disciplinary measure and were instead extemporal, shifting in-and-out of focus with the counters of public debate and the priorities of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists.³⁴ The *SWDN* returned to the issue of street lighting in early-1912, once the municipal lodging house had been established. Despite the Corporation's preoccupation with the project – itself a response to pressure from the CDCU and the *SWDN* – the newspaper complained that the Lighting Committee had 'not entirely accomplished the work or which they were elected' over the previous year. The *SWDN* again emphasized the lack of lighting in areas such as the central slum and Saltmead, which was said to lead to be 'resort[s] of evil doers', while 'insufficient lighting' in Butetown was seen to serve 'as a cloak for misdeeds, to the peril of our young girls.'³⁵ Much like the Forward Movement's activities in Saltmead (see Chapter 6), calls for street lighting in slum districts intended to achieve more than a diversion of prostitutes from particular spaces. Rather, electric lighting echoed broader concerns over national efficiency and child health in creating an environment that might instil morality and protect 'young girls'.³⁶

Different arguments emerged over more affluent areas. For example, 'unseemly exhibitions' between 'undesirables' were reported as an occurrence in lanes approaching the Cardiff Harlequins rugby ground in the Roath district. Residents, with support from local councillors, called for the lanes to be lighted in order to deter this behaviour, and the Lighting

³³ Also see arguments in Otter, 'Cleansing and Clarifying', 43. For local government finances in the Edwardian years, see Millward and Sheard, 'The Urban Fiscal Problem, 1870-1914'.

³⁴ Also see Osborne and Rose, 'Governing Cities', 737.

³⁵ *South Wales Daily News*, 6 January 1912; *Western Mail*, 16 April 1913.

³⁶ Also see John Welshman, 'Child Health, National Fitness, and Physical Education in Britain, 1900-1940', in Marike Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 61-84; Lyubov Gurjeva, 'Child Health, Commerce and Family Values: The domestic Production of the Middle Class in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth century Britain', in Gijswijt-Hofstra and Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, 103-126; Siân Pooley, "'All we parents want is that our children's health and lives should be regarded": Child Health and Parental Concern in England, c. 1860-1910', *Social History of Medicine*, 23:3 (2010), 528-548.

Committee sought direction from Chief Constable Williams on the matter. Emphasizing the regulatory potential of street lighting, the *SWDN* posed a question over the need for ‘Lights or Police?’ which suggested that enhanced visibility alone would do a sufficient job at removing prostitution from the area.³⁷ It is unclear what action was taken towards requests for lighting around the Harlequins’ playing fields, but it is evident that the Lighting Committee was keen to prioritize the lighting of affluent areas, or those important to Cardiff’s city status. Much as the *SWDN* argued in its coverage of the potential lighting of the Harlequins ground, street lighting was suggested as a means to create more orderly spaces, and to displace prostitution from areas where it was deemed to be unsavoury.

The use of lighting to both deter and make the activities of prostitutes more visible was a strategy also employed in Cardiff’s burgeoning civic centre. Following complaints of “happenings” in Cathays Park late at night and in the early hours of the morning’ in May 1912, the committee passed a resolution to keep King Edward VII Avenue, the area’s main thoroughfare bisecting the city hall and law courts, lighted all night in order to make it easier to police.³⁸ Suggestions and schemes for electric lighting as a tool to displace prostitutes from middle-class suburbs and the civic centre can be contrasted against the calls for the lighting of slum areas, which focused on changing behaviours and instilling morality through affecting spatial agency. For middle-class areas the emphasis was more concentrated on visibility, regulation, and the displacement of prostitution. This reveals that governmentality in a civic setting was less characterized by a uniform civilizing process but as a response to shifting municipal priorities and fluctuations in civic debate. The result was the formulation of temporal strategies tailored to the social composition or civic importance of different districts.

The outbreak of the First World War halted the development of street lighting in suburbs such as Roath and Cathays Park. In September 1915 it was announced that, in order to reduce

³⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 12 July 1913.

³⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 11 May 1912.

rates by 1½d in the pound, all electric lamps were to be put out at midnight, and around half of the city's gas lamp service was to be removed.³⁹ Further restrictions on street lighting were introduced on 14 April 1916 through the Home Office Lighting Restriction Order for Monmouthshire, Cardiff, Barry, and Penarth as a preventative against zeppelin raids.⁴⁰ Reports in the *SWDN* claimed that the Lighting Restriction Order was causing the police difficulties in regulating prostitution, especially in the dockland, which was beginning to obtain the racialized connection that would come to dominate debates over prostitution in the interwar years (see Chapter 4). In an article covering the 'entrapment' of 'white girls' in Butetown's boarding houses, the *SWDN* argued that

scenes of flagrant immorality [in Tiger Bay] are a nightly occurrence in the streets after dark. Decent residents returning to their homes are confronted on the way with incidents that cannot be printed [...] The Lighting Order has made matters worse, as it baffles the police in the work of detection.⁴¹

When the issue of street lighting did come back into focus after the war, concerns again returned to Cathays Park. Work on developing Cathays Park into a civic centre worthy of the 'Metropolis of Wales' had been ongoing since 1898, when the development of the site was formally agreed. The city hall, law courts, National Museum, and new University College buildings were opened between 1906 and 1907, marking a point in which, as Evans describes, 'Edwardian Cardiff achieved its identity' of growth from an 'insanitary little town' to a city of 'White Palaces, spacious streets and parks'.⁴² Street lighting was thus but one means to shape social order and civic image, with the built environment also playing a central role. The shapes on the ground that characterized the Cathays Park development – wide boulevards, open spaces, and domineering civic buildings constructed from Portland stone (see Figure 7.1) – call to mind

³⁹ *Western Mail*, 1 September 1915.

⁴⁰ The *SWDN* reported how 'Cardiff street lamps [...] were not lighted, and in the busiest thoroughfares, like Queen-street and St Mary-street, only two or three lamps illuminated the scene.' The increase in 'dark streets' during wartime did create some connection to 'vice': in neighbouring Newport, for example, the Monmouthshire Church Preventative and Rescue Society complained that the 'restricted lighting' in the town's 'streets had emphasised the evil' of prostitution. *South Wales Daily News*, 15 April 1916.

⁴¹ *South Wales Daily News*, 4 September 1916.

⁴² See Evans, 'The Welsh Victorian City', 383-5; Morley, 'Representing a City and Nation'; Johnes, 'Cardiff'.

Fig. 7.1: Cathays Park, c.1930s.



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Otter's argument that 'the discourse and practice of polite conduct and civility make more sense in a park, museum or boulevard than a communal privy; a certain set of probabilities is etched into their stones.'⁴³

While it would be wrong to suggest that the civic architecture of Cathays Park was solely developed as a means to civilize and limit behaviours deemed unsavoury, such as prostitution, these public buildings did represent a particular vision of urban and civic life for Cardiff.⁴⁴ Street lighting was one aspect of materially ordering the behaviours of citizens, with the orderly spaces of Cathays Park being designed with an intent to impart particular notions of civility onto Cardiff's residents. Drawing on the imperial architecture and layout of Vienna's

⁴³ Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable', 4.

⁴⁴ Also see Osborne and Rose, 'Governing Cities', 744.

Ringstrasse, the area played a dual role in shaping a sense of both civic past and future, projecting a sense of the orderly, civilized city that Cardiff might become.⁴⁵ The Viennese influence was not coincidental, given that contemporary accounts of the *Ringstrasse* explicitly noted its intent to civilize and moralize the circulation of passengers and their behaviours in its vicinity.⁴⁶ As is evident in the designs and visions of Cathays Park detailed in Figure 7.2, the clean lines and grand structures were to be reflected in the civilized behaviours of ‘respectable’ citizens. Also in line with Viennese civic architecture, the location of the city hall, flanked by the law courts and museum, dominated one’s view on the approach from the city centre, underscoring a notion of Cathays Park as a place of civic progress, knowledge, and order.⁴⁷ For the *Western Mail*, the design and architecture of the development would ‘ensure artistic and harmonious completeness’ within the district itself and Cardiff as a whole.⁴⁸ Urban planning in Cathays Park was thus much a means of reproducing desirable social relations as it was about developing civic status.⁴⁹

Prostitution was a behaviour that did not figure as polite nor civil, and concerns emerged in late-1923 over prostitutes seen engaged in sexual activity in Museum Avenue. In response to ‘numerous complaints from local residents’, Chief Constable Wilson assured citizens that he ‘was making every endeavour to stamp out the evil’.⁵⁰ Hence, police action was responsive to the development of Cathays Park, press reporting on prostitution in the area, and concerns from the nearby community. In the early-1920s, Cathays Park became an area of greater police action, with the arrest rate for both prostitutes and their clients rising (see Figure 7.3). While the arrest rate for Cathays Park was far lower than those for the city centre and Butetown, the notebooks of PC Hodge reveal that beat constables made a distinct effort to target prostitution

⁴⁵ Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City’, 383.

⁴⁶ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, 148-150.

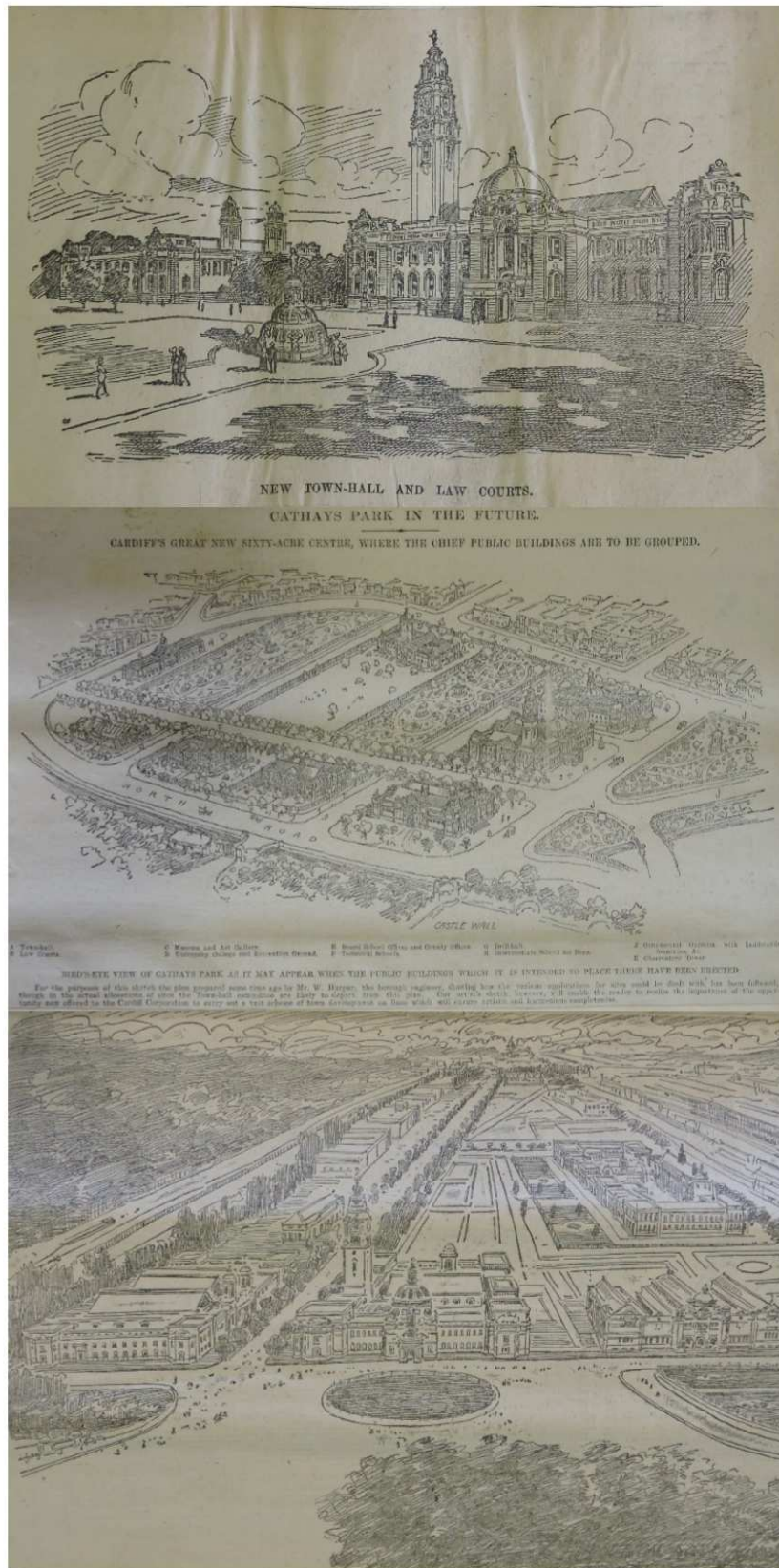
⁴⁷ For Vienna, see *ibid*, 224.

⁴⁸ *Western Mail*, 23 October 1901.

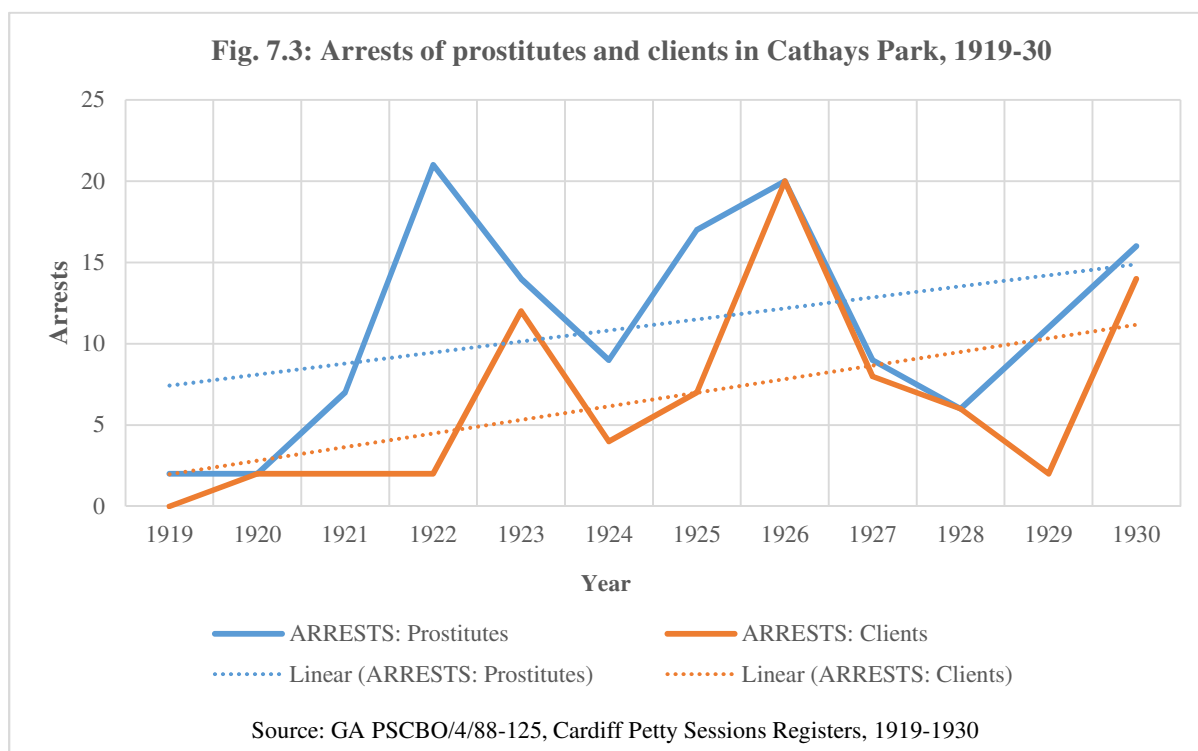
⁴⁹ Also see Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, 165.

⁵⁰ *Western Mail*, 2 October 1923.

Fig. 7.2: Visions of order and civility in Cathays Park.



Source: *Western Mail*, 23 October 1901; *South Wales Daily News*, 29 June 1905.



in Cathays Park: while no reference was made to the district in prior years, in late-1923 and early-1924 Hodge recorded significant detail on the activities of the prostitutes and clients that he arrested along Museum Avenue.⁵¹ The civic project of Cathays Park thus clearly influenced the methods of the police in targeting street prostitution, through a combination of urban planning and public censure via the press.

As Angela Loxham’s work on public parks has shown, the ‘[s]patial and topographical reorganization’ of such spaces was a means to ‘engender the conditions whereby conduct could be seen.’⁵² The policing of Cathays Park was enhanced in February 1926 by the introduction of a comprehensive lighting scheme, intended to both emphasize the importance of the space as central to Cardiff’s civic standing, and to make it a more visible and orderly place to police. A plan to place lights on the four corners of the Boer War Memorial at the intersection of Gorsedd

⁵¹ GA DCONC/UNL/57, PC Hodge’s notebook, April 1923-January 1924. For a discussion on the manner in which prostitution was recorded in constables’ notebooks and what it reveals about how beat PCs approached prostitution, see Chapter 5.

⁵² Loxham, ‘The Uses and Abuses of Public Space’, 557.

Map 7.1: Location of Boer War Memorial lighting scheme, Cathays Park, 1926.



Gardens Road and King Edward VII Avenue was carried unanimously by the Parks and Public Works Committee (Map 7.1). The scheme was explicitly designed:

to make it clearly visible at night-time. [...] the original idea was that, when Priory-road was finished, there would be a clear view of King Edward VII Avenue from Queen-street provided the nose of the bridge over the feeder near the Priory Garden was put back, and then there would be plenty of room round the monument.⁵³

While not overtly related to regulating prostitution, these material changes impacted on prostitution in an area which, being darkened and secluded prior to these developments, was likely to have been frequently used by prostitutes. The civic development of Cathays Park in the 1920s and resultant police action on prostitution there likely displaced prostitution into the adjacent Bute Park and Sophia Gardens, which 1930s travel guides noted were sites where one

⁵³ *Western Mail*, 3 February 1926.

might buy sex. This shift towards other parks is likewise suggested by the absence of Cathays Park in court registers after 1932.⁵⁴ The approach towards regulating prostitution in Cathays Park thus mirrored the stance on street lighting in middle-class Edwardian suburbs, in that it emphasized removal and displacement as opposed to an attempt to civilize those selling or buying sex there. A contrasting stance was taken towards dockland prostitution in the interwar period, with spatial regulation being tied to plans for the introduction of spatial deterrents and the containment of the ‘coloured’ population.

Spatial deterrents, prostitution, and venereal disease

Street lighting was but one means of reorganizing the spatial environment to change social behaviours.⁵⁵ In Victorian Cardiff a number of short-lived attempts were made to provide alternative facilities for young men seen to be in danger of succumbing to Bute Street’s ‘attractions’.⁵⁶ Debates over the potential of particular spaces to deter potential clients away from prostitutes continued into the twentieth century. In 1913, for example, one prominent rescue worker alleged that an increase in the number of cinemas around St Mary Street had been ‘a power for good’ with ‘the fact that people spend their time in cinemas instead of in the streets’ causing a ‘fewer number of indecent cases in our local Police Courts’.⁵⁷ While not as prevalent as calls for repressive action against street prostitution in Edwardian Cardiff, spatial deterrents proved to be a longer-term theme in the regulation of prostitution. These ideas were symbolic of a broader attempt to reorder the dockland environment, and to enhance both the regulation of prostitution and the district more generally.

⁵⁴ Ward, Locke & Co., *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to Cardiff and South Wales, Fifth Edition* (London: Ward, Locke & Co., [n.d., ca. 1931]). See Chapter 1 of this thesis for spatial data on Cathays Park.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Loxham, ‘The Uses and Abuses of Public Space’; Crook, “Schools for the Moral Training of the People””; Otter, ‘Making Liberalism Durable’.

⁵⁶ See Neil Evans, ‘Urbanization, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914’, *International Review of Social History*, 27:3 (1982), 300-1.

⁵⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 20 February 1913. Likewise, as part of its ‘campaign on public morals’ in 1919, the CDCU lobbied Cardiff City Council, albeit unsuccessfully, to establish a library and playground in the docks area to encourage its residents towards more acceptable behaviours. See *South Wales Daily News*, 18 January 1919.

Calls for spatial deterrents re-emerged in the mid-1920s amidst anxieties over connections between prostitution and miscegenation in Butetown. While town planners had been interested in the capacity for urban space to exert influence over social life since the early-twentieth century, proposals for reshaping Butetown's spaces were more informed by interwar fears over race and social hygiene in British ports.⁵⁸ While influenced by social hygiene, concerns over the environment of Butetown differed to eugenicist arguments of the 1930s. Emphasis was placed less on the fitness of the nation, as was more common to eugenic discourse, and driven more by the specific problems seen as endemic to dockland areas.⁵⁹ This perception hinged on two dominant themes: sexual contact between black seafarers and white 'prostitutes' in dockland cafés, and growing concerns over venereal disease rates in port districts. This was evident in Nancie Sharpe's significant 1932 report on social conditions in Butetown (see Chapter 4). In her survey, Sharpe emphasized what she saw as 'surroundings conducive to lack of restraint'. She observed how, while there were few 'amusements, clubs and societies available for coloured people' in Butetown, there was an abundance of cafés providing avenue for 'illicit sexual intercourse'. To counter this, Sharpe recommended the development of dockland leisure amenities to redirect the activities of the area's men.⁶⁰

Sharpe's suggestions were also symbolic of broader debate over the need to develop a range of social facilities in maritime ports to draw seamen away from prostitution, and thus reduce venereal disease infection rates. The British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC), in particular, had expressed concerns over a lack of 'facilities for recreation' in ports and maritime districts since the late-1920s, and had attempted to establish committees to facilitate spatial

⁵⁸ For town planning and the ordering of social life, see Lucy Hewitt, 'Ordering the Urban Body: Professional Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Social History*, 41:3 (2016), 304-318. Also see Harold Platt, 'From Hygeia to the Garden City: Bodies, Houses, and the Rediscovery of the Slum in Manchester, 1875-1910', *Journal of Urban History*, 33:5 (2007), 756-772.

⁵⁹ Patricia Garside, "'Unhealthy Areas": Town Planning, Eugenics and the Slums, 1890-1945', *Planning Perspectives* 3:1 (1988), 25, 35.

⁶⁰ CLS LC84:301.185 SHA, Nancie Sharpe, 'Report on the Negro Population in London and Cardiff' (1932), 33-34, 95.

change in the ‘home ports’ of London, Cardiff, Southampton, and Edinburgh, albeit with little success.⁶¹ While venereal disease had been an underlying concern in debates over Cardiff’s prostitution earlier in the century, it had mostly been implicit. For instance, the involvement of the prominent venereologist Dr Erie Evans in the municipal lodging house scheme suggests the Corporation was concerned over links between prostitution and venereal disease. Despite this, prostitution in the Edwardian years was primarily framed within the moralizing politics of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformists, and questions over the proximity of the slum to commercial areas, and associated threats posed by prostitution to civic development. Proposals for the development of spatial deterrents in interwar Butetown reveal the growing influence of social hygiene and associated concerns over venereal disease in ports.⁶² Such arguments were made in Gladys Mary Hall’s 1933 survey of prostitution in Britain, which used Cardiff as the case study for seaports. Much in the vein of Sharpe’s survey, Hall saw a clear need to reshape the dockland environment to provide deterrents from prostitution:

The whole subject of the prostitution problem in seaport towns is bound up with two [...] important subjects: the treatment of venereal disease and the provision of recreation for the seaman ashore. This roving life and certain port conditions make the seafarer particularly open to infection and a grave carrier of disease if infected.⁶³

Hall’s account thus made an explicit connection between the material conditions of the port and the spread of venereal disease. Her emphasis on recreation reflected established connections between leisure and civility, and how the development of recreational and leisure facilities

⁶¹ See *Health and Empire*, the journal of the British Social Hygiene Council. Various volumes from the period 1926-40 can be consulted at the Wellcome Library, SA/BSH/K.1-14. Also see articles in the British Social Hygiene Council’s *Empire Social Hygiene Year-book, 1934, 1935, 1936* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934-6); *The Times*, 6 May 1929. Additionally, the perceived need to draw men away from prostitutes to counter venereal disease infection rates displayed with notions of the body of the prostitute as the source of infection. See Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999); and Mary Spongberg, *Feminising Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth Century Medical Discourse* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1997). See Chapter 3 of this thesis for an analysis of perceptions of the prostitute in Cardiff.

⁶² For the decline of purity politics and the rising influence of social hygiene, see Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, 150-1, 160-3.

⁶³ Gladys Mary Hall, *Prostitution: A Survey and a Challenge* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1933), 49.

might reshape behaviours.⁶⁴ The intention was thus to turn seafarers' attentions away from the uncivilized sites of the dockland, such as the pub and the café-brothel, and towards municipally-organized recreational facilities.⁶⁵

Connections between venereal disease, prostitution, and insufficient recreation facilities in Butetown piqued the interest of the BSHC, which had been exploring spatial solutions to reduce venereal disease rates in ports since the 1920s.⁶⁶ At an international conference in Geneva organized by Red Cross Societies in 1929, the representative of the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine had called for slum clearances in port districts as a means to improve seamen's welfare and port health.⁶⁷ Such desires were likewise expressed in 1935's BSHC-commissioned Richardson Survey, which played a significant role in maintaining the racialized perceptions of Butetown and its connections with prostitution.⁶⁸ The survey alleged that, through the appeal of Bute Street cafés to both seafarers and the working-classes of the city and hinterland, 88 percent of venereal disease cases in the port came 'from abroad'. Emphasizing the role of the dockland environment as a source of disease, Richardson also claimed that over 50 percent of venereal disease cases in 'the mining villages and towns around Cardiff' could be traced 'to the so-called cafés in Bute Street'.⁶⁹ To counter the alleged negative influence of the dockland's material environment, Richardson made a number of suggestions over the need for spatial change, reflecting the plans of a joint committee of the BSHC and British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine to alleviate the 'problems' they saw

⁶⁴ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2002), 167.

⁶⁵ Also see Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 104.

⁶⁶ See *Health and Empire*, the journal of the British Social Hygiene Council, various volumes.

⁶⁷ F. Bowes (BCWMM), 'General Welfare Conditions in the Ports of Great Britain', in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1929), 49.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the Richardson Survey.

⁶⁹ Women's Library (WL) 3AMS/B/03, Joint Council of the BSHC and the BCWMM, 'Social Conditions in Ports and Dockland Areas' (1935). This perception had some longevity: in the early-1940s Kenneth Little recorded how the use of Butetown prostitutes by men from the South Wales Valleys was prevalent on the occasion of international rugby matches, and that the attribution of in excess of 50 per cent of valleys venereal disease cases to Bute Street prostitution was 'accepted as a reasonably valid estimate'. Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Turner & Co., 1947), 51.

in British port neighbourhoods. The BSHC had established a Port Welfare Committee in Cardiff around 1934, with a remit to lobby local government for ‘an improvement in street and dock lighting’, and the establishment and advertising of ‘decent amusements’ and ‘decent places of refreshment’.⁷⁰ By doing so, the Joint Committee hoped to ‘offer an alternative to vice and beat the forces of vice at their own game’ that drew on ideas of spatial distraction and enhanced street lighting that had developed earlier in the century.⁷¹ Reporting in its journal, *Health and Empire*, the BSHC argued that

Slums in dock areas, absence of open spaces and playgrounds, poor street lighting, inefficient sanitary accommodation, a plethora of licensed premises on the dockside, low-class dance cafés outside the scope of present licensing laws – these and many other evils [...] react badly on the seafarer.⁷²

Much like the recommendations made by Hall and Sharpe, the BSHC emphasized the need to reshape dockland spaces in order to alter the behaviours of male seafarers and divert their attentions from sites where they might encounter prostitutes. Hence, these proposals were very much driven by the focus on non-white masculinity associated with port districts that abounded in the interwar period, as opposed to concerns over the ‘common prostitute’.⁷³

The core work of Port Welfare Committee was to initiate spatial change. Their membership was drawn from a range of bodies that might help to achieve this aim, including the city council, the port authority, philanthropic societies, seamen’s boarding houses, shipowners, and religious organizations.⁷⁴ However, the Cardiff Port Welfare Committee was less than successful, with the secretary finding difficulty in getting its members to attend meetings.⁷⁵ The minutes of the joint committee of the BSHC and BCWMM fail to give an

⁷⁰ For context on the early thinking around port welfare committees, see Alfred Salter (BSHC), ‘Great Britain and the Welfare of Seamen’, in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen*, 40.

⁷¹ *Health and Empire*, 10:3 (1935), 209-210.

⁷² *Health and Empire*, 10:1 (1935), 2.

⁷³ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of race and masculinity.

⁷⁴ WLL SA/BSH/B.4/1, Minutes of the Joint Committee on Port Welfare (BSHC and BCWMM), 1 July 1935. Also see Chapter 6 of thesis.

⁷⁵ WLL SA/BSH/B.4/2, Minutes of the Joint Committee on Port Welfare (BSHC and BCWMM), 15 July 1936 and 11 March 1937.

indication as to why these difficulties were experienced. However, given the significant decline in the influence of religious organizations, and controversy surrounding the Richardson Survey, they likely found it difficult to engage these groups in any positive discussion. As we saw in Chapter 4, negative local press coverage of the Richardson Survey also led the Medical Officer of Health to renege on his support for the BSHC's activities, and likely caused further obstacles to the advancement of the committee.

Nonetheless, the emphasis placed on reshaping dockland spaces by the BSHC in 1935 did have a long-term influence on the Corporation's approach towards Butetown. After local authorities were given greater powers over slum clearance through the 1935 Housing Act, the council considered plans to construct a block of flats 'for the housing of coloured people'.⁷⁶ These plans did not necessarily reflect the focus of slum clearance proposals elsewhere, which sought to clear or recondition Victorian housing as a means of enhancing public health.⁷⁷ Instead, the objective was to fulfil the long-time 'aim of the corporation to segregate the cosmopolitan area covered by Bute-street from the city itself', and to respond to 'occupiers of business premises in Hayes Bridge-road and the vicinity are opposed to any of the coloured population encroaching on the city end of Bute-street.'⁷⁸ In addition to the effective cordoning-off of the dockland, the Corporation had purchased a site around Hodges Row ready for the construction of 'cottage dwellings' for the 'rehousing of the coloured population'.⁷⁹

In short, the city council sought to reshape the dockland to make it an easier space to contain and regulate the 'coloured population'. This was to be achieved through a form of

⁷⁶ For the 1935 Housing Act, see J. A. Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment: Policy and Practice in England, 1918-45* (London: UCL Press, 1992), Introduction and Chapter 7; Yelling, 'Public Policy, Urban Renewal and Property Ownership, 1945-55', *Urban History*, 22:1 (1995), 50. The proposal of flats chimed with a broader consensus that apartment blocks provided a greater opportunity to relieve overcrowding. See Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment*, 105.

⁷⁷ Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment*, 88-9.

⁷⁸ *Western Mail*, 20 June 1936.

⁷⁹ Mass Observation (MO) SxMOA1/2/75/4A/10, Enquiry into Seamen's Welfare in Ports: International Labour Recommendation No. 48. Port: Cardiff, Draft Interim Report 2-10 February 1939/Seamen's Welfare in the Ports of Cardiff and Barry (Seamen's Welfare Officer), April 1941.

exclusionary zoning, by turn marginalizing the Butetown community. While not extending to full racial segregation these plans did aim to separate and contain, and also chimed with Chief Constable Wilson's admiration of South African policies prohibiting interracial sex.⁸⁰ When considered alongside Wilson's attempts to control the city's non-white population and, by proxy, prostitution through focusing his force's efforts on Butetown, plans to 'zone' the dockland do suggest a particular kind of regulatory logic. Butetown's 'racial problem' encapsulated a range of social problems in the interwar years – prostitution, miscegenation, venereal disease, gambling – and a plan to contain the area's multiracial population would enable the police to obtain a greater handle on this community and the behaviours that were seen to be engrained within. Hence, the regulation of prostitution was enmeshed in a much wider effort to entrench and regulate the material environment of Butetown, and, by turn, its community.

Although concerns over miscegenation were widespread, such an approach ran the risk of negative attention – particularly in light of criticisms of the 1935's Richardson Survey and the withdrawal of municipal support for its findings.⁸¹ City planners thus sought to move beyond the technical aspects of redevelopment to seek moral justification and legitimation, and to minimize factional interests and class/racial antagonisms.⁸² This can be seen in the Corporation's approach to publicizing dockland redevelopment plans. To gain support for the reshaping of Butetown, city councillors promoted an image of darkened labyrinthine streets and lanes full of 'prowling "meth" drinkers, women afraid to use their back doors, and migratory

⁸⁰ As Dean argues, while eugenics social programmes were not immediately realized in such a context, it did lend influence to a focus on the regulation of environmental conditions. Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Dehli; and Singapore: Sage, [1999] 2010), 162. Also see Osborne and Rose, 'Governing Cities', 747. For Wilson's admiration of South African anti-miscegenation laws, see WL 3AMS/B/08/02, James Wilson, 'Problems Peculiar to the Bute Town Area or Shipping Quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 6 January 1929; and Wilson, 'Problems peculiar to the Bute Town area or shipping quarter of the City and Port of Cardiff', 10 April 1929. Also see the discussion in Chapter 4 of this thesis, and in Simon Jenkins, 'Aliens and Predators: Miscegenation, Prostitution and Racial Identities in Cardiff, 1927–47', *Cultural and Social History*, 11:4 (2014), 575-596.

⁸¹ See Chapter 4.

⁸² Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, 176.

bad characters infesting the Docks area.’⁸³ In this sense, the spatial zoning of Butetown was to be buttressed by a moral zoning of the neighbourhood, echoing the types of place formation that had abounded since the Edwardian years.⁸⁴ These anxieties also prompted a renewed interest in street lighting schemes for the area, yet financial constraints forced the Public Works Committee to reject the proposals.⁸⁵ However, this did not mark the end of attempts to reshape Butetown on the basis of making it an easier place to regulate, with plans to redevelop parts of Cardiff after the Second World War displaying distinct continuities with interwar ideas of constructing spatial deterrents and a contained space of regulation.

Material and moral renewal? Slum clearances and zoning

Proposals to zone Butetown into a more distinct ‘coloured’ residential space were not the only urban redevelopment plans that emerged in interwar Cardiff. In line with the provisions of the 1933 Housing Act, which sought to enable the clearance of housing for enterprise, plans were put forward to raze housing in Temperance Town in order to integrate it into the city centre. This was to be achieved through demolishing all housing to clear the space in front of the GWR Station and to construct a central bus station, public gardens, car parks, and a public hall (see Figure 7.4).⁸⁶ Plans for the redevelopment of Temperance Town can be seen as an attempt to zone inner Cardiff into more distinct districts, with the removal of a slum also offering the

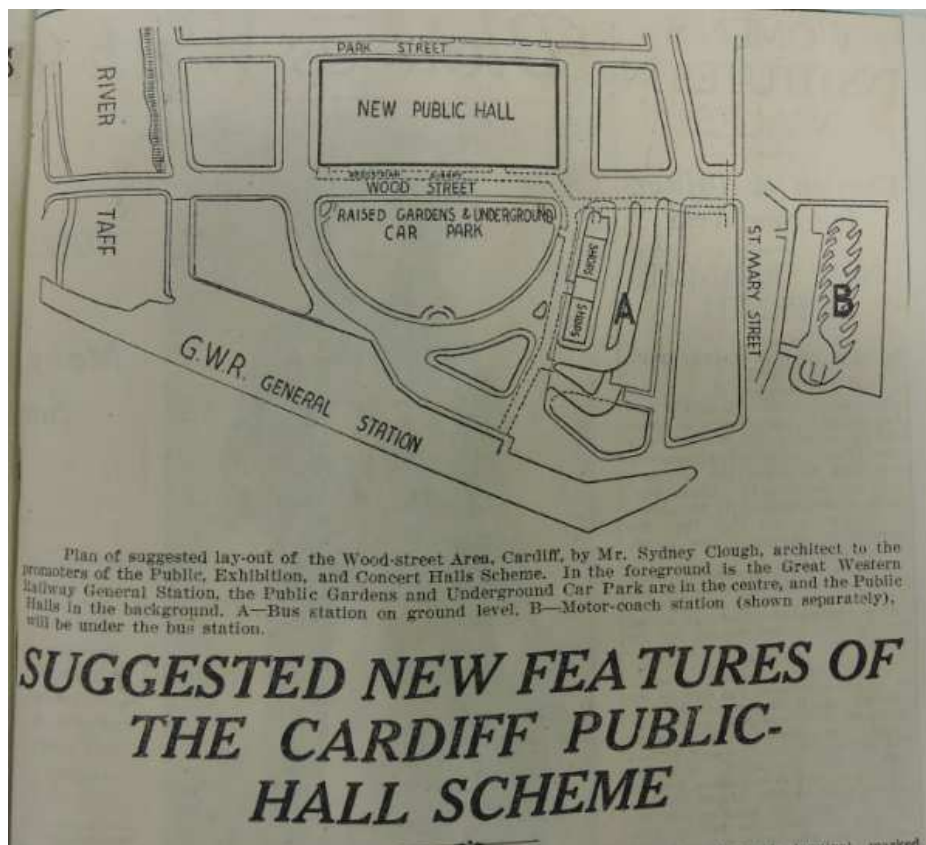
⁸³ *Western Mail*, 7 February 1938. Anonymous, ‘Storm Over Tiger Bay: A Protest Movement Against Segregation in the British Isles’, *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations*, 3 (1945), 39-42.

⁸⁴ For other thoughts on connections between spatial and moral zoning, see Osborne and Rose, ‘Governing Cities’, 747. For constructions of ‘place’, see Chapter 2.

⁸⁵ However, protests from white women in Butetown that the redevelopment was an open policy of segregation might also have influenced the decision. *Western Mail*, 7 February 1938. Anonymous, ‘Storm Over Tiger Bay: A Protest Movement Against Segregation on the British Isles’, *A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations*, 3 (1945), 39-42.

⁸⁶ The site had first been earmarked for clearance in the 1890s, when it was suggested as a site for the civic centre development. It was only the reluctance of the Bute estate to sell other sites that led to the choosing of Cathays Park. See Evans, ‘The Welsh Victorian City’, 381-2.

Fig. 7.4: Redevelopment plans for Temperance Town, 1936.



Source: *Western Mail*, 5 November 1936.

potential for rent increases and commercial development.⁸⁷ The Temperance Town redevelopment can be seen in this light for it drew on long-term concerns over the proximity of slums – and the behaviours they contained – to commercial districts. These plans marked the onset of significant redevelopment in Cardiff city centre, and in their scope deviated from broader trends that have been observed for the 1930s.⁸⁸ Hence, what we see in 1930s Cardiff is an attempt to reshape the city into more distinct commercial and residential areas, and to provide a more ordered and rationalized map of ‘problem’ districts such as Butetown.

The unaffordability of urban regeneration in late-1930s Butetown did not deter the interest of city officials in reshaping the space of Butetown and desires to divert the behaviours of men buying sex. A 1939 survey of dockland conditions in Cardiff noted how ‘medical and

⁸⁷ See Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, 80.

⁸⁸ See Garside, “Unhealthy Areas”, 39.

other authorities' echoed the views of Nancie Sharpe earlier in the decade through calling for spatial distractions to draw seamen away from prostitutes. Influenced by ongoing connections between leisure and civility, city officials consulted in this survey were of the opinion 'that men who keep physically fit and evince an interest in outdoor games are less inclined to drink or seek the company of prostitutes.'⁸⁹ However, regeneration plans for Butetown were halted by the Second World War. In December 1944, following the Town Planning Act, Cardiff Corporation began to re-explore the idea of constructing spaces solely to house 'coloured people'.⁹⁰ The Corporation now received support from the Colonial Office, which had supported the hard-line regulation of colonial seafarers in ports in the 1930s, and had been conducting investigations into the 'colour bar' in Britain since 1939.⁹¹ Another bout of protests ended discussions in 1944, yet interest was renewed between 1946 and 1947 when a sociological survey was conducted by University College Cardiff to inform the rebuilding of the district.⁹² The survey stressed the need to develop 'amenities for the recreation of the residential population', such as cinemas and playing fields, in order to redirect the area's men from loitering on the streets or in cafés and public houses associated with prostitution.⁹³ As such, in looking to reshape both the physical and social environment of Butetown, planners and social reformers drew from the spatial deterrents suggested by the likes of Nancie Sharpe and the BSHC in the previous decade.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ MO SxMOA1/2/75/4A/10, Inquiry into Seamen's Welfare in Ports: International Labour Recommendation No. 48. Port: Cardiff, Draft Interim Report 2-10 February 1939/Seamen's Welfare in the Ports of Cardiff and Barry (Seamen's Welfare Officer), April 1941.

⁹⁰ For the 1944 Act, see Yelling, 'Public Policy, Urban Renewal and Property Ownership, 1945-55', 50. Concerns over housing were also echoed in debates around policing: in response to increases in violent crime across Britain, a HM Inspectors of Constabulary report comments on how 'unsatisfactory housing conditions are still one of the prime causes of discontent in many police forces.' *South Wales Echo*, 14 June 1948.

⁹¹ Anonymous, 'Storm Over Tiger Bay', 41; Suke Walton, *Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War: The Loss of White Prestige* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 155, n. 18; Marika Sherwood, 'Racism and Resistance: Cardiff in the 1930s and 1940s', *Llafur*, 5:4 (1991), 51-70.

⁹² New York Public Library (NYPL) Sc MG309/62/1, St Clair Drake Papers, Butetown field notes ca.1946-7.

⁹³ Harriett Wilson, 'Housing Survey of the Dock Area in Cardiff', *Sociological Review*, 42:11 (1950), 201-213.

⁹⁴ This supports St Clair Drake's later comment on how Sharpe's 'quasi-scientific investigation' was the 'baseline for all subsequent studies of race relations in Cardiff. St Clair Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Chicago, 1954), 182.

The racialized image of Butetown and its connections with prostitution had entrenched the community and ghettoized the area (see Chapter 2). In his Cardiff fieldwork in the late-1940s, the American social anthropologist St Clair Drake observed how this narrative influenced an unsystematic barring of ‘coloured’ men from many hotels and lodging houses in Cardiff, given the fear that the men would use those spaces for various sexual activities.⁹⁵ Rather than tackle the racialization of Butetown and the marginalization of its community, regeneration plans sought to segregate further, revealing a continuation of the zoning plans that had emerged in the late-1930s. While Sharpe, the BSHC, and housing survey of the late-1940s emphasized the need to develop recreational amenities in the district, a range of leisure facilities, including cinemas and playing fields, lay less than a mile north of Butetown in the city centre and surrounding districts. While the community did lack immediate facilities, the aim of reshaping the district was more about containment than residential improvement or integration – particularly as Chief Constable Wilson had been so preoccupied with limiting contact between the ‘coloured’ and ‘white’ populations.⁹⁶ As opposed to suggesting ways to enable continuity between Butetown and surrounding areas, the housing survey of 1946-7 proposed to create amenities within the dockland primarily to redirect its men from Bute Street’s cafés.⁹⁷ Likewise, the plans of the city surveyor to construct blocks of flats around Hodges Row explicitly aimed to create a ‘closed precinct which could be seen from the main road’.⁹⁸ There may have also been some desire on behalf of the city’s court system to contain ethnic minority groups in Butetown, and thus the ‘problematic’ manifestation of prostitution. Little cited a case in which the police had sought to close a café; in response the ‘defending

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 215-6.

⁹⁶ In addition to the evidence cited throughout this thesis, Wilson also sought to prohibit fairs from operating in the vicinity on the basis that such leisure facilities would encourage ‘white girls and coloured men’ to meet and create a ‘breeding ground for immorality’. See GA DCONC/1/1/8, Report from Chief Constable Wilson to the Watch Committee, 18 November 1930.

⁹⁷ Wilson, *Housing Survey of the Dock Area in Cardiff*, 210.

⁹⁸ *Cardiff and Suburban News*, 25 February 1956.

solicitor based his plea in Court on the ground that to shut up the café in question would merely have the effect of sending the undesirables up to practise their trade in the town itself'.⁹⁹

The housing historian Yelling has remarked on how the 'social meaning of slum clearance [...] varied with the circumstances in which it was applied.'¹⁰⁰ In the case of Butetown, following the intensification of a racialized discourse of prostitution in previous decades, the proposals essentially focused on creating a more distinct 'coloured' area that would be easier to monitor. This trend continued into the 1950s, when Butetown was announced as the flagship urban regeneration scheme of Cardiff's twenty-year development plan. This plan was supported by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, which wanted it to become a 'showpiece' of post-war urban redevelopment.¹⁰¹ In February 1956, the Corporation's Estates Committee was presented with plans for the 'redevelopment of the Bute Street area', yet they foresaw one significant 'difficulty': Butetown's 'own special problem [...] in the housing of a community which has always been reluctant to move elsewhere.'¹⁰² The Corporation's approach to Butetown was thus one of residential differentiation, compounding the community's fear of 'breaking out' of the district.¹⁰³ In response to the Estates Committee's opinion, city surveyor E. C. Roberts returned to the proposal of concentrated blocks of flats and maisonettes that had been discussed in the late-1930s with the intent to turn Hodges Row into a 'closed precinct' and Loudoun Square into an open space.¹⁰⁴

This is not to say that the quality of housing in Butetown did not require attention. In 1944 the South Wales Association for the Welfare of Coloured People had reported on the poor state of the area's houses, with most being 'lease-hold, the owners doing very little repairing,

⁹⁹ Little, *Negroes in Britain*, 51.

¹⁰⁰ J. A. Yelling, 'The Incidence of Slum Clearance in England and Wales, 1955-85', *Urban History*, 27:2 (2000), 235.

¹⁰¹ *Western Mail*, 23 February 1956.

¹⁰² *Cardiff and Suburban News*, 25 February 1956.

¹⁰³ Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 215-6. For residential differentiation, see Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, esp. 109-20.

¹⁰⁴ *Cardiff and Suburban News*, 25 February 1956.

and they are sublet to many families, who pay as much as 15s rent per week for two or three rooms.’¹⁰⁵ Yet, as St Clair Drake put it, the plans for a ‘closed precinct’ only aped the ‘little tongue of land in The Bay’ that was ‘defined as “the place” for coloured people’, and reinforced the symbolical and psychological ‘barriers in the minds of both white and colored people.’ This sense of separation was exacerbated by landlords in the city centre refusing to let or sell to ‘coloured people’, with allegations that the police were encouraging this practice in order to ‘cordon off The Bay and control a homogeneous colored area more easily.’¹⁰⁶ Butetown, which had been designated as *the* problem space of prostitution in Cardiff since the mid-1920s, was thus intended to be transformed into an area that could be more easily regulated. Hence, the approach had shifted away from the port welfare emphasis on spatial deterrents and altering behaviours, and became characterized by spatial differentiation and a form of regulation based on spatial zoning.

Different patterns emerged in other areas earmarked for redevelopment, such as Temperance Town, adjacent to the GWR Station.¹⁰⁷ While a portion of Temperance Town was demolished in the late-1930s after government subsidies were issued to facilitate work on ‘redevelopment areas’, the full clearance and redevelopment of this district was delayed by the onset of war.¹⁰⁸ The redevelopment of the Temperance Town area was brought back into focus in the immediate post-war years, and much of the housing stock was demolished by the end of the 1940s.¹⁰⁹ While Temperance Town did not hold cultural associations with prostitution to

¹⁰⁵ Excerpts from a report cited in Drake, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, 185.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 208-109.

¹⁰⁷ This section will not consider the redevelopment of the spaces of Temperance Town and the city centre in detail as while extensively-bombed urban centres like Bristol and Swansea received government funding to redevelop in the 1950s, Cardiff had to wait until the mid-1970s and for the accumulation of private investment before embarking on larger regeneration projects. See John Punter, ‘A City Centre for a European Capital?’ in Alan Hooper and John Punter (eds), *Capital Cardiff, 1975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 123; Yelling, ‘The Incidence of Slum Clearance in England and Wales, 1955-85’, 237-243.

¹⁰⁸ *Western Mail*, 5 November 1936; *Western Mail*, 12 October 1939; Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment*, 164.

¹⁰⁹ See articles collected in GA DCONC/5/84, Newscuttings, January 1948-August 1954.

the extent of Butetown, material changes in the area did have a significant effect on the regulation of prostitution in the area. Temperance Town's 'regeneration' from 'slum' into a space for offices, bus and railway stations, and the Empire Pool – a brand-new, government-funded facility constructed for the 1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games – made the space more visible and easier to police.¹¹⁰ This can be seen in Figures 7.5 and 7.6, which detail photographs taken by the City Council's planning department in the 1930s and 1950s. In the 1930s, Temperance Town was characterized by densely-packed terraces moving outwards from the GWR Station, which created a buffer between the city's main railway station and the commercial thoroughfares. The subsequent removal of Temperance Town allowed for the development of a new bus station in the 1950s, which, being linked to the GWR Station, simultaneously created greater opportunities for selling sex, and made it an easier space to regulate.¹¹¹ This is evidenced by an increase in the arrest rate in the district: between 1950 and 1954, Temperance Town featured in sixty-nine of a total 324 hearings relating to street prostitution, rising to 165 of 494 hearings between 1955 and 1959.¹¹²

Just as the removal of Temperance Town influenced police action, a rise in the arrest rate of prostitutes in the city centre coincided with the announcement of plans to redevelop the area. The redevelopment was initially proposed by city surveyor E. C. Roberts in response to the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, and submitted to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Roberts informed the Ministry that a proportion of the 365 houses built prior to 1849 would be razed to enable the development of 'business and warehouse premises'.¹¹³ The *Western Mail* welcomed these proposals, and was pleased to announce that the city's 'worst

¹¹⁰ *Western Mail*, 27 July 1955.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of prior connections between the GWR Station, Temperance Town, and prostitution.

¹¹² GA PSCBO/4/177-200, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, Second Court, 1950-59. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of these statistics.

¹¹³ GA BC/S/40, E. C. Roberts, 'City of Cardiff: Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, Development Plan', February 1953.

Fig. 7.5: Planning department photographs of Temperance Town, c.1930s



Source: GA BC/PH/4/70-99, Photographs of Temperance Town, c.1930s-c.1950s

Fig. 7.6: Planning department photographs of Temperance Town, c.1950s



Source: GA BC/PH/4/70-99, Photographs of Temperance Town, c.1930s-c.1950s. The bottom photograph details the site cleared for the construction of the Empire Pool, opposite the site of the new bus station. Wood Street runs from the bottom left of the image, leading to Wood Street Bridge and Riverside.

slum' was to 'be demolished' in favour of 'modern shops and a new covered and open air market'.¹¹⁴ The work, which was to commence in 1959 (although full redevelopment was halted until later in the 1960s), was part of a wider move to rejuvenate Cardiff's image in light of it being granted capital status for Wales in 1955.¹¹⁵ As with Temperance Town, a rise in arrests for street prostitution offences accompanied attempts at urban renewal in the eastern portion of Cardiff city centre. Hearings for street prostitution offences in the city centre rose from sixty-eight between 1950 and 1954, to 215 between 1955 and 1959.¹¹⁶ The police's approach towards street prostitution was clearly informed by city centre redevelopment, as despite protestations from the public and the press over the growing prevalence of solicitation in the Riverside, arrests for that area remained low throughout the 1950s.¹¹⁷ Therefore, while redevelopment plans for Butetown were more obviously informed by continuities in attempts to regulate Cardiff's 'coloured' population – and the range of socio-biological ills that they were seen to embody – the regulation of prostitution elsewhere in central Cardiff was directed by the changing material environment.

The areas earmarked for post-war redevelopment were those that had been most closely linked to prostitution since the Edwardian period – in terms of both arrest rates and representations. While urban regeneration in the 1950s was not necessarily geared towards regulating prostitution, it was an embedded aspect of part of the problems that social reformers, city planners, and the police saw in places like Butetown and the central slum. Much like the case for Cathays Park in the 1920s, prostitution was simply not a behaviour to be tolerated in areas seen as essential to developing greater civic status, particularly in light of being granted capital status in 1955. In essence, post-war redevelopment in Cardiff was an attempt to clearly zone the central ward into a distinct commercial area and a 'coloured' district, by turn removing

¹¹⁴ *Western Mail*, 27 September 1957.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* For the later redevelopment of the city centre, see Punter, 'A City Centre for a European Capital?'

¹¹⁶ GA PSCBO/4/177-200, Cardiff Petty Sessions Registers, Second Court, 1950-59. Also see Chapter 1.

¹¹⁷ *Cardiff and South Wales Times*, 22 June 1956.

the inner Victorian slums of the Mary Ann Street and Temperance Town areas. This represented a culmination of the concerns that had formed during Cardiff's rapid late-Victorian and Edwardian growth when slum districts had grown in close proximity to established commercial streets that were symbolic of civic status. In this light, plans to zone post-war Cardiff intended to construct more distinct boundaries in the city, and create a more ordered and rationalized environment. This is evident from the city development plan submitted to the Ministry of Housing in 1953. These proposals clearly sought to rationalize space across the city, and contained detailed plans for each district, and specified exact acreages and different sites that could be found in each area. As such, the development plan sought to construct a body of knowledge about Cardiff's material environments and the uses of space, and how these might be transformed.¹¹⁸

While the redevelopment plans of 1953 covered all of Cardiff, the two districts covered in most detail were Butetown and the city centre. As can be seen in Figures 7.7 and 7.8, city planners clearly sought to demarcate spatial use in these areas, and explicit distinctions were made between commercial, public, and residential spaces. In the case of Butetown, these plans represented, in the words of the Council's chief planner, 'a social and moral obligation'. The proposals also echoed preceding attempts to contain the 'coloured' population, and to counter the supposed influence of café-brothels. In his report, the city surveyor stated a need to retain the 'present population [...] in the existing neighbourhood as their transfer to other areas would engender a difficult social problem', and that municipally-planned social spaces would act to deter people from the 'poor type' cafés of Bute Street.¹¹⁹ In contrast to the Edwardian years when debates over materiality and spatial regulation were informed by the moralizing politics of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity, post-war redevelopment plans were driven by Corporation

¹¹⁸ GA BC/S/40, E. C. Roberts, 'City of Cardiff: Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, Development Plan', February 1953.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Fig. 7.7: Rationalizing Butetown, 1953



Source: GA BC/S/40, E. C. Roberts, 'City of Cardiff: Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, Development Plan', February 1953.

Fig. 7.8: Rationalizing Cardiff city centre, 1953



Source: GA BC/S/40, E. C. Roberts, 'City of Cardiff: Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, Development Plan', February 1953.

planners and bureaucrats, reflecting a more technocratic approach to rationalizing the city, and one more symbolic of liberal governmentality in civic contexts.¹²⁰ In Cardiff we can thus see a trajectory in how space was regulated, shifting from the more reactionary approach of dominant Liberal-Nonconformist groups and newspapers to a targeted approach involving social hygiene groups, the police, the Corporation, and city planners. In essence, by the 1930s, the spatial regulation of prostitution was immersed in a wider project to zone and order Cardiff's inner districts. Questions over the regulation of material environments had developed into a larger effort to demarcate the commercial area from residential areas, to create grids of urban classification, and to make Cardiff's central ward and dockland easier to monitor and regulate.¹²¹

Conclusion

In Edwardian Cardiff street lighting was explicitly proposed as tool for regulating the behaviours of prostitutes, yet the perceived benefits went beyond controlling commercial sex. This technology was proposed as a means of reshaping general behaviours within working class districts, chiming with wider concerns over child health and national efficiency. However, the implementation of street lighting programmes to achieve such aims was unsystematic and subject to shifting municipal priorities. While this might be representative of wider resistance to the widespread illumination of urban spaces, as Otter has detailed, it was more informed by the contours of debate surrounding Welsh Liberal-Nonconformist moral politics.¹²² Likewise, while street lighting can be sited as an aspect of broader technologies of liberal power, the incoherent approach towards street lighting in Cardiff was more revealing of how

¹²⁰ See Otter, 'Making Liberalism Durable'; Joyce, *The State of Freedom*; Joyce, 'Maps, Blood and the City: The Governance of the Social in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Patrick Joyce (ed.), *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 97-114.

¹²¹ Also see Huxley, 'Geographies of Governmentality', 195.

¹²² See the introduction in Otter, *The Victorian Eye*.

governmentalities are characterized by temporal-geographical variance and converging rationalities.

When such schemes were implemented they were focused on spaces central to civic ambition, such as Cathays Park. The design of Cathays Park's orderly spaces and civic buildings intended to inflict a sense of civility and 'respectability' into Cardiff's citizens, as well as reflecting the city's heritage and future potential. The development of this space, with its associated lighting scheme, also led to an increase in police action against prostitutes in the area, who had previously utilized the darkened spaces of the former parkland. Alongside civic developments there were also attempts to reshape districts to alter behaviours, particularly with regards to Butetown. In the interwar years the material environment of the dockland was seen as conducive to prostitution, leading to a number of proposals to create spatial deterrents to lead men away from prostitutes and to limit the spread of venereal disease. These influenced subsequent plans to redevelop this area, which essentially sought to manufacture a more contained space that was easier to regulate. Meanwhile, post-war regeneration in the city centre and Temperance Town diverted police attention towards street prostitutes in areas that were central to the redevelopment of Cardiff's civic image and recent capital status. A particular rationality was thus to be realized in built environment, yet the manner in which this was achieved was improvisatory and tied to temporal concerns over particular areas.

It was not until the middle of the century when the regulation of space assumed a more technocratic form, with post-war civic redevelopment revealing a desire to compartmentalize the city into more distinct public and private/residential spaces.¹²³ For Butetown, which had become *the* problem space of prostitution in the 1920s, the aim was to contain the district into a more distinct 'coloured' residential area and make it an easier space to regulate. This was not an effort to contain prostitution as such, as slum clearances and the creation of open public and

¹²³ For comments on compartmentalization of urban space in a broader context, see Yelling, *Slums and Redevelopment*, 203.

commercial spaces in the city centre was accompanied by a significant increase in the arrest rate for street prostitution.¹²⁴ While a decrease in the arrest rate in post-war Butetown coincided with the economic decline of the dockland and diminishing numbers of seamen passing through the port, shifts in police action on prostitution after 1945 were more a consequence of plans to zone the centre of Cardiff. Hence, it was not the case that prostitution had become less prevalent in post-war Butetown, but rather that through zoning proposals and declining trade at the docks it had become less of a 'problem' space. Meanwhile, a broader reshaping of the city centre refocused police attention onto street prostitutes in central thoroughfares, revealing how material politics exerted influence over the priorities of the city's force.

The targeting of street prostitutes in the city centre and the former Temperance Town area had thus become a priority given the importance of these projects to civic development. It had also become an easier task as slum clearances made the actions of prostitutes more visible. While this increase in attention on soliciting in the city centre coincided with debates over London's street prostitution, the Wolfenden Committee, and subsequent legal developments, this was not the sole influence. As this chapter has demonstrated, materiality and broader attempts at spatial regulation were a central component in the shaping of the regulation of prostitution. If Edwardian street lighting programmes were haphazard and subject to a shifting set of Nonconformist concerns, then evidence from the interwar and post-war years reveals a different pattern. Through the initial focus on redeveloping the dockland and later plans to zone central Cardiff, the regulation of prostitution became immersed in a wider effort to redevelop the city. These later developments were more symbolic of tenets associated with liberal-governmentality in urban settings, in that they represented an attempt to rationalize the city in a more technocratic and bureaucratic fashion.

¹²⁴ See Chapter 5.

By the mid-twentieth century the policing of prostitution in Cardiff had thus become entangled in a more strategic effort to reshape spaces of the city for reasons beyond the regulation of commercial sex. We can, therefore, situate prostitution within a broader configuration of concerns over material environments and efforts at spatial regulation. If the material is a node in a network of non-human and human ‘actants’ then, with regards to the regulation of prostitution, it functioned in three ways. First it resembled a distinct effort to reshape wider behaviours associated with certain districts, as with Nonconformist calls to use street lighting to foster self-regulation in slum areas and to displace prostitution from middle-class suburbs. Second, materiality is temporal, as is revealed through the shift from the technology of street lighting to questions of spatial deterrents and urban regeneration in Butetown after 1918. Third, material environments functioned as a diffuse form of agency, for while ‘agency’ is a humanistic and individualizing term, new physical environments, such as interwar Cathays Park and the city centre in the 1950s, shaped the actions of the police.¹²⁵ In many ways this has brought us full circle to the discussion of space at the beginning of this thesis, which posed that spaces of prostitution are produced relationally through the intertwining and recursive practices of both prostitutes and police officers. Materiality was another element within this configuration, not an externality that framed the actions of prostitutes and police constables, but an element within a broader socio-material network that shaped the regulation of prostitution.

¹²⁵ For the material and notions of agency, also see Otter, ‘The Technosphere’.

Conclusion

The Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, established in 1954 in response to sensational coverage of street prostitution in London and commonly known as the Wolfenden Committee, marked a defining moment in the regulation of commercial sex in Britain. The recommendations of its 1957 report were incorporated into the 1959 Street Offences Act, which strengthened the stigmatizing legal definition of the ‘common prostitute’ and provided the police with greater powers to target women soliciting in public spaces.¹ As Laite’s work has shown, the debates surrounding the Wolfenden report and the 1959 Act had a significant impact on the policing of London’s prostitution: they informed clearances of women soliciting on the streets in the early-1960s, which in turn stoked fears over the growth of an underground commercial sex industry.² Shifts in the arrest rate in post-war Cardiff might be seen as a consequence of metropolitan debates in the 1950s and the resultant changes to the law. In Cardiff, recorded incidences of street prostitution offences steadily increased from just one in 1946, to 182 in 1959, as police action returned to focus on central thoroughfares after decades of concern over dockland café prostitution.³ However, while criminal statistics might suggest that metropolitan debates informed wider trends in policing, this is not an accurate reflection of how prostitution was regulated. As has been shown throughout this thesis, the practice, perception, and policing of prostitution was characterized and shaped by a more complex and shifting configuration of influences. This concluding chapter will reflect on the relevance of this case study more generally, through a focus on the four methodological

¹ Helen Self, *Prostitution, Women and Misuse of the Law: The Fallen Daughters of Eve* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), 9-11; Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, 191-2. Also see Frank Mort, ‘Mapping Sexual London: The Wolfenden Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1954-57’, *New Formations*, 37 (1999), 92-113.

² Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 204-5.

³ See Chapter 5.

approaches that have been employed in this thesis: space, perception, governmentality, and materiality.

There is a clear need for a greater focus on spatiality. We need to think less in terms of ‘where’ prostitution occurred, and to move beyond static maps and geographies to consider the relationship between space and commercial sex in greater detail. The opening chapters drew influence from geographical theories to explore the spaces of prostitution in Cardiff, not purely in terms of location but by thinking about spatial production, practice, and the cultural perceptions of place. A focus on the production of spaces of prostitution – through recursive relationships between the practices of women selling sex, the actions of the police, and how these intertwined with everyday movements in the city – demonstrated the value of building on the work of theorists such as Lefebvre and Massey to explore how space is not a frame where social relations ‘happen’ but an unfixed product of multifaceted interrelations. Through this, we see less a geography of ‘prostitution’ – in the sense that commercial sex was fixed to certain spaces or sites – nor methods of ‘containment’ on behalf of the police.⁴ Rather, what is revealed are the interactions between the practices of prostitutes and quotidian flows of people and commerce, and a fluidity of movement between both districts of the city and sites where prostitution ‘happened’, such as boarding houses, public houses, and ‘brothels’.

Yet there are clear limits to identifying the spatial uses and practices of the women who sold sex, particularly as the available evidence is imbued with ‘place’, or the cultural values associated with particular spaces. Broader concerns over place in Cardiff linked prostitution to other ‘problem’ behaviours, such as city centre drunkenness in the Edwardian years and dockland miscegenation in the interwar period. The source material thus provides us with less a geography of prostitution, but a temporal moral geography. The temporal aspects of place

⁴ See the discussion in Stefan Slater, ‘Containment: Managing Street Prostitution in London, 1918-1959’, *Journal of British Studies*, 49:2 (2010), 332-357; and Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Introduction.

operated at both a micro level, in terms of behaviours being seen to shift at different times of day, and in a broader sense, as concerns over the city's morals shifted south in the 1920s – from questions of the proximity of slumland to commercial thoroughfares, to race and miscegenation in the dockland. Through a wider lens this shifting moral geography reflected broader concerns in the interwar period over Cardiff as a problem port, which drew the attentions of journalists from other cities, prominent social reformers, internationalist social hygiene and vigilance groups, and sociologists from Britain and the USA. Much as Massey has argued, 'place' is networked – being the product of a 'stretching out' of social relations across (global) space.⁵ Yet it is not the case that the social space was a separate realm to the cultural place, nor that the latter offers immaterial imaginings of the former. Rather, space and place are symbiotic, and are engaged in a recursive relationship that shapes and reshapes both social relations and cultural perceptions. Historians, with our implicit understandings about social temporality and causal heterogeneity, can potentially further understandings of space/place, building on theories from the social sciences to not only better theorize these concepts for use by historians, but to enter into a dialogue with work in other disciplines to advance these theories more broadly.

Difficulties in discerning a geography of prostitution also highlight the distinct limitations to what can be revealed about the lives and experiences of the women who sold sex. Much in line with the arguments of Gilfoyle and Hershatter cited in the introduction to this thesis, the source material is too consumed in the fears and anxieties of observers to reveal the actions or experiences of prostitutes, let alone those of third parties and clients. While we can ascertain that some women who sold sex in Cardiff did so for reasons of poverty and that some were of migrant status, the voices of these women were rarely recorded. When they did appear,

⁵ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), Chapter 7; Massey, *For Space* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: Sage, [2005] 2014).

they were mediated by witnesses, such as journalists or senior police officers, whose concerns were driven not by a want to represent the lives of prostitutes, but by the place-bound concerns to which prostitution was linked. We thus only find a composite picture of Cardiff's prostitutes – or at least those who generated concern. These women became increasingly marginalized during the interwar years as debates on prostitution became embroiled within anxieties about racial regulation, and as the police became less focused on taking action against solicitation. This shift in concern resulted in a sharp fall in the arrest rate from 294 arrests in 1921, to thirteen in 1933, and zero by 1944. Hence, if it is difficult to profile Cardiff's prostitutes in the Edwardian years when arrest rates were high and newspaper accounts frequently focused on the 'common prostitute', then attempts at profiling for the 1930s and 1940s might adequately be described as a 'quixotic search'.⁶ Our abilities to look beyond stereotypes assigned the women who sold sex are thus distinctly limited, as the everyday lives of 'prostitutes' and their experiences as ordinary citizens of the city are obscured.

Yet such a search is not entirely ineffectual. An approach that does not overstate the limited evidence of agency and experience can provide at least some insight into the lives of prostitutes, and a more careful assessment of the construction of stereotypes. It also allows for a greater consideration of how understandings of prostitution were produced through connections to other topics of concern, notably race. Chapter 4's exploration of the racialization of prostitution in interwar Cardiff highlights the need for 'race' to be considered less in terms of rupture. While moments such as the violence and hostility of 1919 or post-*Windrush* immigration offer a greater body of evidence through which to explore the experiences and perceptions of migrants, such periods do not represent a 'ground zero' of immigration into Britain or allied concerns. While the 1919 riots fuelled the expression of racial fears in early-

⁶ Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, [1997] 1999), 14.

twentieth century Cardiff, racial antagonism was not momentary, and was drawn from a broader frame of reference through which sexual behaviours were seen as markers of racial difference. Links between race and prostitution were shaped by the cultural genealogies of imperialism, and how sexual behaviours acted as a means of constructing hierarchies of 'difference' in colonial contexts. Fears over the masculinities of black clients and Maltese 'pimps' in interwar Cardiff represented a reassertion of British imperial masculinity, which came to dominate ideas of prostitution in Cardiff into the middle of the century, and predated the emergence of similar concerns in post-war London. This means that historians need to look not only beyond the metropolitan context, but more closely at trajectories of racisms, the formulation and expression of racial difference within the banal aspects of everyday life, and how 'race' was shaped alongside other subjects of concern, such as prostitution.⁷

Racialized narratives also dominated the policing of prostitution in interwar Cardiff. This was symbolic of how a patchwork of laws were used to regulate prostitutes and third parties alike, and how policing in Cardiff did not follow patterns of the criminalization of the common prostitute as in London, nor police apathy in Scotland.⁸ While the 1824 Vagrancy Act had been the most common law used in the Edwardian years when targeting street prostitutes, by the interwar years more diffuse tactics were employed. This included the use of immigration controls enshrined in the Aliens Acts as proxy for policing both racial minority groups and prostitutes in the dockland. The use of the law was subject to geographical and temporal variation, and shaped by more diffuse means than the legal framework or legal discourse. Actor-network theory (ANT) and the Foucauldian notion of governmentality can assist in thinking about the more diffuse manner in which regulation was informed and exercised. A shifting set of networks shaped attitudes towards policing and regulation: from Nonconformist-

⁷ Also see Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (Basingtoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 236.

⁸ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*; Louise Settle, *Sex for Sale in Scotland: Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

driven campaigns in the Edwardian period to co-operation between the police and social hygiene groups in the interwar years. This evidence demonstrates that ‘governmentality’ should not be applied as a totalizing notion of the ‘state’ achieving its aims via diffuse means. In the case of the Edwardian years, the success of Liberal-Nonconformist pressure campaigns was realized through the combined influence of the Forward Movement, the *SWDN*, and the CDCU network led by Reverend Thomas, and was reflective of the bipartisan aspect of Welsh political culture in this period.⁹ After the First World War, Chief Constable Wilson made greater connections with the Home Office and social hygiene groups to obtain greater controls over ‘alien’ and colonial seafarers, which in turn refocused the policing of prostitution in Cardiff. What was common to these two distinct networks of influence is that the direction of regulation was shaped by shifting and improvisatory interrelations between various individuals, groups, and networks concerned with both shaping civic behaviours and advancing their own interests. Governmentalities are thus multifaceted and characterized by temporal and geographic heterogeneity.¹⁰

While governmentality and ANT approaches hold limitations, they can help us think about the ways in which the aims and actions of ever-shifting actor-networks converged to shape direct action against prostitution: from the police to non-judiciary religious bodies and social hygiene groups, and more indirect efforts. To simply assume that power emanates from the ‘state’ via diffuse means and methods would be to overlook how forms of power in the context of prostitution, such as policing and regulation, are decentred, contingent, relational, and temporal. Characteristic of the complexities of regulatory power is how it was also shaped by materiality. As seen in the case of Cardiff, street lighting schemes, the development of the civic centre, spatial initiatives in the dockland, and post-war urban regeneration impacted upon

⁹ For political culture in Edwardian Wales, see Kenneth Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 111, and Chapter 5 in general.

¹⁰ Also see discussion on temporality and causal heterogeneity in William Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 10-11.

the regulation of prostitution. Thus, if historians are turning to the spatial, then we likewise need to award greater consideration to the how space and place are produced through more complex socio-material configurations, in which urban environments hold agency over social relations.

This thesis has also touched upon a number of themes beyond its lines of inquiry that would benefit from further study. While English social purity movements have received a considerable amount of attention in the work of Walkowitz, Bland, Hall, and others, this element of Welsh Nonconformist politics has been overlooked.¹¹ Most work on the influence of Liberal-Nonconformity has focused on either the machinations of municipal governance, theology, temperance, Welsh national identity, or the break from religious influence in local politics following the rise of the Labour Party and movement after 1918.¹² Yet, questions remain over the sexual politics of Welsh Liberal-Nonconformity and social arms such as the Forward Movement, the extent to which their work contrasted against English social purity movements, and how its discourses intertwined or jarred with those of feminist and women's groups in Wales. Given the themes of migration and everyday movement explored in Chapter 3, there is also a clear need to explore place of migratory sexual labour within South Wales, and the role of sexual economies in linking urban centres to the wider region. More questions arise for Welsh historians in relation to identity. In Chapters 2 and 4 especially, we saw how concerns over Butetown were frequently expressed via imperialistic notions of 'Englishness', despite the Welsh context. This raises broader questions about the role of imperialism in

¹¹ Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, [1980] 1999); Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex, and Morality* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, [1995] 2001).

¹² For example, see Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); Pope, 'Congregations and Community', in Lesley Hesselbee and Paul Ballard (eds), *Free Churches and Society: The Nonconformist Contribution to Social Welfare 1800-2010* (London and New York: Continuum, 2012), 23-44; C. R. Williams, 'The Welsh Religious Revival, 1904-5', *British Journal of Sociology*, 3:3 (1952), 242-259; W. R. Lambert, 'The Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881', *Welsh History Review*, 6:2 (1972), 161-189; Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, c.1820-c.1895* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983).

shaping identities in South Wales, and the need for a more careful consideration of geography, place, and ideas of nation in modern Britain, as well as how ideas of ‘English’ and ‘British’ were used as a referent in the Welsh press. The positioning of Cardiff as an important, yet problematic, British port drew the attention of a wide range of groups, such as the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC). Despite other vigilance groups, such as the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, having received attention from historians, we know little about the BSHC’s work with global ports in this period.¹³ The records of the BSHC reveal that they had adopted an internationalist approach towards port welfare and hygiene.¹⁴ Further exploration of the BSHC’s activities might yield insights into venereal disease concerns in the interwar years, interactions between local and global concerns, and, in light of the port welfare work explored in Chapter 7, the longer-term influence of social hygiene in shaping the environment of dock districts.

However, a more significant question arises from the discussion that opened this concluding chapter. While the immediate context of the 1959 Street Offences Act has received attention – in terms of both how sensational newspaper coverage informed the Wolfenden Report, and that the Act led to repressive action against street prostitutes in London – we know little about its impact on other British urban centres.¹⁵ Such an examination would need to take

¹³ See Julia Laite, ‘The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)’, *Women’s History Review*, 17:2 (2008), 207-223; Lucy Bland, ‘“Cleansing the portals of life”: the venereal disease campaign in the early twentieth century’, in Mary Langan and Bill Schwarz (eds), *Crises in the British State, 1880-1930* (London: Hutchinson, 1985), pp. 192-208; Bland, *Banishing the Beast*.

¹⁴ For instance, also see comments on the desire for a combination of municipal action and international co-operation in Alfred Salter (BSHC), ‘Great Britain and the Welfare of Seamen’, in League of Red Cross Societies, *Second Conference on the Health and Welfare of Merchant Seamen* (Paris: League of Red Cross Societies, 1929), 46.

¹⁵ See Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Chapters 10 and 11; Laite, ‘Justifiable Sensationalism: Newspapers, Public Opinion and Official Policy about Commercial Sex in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Media History*, 20:2 (2014), 126-145; Mort, ‘Mapping Sexual London’; Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010). The impact of Wolfenden on the Scottish legal context has received some attention. See Roger Davidson and Gayle Davis, ‘“A Festering Sore on the Body of Society”: The Wolfenden Committee and Female Prostitution in Mid-Twentieth-Century Scotland’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24:1 (2004), 80-98; Davidson and Davis, ‘“A Field for Private Members”: The Wolfenden Committee and Scottish Homosexual Law Reform, 1950-67’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 15:2 (2004), 174-201.

into account a range of wider themes, including: concentrations in post-war newspaper ownership; the weakened influence of the local press; the centralization of public services and the declining power of local government; the introduction of male prostitution into the 1959 Act; police reorganizations in the 1960s and the introduction of centralized systems and methods; and cultural questions around sexual permissiveness and social change in the 1960s. As has been stressed throughout this thesis, prostitution cannot be treated in isolation; nor can patterns of commercial sex and its regulation be inferred from a reading of the law and legal discourse associated with London. It must be examined through broader social and cultural themes, and through a spatial approach that can emphasize both the interplay between practice and representation, and the centrality of localized material spaces in shaping regulatory practices.

In essence, prostitution should not be considered as a singular concern that historians might trace through a particular period. This is evident from the two excerpts that introduced this thesis, which presented two distinct depictions of Cardiff's prostitution from two different chief constables. The first focused on the 'low class' or 'common prostitute' who was a figure of concern in the Edwardian years for Chief Constable William McKenzie. Under his tenure, Cardiff's force conducted repressive clearances of streetwalkers from central thoroughfares to appease public censure from the press and Nonconformist-aligned vigilance groups. The second excerpt detailed the concerns of the interwar Chief Constable, James Wilson. As opposed to streetwalkers in central thoroughfares, Wilson instead focused on an idea of a Maltese-run dockland café system that exploited young 'British' women through coercing them into prostitution with black men. This reflected broader concerns over the regulation of immigrant groups following the First World War, and perceptions of threats to British imperial hegemony. While differing considerably, what was common to these depictions was the embeddedness of prostitution within other concerns. From the fear over visibility, proximity

and threats to civic development in the Edwardian years, to the embroilment of prostitution in interwar racial regulation and the reshaping of material spaces after the Second World War, the practices, perceptions, and regulation of commercial sex were consistently rooted in place. This was not a case of local peculiarities occurring in isolation from national trends; prostitution in Cardiff persistently piqued the interest of the Home Office, social reformers, British and American sociologists, and the national press. Instead, it is symbolic of how place is always formed through ongoing and ever-shifting geometries of power – via movement and communication across space, and in how understandings of place are shaped through various networks and interconnections.¹⁶

Through focusing on the case study of Cardiff this thesis has raised a number of significant points for the study of prostitution more generally. First, there is the need for a greater and more careful consideration of the relationship between prostitution and space. The methods employed in the first two chapters reveal the importance of considering space not as a frame where prostitution occurred, but as being produced and reproduced by the recursive practices of prostitutes, police constables, non-judiciary organizations, and their interplay with the everyday. While we can map incidences of arrests, these predominantly reveal a shifting geography of concerns over representational place as opposed to the practices of prostitutes, clients or third parties. Alongside gendered perceptions of the ‘common prostitute’, this connection between prostitution and place obscured the lives and experiences of those who sold sex. This was especially evident in interwar Cardiff when prostitution became racialized through its associations with Butetown. The embedding of prostitution within racial anxieties shifted attention away from the women who sold sex, meaning that any attempt to reconstruct the practices or lives of prostitutes in this period can only rest on speculation. As such, historians of prostitution must pay greater attention to how perception was shaped by place and

¹⁶ See Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, Chapter 6.

material environments, a point which also applies to the actions of police. While the state provided a legal framework for regulation, police action reflected local discourses of place, with the quotidian work of the beat constable often involving informal means of regulation or responses to broader local pressures. We also see a more multifaceted implementation of the law, especially with regards to the connections between prostitution and race in the 1920s, which was less about regulating prostitution per se, and more about regulating racial minorities. Thinking about governmentality and materiality also enables us to reveal the diffuse nature of regulation, shaped not only by the police but by non-judiciary groups and changes in the physical environment of the city. Through an examination of regional settings we thus see a nonlinear picture of prostitution in twentieth-century Britain, characterized by plurality in practice and regulation, and a complex interplay between local, national and global processes.

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