



**Journal of
the Police History
Society**

NUMBER 5

1990

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLICE HISTORY SOCIETY

VOLUME V

1990

ISSN 0269 - 8617

Editor
Robert F. Bartlett
Surrey Constabulary
Mount Browne
Guildford
Surrey

CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
The Establishment and Development of the Worcestershire County Constabulary 1839 - 1843 by D.J. Smith	3 - 23
Buckingham Borough Police 1836 - 1889 by Len Woodley	24 - 36
The Police and Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory by Bernard Elliott	37 - 38
Living In by Michael Ford	39 - 41
Disturbance at the Docks and other stories by A.T. Bazzone	42 - 48
The Special Constabulary - an historical view by Clare Leon	49 - 60
A Murderous Attack at Cwm Cille Farm by Jeremy Glenn	61 - 64
The Barotse Native Police by T.B. Wright	65 - 76
The Luckiest Man Alive by Bernard Brown	77 - 78
Martha Tabram - the forgotten Ripper Victim by Jon Ogan	79 - 83
The Indian Police 1861 - 1947 by Basil La Bouchardiere	84 - 97
The Tardis by R. Howard	97 - 100
Book Reviews	101 - 102

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORCESTERSHIRE
COUNTY CONSTABULARY 1839 - 1843

D.J. Smith

On Wednesday, 24th July, 1839, Lord John Russell the Whig Home Secretary sought leave of the House of Commons to move the County and District Constabulary Bill. The purpose of the Bill was to 'enable the establishment of County and District Constabularies by the authority of Justices of the Peace'.

To be cognizant of the need and reasons for such a Bill a broad view must be taken of the social and economic revolution that occurred during the early nineteenth century.

One of the most historical and fundamental changes of the period was the destruction of the traditional agrarian system of law enforcement and its authority, which was represented and modelled upon the Anglo Saxon concept of the hundred, parish constable elected at a court leet, and magistrate. "The Statute of Winchester, 1285, emphasised responsibility for policing a district was a local one". The people were divided into groups of ten families which were called tythings and each had a 'tything man' as representative of each; ten tythings were under a 'hundredman' who was responsible to the Shire-Reeve or Sheriff of the County. Thereby each individual was made automatically responsible for and to his relatives for strictly observing the law, and the group was responsible for seeing that he did so. Generally an unarmed able bodied citizen in each parish was appointed/elected annually to serve unpaid for 12 months as parish constable. The Anglo Saxon tything man became parish constable of the latter day ecclesiastical parish organisation. The Shire-Reeve or Sheriff and Norman Knight became Justices of the Peace to whom the parish constable was responsible as representative of the people. Such a system became an anachronism when people moved in large numbers from the country to the industrialised towns and cities. The concept of community responsibility as defined in the agrarian social model ceased to exist as the migrants became individuals within the industrialised community and responsible for and to themselves only.

Whilst magistrates continued to apply the agrarian model of social authority within the expanding industrial areas the fundamental change of social, political and moral attitude militated to make it both ineffective and inefficient. The inability to sustain social stability provided conditions for serious public disorder, crime and riots. The Industrial Revolution seemed to contemporary eyes to produce such an increase of crime and disorder which threatened a complete breakdown in social order. In 1810 the Government began to publish crime figures which were retrospective to 1805. In 1840 prima facie evidence existed to show a continuing trend of an annual increase in crime. The methods adopted to combat the breakdown of law and order were the introduction of more law with harsher punishments together with a system of rewards. Both not only failed to achieve their objectives but created a corrupt reward system and an unprecedented level of jury equity.

The traditional method of dealing with circumstances of serious public disorder and riot was for a magistrate to provide special constables to assist the elected parish constable. Generally, the precautions were insufficient and totally inadequate to prevent, contain or quell such disorder and magistrates were frequently forced to seek assistance of the military or local militia. This often exacerbated a difficult situation and occasionally led to loss of life.

The creation of the Metropolitan Police in 1829, which initially met with much vociferous, violent and hostile reaction successfully demonstrated the ability of a professional civil police force to prevent serious public disorder and crime.

"3,000 people gathered at a political meeting at Coldbath Field, London. The speaker called upon the crowd to march to Westminster and hang the cabinet from the nearest lampposts. Colonel Charles Rowan ordered his men to close the meeting. 300 Police Officers baton charged the crowd whereby they were quickly dispersed after a battle where the police were stoned. Police Constable Robert CULLEY died of stab wounds. The coroners jury, despite the coroners objections found a verdict of justifiable homicide." (J.J. Tobias, Crime and Police in England Page 89)

A similar effect had been observed after compulsory establishment of police forces in Municipal Boroughs under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835.

Whilst resolving many identifiable problems of a criminal and public order nature in Boroughs and the Capital City the two enactments did not apply to many of the new industrialised areas and towns. They also created a dispersion effect to the detriment of the rural districts which surrounded the areas where the new police operated successfully. To such an extent was the detrimental effect that criminals acted with impunity in rural areas due to the ineffectual method of policing. The consequence of such inefficient policing was the founding of in excess of 500 voluntary "Protection Societies" throughout England and Wales.

These conditions were compounded by the rapid and vigorous rise of the Chartist movement whose aims and subsequent demands found national popularity and led to serious public disorder and riots throughout England and Wales. "Chartism was quickly recognised as a direct challenge to constitutional authority.... the early idealism of the movement was already giving way to dangerous extremism.... the threat became national and magistrates were told to swear in special constables and call on the military for assistance if necessary as civil resources were inadequate. The situation continued to deteriorate. In May 1839 a Royal Proclamation empowered magistrates to take the most prompt and effectual means for putting down and suppressing unlawful meetings. The Home Office continued to move troops but during the summer the insurrection spirit gained momentum... particularly in the new heavily populated manufacturing towns in the Midlands and North... it also became increasingly evident that the Government lacked resources to deal with the

situation."¹ The military expressed concern that in consequence of the scale of the Chartist movement it would physically be unable to prevent the continuance and spread of the disorders, and feared being stretched to where it would not only be unable to stop its occurrence but be overwhelmed.

The instability of the country due to an inability to control crime and public order consequential to social and economic change were the multifarious reasons for the bill as outlined to the House of Commons.

The measure was not therefore a progressive social reform by the Whig Party who had over an extended period vigorously opposed the establishment of any police force and whilst in Government had conspired to discredit and disband the Metropolitan Police Force despite its posturings of a Royal Commission and communications with Quarter Sessions.

During the introductory first reading Mr. Thomas Wakely a Radical M.P. for Finsbury said in debate, "If such a proposal had been made 15 or 20 years ago by the Tories, the noble Lord (Russell) would have been the first to rise in his place and protest against the unconstitutional nature of the proposal."²

It was a reaction to the increasing national decline and an inability to maintain social stability via law and order which led to the hurried introduction of the bill so late in a Parliamentary Session.

The catalysts which triggered its introduction may have been of a two-fold nature. Firstly a letter sent to Lord Russell by Major General Sir Charles Napier (Commander Northern District Army) on the 20th July, 1839³ in which he said

"My belief is that concession must be made to the peoples feelings, or the establishment of a strong rural police hurried on. I would do both thinking them absolutely necessary; if the police force be not quickly increased we shall require troops from Ireland."

The mood of the military in respect of requests for assistance in quelling riots was echoed by Lord Russell in his speech of introduction of the bill, "... Sir Richard Jackson... applications of the kind tended to break and destroy the discipline of his troops... the military, though they were able to put down disorder, were useless in capturing and arresting the persons who had caused it."⁴

Secondly, at the time of the letter from Sir Charles Napier, serious chartists riots occurred in Birmingham which required 100 Metropolitan police officers together with military assistance to quell them.

Lord Russell, perhaps conscious of the comparatively recent French Revolution did not delay and within 4 days had introduced the bill into Parliament.

During its passage the bill was opposed on the grounds of liberty, finance and constitutionality, which echoed the findings of previous Parliamentary Select Committees. One of the bills fiercest critics condemned Lord Russell for announcing it at the eleventh hour of the session and protested it amounted to a declaration that the country was in a state of 'civil war'. Others considered its introduction, 'was intended to stifle the voice of the people'; 'a system of spies'; 'a kind of force which would make if it could not find, business to keep up the necessity for keeping them in pay';⁵ 'if the real object of the framers was to establish a system throughout the country of organised spies, the bill was well calculated to obtain that end';... '(and) believing that is principle, however it might be veiled, was hostile to the liberties of the people'⁶ 'The bill went to establish tyranny and did it in a weak way. If the noble Lord said plainly, it is intended to establish an infernal French system of 'gen d'armerie' he could have understood him... as the measures create 5,000 additional troops.'⁷

In financial terms it was seen as a "bill to transfer to an irresponsible power the right of taxing the whole community... it violated the greatest principle that the people should only be taxed by their representatives"; "County rates would be double". The Royal Commission considered the cost of a professional police force would be amply offset by the reduction in the social costs of crime.

As a constitutional measure, "... because the public peace ought to be preserved upon established and constitutional principles, and would drive no additional security from the proposed measure, which appears unconstitutional in its nature, and which might in its operation produce much vexations and improper interference with the conduct of individuals, and thereby much oppression and injustice."⁸

During the first reading of the bill, Sir John Pakington: Bart; the Tory member for Droitwich, a Magistrate and Chairman of the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions said in debate, "He concurred with comments (of Lord Russell) concerning the Royal Commission and considered it a valuable document... arranged with the greatest skill and care... He was sure that the police, as at present constituted, was not sufficient for the repression of disorder. He therefore, entirely concurred in the general principle of establishing a new police force. If the measure was to be permanent, he felt in the absence of so many members at the end of the session it should be left until after recess when all interested parties were present. If temporary he would offer no opposition. He did not know that such a measure was necessary in the rural districts for he had heard of no disposition to riot in those districts."⁹ He did not participate in any of the later debates or division in respect of the bill.

Within 3 weeks and without any unified opposition the bill received its third reading and was passed after a division of the House of Commons.¹⁰ On the 27th August, 1839, it received the Royal Assent. The speed and general unopposed passing of the Bill may in part be explained by a comment made during its

passage through the Committee stage of the House of Commons, "... (the bill) was only passed without debate at present, on account of the emergencies in the country."¹¹ In contrast to the Bill's earlier readings the attendance at the House of Commons during the third and final reading is reflected in the number of M.P.s who participated in the division. This may also have been consequential to the end of the Parliamentary Session but perhaps more importantly the "Permissive" nature of the bill.

If the threat of Chartism together with other multifarious factors provided the occasion for the bill it was political necessity which dictated its form. Lord Russell had nationally canvassed the views of magistrates (perhaps a shrewd political manoeuvre) as to the best means of organising a rural police force.¹² The letter he forwarded to all Chairmen of Quarter Sessions was based on a recommendation he had received from the Chairman of the Shropshire Quarter Sessions.¹³ "That in consequence of the inefficiency of the Constabulary Force arising from the great increase in population, and the extension of trade and commerce of the County - it is the opinion of this Court, that a body of constables appointed by the magistrates, paid out of the County Rate, and disposable at any point of the Shire where their services might be required, would be highly desirable, as providing in the most efficient manner for the prevention as well as the detection of offences, for the security of persons and property, and for the constant preservation of the public peace".

The result of his research was to reject the Royal Commissions recommendations of a centralised control of Police, and also the experience of the Metropolitan and Borough Police Forces in favour of a permissive structure and without interference with the powers of the magistrates. The political expediency is best demonstrated by a comment made by the Marquis Normanby who succeeded Lord Russell as Home Secretary just after August, 1839, "I think it is a serious and almost fatal error in the bill that the new (rural) police are not more closely under the Government, this arises necessarily from our weakness for all legislative purposes."¹⁴

The Act enabled the justices of a county to establish and maintain a professional police force either for a county as a whole or a division of it. The costs were to be borne out of the general county rate. The Police were not to be engaged in any other work and were not to exceed one constable for every 1,000 inhabitants. Whilst the Home Secretary had wide administrative powers concerning pay and conditions his approval was also required in the appointment of a Chief Constable. Once approved, and unlike the existing professional police forces the Chief constable was autonomous in the selection and dismissal of his staff. It did not however prevent or invalidate the appointment of parochial constables. On the 31st August, 1839, Lord Russell asked the Metropolitan Police Commissioners to draft the first County Constabulary Rules, which were subsequently circulated to all counties where a constabulary was established.¹⁵

During the early nineteenth century Worcestershire illustrated

fully the social and economic revolution. Whilst predominantly a rural county its northern parishes formed a significant part of the developing industrial area known as the 'Black Country' and manufacturing town of Birmingham. There were also two popular spa resorts and Witley Court which was frequently visited by members of the nobility. The industrial areas with the exception of the administrative city of Worcester were inhabited by the vast majority of the county's population.

At a time of expanding industry, transport and communications, the county was subjected to the influx of numerous gangs of navvies, labourers and other migrant workers. These were employed in the construction of the railway and canal network that provided ease of access and trade between Birmingham and the inland port of Gloucester on the river Severn. The constant transportation of goods through the county via these systems also created a population of construction workers engaged in the maintenance of the infrastructure of the transport systems besides those engaged in the actual transportation of goods which represented a two-way flow of raw materials and finished products.

Whilst the majority of the county and in particular the industrial centres were policed by the traditional parish constables, five professional police forces existed under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835.

The new industrial phenomenon generated many hitherto unknown problems in the administration of the county and in particular matters of crime and public order. Evidence given to the parliamentary Commissioners on Constabulary Force in Counties by Worcestershire Magistrates provides a general view of their perception of crime and its causes.

"There are reasons to believe that the burglaries, cattle and horse stealing, whenever they occur, are committed by strangers; the horse stealers still further off... the cottagers dwelling is in the daytime frequently broken into by trampers and others in the guise of seafaring men, whilst the inmates are at labour in the field... Vagrants and sturdy beggars (driven from the towns) infest the villages and lonely roads without the least restraint, picking up and stealing generally, but occasionally obtaining money or victuals by threats... Messrs. Venn and Bull, carriers on the river Severn and on the canal to Dudley and Stourbridge, complain of the entire inefficiency of the constabulary.... Whilst the rural districts are subjected to incursions of depredators from the towns... who enjoy impunity in the adjacent unprotected rural districts."¹⁶

It is therefore significant that on Monday, 8th April, 1839, and before knowing the contents of the First Report on Constabulary in Counties (published on 27th March, 1839) the Worcester Easter Quarter Sessions unanimously passed the following resolution;

"The court having considered certain communications from the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the subject of an improved rural police which have been made to them through the Chairman, resolved, that in the opinion of this court the present system of parish constable is now quite inadequate, in consequence of the great increase in our population and trade, to the preservation and the prosecution and detection of offenders against the laws..."¹⁷

The Chairman of the court (Sir John Pakington) indicated the Home Secretary proposed the establishment of a rural constabulary based on the Metropolitan Police, which was to be paid partly out of the Exchequer Fund and partly out of the county rates. The magistrates were to form rules and regulations for the guidance of the police and a Board of Commissioners to guide the magistrates.

Many Quarter Sessions were not so progressive and supportive of the Home Secretary and argued that the structure of the parish constable was adequate when supplemented by special constables and the military. This view persisted despite the 'Permissive' nature of the 1839 statute, whereby at the end of 1841, country constabularies had been established in less than half of the fifty six counties of England and Wales. The situation had not greatly improved at the time of the Parliamentary Select Committee into Police in 1853. "... 20 years earlier the Lighting and Watching Act, 1833, had attempted to deal with the difficulties inherent in the organising of parish constables. The Act gave the power of appointing paid watchmen to an inspector chosen by the vestry. Its use was encountered and seen by magistrates as a way of avoiding the establishment of a rural police force after 1839." ¹⁸

The founding and establishment of the Worcestershire County Constabulary like many of its contemporaries of the period represented a determined and vociferous struggle between two small but influential groups of County Magistrates. The discord lasted for almost four years but was resolved due to the greater resilience, persistence, greater persuasion, more adroit use of statistics, presentation and political manoeuvring by Sir John Pakington (Chairman of the Quarter Sessions).

On Monday, 14th October, 1839, the following motion was proposed to the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions by the Chairman:

"That whereas resolutions were passed at the Easter Quarter Sessions for this county, in which it was stated, "that in the opinion of this Court the present system of parish constables is now quite inadequate, in consequence of the great increase in our population and trade, to the prosecution and detection of offences against the laws", it is therefore expedient that this Court, in pursuance of the spirit of the foregoing resolution, do forthwith take measures for the adoption in this County of the Act for the establishment of Country District Constables."¹⁹

He indicated he believed the proposition was justified upon the grounds of necessity which were of a two-fold nature. Firstly, with reference to public disorder and secondly the protection of property and prevention of crime. In respect of public order he considered the proposed constabulary to be of a auxiliary nature. "The county must look to this force entirely as an auxiliary force, to be called into action in cases of emergency; the provisions of the Act having immediate reference to special constables must be looked up to by magistrates in these cases, wherein the constabulary force would be enabled to act under competent and able leaders, willing to come forward without any reluctance. He would not consent to add one man or one pound to meet any emergency, unless the newly appointed force was declared to be auxiliary to the powers already in existence.²⁰

He then turned his attention to the benefits which would be accrued in the prevention of crime. The information and arguments used to establish the need for such a force were based upon the evidence, conclusions and recommendations of the First Report of the Royal Commission on County Constabulary Forces. To reinforce the Report and confirm and illustrate the motion passed at the Easter Quarter Sessions he had written to several parishes of which Stourbridge and Bromsgrove were typical. His overall findings amplified and justified the conclusion of the Royal Commission and their own views as to the inadequacy of the parochial constables whose interests were to ensure the continuance of crime.

He then gave two examples:- Stourbridge, "there is no specific arrangement with the police or petty constables for this place with the exception of Craig.²¹ The constables are appointed at a court leet, and the performance of their duties is usually entrusted to Craig, who employs as his assistants such persons as he thinks proper. Craig was originally appointed by a majority of the magistrates of the division, and has since been annually appointed at the court leet. He resides in a house attached to and forming part of the prison, and attends the meetings of the magistrates to preserve order. When he was first appointed (some ten years ago) he was ensured a salary of £100 per year, and the privilege of the conveyance of prisoners to gaol. The salary was made up by some of the principal parishes transacting business at the public office, each parish contributing an agreed sum. These payments ceased about five or six years since and he has received no salary from that time, and now relies solely for remuneration upon the fees for serving proceedings, and the conveyance of prisoners."²²

Bromsgrove, "...we have three constables appointed for the town and parish of Bromsgrove, viz., King for the parish generally and two others for the town yield; also, two headboroughs for the town yield, and eight tything men for the several other yields in the parish. King was appointed upwards of twenty years ago at a vestry meeting, and has continued in office ever since; the other two constables, headboroughs and tything men are appointed at the Bromsgrove Court Leet, held yearly in October... King some years ago had a present of £5 a year, made to him by the parish, but this has been discontinued

sometime, and all he gets now arises from information against beer sellers, summoning coroners juries, prosecutions and the execution of warrants (except that several gentlemen in the neighbourhood make him a present of a few pounds each year); the other constables headboroughs and tything men have no salary, and get what they can from the execution of warrants."²³

He then continued and indicated the common objection of expense, espionage and the unconstitutional nature were ill founded and could not be made out. In respect of expense the establishment of a constabulary would in fact provide a saving by a reduction of prosecution cost due to a reduction in crime together with the saving in stolen property and County Gaol expenses. At an initial cost of £1,000 he proposed the establishment of a police superintendent together with 12 Sergeants who would harmonise the old constabulary force i.e. parochial constables then in existence.

An amendment to the motion proposed, "that one Chief Superintendent, ten Sergeants and three men under each Sergeant, making a total of 41, be appointed."

The amendment was opposed by Pakington because he considered "the injudicious expense (nearly £2000 extra) which would be incurred" beyond his estimate. The opposing, and a minority group of magistrates totally objected to the motion in general terms, but primarily based on expense. They also considered the inadequacy and expectations of such a small force together with the "incomplete and deficient manner" of the proposal. The use of Irish crime statistics and other materials were employed to illustrate the alleged unsatisfactory results which had been achieved by similar constabularies i.e. The Royal Irish Constabulary. A counter proposal that, "any district could be selected which presented the greatest amount of crime and an experiment so made..." was rejected.²⁴

The amended original motion to found and establish a rural constabulary was then adopted without a single abstention or vote of opposition.

In consequence of communications between the chairman and Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, the Sessions determined to avail themselves of the latter in the selection of the Chief Constable.

The following resolutions were then passed without opposition -

- (a) "That in the opinion of this court it is expedient to delegate to the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police the nomination of the Chief Constable..."

The correspondence albeit premature provided the impetus and convenience of arrangements whereby Pakington prevented debate on the type of constabulary model to be employed, i.e., Royal Irish Constabulary (Militaristic) or the Metropolitan Police (Civil) by guiding the court to the conclusion which it unreservedly and

unquestioningly accepted. This was unique in that many counties adopted the Irish police model.

- (b) "... a report to be forthwith signed by a majority of the Justices present, as required by the said Act, and that the Chairman be requested to forward the said report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with a request for an early transmission of the "Rules for the government of the constables appointed under the Act".²⁵

A committee whose composition reflected a committed view towards these establishment of a rural constabulary was appointed to take into consideration the rules for the regulation of police forces under the new Act.

The court then adjourned until Monday, 4th November, 1839.

The committee was confirmed at each subsequent Quarter Sessions as a matter of routine business. In consequence it quickly assumed an autonomous attitude as its proposals were accepted, like its confirmation, with little if any debate. It also began to determine the pace at which the force was to develop and the direction of that development.

On the 1st November, 1839, a letter from the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police to Pakington advised him that the court's request for assistance in the selection of a Chief Constable had been denied on the instructions of the Home Secretary. On the 4th November, 1839, Pakington proposed to the adjourned court, "... that in consequence of the unexpected difficulty which has been caused by the refusal of the metropolitan commissioners to recommend a Chief Constable... the court further adjourn to Monday, 2nd December, 1839, then to consider all applications for the office of Chief Constable which shall have been received, and to proceed to the election of such person as may appear to the court to be fully qualified for that situation."²⁶

Before the motion could be balloted upon an unsuccessful attempt was made by Doctor Beale Cooper and W. Acton to reverse the court's earlier decision in respect of the adoption of the rural constabulary. Their objections were similar to those used at the earlier sitting of the court but more widely drawn and concerned particular towards the arguments presented in favour of such a force.²⁷

Pakington immediately seized upon the opportunity and turned the vote of confidence to his advantage by consolidating his authority and control by a successful resolution, "that the police committee appointed on October 14th (of which he was also chairman) be continued, and requested to take all necessary steps to procure applications for the said office, and to take all applications and the testimonials of the candidates into their consideration and submit the same to the adjourned Sessions on Monday 2nd December, 1839."²⁸

He then read to the court the rules promulgated by the Home Secretary concerning the necessary qualifications required of constables appointed under the Act which he proposed be adopted without amendment or addition.

All three resolutions were approved which placed the advantage, power and authority to determine the course of the rural constabulary in the hands of Pakington and his associates who constituted the Police Committee.

The power and authority commanded by Pakington and the Police Committee was demonstrated at the adjourned Sessions on the 2nd December 1839.

On Tuesday, 26th November, 1839, the Police Committee met to consider the applicants for the situation of Chief Constable. there were a total of 32 applicants whose occupations included, 5 Police Officers, a Gaoler, a Bailiff, a Workhouse Manager, an Eating House Manager and 20 Retired Army Officers. Without any prior authority they arbitrarily determined to divide the applicants into two classes: those who had held commissions in the army or navy and those who had not. The Committee then unanimously resolved, "that it is preferable that the person selected by this Committee, as the most proper to be recommended to the adjourned Sessions as Chief constable should heretofore have been connected with a constabulary force." In consequence of their resolution they prepared a short list of five candidates... "Mr. Harris, now an Inspector of the London Police; Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Highton, now holding offices of trust in the Liverpool police; and Captain Scargill and Captain Hawkins, officers of experience and high reputation in the British Army." The Committee had by its resolution rejected the militaristic police model of the Royal Irish Constabulary in favour of the civilian concept of the Metropolitan Police. This reflected the earlier manoeuvrings of Pakington albeit the bulk of applications were from retired army officers. The Committee whilst acting well outside its terms of reference designed its shortlist accordingly, and were unanimous in their decision to recommend that "Mr. Harris should be appointed Chief Constable of the County of Worcester."

The recommendation was immediately opposed by the Earl of Coventry who nominated Captain James Scargill, 45 years, of Her Majesty's 9th Regiment of Foot, ex Royal Military College and domicile at Evesham, describing him as "... a most efficient person... a neighbour (but of course that would not influence their election of him)... and that gallant and distinguished officers after going through scenes of danger and difficulty on their country's behalf ought not to be shut out from the advantages of retiring in easy circumstances, aided by the emoluments of an office, the duties of which would not be a great inconvenience to him."29

In addressing the court Pakington used his authority as Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, the accrued power of the Police Committee and skill as a politician to engineer the direction of the meeting and its ultimate decision. The placing of Captain

Scargill on the shortlist may also have been a part of the scheme to manage the Quarter Sessions debate knowing full well that the Earl of Coventry, a powerful and influential figure, was to be his proposer.

"...The proceedings of the noble Earl was rather premature, in as much as the only question for the court to decide was 'aye or no' upon the election of Mr. Harris. That decision would involve the question whether it would be desirable that the Chief Constable should be a person accustomed to military or to civil duties." In such a presentation the court had but one decision. If it determined for a civil police model it immediately rejected all former military personnel as determined and divided by the Police Committee, and by fait accomplis rejected Captain Scargill in favour of Mr. Harris. If the reverse applied so did the selection. This ensured a two candidate debate. Pakington then turned upon the qualifications of Captain Scargill and above the manner and purpose of his nomination, "...The first argument dwelt upon by the noble Earl was, that Captain Scargill was a neighbour and friend... The noble Earl had next observed that he consolation of a comparatively peaceful retiring appointment ought not to be denied to those gallant officers who had nobly served their country. However, much as he agreed with this sentiment, yet he would tell the court they were assembled that day to do justice to the county of Worcester and to secure the result that the large expenditure of £3,000 (entailed)... The testimonials which had been produced by Captain Scargill were, he had freely admitted, unquestionable; but it did not follow that because a man was an excellent soldier he might be a good constable, nor that because he was an accomplished gentleman his efficient performance of the laborious duties upon him would be the more secured."³⁰

A debate then followed as to whether the appointment of Chief Constable should be made in respect of a military or civilian candidate. In essence its true nature was the merits and demerits of the recommendations made by the Police Committee as representatives of the Court or the Earl of Coventry who became allied with numerous military officers and more significantly was joined by Dr. Beale Cooper, Mr. William Acton and Mr. T. Simcox Lea.

At the conclusion of the debate the court divided on the motion which was carried by 21 votes to 13 and Richard Reader Harris duly appointed as Chief Constable. He served in the office of Chief Constable for 31 years and 4 months (13.12.1839 - 3.4.1871).³¹

The Police Committee were re-appointed as constituted.

On the 13th December, 1839, the Home Office confirmed the appointment of Harris who took the oath of his office before the Police Committee on the 16th December, 1839.

At the time of his appointment, Harris was an Inspector, Warrant No. 9504 in the Metropolitan Police. His referees to the Metropolitan Police were Captain William Maxfield (M.P. for

Grimsby) and Mr. James Watkins, both of Sunbury, Middlesex. He was promoted to the rank of Sergeant in December 1837 and Inspector on the 21st May 1839. Whilst stationed at Bow Street he was frequently seconded to other areas of the country to assist local magistrates to deal with difficult cases. In 1839 he was a member of the contingent of Metropolitan officers that had been sent to Birmingham to quell the Chartist riots. In consequence of his seconded duties he had received numerous references from magistrates and mayors as to the excellence of his work. His ability may also be evidenced by the rapid promotion he received after joining the Metropolitan Police on the 20th May 1834.

On the 24th January, 1840, the new County Police Force was assembled at the Worcester Shirehall where it was addressed by the Chief Constable and Mr. John Williams. The Constabulary Rules were read to them and the nature of their duties. They were then directed to their police stations and commenced duty on Monday, 27th January, 1840. The Constabulary Headquarters was a rented house on the south side of Britannia Square, Worcester, which also served as the residence of the Superintendent of the district.

All other police accommodation was either of a leasehold or tenanted nature, and in consequence of conflicts between the new rural police and old parish concerning the rights to the use of existing lockups and facilities a progressive and expanding building programme was commenced by the Police Committee in 1841. The programmes thereby making the new professional constabulary self sufficient whilst providing improved efficiency. 'Station Houses - in the most instances buildings had been rented at a very small cost to the county, the rent paid by the constables, and saving of rent for stables, nearly covering the amount. the only exceptions were Bromsgrove, Kings Norton and Worcester. In the former places it was agreed station houses should be erected not exceeding £400 each ... The buildings would provide housing for Superintendents, Constables and stabling. With respect to Worcester, it was proposed to erect a building on the ground belonging to the County adjoining the gaol... as the rental of premises at present amounted to £50 per annum... proposals for erecting or purchasing police stations in Upton, Stourport, Tenbury, Bromsgrove, Halesowen, Stourbridge and Northfield would incur little additional expense as the amount of rent which the constables would pay would go far to defray the costs.'

'The uniform ... was blue, and similar to that worn by the Metropolitan Police, with the exception, that instead of a letter being placed on the collar, a number and the County arms are displayed on it, as well as on the buttons'. It consisted of a tail coat or tunic, dark trousers, stove pipe hat with a leather top, wide leather belt, caped great coat, boots and shoes, wooden truncheon, rattle or whistle, and lantern together with a belt, (handcuffs were added in 1840). Also supplied was a small cutlass which was only to be carried at night or when public disorder or riot was threatened. In the latter circumstances the decision rested with the magistrate but could be taken by the Chief Constable in circumstances of sudden emergency.

The level of pay was based on the Metropolitan Police pay structure and comparable with other similarly established constabularies.

<u>Chief Constable</u>	£250 per annum together with an allowance of £100 per annum for provision of horses and stabling.
<u>Deputy Chief Constable</u>	£100 per annum together with an allowance of £35 per annum for the provision and stabling of horses.
<u>Superintendent</u>	£80 per annum together with an allowance of £35 per annum for provision and stabling of horses.
<u>Sergeants</u>	£1:2:6d per week.
<u>Constables</u>	£19/- per week.

Superintendents and Constables necessarily attending 'Quarter of General Sessions of the Peace' received an allowance of 4/- per day for each day they were required to attend.

The allowance of mileage paid to Constables for the conveyance of prisoners to the County Gaol continued. an attempt was made to abolish the practice and allowance in 1841 in favour of police owned transport, to reduce costs and wasted manpower by creating greater efficiency. The proposal was not at first universally accepted but with the exception of the Borough of Kidderminster it gradually became an established practice and the allowance lost.

In 1840 a superannuation fund was established whereby contributions to the fund of 9d (Superintendents), 6d (Sergeants) and 4d (Constables) was deducted from each officer's pay at source.

In consequence of increased criticism concerning the annual cost of the rural police a dramatic step was taken by the Police committee in January 1843, when it recommended to the Epiphany quarter Sessions "....(that) 22 of the police constables, or as near as may be to that number, shall receive only 16/- per week instead of 19/- as at present; the reduction in the first instance to be effected gradually, and as vacancies occur, at the discretion of the Chief constable. it is hoped, if this recommendation be complied with, that the double advantage will be obtained, effecting a reduction of police expenditure, and holding out a strong inducement to good conduct. On the one side there will be a desire to obtain the higher rate of pay as a reward for good behaviour, and on the other side the fear of the reduced allowance as a punishment of misconduct." The recommendation was adopted unopposed.

The increased expenditure was in part due to an increase of 24 officers (which included 8 Sergeants) in November, 1840, in consequence of an unopposed recommendation of the Police Committee.

The promotion of Superintendent Lane to Deputy Chief Constable in June, 1842, further increased the expenditure and reduced the Superintendents to nine.

The discipline and routine was draconian and led to many officers resigning after a relatively short period of service. In his first report to the Quarter Sessions on Monday, 6th April, 1840, the Chief constable advised the court, "... I regret, Gentlemen, to state that I have been under the necessity of dismissing three men from the Force and of punishing others according to the nature of their misconduct and hope that it may prove a warning and have a salutary effect on the remainder."³²

The punishment awarded for breaches of discipline and in particular neglect, were both harsh and severe, "At the Pershore Petty Sessions on Tuesday the 14th instance, John Hughes, a police constable in the County Constabulary pleaded guilty to the charge of Superintendent Manton, of having neglected his duty on the 31st October (1841), drinking in a beer house at Harvington from 2 pm to 10 pm and making false entries in his routine of duty; and in consequence of the gross nature of the case was fined in the sum of £5 and 6/6d costs. Hughes was allowed 3 days to pay the fine, and in default to undergo a month's imprisonment to hard labour. the keeper of the beerhouse was fined £2 for "knowingly harbouring" Hughes." Hughes joined the Worcestershire Constabulary on the 17th August 1841 and was dismissed on the 15th December 1841 the day after his court appearance. The severity of his sentence is apparent when considering his weekly was only 19/-.³³

The average age of the first 41 officers of the new constabulary was 31 years, but despite the rigours of harsh discipline and difficult conditions, and whilst 53.5% of the original 51 officers appointed served for less than 3 years the average period of service was for 7 years, while some individuals were far in excess. The shortest period of service was 7 days and the longest 53.5 years. The vast bulk of officers subsequently either resigned, were allowed to resign or were dismissed. The latter two categories being application to the three former Worcester City Police Officers who had been recruited.

Whilst there was considerable rivalry and ill feeling between parish constables and the new rural police, the assistance and co-operation between the professional statute founded constabularies was good, "... The City Police had on all occasions manifested much promptitude in acting with the County Force."³⁴

The arrest of Henry Lampit a labourer on the Birmingham to Gloucester railway on the 10th February, 1840 for the theft of 29lb of bacon from an inn at Crowle demonstrates how quickly the mutual system of aid had developed between the Forces, "... Upton Snodsbury policeman Davies took Lampit into custody at Crowle; but shortly after a party of men armed with sticks came up and rescued the prisoner. In about an hour after Davies came to Worcester, and having obtained 3 of the City and 2 of the County policemen, he proceeded to Droitwich to the Hole-in-the-Wall

beerhouse, where he secured the prisoner Lampit, together with two men who had rescued the prisoner." Police Constable 12 Davies was dismissed from the Constabulary on the 26th May 1840.

The cost of establishing and maintaining the rural police, albeit Pakington and other members of Parliament campaigned and lobbied the Government to pay one third of the costs the whole burden remained on the Country rate and is variously estimated between £4,300 and £8,000 per annum. This should be contrasted with the establishment of the Gloucestershire County Constabulary of 1 Chief Constable; 15 Superintendents; 38 Sergeants and 196 Constables at an annual expenditure of £14,600 or 3d in the pound on the County Rate. During a debate in the House of Commons on the occasion of the first reading of the County and District Constabulary Bill (3 and 4 Vic. Ch. 88) Pakington advised the Home Secretary, "... with respect to the additional expense, he was certain that no objection could be made to it, when security of the person and property would be the exchange.

In the county which he had the honour to represent there was not found the slightest objection to the police by the rate payers. There had been in that county a saving of between 30 and 40 thousand pounds a year by the Poor Law Act, and there could be no objection to an expenditure of two or three thousand pounds a year to ensure security. he put it to the Right honourable Gentlemen whether some part of the expense should not be paid out of the consolidated fund.

In an effort to reduce cost a suggestion that County and Borough Constabularies should amalgamate under the provisions of the County Constabulary (Amendment) Act, 1840 was rejected by each Borough Watch Committee. A similar recommendation made to the Watch Committee of the City of Worcester Police in July 1849 by Harris was similarly rejected.

Until the Midsummer Quarter Sessions of 1842 the gathering criticism of the new police was based wholly upon its cost albeit disguised as efficiency. Some parishes refused to pay the police rate and were supported by the local courts, whilst others who were divided by or bordered upon other counties were rated by each county. The most common cry was that it "Doubled the Rate".

The many counties which had employed the provisions of the Lighting and Watching Act, 1833, (3 and 4 Will IV Ch.90) to avoid establishing a rural Constabulary, lost such a mechanism and operational control of the police when the County Constabularies (Amendment) Act 1840 (3 and 4 Vict Ch.88) required that when a country force was established any force formed under the former legislation i.e. 1833 Act, would be controlled by the new police force. This represented a great loss of power which some magistrates had manoeuvred to retain by implementing the 1833 Act. The amending Act also resolved many problems concerning the amount of police rate levied by allowing the Quarter Sessions to

divide a county into divisions for the purpose of rating each division differently according to its policing needs. Any area that came under a county force and which had previously established its own 'Police Force' under the provisions of the Lighting and Watching Act 1833, had to disband that force.

The enactment of the Parochial Constables Act 1842, buttressed, stiffened and rekindled the resistance to the new constabulary by attempting to provide a cheap alternative. 'The Act... required magistrates to draw up lists of rate payers aged between 25 years and 55 years who could serve as parish constables, (it) legalised the long standing practice of providing substitutes and allowed parishes to appoint paid constables if they so wished. The Act also authorised the appointment of superintending constables, paid out of the county rates to supervise traditional parish constables within petty sessions divisions.'³⁵

In consequence of the Act a motion to severely reduce the rural police was proposed by Doctor Beale Cooper and five other magistrates at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions of 1842 and exactly 3 years after the founding of the rural constabulary. Pakington and the Police Committee were unaware and unprepared for the proposal which was aggressively, vigorously and determinatively pursued whilst utilising a wealth of statistical and other information.

"That the rural police force be reduced to one superintendent for the county, to one sergeant for each electoral division, and to any number not exceeding two constables, one of whom to be on permanent pay, for each Petty Sessional Division of the County; on the grounds that the utility of the said Constabulary is not commensurate with the great expenditure required for its support; that the rates cannot be made to bear equitably and satisfactorily on the rate payers; and that to its present extent it is rendered unnecessary by the General Constabulary Act of the last Session of Parliament."³⁶

The motion was linked with many of the customary objections which included ineffective and inefficient policing together with its unconstitutional nature.

A recommendation of Pakington, 'that (the matter) it be referred to the Police Committee, to consider and report to the next Session how far the provisions of the Parish constables Act... may render it advisable for this court to reorganise the county police upon a smaller and less expensive scale, with a due regard to the important objects for which that force was first formed, and which it has in a great degree fulfilled' was adopted after an acrimonious debate, and a vigorous opposition to the original motion had been conducted by him. His additional recommendation that Doctor Cooper, Mr. Onslow (seconder) and the magistrates who had supported them be co-opted to the committee was also agreed.

The form and wording of the two recommendations readily adopted by the court indicate the shrewd intellect and calculated campaign of Pakington whilst appearing both equitable and objective to all parties concerned.

The recommendations achieved four important goals:

Firstly, it enabled Pakington and his associates the time and opportunity to marshal a defence to convincing evidence projected by Doctor Beale Cooper and his associates. It also provided a period of 3 months for the detail, extent, impact and effect of the information and debate to dim and be reduced or forgotten. In future debate it would not have a similar effect, this would be further reduced due to an effect of recognition and perhaps cliché. Its presentation would therefore of necessity be condensed whereby it would be more general, less effective and easier to attack.

Secondly, it took the debate out of the public arena and into the total control of Pakington and his associates who comprised the Police Committee. He therefore controlled the research, type and quality of information presented to the court together with its form and recommendations which history demonstrated would usually be adopted by the court. He therefore had the means and resources to control and influence the courts decision.

Thirdly, by co-opting his protagonists to the committee he was totally aware of their activities, the state of their knowledge and information at their disposal. As Chairman of the Committee he controlled their activities together with the facility and opportunity to alter their views, perceptions and attitudes. He therefore knew their disposition, knowledge and information at their disposal, before any debate and could prepare accordingly. A further advantage was to provide the facility for the co-opted members to support a Committee recommendations that the Parish Constables Act should not be adopted thereby destroying their own opposition without the need for public debate.

The fourth and perhaps most significant was the caveat linked to the recommendation that the matter be investigated by the Police Committee, "That the new rural police had to a great degree fulfilled the purpose of their formation". In agreeing to the caveat the court signified its acceptance which it could not later deny and approve a motion which alleged the new force was ineffective or inefficient. This considerably reduced the argument against the new police as at an earlier Quarter Session of Easter, 1839, the court which had contained Doctor Cooper and his associates had unanimously condemned the parish constable system as inefficient. It was that system albeit modified which they were being asked to re-introduce. However, it also closely resembled the original proposal of Pakington made to the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions in 1839 concerning the rural police. In the intervening period he had become totally committed to a paid professional police force.

The Police Committee submitted reports to the next two Quarter Sessions. Each report was adopted after little debate and consequently no action was taken to implement the Parish Constables Act.³⁷

On Monday, 26th June, 1843, a further lengthy and vitriolic debate concerning the settlement of the rural police question occurred at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, when Mr. Simcox Lea moved:

'That the benefits derived from the employment of the rural police in this county have not been equal to the expense thereby incurred; and provided that resolution were adopted, he should then proceed to to propose - That a memorial be addressed by the magistrates to the Secretary of State, setting forth, that, in the opinion of this court, from and after Easter Sessions 1844, or any earlier time to be named, the constables appointed under 2 and 3 Vict. Ch.93 and 3 and 4 Vict. Ch. 88 will no longer be needed in the County of Worcester.'³⁸

Each resolution was defeated by a significant majority. An influential factor may have been "the miners" strike of August-September 1842 in North and South Staffordshire which, like the contemporaneous "Plug Plot" strike in Lancashire, involved chartist leadership. Meetings led to riots leading to clashes with troops, the destruction of houses and machinery; the riots were especially severe in the potteries but also occurred in the Black Country"³⁹ The defeat marked a watershed in the history of the Worcestershire Constabulary and the end of magisterial opposition.

Mr. Simcox Lea,

"If a majority of the court should be of opinion that they ought to persevere in the present system of rural police, he for one should feel it his duty to bow to that decision, and, as a member of that court, honestly to assist in carrying out the provisions of the Rural Constabulary Act."⁴⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Op. Cit. - T.A. Critchley - A History of the Police in England and Wales, Page 76-78
2. Hansard 3rd Series Vol 49: Cols. 733-734
3. H. Hart "Reform of the Borough Police" 1835-1856 (1955) pp. 426-427; Op. Cit. - T.A. Critchley p. 78
4. Op. Cit. - Hansard; Cols. 727-731
5. Op. Cit. - Hansard; Cols. 731-738
6. Op. Cit. - Hansard; 3rd Series Vol. 50 Cols. 435 and 356-357
7. Op. Cit. - Hansard; Vol. 49 Cols. 731-732; Vol.50 Col. 115
8. Op. Cit. - Hansard Vol. 50 Col. 437
9. Op. Cit. - Hansard Vol.49 Cols. 735-736
10. Op. Cit. - Hansard Vol.50 Cols. 354-358 Thursday 15th August 1839 - The House Divided - Ayes 45 Noes 13. A majority of 32; 2 and 3 Vict. Ch.93
11. Op. Cit. - Hansard Vol. 50 Col. 7
12. Op. Cit. - T.A. Critchley p. 78
13. Douglas J. Elliot - "Policing Shropshire" p. 14. Resolution of Shropshire Quarter Sessions (Michaelmas) 1838, and forwarded to the Home Secretary on the 21st January 1839.
14. Op. Cit. - T.A. Critchley p. 80; Charles Reith p. 87; I.U.P. No. 8 - Police: First Report p. 166 para 256-257; Jenifer Hart (1978) p. 197
15. The County and District Constable Act 1839
16. Op. Cit. - I.U.P. No. 8 - Police (First Report) p.13; p.32 Magistrates at Pershore; p.50-51 para 23
17. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue no. 7115 11.41839 p.2
18. Op. Cit. - Clive Emsley p. 71; J.J. Tobias p.98, Carolyn Steedman p.15
19. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142 - seconded by Mr. John Williams
20. Loc. Cit.

21. Craig was appointed Superintendent at Stourbridge where he served until his resignation on the 4th May 1842.
22. Letter to J.S. Pakington from Roberts and Crompton, Stourbridge dated 11th October 1839; Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142 17.10.1839 p.2
23. Letter to J.S. Packington from W. Robeson, Bromsgrove, dated 11th October, 1839; Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142 17.10.1839 p.2. King was appointed Superintendent at Bromsgrove where he served until his resignation on the 14th February 1846.
24. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142 pp.55 to 57
25. Op. Cit. - Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142
26. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7142 p.2; and Issue 7145 p.2 - seconded by Mr. Taylor
27. Loc. Cit. - The amendment was defeated by 9 votes to 24 votes
28. Berrows Worcester Journal issue No. 7145 p.2; Issue No. 7146 p.3; and Issue No. 7149 5.12.1839 p.2 - "...repeated adverts for candidates were inserted in three London morning newspapers, in the United Services Gazette and in all the Worcester newspapers..."
29. Loc. Cit. BW5
30. Loc. Cit.
31. Loc Cit.
32. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7167 9.4.1840 p.2
33. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7256 23.12.1841 p.4
34. Worcestershire Chronicle Vol.III No. 131 1.7.1840 p.2 - Chief Constable's Report to Midsummer Quarter Sessions.
35. Op. Cit. - Clive Emsley p.75
36. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7299 20.10.1842 (Michaelmas Quarter Session) p.2
37. Loc. Cit.
38. Berrows Worcester Journal Issue No. 7335 29.6.1843 p.2
39. Loc. Cit. - Motion No. 1 - Defeated by 34 votes to 13 votes
Motion No. 2 - Defeated by 35 votes to 2 votes
40. Loc. Cit. - Mr. Simcox Lea during his speech of motion to disband the Rural Constabulary

BUCKINGHAM BOROUGH POLICE 1836 - 1889

Len Woodley

In the Buckingham Express on 30th March 1889, the following article appeared.

'In accordance with the provisions of the Local Government Bill....., the Buckingham Borough Police Force, which consists of a Superintendent, one Sergeant and two men should cease to exist as such, from tomorrow (Sunday) night ... Sergeant SIRMON and Constables WOODFORD and WINTERBURN will become members of the County Police Force and Superintendent NOBES will come under the compensation clauses of the Act and probably be superannuated.'

This signalled the end of the tiny Buckingham Borough Police, which in all its fifty years of existence never exceeded four men at any one time. It had often been threatened with amalgamation with the Buckinghamshire Constabulary but had always stoutly resisted until the provisions of the Local Government Act were enforced.

Looking back the force was treated with some hilarity. It has been called a 'Toy Town Force', and the scrapes that some of the members got into gave some credence to this. Towards the end of its existence, however, a sense of responsibility settled on the Force and several of those in the Borough Police served in the County until the 1900's. This was unlike some of their predecessors who had served only a few months, weeks, days or even not at all.

The first constables were appointed in January 1836. William GILES was to be Superintendent of Police at 15/- per week and Thomas JENKINS, James SPICER and John ADKINS 'elected' constables at 12/- per week, 'to act by day and night.' JENKINS lasted until February, when he was discharged for being intoxicated whilst on duty. JENKINS' replacement, EMMERTON, did not fare much better, for in August of the same year, GILES, at a special meeting of the Watch Committee preferred a charge against Constables EMMERTON and SPICER for having refused to deliver notices to Ale houses of the day fixed for granting the general annual licences. In answer to the charge the constables stated that 'they considered their weekly wages for watching were insufficient to remunerate them for such extra duties, and unless they were allowed to take the fees as heretofore received by the old constables, they would rather relinquish the office of watchmen.' The Watch Committee considered that the salary paid was sufficient and that payment of entire fees was never contemplated. Therefore the two watchmen were discharged and two others elected in their place. This shows a difference between the old and new style of Policing. The 'old' constables were obviously used to receiving fees for performing extraneous duties, whereas the 'new' Police were to get a set wage and no more.

It is not until a year later that there is any mention of uniform for the Police, when, in the minutes of the Watch

Committee it is recorded that 'the two Policemen be furnished with a blue uniform Police dress to consist of coat, trowsers (sic) and hat.' In these early years, it would appear that the entire Police Force came up for selection annually, for we read that in 1838 'William GILES be re-appointed Chief Constable or Superintendent and George PURCELL and George WELCH be re-elected Constables, to act by day and night for the year ensuing at the same salaries as before.' Similar entries appear for several years after.

Whatever might apply to the Constables, as regards fees would appear not to have applied to GILES for, 'the Superintendent's salary (will) be rescinded and he be paid 12/- weekly and such fees as he can obtain.'

In 1839 the Police were give a rattle, lantern and waterproof capes. Two additional handcuffs were purchased and the Policemen were issued with leggings.

If a Policeman went sick he '..... shall find a substitute to do his duty as the Superintendent may approve.'

In 1840, Thomas WESTLEY was 'elected Police Constable in the room of DANDY deceased and have the said DANDY's clothes and accoutrements.' It is to be hoped that DANDY did not die in them. GILES was in trouble this year for not reporting a robbery. After hearing all the parties, the Watch Committee expressed their surprise at his conduct and hoped a similar case would not occur again.

The Watch Committee in general must have thought well of their Police for they raised their wages to 14/- per week, but any dereliction was dealt with harshly, for three months later one constable was discharged for having been 'off his duty the whole night without permission.'

Perhaps the wages were not so good after all, or did old habits die hard? In February 1841 the Watch Committee strongly disapproved of the Police canvassing for Christmas boxes and it was resolved that in future if any of the Police should ask for or receive any gratuity he shall be forthwith discharged.

Mutual Aid was not encouraged for in 1843 the Hillesden Constable applied for GILES to accompany him to London to arrest a bigamist but the Watch Committee would not sanction it.

The same year there occurred 'a gross outrage', when six men raped a woman in Tingewick. Two of the assailants were captured immediately by one of the local constables, but through the negligence of the other village constables, for which they were later brought before the court and fined, the rest escaped.

Superintendent GILES took up the chase and located three of the offenders to Chatham where they had enlisted in the 28th Regiment. He then followed the last assailant to a field near Edgehill in Warwickshire where with Parish constable EVERETT of Tingewick and Mr. THOMPSON, Superintendent of the Banbury Police, he arrested him.

All six appeared at Bucks. Assizes and were sentenced to be transported for life. The town committee and the papers were lavish with praise for GILES' diligence in arresting the men.

WESTLEY, who had already been in trouble for drunkenness now appeared before the Watch Committee for being drunk on duty and was immediately discharged. GILES was also instructed to take proceedings against him before the Magistrates. There now being another vacancy, the Superintendent was ordered to make enquiries of Superintendents of Police in adjacent and distant towns for 'recommendations' and also to 'fix a notice to the Town Hall for the attention of persons in the neighbourhood desirous of obtaining the situation'.

Two local men applied and a letter was received from the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police recommending Pc. LAMBOURNE from Camberwell. With such high recommendation LAMBOURNE was selected but he resigned without ever taking up the appointment, so one of the local men was appointed after all.

A conflict of duties arose, when in 1845 a member of the public complained to the Committee, that no Policeman attended a fracas to which they had been sent for. it was discovered that the only Policeman on duty was in the Gaol, as the Governor (one of the jobs given to the Head of the Borough Police) was out.

The building of the new railway line to Buckingham in the mid 1840's affected the Police as several entries in the records and the newspaper were to show. GILES reported the landlord of the Grand Junction public house for harbouring prostitutes and other bad characters. He was instructed to keep watch at a 'gala or fancy fair' to be held there but it seems to have passed off quietly enough.

Trouble with the railway labourers caused the Committee to enquire into whether the Railway Police could assist. it was stated that all the Borough Police were kept on duty on a Saturday night 'in consequence of the number of railway labourers about and that no assistance was given by the Railway Police.' The secretary was asked to write to the Board of Directors 'to enquire of the nature of the duties and instructions given to their Police.' In the meantime a supernumerary constable was ordered to be on duty every Saturday night until further notice.

That the Police were active in cracking down on the temporary population, is revealed in an entry in the Superintendent's Record Book which he was ordered to keep. GILES reports, 'Two railroad men and two females found in Mr. CLAYDON's cart at 1.15 a.m. They was (sic) removed on the road to Wolverton.'

When one of the Policemen, WALKER, became ill and unable to perform his duty the Watch Committee resolved that each Policeman pay 1/- for each night he was off sick. A temporary Policeman was appointed at 1/6d a night.

Whatever WALKER was ill with, a few days later he was hauled before the committee 'for beating his wife and otherwise misconducting himself.' He was asked if he objected to 1/- being deducted from his pay for a substitute constable. WALKER said he would prefer resigning, so his resignation was accepted. The Watch Committee were not going to be caught out like that again, so the other two Policemen were wheeled in 'and on being enquired of, expressed their willingness to hold office subject to this regulation.' Well, they had seen what had happened to WALKER.

A vacancy therefore arose and seven applicants came forward. David MARSH, a shoe-maker was appointed, a decision which caused the Bucks Herald to comment, 'not many Sundays back in the middle of the day, MARSH was in such a state of helpless intoxication that it required the united exertions of four or five men to drag him to gaol and yet now he is made a Policeman to frighten other drunkards. A noble example of blind justice.' MARSH lasted all of six weeks being discharged for being drunk and committing a breach of the Peace whilst on duty.

Drink was the downfall of many a worthy man, not all of whom were Policemen. In the Superintendent's record one reads of 'a schoolmaster, found in the street drunk and disorderly. Fined 5/- and 1/- lodging.' A labourer 'who was drunk and disorderly and further charged with assault on Police,' was fined £4 and costs. (A considerable sum in those days). 'A man from Akeley, found in the street at 12.45 a.m. intoxicated, taken out of the town by the Superintendent of Police there being no place to confine him.'

By the 1850's, pressure was on the borough forces to amalgamate with the County Police and it was proposed to enforce this with the 'New Police Bill'. Vigorous campaigning was done up and down the country by various boroughs and letters were sent to Buckingham Town Council from the Committees of Southampton, York and Portsmouth, expressing concern and seeking support in opposing the Bill before Parliament. Needless to say Buckingham was 'totally opposed to any such union.'

However the new 'compulsory' Act was passed and, by and large the boroughs escaped the net. One implication was that boroughs with a population of less than 5,000 would receive no Treasury grant. A letter was received by the Council from the Clerk of the Peace suggesting consolidation with the new County Force. They replied that it was not their intention to even think of it. A letter was received later the same year, 1856, from the Home Secretary in which he stated that a Superintendent of Police, as head of a Borough Force, should not be called Chief Constable as this title was reserved for Counties only.

Members of the Borough force were still liable to fall from grace. In 1858 under the heading 'NICE GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE', the Bucks Herald commented, 'Pc. CAMPBELL of the Borough Force was having a dispute with a member of the public to whom he owed money and some high words were spoken by both resulting in CAMPBELL striking the other a terrific blow on the side of the head with a thick stick he had in his possession, rendering him insensible. CAMPBELL has been suspended.' He was later dismissed. Another innovation of

the Police Act was that all forces were to be inspected by Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary. He appears very scathing in his report on Buckingham. 'Weak in discipline and inefficient. No public houses or beer houses have been proceeded against and the standard of weights and measures have not been verified for 20 years.' He suggested that Buckingham Police should amalgamate with the County.

In 1864 occurred a sad little murder when a lovesick youth cut the throat of a girl who he believed had slighted him. He then tried to commit suicide but was arrested by a Constable, who was in the vicinity. After a speedy trial he was hanged outside Aylesbury Prison in front of a large audience.

The gaol at Buckingham in which not only the Superintendent and his family lived, but where prisoners were left either awaiting trial or serving their sentence, must have been a pretty dismal place for there are on record two deaths in custody. The first had been in 1859, when a John SEMMENS, who had been arrested on a charge of bigamy in Birmingham 'where he was pursuing his evil tricks... for a third female was asked in church for him,' died, while awaiting trial of natural causes. The second occurred in 1864. Again the Coroner recorded a verdict of natural causes.

In 1866, William GILES, the first Superintendent of Police retired having reached 73 years of age. He was granted a pension of £25 per annum. In discussing the duties of his successor the Town Council agreed that, not only should he head the force but also keep 'all necessary books and accounts pertaining to his office, attend all meetings of the Town Council and the Borough Magistrates, and should hold the office of Gaoler and County Lock-up keeper and his wife (to be) matron and perform such other duties as the Council may from time to time direct.' It was recommended that he be paid £65 per annum and provided with a suitable uniform. To fill GILES' place there were originally eleven applicants, but these were whittled down to four of whom, Sgt. HOWE of the Bucks Constabulary was chosen. He must have applied himself diligently to his office(s) for shortly afterwards his salary was raised to £75.

There is a change of uniform in March 1868 when there appears in the minute book of the Town Council the first mention of supplying the Police with helmets at 9/6d each.

The H.M.I. was still not impressed with the force, for on his inspection of it in 1868 he thought 'the pay was insufficient for obtaining and retaining good and efficient men. (Those) who left, speedily found situations in the County Police, where they were better paid and where, generally speaking they remained. I therefore propose that the pay be 19/- per week for men who had been in the Police less than a year and 20/- for those who had been in above that time and that the pay of each Policeman should increase 1/- per week in each successive years, unless the Council should otherwise direct, until it becomes 23/- per week at which amount it should remain and that the contribution of each officer to the superannuation fund should be 2.5%.' The Council discussed

the matter fully and it was thought that Police pay should go on as at present.

Not everyone else was satisfied with the Police at this time for a letter was sent to the Buckingham Express entitled, 'Where are the Police?' The correspondent complained about the 'nightly robberies' that were occurring on the farmsteads and out-buildings between Buckingham and Gawcott. 'Frequent reports are made to the Police to no avail. What are they about?'

Superintendent HOWE was now appointed as Inspector of Weights and Measures at a salary of £2/2/-.

In 1871, the Annual Inspection of the Force, showed it consisted of 1 'High Constable' at £75 p.a. 1 Sergeant at 20/- per week, 1 Constable at 19/- and one at 18/-. There was a population of 3,847 or 96 to each constable and an acreage of 1,194 to each constable. The Head Constable acts as Inspector of Weights and Measures, nuisances and lamps. Also as Governor of the Gaol and resides at the prison where there are 13 cells. There were 3 indictable offences for 1870 and 9 for 1871 of which 8 were detected. Summary offences have increased as has Vagrancy. The Inspector concludes his report thus, 'This area is too large for proper supervision. The force is not efficient.'

One of the Policemen rebelled this year, complaining to the Council that he was expected to act as Inspector of Lamps. Superintendent HOWE explained that he merely requested his men to count the number of lamps lit every night, to take the time they were extinguished and to report on the amount of light given. The Council decided to seek advice and accordingly the Home Office was approached on the duties of a Constable. They duly replied that the Police could not be expected to act as lighting inspectors but they were expected to report to the Authorities if the town was insufficiently lighted so as to endanger life or property. The Superintendent was apprised of this communication and told that the Police could not be expected to count the lights as before, but would be expected to report any case of insufficient lighting. When HOWE asked how he was to know if they were on if they were not counted he was told that he must 'attend the matter to the best of his ability.'

A request was received for a Policeman to live at Gawcott (a hamlet covered by Buckingham) as 'they could not go on much longer without a Constable residing there.' One of the Aldermen replied that they had stationed a man there before but instead of doing his duty he was seen playing cards and 'generally conducting himself in a most disreputable manner.' The matter was postponed.

Owing to the prevalence of Foot and Mouth disease in the area at this time, HOWE was appointed Inspector of Cattle at 6d. an hour; this in addition to all his other jobs. Yet when he applied for an increase in salary it was said at the Council Meeting that 'he had not half enough to do. There appears to be a mania for higher wages and perhaps the Superintendent has imbibed it.' He was, however granted an increase of £10 per annum.

One of the former policemen of the Borough fell further from grace when he was charged with five cases of felony - stealing fowls and sugar. At the Borough Quarter Sessions he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

Trouble must have been anticipated at the 1868 borough election as HOWE had to order 4 dozen armlets and staves for issue to Special Constables. However there is no further mention so it must have passed off peacefully enough.

By 1872, the council agreed to raise the Constables' wages to 23/- and 21/- per week and Sergeant RAY, who had not enjoyed the best of health was pensioned off with the sum of 8d. per week (ten years later this was increased to 2/- per week).

HOWE, in his capacity as Inspector of Weights and Measures, fell foul of the tradespeople and was called to account before the Town Council for 'officiousness. One Councillor went so far as to call him, 'a disgrace to the town and likely to drive away what little trade there was.' He was instructed to exercise more discrimination,... 'then if as a servant, the Superintendent took no notice the Council knew the course to be adopted when his re-election came round.' When HOWE was called before the Council to be informed of their decision, he was not all pleased saying that if he had been a 'felon or vagrant he should have been heard before he was sentence' and he went on to accuse some of the Councillors of language amounting to threats. It is fair to say that the meeting closed with feelings running high on both sides. Not long afterwards HOWE applied for the position of Superintendent of Banbury Police. However this came to nothing.

The question of inspecting the lamps arose again but appears to have been settled amicably as the three Police Constables were awarded gratuities of £1, and 10/- 'for their trouble in assisting HOWE in keeping an account of the number of lamps lighted in the evening during the past season.'

At a Council meeting in 1878 HOWE was re-elected as Inspector of Weights and measures, against his wishes. He applied for the post of School Attendance Officer and whilst some of the councillors thought he would be admirable for the job, others though he had enough to do. The Chairman clinched it by adding, '... some folk were saying, "There's that HOWE lolling and swelling about the street. Why don't you give him something to do." Here was something for him to do and he would do it satisfactorily.'

He did not do it for very long, however, for he applied and got the position of Governor of Northampton Prison.

There was a short list of four applicants for the vacancy and Job DENSON Jnr. aged 29 years, was selected. He came from Aylesbury but there is no indication of his previous occupation. (There was, about this time a Superintendent in the County Force with the same name, so perhaps they were father and son). At the same meeting a long discussion took place as to whether the Borough should amalgamate with the County but eventually the motion was withdrawn.

One report of 1879 echoes through time to present days surely, when the Superintendent was instructed by the Council 'to remove loiterers from street corners and other public places and endeavour to prevent them from obstructing or annoying passers-by.'

DENSON must have made an early impression, for in 1879, one year after selection, an outgoing Mayor paid tribute to him thus, 'Our Superintendent is a young man, well behaved and exceedingly courteous and always brings his cases in a straight-forward manner and under the supervision of himself and his men, the public houses have been creditably conducted. He may not be so sharp and keen as a MEIKLEJOHN or a DRUSCOVICH but he is going on in the way to make a very good officer. As regards the Constables I have found them to be steady, careful, trustworthy men, always attentive to their duties and from the Superintendent downwards I have always received the greatest courtesy and I feel bound to speak of them in all these favourable terms.' Very nice, especially when it is considered that MEIKLEJOHN and DRUSCOVICH had been recently the subject of a scandal at Scotland Yard and had received prison sentences for racing frauds!

In the eighties, Buckingham appears to have been sorely troubled with incendiarism. After one particularly bad attack a reward of £200 was offered for the detection of offenders. many long hours were worked by the Police in an effort to trace the culprits.

An early example of crime prevention appears when the Buckingham Express, 'at the request of the Superintendent of Police asked people to notify the Police if they were leaving their house unoccupied for any length of time in order that special attention could be paid to their property in consequence of the numerous burglaries now taking place in this and adjoining counties.'

By 1881, Superintendent DENSON was in poor health and after requesting a fortnight's leave, sent a letter with a medical certificate asking for further time off duty. This was discussed by the Council and some of the councillors thought a change should be made as it appeared that DENSON had not been performing his duties satisfactorily, sometimes not seeing his men for weeks on end. A letter was duly sent to DENSON, to which he replied that if it were the Council's wish he would give a month's notice. The Town Council accepted this as his resignation and started to look for a successor. It was suggested that the post of Superintendent be done away with and that one of the men be promoted to Sergeant and carry out the duties as head of the force (and lock-up keeper). It was thought that Buckingham could be adequately policed by one Sergeant and two men. 'Amalgamation' was voiced once again but as this had been gone into before it was decided not to go over it again. So, after some discussion, the post of Superintendent was advertised again and for the last time.

There were four applicants: 1. Charles James DEANE - who

stated that he had four years expertise of police duty under his father who was a Constable at Reading and that he had been for the last nine years a charge attendant at Stone Asylum. (Did he know something about Police work that we don't?)

2. Sergeant Major STANTON of Buckingham, late of the 11th Hussars, who said he had no experience of police duty in England, but he had been 'accustomed to something of the kind in the Army in India.'

3. Police Sergeant NOBES of Bletchley. He had been in the Police for 20 years (Metropolitan and Buckinghamshire) and had never had a single report against him. he had considerable knowledge of the Contagious Diseases of animals Act and had had four constables under him for the last 13 years. He would be 40 years of age in May.

4. Herbert Edward WOOD from Bedford. He had served for three years in the Cape Mounted Rifles and since then he had been a constable at Bedford.

The Council chose NOBES to fill the post and at the same time P.C. SIRMON was promoted to Sergeant with an increase of 1/- per week.

NOBES did not get off to an auspicious start for he arrested a man on suspicion of stealing shoes. He struggled with the man and eventually placed him, with some difficulty, in the cells, having been kicked and having had his trousers torn. Imagine his mortification when, as he dusted himself down and congratulated himself on incarcerating such a dangerous felon, the prisoner's friend turned up and said he had given him the shoes to pledge. The prisoner was taken before the Court charged with assaulting NOBES and was given the option of paying a fine or seven days imprisonment. He chose to do the seven days.

The newly promoted Sergeant SIRMON, who also had to struggle with a prisoner to the lock-up, summoned one David MARSH (not the David Marsh surely! the former shoe maker and policeman of the Borough?) for 'refusing to assist him in the execution of his duty in arresting a man named James WILLIAMS on 5th May 1881.' As this is such an unusual charge let us hear the evidence. Sergeant SIRMON - "I was arresting WILLIAMS in Church Street for being drunk and disorderly. I and two others had dragged WILLIAMS some distance, when the defendant, MARSH came towards us. I asked for assistance and he shook his head. I called him a second time and he shook his head again. I said, 'if you don't come and assist I shall summons you.' He turned and walked away. I required assistance as the prisoner was lying on the ground and kicking and resisting very much. I went round to his (MARSH's) house with a summons. Defendant said, 'I wasn't coming there to get killed.' I said, 'What about me then?' and he replied, 'O you go about your business.'" MARSH said, "A little girl came into our house and said the Police had got a boy on the ground in Church Street I ran down just as I was, to see what was the matter. I had no braces on nor coat nor waistcoat. It was WILLIAMS on the ground. I was not in a condition to aid and assist. I was not dressed in

a proper state to be mauled and pulled about as I might have done. it was not because I did not want to help the Officer." The magistrates retired and on their return said, "MARSH, the Bench think you were hardly aware of the serious offence against the law you were committing in not assisting Police Sergeant SIRMON but if you feel disposed to express regret at what you have done and will consent to pay the costs which amount to 13/-, the Bench will consent not to push the case any further."

The returns for this period are interesting. In 1880 the number of offences (crimes) committed numbered 2 (in 1881 they had risen to 5) of which 1 was detected (4 in 1881). 41 persons were proceeded against (56) and 35 were convicted (46).

The living conditions of the Gaol had obviously not improved as NOBES complained that his wife's health had deteriorated since living there as she was compelled to spend much of her time in the underground kitchen which was badly ventilated. The Council agreed to convert one of the two cells into a kitchen, but one councillor objected saying that the present kitchen had lasted 40 years and there had never been any complaint before and he did not see why the council should be put to unnecessary expense.

In 1884 something of a sensation occurred when a prisoner escaped from the lock-up and remained at liberty for some time. The prisoner - William VARNEY - had been arrested for uttering counterfeit coins in Buckingham and the surrounding district.

Whilst he was in custody awaiting trial a fire occurred at a nearby public house. Everyone's attention of course centred on this and VARNEY managed to effect his escape. This occurred on a Friday evening, but the escape was not discovered until the Saturday morning. VARNEY apparently made his way to a village some miles from Buckingham and evaded capture by the Police there. However he was traced to Rugby and a member of the County Police arrested him and he was brought back to Buckingham under a heavy Police escort. Questions were naturally asked in the Council as to how he could have escaped and the security at the gaol was tightened. In the end, the Borough was presented with a bill for £4.0.4d by the County, expenses incurred in recapturing VARNEY. VARNEY appeared at Northampton Assizes and was sentenced to five years penal servitude.

NOBES probably redeemed himself later that year when he caught two men stealing coal from their employer. 'I hid up an elm tree. I could see everything.' Both men were sentenced to two months hard labour.

The Borough Police fell out with the County Police over the gaol in 1885. The County were allowed to use the gaol for their prisoners from the surrounding area, for which they paid an annual fee. It would appear that one Saturday night, three poachers having been arrested at Lillingstone Dayrell were brought to Buckingham Gaol by Sergeant LAIT and P.c TUSTAIN of the County Constabulary. There arose some argument between the Sergeant and the Superintendent as to who had jurisdiction over the prisoners in the gaol, and who should search them. High words flew, as a

result Sgt. LAIT took his prisoners to Winslow, which was policed by the County. A letter was sent to the Town Council by the Chief Constable TYRWIT-DRAKE alleging misconduct by NOBES. This was supported by statements from Sgt. LAIT and Pc. TUSTAIN which criticised NOBES' language. NOBES and his men accused the county Police of high-handedness, but the Council thought that both LAIT and NOBES were at fault and that NOBES had let his temper get the better of him. Nevertheless, they upheld his position and informed the Chief Constable that the Superintendent had charge of any prisoners brought to the Lock-Up. (A suggestion that as LAIT and NOBES did not get on together, the Chief Constable be asked to remove LAIT to another district, did not find favour as it was pointed out that he might recommend that the Council get rid of the Superintendent). The ill-feeling between the two Forces carried on. The same year, NOBES, feeling some apprehension on the approach of a General Election, notified the Council that his force was insufficient to quell any possible disturbances. Eighteen men were therefore called before the Magistrates and sworn in as Special Constables. They were to perform duty under the direction of NOBES but they would not be issued with staves although these would be 'readily accessible should they be required.' The election came and went without trouble. The Town Clerk presented the Council with a bill for £21.11.4d. incurred in the employment of the Borough Police and the Special Constables. 'Why,' asked one councillor, 'had the County Police not been asked for help.' 'Because when asked, the Chief Constable had replied in the negative, treating the Council in a cavalier manner,' was the reply.

Another election occurred that year and the Council wrote to the Chief Constable asking for men to assist at the Polling stations. He replied that a similar application had been made by the High Wycombe Borough Police and the answer to both was the same, to the effect that... 'having regard to the general requirements of the County and the long distances many of the men had to travel to and from the Polling Stations, the applications ... could not be complied with.' This reply was received with considerable disappointment by the Town Council as it appeared evident that the County wanted nothing to do with Borough, (not yet at least). Again all passed peacefully on election day and when the accounts were presented to the Council afterwards they thought it was money well spent, adding 'that if there were another election there would be no approach to the County as past experience had shown that they, the council, could manage very well for themselves. However, two general elections in one year were quite enough for anyone.

At the Annual Inspection of the Force, Col. COBB expressed himself well pleased with all presented to him. He thought that the clothes the Police wore were old and hardly did the maker any credit. Another year, he suggested, it would be better to have the new clothing a little earlier so as to show the men off to the best advantage.

A rather serious, what would be termed now - domestic dispute - occurred that Autumn, when John GARRITY, an acrobat of no fixed residence was charged with feloniously wounding his wife with

intent to murder her when he cut her throat when she refused to give him news of his children. At Bedford Assizes he was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment with hard labour.

This kind of case was the exception rather than the norm for Buckingham, for in the last century crime there was petty.

'Man charged with stealing two 18 gallon casks valued at 21-/, sent for trial!' 'Two men charged with breaking into fowl house and stealing five fowls valued at 12/6d - two months hard labour.' 'Woman charged with stealing half a pig's head - two months hard labour without the option of a fine.'

In 1887, the Police were troubled by the activities of the Salvation Army, when in April they held a meeting in Buckingham. Two of their officers were arrested and charged with 'annoying residents by unlawfully in a certain street called Nelson Street, by sounding a certain musical instrument to hit a drum.' During the hearing, it would appear that the Police had their hands full as the crowd were sympathetic to the prisoners. This, notwithstanding, they were sentenced to 14 days imprisonment. They had to be escorted to Padbury to catch the train to Aylesbury Prison, as it was thought unwise to take them to Buckingham Station. Upon their release, the two Army Officers received a tumultuous welcome by a crowd of over 4,000 people who marched through the centre of the town to a nearby meadow where a tea party was held.

With the approach of the amalgamation of the Borough force with the County, the Council were less inclined to spend money on their Police. Therefore in 1888, when NOBES made his usual application for clothing, it was suggested that the old clothing be made to last until the 'Local Government Bill' had been passed. However the Police got their uniform for the last time as a separate entity.

The last inspection of the force found the H.M.I. 'satisfied with everything.' On 17th January 1889, it was reported in the Bucks Advertiser that 'the members of the Borough Police, with the exception of Superintendent NOBES, attended Winslow Police Station along with the North Western Division of the County Constabulary to be measured for their new County uniform in which they will appear in April.'

Upon amalgamation, NOBES decided to be pensioned off from the Police and received a superannuation of £60 per annum. SIRMON, WOODFORD and WINTERBURN carried on serving with the Buckinghamshire Constabulary until the turn of the century.

Thus ended, after fifty-three years the tiny Buckingham Borough Police, the passing of which hardly merited a mention in the local papers which had recorded their deeds and mis-deeds over the previous half century - they had after all more serious things to report.

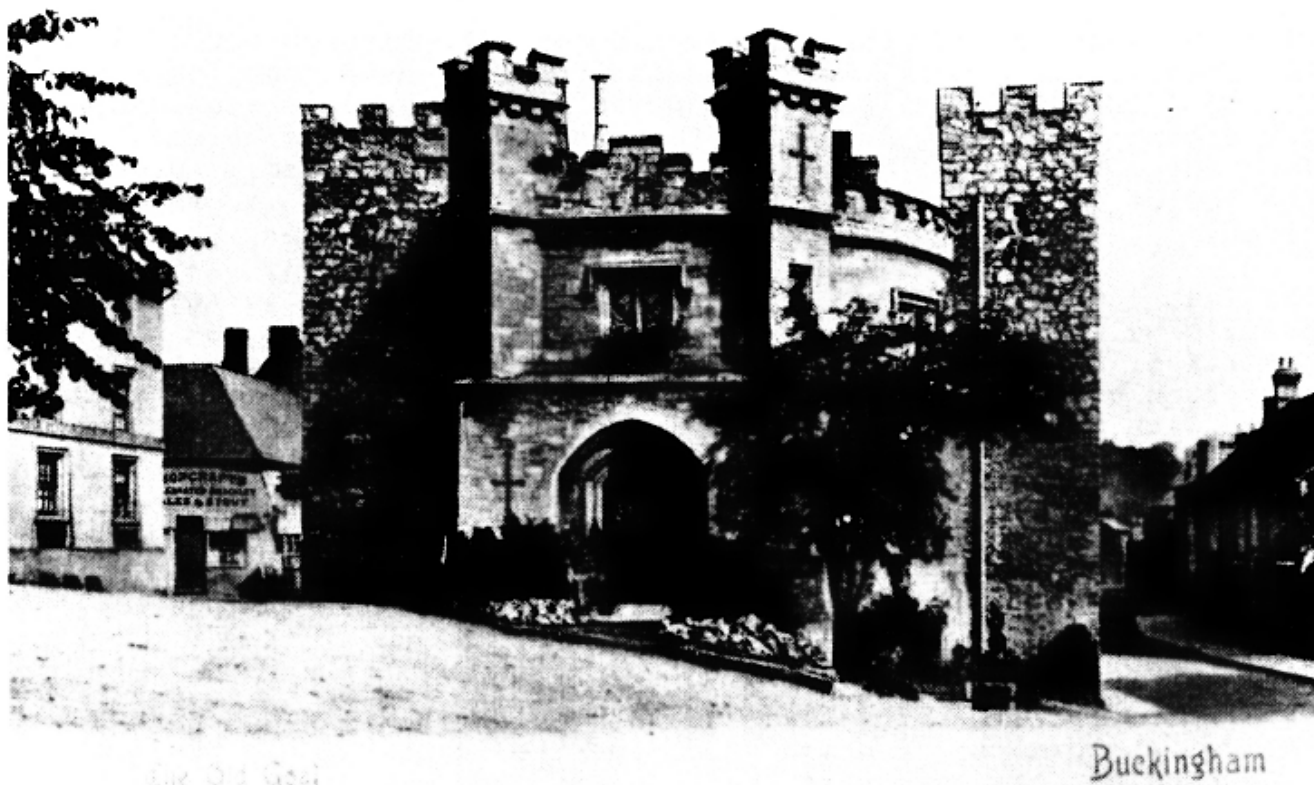
On 30th November 1889, there appears in the local papers one rather sad postscript to the Borough Police. HOWE now the

Governor of the Northampton Prison, appeared before the assizes and was found guilty of conspiring with others to cause an illegal operation to be performed and also for administering or causing to be administered a certain noxious thing. He was found guilty and was sentenced to 10 year penal servitude.

Acknowledgements

Buckingham Advertiser; The Book of Buckingham; Bucks Herald; Minutes of Watch Committee and Town Council; Bucks Co. Library (H.Q. Ref; Buckingham Branch); Bucks Record Office and Chief Superintendent A. DUNNE, Thames Valley Police.

Len Woodley is a serving officer in the Thames Valley Police.



THE POLICE AND MOUNT ST. BERNARD'S REFORMATORY IN LEICESTERSHIRE
by Bernard Elliott

The problem of juvenile delinquency faced our Victorian ancestors in the 19th century as it does us in the late 20th century. They tried to solve the problem by setting up reformatories and one was established in Leicestershire in 1856 by the Cistercian monks at Mount St. Bernard's near Loughborough. However, two monks who staffed the reformatory had a hard time since the boys who were sent to it came mainly from Liverpool and were amongst the biggest villains and rogues one could find. According to Fr. Sisk, who was a member of the staff at the reformatory, they were a terrible crowd, stealing and blaspheming unashamedly. In fact, Fr. Sisk wondered whether the reformatory could ever succeed in rehabilitating such boys. This view was supported by Rev. Turner, the Inspector of Reformatories, who estimated that 50% of the boys leaving these establishments, returned to a life of crime.

In April 1863, a mutiny broke out among the boys at St. Bernard's. Some of the older boys became so violent towards the staff that Fr. Smith, the superintendent, decided to put them in the cells for the night. Before doing so, he decided to seek the help of the local policeman at Whitwick, P.C. Challenor. On receiving Fr. Smith's message, P.C. Challenor came at once and on arrival he proceeded upstairs accompanied by Fr. Smith and on reaching the dormitory the superintendent called out for the two ringleaders, Glennon and Macnamara, to come quietly from their beds. The two youths at once arose but they were fully dressed and wearing their clog shoes. They then challenged P.C. Challenor to arrest them, but this was no easy matter as the two youths had armed themselves with iron bars about two feet long and half an inch thick. At this point many of the other youths joined the two ringleaders, having also iron bars which they had obtained by twisting their iron bedsteads to pieces. The culprits then attacked P.C. Challenor, trying to knock him to the ground, but the policeman stood his ground, drew his cudgel and defended himself as well as he could. But Glennon dealt him a sharp and heavy blow on the right side of his head with an iron bar which inflicted such a deep wound that the blood flowed copiously from the wound and the constable had to be carried downstairs in a semi-conscious state. Fr. Smith decided to seek further police help and after a short while Sergeant Peberdy of Shepshed and a number of special constables arrived to give help to the hard-pressed superintendent and his staff. About Midnight Sgt. Peberdy and his followers decide to make for the upper dormitory, but the youths were on the alert. They took up positions on the top of the stairs and were armed not only with iron bars but also with daggers newly sharpened which they had surreptitiously made in the blacksmith's shop. Nearby stood two buckets, each of which contained four to five gallons of urine. As soon as Sgt. Peberdy and his supporters started to ascend the stairs to the dormitory they were met not only with a torrent of abuse but also with a deluge of urine from the two buckets. This unpleasant mess fell right on the advancing party, but it did not stop their progress and they eventually reached the dormitory, where a fierce hand to hand struggle ensued. During this struggle Sgt. Peberdy received a severe blow on the left side of the head with a blunt iron instrument and had

to be carried from the affray. The struggle continued unabated for some while and then a message was sent to Whitwick police station for further police help. As a result, four more constables from Whitwick arrived and they managed to overpower the mutineers, most of whom were taken to the cells.

Next day the leaders of the mutiny, Glennon and Macnamara, appeared before the magistrate at Ashby-de-la-Zouch when they confessed that they had intended to escape from the reformatory that night. For their part in the affair Glennon and Macnamara were sent to prison, while other boys received various punishments. the news of the mutiny was soon spread abroad and the Leicester Journal reported that neighbouring towns and villages were thrown into a state of great alarm by the way in which the boys had treated the police. It was some time before Pc. Challenor and Sgt. Peberdy could return to duty.

The mutiny at Mount St. Bernard's Reformatory caused such a stir in the nation that it was the subject of a debate in the House of Lords, where Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, ordered the Catholic authorities to improve the standard of discipline at the reformatory or it would be closed. This threat had little effect for conditions at the reformatory still remained poor and within a year a further serious disturbance took place.

"LIVING IN"
by Richard Ford

From 1936 to 1948 my father, Albert Ford, was Inspector in Charge of Chipping Sodbury Police Station (then under Gloucestershire Constabulary control) and, as a family my mother, sister Eileen and myself all lived in the Police Station with him. Being a resident police family in those days meant acting as a form of "reserve Police Force" and, in the absence of my father or other offices, it involved such duties as receiving callers and taking telephone messages and, on occasions, operating the town fire siren to call out the Sodbury Rural District Fire Brigade.

My mother was also responsible for the cleanliness of the Magistrates Court which at that time was adjacent to the Police Station. Court days, especially in winter, caused a general upheaval as wood and coal had to be carried to light the open fires and old fashioned stove in the various Court rooms. Also, often at short notice, my mother had to arrange for meals for any prisoners in custody. For all these extra duties an economically minded Police Authority paid her a few pounds a year.

War clouds were gathering by 1938 and at one stage during the Munich crisis in the Autumn, Special Constables were hastily mobilised with a view to guarding "vulnerable points" (factories, railway tunnels, bridges, etc.,) spare truncheons in store since the General Strike of 1926 were brought out and issued as were armbands which were the only form of uniform then available. Thankfully the crisis subsided without any further positive action being necessary.

The ensuing twelve months, however, saw war preparations increasing. "Air Raids Precautions" training was undertaken and bales of sandbags arrived at the Police Station. The Special Constabulary Section was increased and re-organised and an Air Raid Warning System devised and rehearsed.

By 1st September 1939 a state of readiness was assumed. One problem which arose was that the fire siren could now only be used as a means of Air Raid warning and not for its original purpose for calling out firemen. To overcome this difficulty I was hastily made the fire brigade messenger, responsible for tearing round on my bicycle and calling out firemen for duty as and when required. Aged only 15 years, I found my new appointment a great thrill.

On 3rd September war was declared. Special Constabulary and Police Reservists mobilised, sandbags were filled and placed in position and steel helmets and gas masks arrived in a Police van from Staple Hill. The same van took away bundles of old Police documents and books to be pulped into waste paper salvage.

Then followed a period of quiet in what was known as the "phoney war" with enforcement of black-out regulations being one of the main Police duties. Vehicle lighting restrictions were severe and, as a safety precaution, policemen were issued with short "bib and brace" white linen squares to wear over their otherwise dark uniforms at night. The dangers of night time travel were

emphasised only too sadly a few months later when Police War Reserve Constable Gale was killed in a traffic accident while off duty at Old Sodbury.

During the war years H.M. Queen Mary resided at Badminton House, home of the Duke of Beaufort, and initially this meant extra responsibility for my father in the way of supervision of security measures there. Later on, however, a small permanent Police detachment was stationed at the House itself, thus reducing his work load in that respect.

The winter of 1939-40 was bitter and severe. Heavy falls of snow, and sometimes freezing rain, made transport and communications difficult and often dangerous. In such conditions the sandbags outside the Police Station rotted and fell away, finally being removed altogether and never replaced.

Attending a house fire at Old Sodbury with the fire brigade in the middle of the night at this time, I remember that when we unhitched the trailer pump from the fire tender it slid off down Old Sodbury Hill like a toboggan with four of us holding on grimly and ski-ing along behind it as our boots failed to get a grip on the icy road. It eventually came to rest, undamaged, against the grass verge at the bottom of the hill.

The retreat from Dunkirk in mid-summer 1940 saw dishevelled and exhausted troops arriving in the town straight from the beaches of the Continent. Some of them were lying virtually collapsed in the street. Assisted first of all by local people, and later by the Army, they were quickly re-organised, re-equipped and dispersed to their Units. Police-wise they caused little trouble and were well conducted as, indeed were all the troops stationed at Chipping Sodbury during the war.

In one night raid the Police Station was literally rocking from nearby explosions. My mother had to take cover in the prisoners' cells (thankfully otherwise unoccupied) which, ironically, were judged to be the safest place in the building. I was out with the fire brigade at the time and my sister was on duty at the Air Raids Reporting Centre at the Council offices. Three people were killed at Yate that night and the White Lion public house was set on fire by an incendiary bomb.

February 27th 1941 was a day of tragedy. An air raid warning was sounded in the early afternoon and as the notes of the wailing siren died away a lone German aircraft swooped out the low clouds and dropped about six bombs into the Parnall Aircraft factory at Yate, completely demolishing it and setting it on fire. Over fifty people were killed and the bodies were removed to a temporary mortuary at Westerleigh Brickyards where the Police had the grim task of producing a casualty list which was posted outside the Police Station. A memorial to the dead now stands in Yate churchyard.

Apart from isolated raids the "blitz" proper ended in May 1941. Later months saw American troops arriving in the country and some were stationed at Chipping Sodbury. They were mostly a

photographic unit, and contained some ex-Hollywood personnel in their ranks. They soon adapted themselves to their new surroundings and although not subject to British law they were adequately controlled by their own Military Police. A new form of American dancing, known as "jitterbugging" soon became apparent at local dance halls.

Increasing Allied air activity in 1943 resulted in many aircraft crashes, often fatal, in the Chipping Sodbury area. Police involvement took the form of recovery and identification of bodies and guarding of aircraft until the arrival of the appropriate Armed Forces personnel.

The invasion of Europe in June 1944 and steady Allied advance across the Continent lessened the possibilities of air raids at home and this resulted in an easing of "blackout" restrictions which were replaced by a modified "dim-out" system.

Victory in Europe in May 1945 caused great jubilation and celebration in Chipping Sodbury as in other places. There were parties in the street and dancing by floodlight until the early hours of the morning. As a young sailor, home on leave from the Royal Navy, I went across the road from the Police Station to the Bell Inn (later the British Legion Club) and was plied with drinks by local people to such an extent that eventually I had to call a halt and leave one pint of beer un-consumed. The landlord, himself an ex-sailor, told me I could "call back for it at any time". Forty years later, on the anniversary of V.E. Day in 1985, I called in at the British Legion Club and claimed, and received, my pint from amused and delighted British Legionaires.

With the eventual collapse of the Japanese the war finally ended on the 15th August 1945 and a gradual return to peace time routine followed. The Police steel helmets and gas masks which had been so hurriedly delivered in September 1939, were returned to Stores and scrapped together with much other war time equipment. There were no regrets.

Three years later, in 1948, my father retired and we left the Police Station which held so many memories for us. By that time the mantle of policing had passed to me, then serving as a Police Constable in Gloucester and married to a Policewoman.

My father died in 1974 and, as a mark of respect, his funeral cortege was allowed to form up and leave from Chipping Sodbury Police Station. A bearer party from the Avon and Somerset Police carried his coffin to his final resting place in Yate churchyard where he now lies with my mother.

Richard Ford is a retired member of the Surrey Constabulary.

DISTURBANCE AT THE DOCKS - JUNE 1877

By A.T. Bazzone

The West India Docks, since it had been constructed, at the northern end of the Isle of Dogs, catered for shipping from many parts of the World. Whilst berthed within the confines of this dock, the loading and discharging of their valuable cargoes, became the task of the many thousands of labourers, swarming about the warehouses, quays and vessels. At the end of work each evening, the men were paid for their hourly or daily toil, all would, en-mass, then pour towards the dock exit gates.

The exits were described by Henry Mayhew when he visited the docks in 1861.

"Here two constables stand and as each man passes through the wicket, he takes his hat off, and is felt from head to foot, by the dock officers and attendants."

It was at these gates that the two following incidents concerning unprovoked assaults on Constables, were to be recorded.

DISTURBANCE IN THE DOCKS

At about 5.15 p.m. Monday the 4th June 1877 a dock Constable named Henry Stocks, 28 years of age, was on duty at the south-west entrance gate of the West India Docks, together with another Constable, John Kerr, both being there specifically for the purpose of examining the dock workers leaving the premises.

Pc. Stocks saw a man coming towards him who appeared to be very bulky, he stopped and took him into the small police lobby, in order to search him. Simultaneously, a large crowd of labourers gathered outside and proceeded to incite the man to resist being searched. The constable had found in the man's pockets a small tumbler, and a quantity of nuts, and informing him of his custody, took him outside, intending to convey him to the Police Office, which was in the interior of the dock.

However, on leaving the lobby, his prisoner wrenched himself free, the mob surged forward, getting between, and separating them. Pc. Kerr immediately came forward and caught hold of the absconder before he had a chance to disappear in the crowd. On seeing this another labourer, John Tipper, rushed from the mob, now numbering three of four hundred, and struck Kerr two violent blows, one to his face, the second to the side of his head, then catching hold of the officer, pulled him from his prisoner, and threw him to the ground allowing the captured man to escape into the crowd.

The mob consisted mainly of dock labourers, who were now becoming very violent, chanting, "Give it to them" - "Murder them" - and "Serve them like we served Smith last week". (Constable Smith having been attacked in identical circumstances and killed).

Both Constables were now being attacked, Pc. Stocks taking kicks to his legs and groin, and punched in the face, losing his helmet, and being forced away from his colleague, who was now struggling with his assailant, John Tipper.

This commotion soon brought another officer, Sergeant French, onto the scene. He secured Tipper, who was now on the ground and on top of Kerr, but only after further determined resistance from the crowd, during which all three officers were assaulted repeatedly.

The language and manner of the crowd was by now so threatening, that it was necessary to close the dock gates, keeping the mob outside. This having been done, the officers were then subjected to a concentrated barrage of bricks, stones and other missiles, being thrown over the gates at them.

John Tipper, having been taken into custody, was later charged with assaulting the two constables.

On the 5th June he appeared at the Thames Police Court at Arbour Square, before His Worship, Mr. De Rutzen. The three officers gave evidence as to the events of the assault.

Mr. Alfred May, Prosecuting Solicitor for the Dock Company, stated that owing to the seriousness of the case, he should ask His Worship for a remand, in order that other arrests might be made, and respectfully suggested that the case should go for trial.

Police Inspector Douglas informed the court that the Company were determined to press the case heavily, as these officers would otherwise be afraid to do their duty.

The case then being remanded another week.

At the next appearance, on the 16th June, Mr. May now withdrew his previous suggestion that again spoke on behalf of the Company, informing the Magistrate.

"That they would leave the decision of sending the defendant for trial, in His Worship's hands."

Inspector Douglas (now in charge of the case) answered further questions, put to him by the Magistrate, about the offence.

The case being proved His Worship addressed the prisoner, saying, "That the Constables were only doing their duty in searching the men, and the latter when working in the docks must submit to what they knew to be the rules of the establishment. If I had felt satisfied that you had kicked Constable Kerr, whilst he was on the ground, I should certainly not have dealt with the case, but sent it for trial, as it is you will go to prison for four months, with hard labour".



HENRY STOCKS

Inspector of Police c.1890

East and West India Dock Company

MORE VIOLENCE AT THE DOCKS

It was at the same exit gate five days later on the evening of Saturday the 9th June 1877, that a Constable Brown, of the Dock Company's Police Force, had been posted specifically for the purpose of searching the men who were then leaving the premises when this attack was to take place.

Standing a short distance from him, just outside the gateway was a fifty year old stevedore's labourer named William Mitchell, who, every time the officer stopped and searched someone, erupted into shouting, "Don't let that bastard rub you down", "Don't mind him, we'll protect you, and see you alright". Failing to incite any of the other labourers to take notice, and retaliate, he walked off.

It was at about this time that another officer, a Sergeant French, arrived at the gate. Mitchell saw him and immediately returned, not now content with just trying to incite others, he went directly up to the side of the Police box and proceeded to behave in a most disgusting manner to which the Sergeant confronted him, explaining, that he was to be arrested. To this Mitchell exploded into a very vile and threatening language, defying the officer to touch him. By this time a large crowd had assembled and as the Sergeant went to take the prisoner, he put up his fists, and struck him a violent blow on the head, the effects of which he was to suffer from the next day.

Constable Brown came to his assistance, and between them, although not without considerable difficulty, the prisoner was subdued and taken off to the Police office, which was in the interior of the dock. A short journey, but one that the prisoner was to behave most violently on acting like a madman, further assaulting Sergeant French by striking him in the face and chest.

Having entered the Police Office, he was equally as abusive and violent. The Duty Inspector, a Mr. Douglas, seeing Mitchell's unrelenting determination to get at the Sergeant, in order to strike him, found it necessary in the end, to order that he should be handcuffed. Later he was escorted to Poplar Police Station and charged with assaulting the two officers.

The following Monday morning, Mitchell appeared at the Thames Police Court, before Mr. De Rutzen.

Mr. Alfred May appeared on behalf of the Dock Company, and stated, "That this was another of the same class of assault which were now, unfortunately becoming so frequent at this dock. In each of these cases the offices were simply doing their duty, and such attacks were now a most serious matter, and it was not to be tolerated for a moment, that they should be subjected to such brutal violence at the hands of such men as the prisoner. it was absolutely necessary that he and his companions should be taught that the law would afford the fullest protection to these officers whilst performing their very arduous tasks". Mr. May concluded, "That if this case, and I have no doubt it will be, is made out to your Worship's satisfaction, that you will pass such a sentence on

the defendant before you, as will act as a deterrent for the future".

Both officers gave evidence as to the occurrence, Sergeant French added, that he had himself witnessed Mitchell, on previous occasions standing amongst the crowds of labourers inciting them into being violent.

In reply to the charge, the prisoner denied assaulting the officers as stated, and went on to tell a long rambling story about having fallen down several times and injuring himself, and also having a large weight fall on his head, which he stated, "slightly affected him, and act a little queer" when drinking which he had been doing just prior to this present situation.

Mr. De Rutzen asked if anything further was known of the prisoner.

To which Constable 326 K of the Metropolitan Police, took to the stand, and stated that some time ago it had been necessary for him to arrest Mitchell for a violent assault on his wife, who later declined to prosecute, but the prisoner whilst being taken to the Police Station, was again violent and assaulted a bystander, for which he was sent to prison for a month.

Mr. De Rutzen, addressing the prisoner said, "It is clear to me from the evidence that you behaved on this occasion in a most violent manner, and that without the smallest provocation. The officer was simply performing the duty for which he was placed at the gate for, and you in a most unjustifiable manner, chose to interfere with him.

It may be, and I am willing to believe, that you had taken more drink than was good for you, but that is not the smallest excuse for your acting as you did. Although it has nothing to do with the present case, yet I cannot lose sight of the fact that on previous occasions you were heard to incite a number of men and to resist and molest the Constable, and this in my mind, especially by a man of your years, is a very wicked and mischievous act. If such conduct as this be allowed to go unpunished there would soon be an end of all order. Men whilst in the execution of their duty, must, and shall be protected. You will go to prison for three months with hard labour."

A more horrific tale has also been uncovered by Alan Bazzone.

A DEADLY TOAST TO TOLHURST

An unfortunate constable was Jacob Tolhurst, a young man of 23 years being a comparatively new officer to the London Dock Police. His duties were, as a beat officer, to patrol the Company's premises, day and night (in turn) carefully inspect every part of his beat, and to use every effort to prevent any irregularity. Duties he was not to adhere to.

He was at the time employed as an afternoon Constable, and as such, on a chilly Thursday evening on the 9th March 1876 was patrolling his designated beat, being the East Quay, of the western dock. When he was stopped by a man, he believed to be a seaman, and whom he later described as wearing, a low cut gray coat, and billy-cock hat, (bowler of felt material) offering him a glass of something to drink, for reasons we will never now know, the obviously, unsuspecting constable, accepted, and drank it and was to record, it tasted like bitter ale.

Within minutes the concoction rendered him partially insensible, falling to the ground suffering from crippling pains of the stomach, and uncontrollable convulsions, his agonising screams were to be heard by many, the first to arrive on the scene being, Mr. Richard Gimman, who had been employed for many years, within the Company's Dockmasters Department, as a ships berthing master, a duty he was attending, when hearing Tolhurst's cries of pain and terror having by now realised his predicament.

Mr. Gimman, found the Constable lying on his back, inside an oil shed, and believing him to be in a most serious condition, immediately summoned for assistance. Further testimony from this gentleman, was only to confirm that he had found Tolhurst alone, and had not seen any other person within the vicinity. The purported seaman obviously having vacated the area, soon after dispensing the lethal drink.

It was not long, before a Dr. Sergeant arrived on the quay, and attended to the unfortunate constable, and was able to revive him sufficiently for him to give an account of the circumstances leading up to his present critical condition. Fearing, and now believing the worst.

Tolhurst's revival was only to be temporary, the convulsions and spasms soon returned, the Doctor unable to do more for him here, instructed for his quick and immediate removal to the infirmary. This being only a short distance away, at the St. Georges Workhouse, in Princes Street, off Old Gravel Lane. Where on arrival, and before any restoratives could be administered, poor Tolhurst died, it being less than forty-five minutes having elapsed since taking the lethal drink.

The subsequent Police investigations brought information from a colleague of the deceased, a Police Fireman named J. Cook, an experienced officer, who stated, that he had been on duty patrolling an adjacent area of the dock that same evening, and had earlier seen Tolhurst talking to a man he knew to be the ship-keeper of the vessel "Blanche".

This man was soon taken into police custody, and on questioning, admitted speaking to a young constable earlier in the evening, but insisted, that he had left him to continue his patrol in good health, whilst he himself, had directly boarded his ship, and gone straight to his cabin, where he had remained, until being taken into custody. His denial of having anything to do with the offence, was backed up by several witnesses, saying that he was indeed on board asleep in the cabin, at the time of the murder.

The length of time he was kept in police custody, and his eventual release, was not recorded, albe'it he was not mentioned again throughout the police enquiries.

At a later date, a singular coincidence was pointed out by another man, having, at about the same time of the officers death, had himself witnessed on board a ship, which was just leaving the dock, seen a man suddenly die after exhibiting similar symptoms to those observed in the late constables death. Further investigation of this report, would probably have to wait until the ship returned, if ever.

On Wednesday 22nd March 1876 an inquest was held in the Board room of the workhouse at St. Georges in the East, at which Tolhurst had died. The inquiries of the Police had up till now proved unavailing, and as the analysis of the content of the deceased's stomach had not yet been completed, the Coroner adjourned the inquest to a later date.

In less than two weeks, Mr. Humphreys, Coroner for Middlesex, together with a jury, again, assembled in the board room of the same workhouse for the purpose to further investigate the circumstances of this mysterious death.

Evidence was now produced before the court, that there was now a clear indication that death had resulted from poisoning. The stomach and contents having previously been handed over to a Dr. Charles Tidey for analysis, and who now attended the court. The Dr. indicated that from his own investigations, he was now able to say that death had resulted from poisoning by strychnia, a vegetable alkaloid derived from the nux vomica, also called poison nut or dog button, found growing in Southern Asia and North Australia.

Dr. Tidey, concluded by informing the court, that three-quarters of a grain had been found in the stomach, but a much larger quantity, about four to five grains had been absorbed into the system, and that it was this portion having been absorbed was what killed the deceased.

The jury after a short deliberation returned a verdict, that the deceased had died from poisoning by strychnia, but how it had been absorbed into the stomach, the evidence failed to prove.

The man who gave the unfortunate Dock policeman the drink was never traced.

Alan Bazzone is a Sergeant in the Port of London Police.

THE SPECIAL CONSTABULARY - AN HISTORICAL VIEW
by Clare Leon M. Phil.

The article will focus on the use of special constables in the nineteenth century, and in particular will examine the relationship between the deployment of special constables and other forms of policing. It will also look at the various ways in which special constables were legislated for and used, and how this fits into the broader framework of policing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The period up to 1856 is particularly important, as it is when the new police were becoming established throughout the country, and it is commonly assumed that once a paid, full-time professional system of policing existed, the use of special constables died out. In this article, I hope to show that in fact even after the introduction of police forces on a national basis, special constables continued to be heavily relied upon to enforce the law and maintain order on a wide range of occasions, and that their role in policing throughout the nineteenth century has generally been greatly underestimated.

Local 'Officials'

Today's system of policing, whereby we have trained, professional, highly-skilled officers responsible for the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of law and order, was unknown in the early part of the nineteenth century. Policing then was seen as an unskilled task, to be carried out by elected or delegated members of the community, on a part-time, amateur basis. There were no recognisable police forces as such, nor was there such a person as a police officer per se, with the exception of a handful of 'thieftakers' in London. Instead there was a plethora of local officers with varying degrees of responsibility for criminal law enforcement. It is hard to disentangle their varying roles, but these local officials included Parish Constables, High and Petty Constables, Headboroughs, Borough Reeves and Tythingmen. In times of emergency or disorder, these local peace officers were unable to cope alone, and the system was supplemented by the intervention of the military which often, as in Peterloo, had fatal consequences for the crowd or by the mass enrollment of the local populace as special constables.

Early Special Constables

The use of law-abiding citizens as temporary peace officers can be traced back throughout history; the Statute of Winchester, in 1285, provided that every man was to have in his house 'Harness for to keep the Peace after the ancient Assise', which suggests that the tradition was well-established even in the thirteenth century. However, it is not until much later that statutory reference is made to special constables as a specific type of peace officer. By an Act of 1801, provision was made for the reimbursement of special constables' expenses on executing warrants for felonies. This suggests that, by the turn of the eighteenth century, it was common practice for citizens to be sworn-in to supplement the regular peace officer in cases of

felony. Special Constables were also used during national emergencies. In November 1803, at a time when there were widespread fears of a French invasion, a Home Office circular called on magistrates to compile lists of 'trustworthy Housekeepers or others' who were not already enlisted in the Militia Reserves who could be sworn-in as special constables, and local newspapers featured advertisements calling on citizens to enrol. Another way in which special constables were being deployed was in cases of riot and social unrest, along with the military; During the notorious riots at St. Peter's Field in Manchester in 1819, 11 people died and over 400 were injured after the Yeomanry were ordered to charge at the crowd. One special constable was among the fatalities and six were injured in the resulting chaos, whilst another was killed a few days later by the angry mob.

Watch and Ward

The early nineteenth century was a period of popular protest and national unrest throughout Europe. In England, fears of a revolution were widespread, and there were frequent outbreaks of localised civil disturbances in the towns and cities. Because of the lack of organised permanent police forces, the only way in which a deterrent police presence on the streets could be effected, was if the local residents banded together to form their own 'Watch and Ward' societies to patrol the streets. However, although local watch fores existed in some towns, these were relatively small and were ineffective in cases of disorder. Luddism - machine breaking by workers who feared that the new technologies would lead to their unemployment - was gaining momentum throughout England in 1812. Outbreaks of theft, vandalism and the destruction of property could occur, and during these periods the permanent peace officers were numerically too few to be able to cope. Hence an Act passed in 1812, gave magistrates emergency powers to appoint and swear-in as special constables for watch and ward duties, anyone that they 'saw fit'. These special constables had a supervisory role, and were to direct and manage all persons employed in watch and ward, subject to the supervision of the Chief Constable. The Act itself was initially enacted for a two year period, and was to apply to places where disturbances prevailed or were apprehended, but was re-enacted in 1820 for a further two years, and was again re-enacted in 1820 until 1824, against a social background of popular radicalism and reform movements.

Rising Unrest

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the appointment of special constables was therefore dependant on a complex web of common-law and statutory powers, and it appears that by 1820 there was considerable confusion as to precisely when they could lawfully be appointed. In an attempt to clarify the situation, a further Act was passed in that year, stating that the justices could compel such persons as they thought were necessary to act as special constables not only when a riot, tumult or felony was actually in the process, or had happened, but when they reasonably apprehended that one might occur. During the 1820s special constables were fairly extensively used in watching and warding,

and in riot control, but pressure was mounting for the establishment of full-time paid police forces. The industrial and agricultural revolutions had resulted in a massive population shift away from rural areas and into the newly expanding towns and cities. The old system of policing, which was heavily dependent on the potential offender's community ties and the local knowledge of the constable, broke down in urban areas where there was a large and rapidly increasing transient population. Fears of a crime wave led to agitation for police reform in London from the mid-eighteenth century on, but this was initially met with strong opposition. The landed gentry were resistant as they feared that their positions as unpaid justices could be undermined if the system was centralised and the executive given greater powers, while the organised working class were concerned that paid police forces would be used against them at political demonstrations. In addition, liberal whigs and radicals were concerned about the potential infringement of individual liberties and constitutional rights, and parish vestries in the metropolis were reluctant to incur the additional expense that the new Police would impose. During the 1820s much of this opposition withered away due to several factors; First the ever increasing crime figures led to fears of an escalating and unstoppable crime wave, and the pro-police reformers constantly played on these fears. Second, the propertied classes were increasingly alert to the growing amount of civil disorder and the threat of revolution, and were becoming increasingly aware of the dangers inherent in using the troops and Yeomanry to contain disturbances. Third a select committee in 1828 published findings which demonstrated that there was collusion between the old-style 'Thieftaker' type of police officer and criminals in the recovery of stolen property. Finally, not only were the permanent officers becoming increasingly discredited but the wisdom of relying on untrained and undisciplined special constables to aid the military in sensitive situations was also called into question. The result of these popular fears and criticisms of the existing policing system, meant that Peel's Metropolitan Police Bill was passed virtually unopposed in 1829, and set a precedent for the introduction of paid police forces throughout the country.

Gradual Police Reforms

It is often assumed that, once the Metropolitan Police had been set up, the rest of the country automatically followed suit. In fact, it was not until nearly thirty years later that provision was finally made for local police authorities to receive some form of financial incentive from central government to set up efficient police forces. Although the period between 1829 and 1856 was a period when professional police forces were beginning to be instituted across the country, it is important to remember that this was an incomplete process, and that, unlike the situation in London, no one Act was passed compelling the establishment of police forces; instead legislation concerning policing and the use of special constables was passed at key moments when the existing system caused concern, generally because its inadequacies were exposed during national public-order crisis. This legislation included the Special Constables Act 1831, the Municipal Corporations Act 1835, the Special Constables Act 1835, the

Special Constables Act 1838, the Rural Police Act 1839, and the County and Borough Police Act 1856. Meanwhile the late 1820s saw widespread agitation for parliamentary reform and the extension of the franchise. The early 1830s were the years of Captain Swing, a mythical character blamed for the many and sporadic waves of arson and the destruction of agricultural machinery, while the period from 1838 to 1848 was the period when Chartism was gaining in strength and popular support.

Social Background

Because the historical development of policing in the nineteenth century seems to have been dependant on the economic and political stability of the social order of the time, there is a need to explore the effect of public-order crises on the introduction of legislation governing policing, and the effect of this legislation on the use of special constables. The rest of this article will therefore trace the relationship between the developing police forces and special constables, in the general context of public disorder and the legislature's response to the policing problems which it exposed. In the period from 1829 on, despite criticisms concerning their efficiency, and regardless of the fact that the metropolis now had a full-time, paid professional force, special constables were still heavily relied upon to augment the police in times of local and national crisis. Two examples will serve to demonstrate the extent to which volunteers were relied upon to quell serious disturbances, and the way in which legislation concerning policing was introduced as a response to those disturbances. These examples are the concurrent national public order crises created by 'Captain Swing' and the parliamentary reform movement in 1830-31. In the South East, in 1830, there was a spate of arson attacks on farmers in rural areas. The perpetrators of the arson attacks were agricultural labourers., protesting about their near-starvation wages and deplorable conditions of service. From East Anglia to East Sussex special constables were sworn in to protect the farms and estates and to deter the incendiaries. Interestingly, records held at Lewes, show that the most common occupation listed in the returns of special constables sworn-in is 'labourer', which indicates the authorities were not opposed to swearing in workers if the need arose, even if by the nature of their occupation there must have been doubts as to where their sympathies lay. The willingness of the labourers themselves to be sworn-in can be explained by the fact that, not only were they probably coerced by their employers on threat of losing their jobs if they should refuse to be sworn, but that in addition during this period, becoming a special constable would have been a desirable prospect for the frequently unemployed and low-paid migrant agricultural worker; not only did the office exempt the holder from being entered in the ballot for compulsory service in the part-time Militia, but it also may have enabled them to gain settlement rights and so qualify for poor-relief during periods of seasonal unemployment. Further, special constables could be paid as much as 5/- for each tour of duty - a strong incentive given that the average weekly wage of labourers in the 1830s was between 10-15's.

Parliamentary Reform Crisis

In 1831, a crisis over parliamentary reform had been precipitated by the defeat of the government's reform proposals in the House of Lords on the 7th October, and riots flared up in different parts of the country, fuelling fears that an armed revolution was imminent. In consequence, the statutory provisions governing the appointment of special constables were further relaxed by an Act passed a week after the government's defeat in the Lords; previously, justices could only appoint special constables on the sworn information of five respectable householders that a riot, tumult or felony had occurred or was apprehended. By the new Act, they could be appointed on the oath of 'any creditable witness.' The Act also attempted to deal with potential manpower shortages by providing that once special constables had been appointed and sworn by the justices, on their representation, the Secretary of State could order persons who were legally exempt from serving to be sworn in for a two month period. In addition, the Secretary of State could direct the Lord Lieutenant of any County to swear in special constables, with no exemptions allowable, for a three month period. The Act further provided that no person who was appointed as a special constable would be allowed to gain settlement rights, or claim exemption from the militia ballot, thus removing two of the powerful incentives for being sworn, but reiterated that special constables were to be paid allowances for loss of time, trouble and expense, the amount of such payments to be at the discretion of the justices. Refusal to take the oath, neglect of duty or disobedience to orders were all punishable by a fine to a maximum of £5. Almost immediately after the Act was passed, one of the areas where trouble flared was in Bristol, a pro-reform city. A notorious anti-reformer, Sir Charles Wetherall, was invited to open the new round of Court Sessions or Assizes. An attempt was made to swear-in sailors as special constables, but this met with little success as they refused to be 'the cat's paw of the corporation'. Eventually 200 traders and gentry were sworn-in, who apparently had anti-reform sympathies. Unaided by the military, they managed to so provoke the crowd by lashing out indiscriminately with their staves, that a full-blow riot occurred and the Mansion House was burned down. The Bristol riots probably occurred too soon after the 1831 Special Constables Act was passed for it to have been implemented in this case. Certainly no records are available as to the penalties, if any, which may have been visited on the recalcitrant sailors or the ill-disciplined special constables. It is known that the mayor subsequently had to stand trial for his alleged negligence in not calling in the military immediately the riot had started, and the commander of troops was court-martialled for refusing to order them to fire on the crowd once they had arrived.

Period of Calm

With the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, immediate fears of revolution subsided. However, there was a growing awareness as a consequence of the 1831 riots of the inadequacy of policing arrangements outside London, and of the fact that the military, consisting of an estimated 11,000 men, was numerically too small to contain a revolt on a national scale, despite its capacity to

control localised disorders. Consequently in 1835, the Municipal Corporations Act was passed which enabled Boroughs, on incorporation to establish Watch Committees to appoint full-time constables, and required the Borough justices to annually appoint a reserve force of special constables who could be called out when required by warrant. A further Special Constables Act was also passed, enabling non-residents to be appointed. This was presumably so that full-time police officers from non-contiguous counties could be drafted in to trouble spots and given constabulary powers when the need arose. The mid 1830's were a period of relative social tranquility. The combination of good harvests, which resulted in lower food prices, and the Reform Act which widened the franchise, meant that two major social grievances were temporarily assuaged. However, the Trades Union movement was growing in strength and confidence, along with calls for the repeal of the Poor Laws, and further parliamentary reform, so that by 1838 Chartist rallies were again posing a major public-order problem to the authorities. Meanwhile, in most areas policing was still being carried out on an amateur and ad hoc basis. Not every large town took the opportunity offered by the Municipal Corporations Act to set up paid police forces, and rural areas were still dependant on the old systems of appointing parish constables.

Extended Provisions

This meant that even during periods of relative calm when there were no mass protests or political gatherings, special constables were still being relied upon to augment the old police in keeping the peace. The 1830's saw a massive expansion of the railway network and large numbers of navvies or construction workers were imported into the area where the lines were being built. The navvies had a fearsome reputation, in the popular press at least, for theft, drunkenness, and other forms of disorderly conduct. The old system of policing in rural areas whereby there was only one constable per parish, could not cope with the problems posed by large semi-permanent groups of itinerant labour. Consequently, the presence of a construction works was another occasion when special constables were sworn in to keep the peace. The special constables who were sworn in on these occasions were of a slightly different nature from those sworn-in to deal with public-order crises. The statutory basis for their appointment was an Act of 1838 which enabled them to be enrolled on the occasion of the apprehended or real behaviour of railway or canal company employees, with the relevant company liable to pay them a maximum wage of 5/- per day. These specials differed from those sworn in under the 1831 Special Constables Act and the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, in that they were full-time, semi-permanent (appointments could last for as long as two years), paid employees of the railway company, despite having been independently appointed by the justices. In fact, there were frequent disputes between the companies and the justices over the necessity to appoint special constables, or over the level of their remuneration, the companies being anxious to keep their costs to a minimum. Although there was no separate statutory authority enabling such appointments, other types of workers were also sworn as special constables to facilitate their working practices, by

giving them enhances police powers. Throughout the nineteenth century, cemetery attendants, bridewell-keepers, and security guards were enrolled as special constables - a tradition which in some areas has continued well into the twentieth century, with airport and parks police, gamewardens, and corporation employees all being given statutory police powers under the Special Constables Acts. Special constables were therefore not only called upon to act in times of emergency, but contributed to the maintenance of order and preservation of the peace in times of relative calm as well. Additionally, they were enrolled not only on a temporary and ad hoc basis, but could be and were recruited semi-permanently throughout the nineteenth century.

Royal Commission

In 1835, a Royal Commission was set up to look into policing, and it made its final report in 1839. One of its recommendations was for a further extension of the justices' authority to appoint constables in rural areas. The Commission's report resulted in an Act being passed in 1839, which restated the powers of the justices to appoint special constables, and further enlarged them by enabling them to appoint on the rates a full-time permanent, paid petty constable for every thousand inhabitants, when they deemed that the number of ordinary constables was insufficient to keep the peace, or for the preservation of property. The Act further provided that constables so appointed were to have all the powers of a special constable. In addition, where such constables were appointed, all the powers and duties of any existing constable should cease, with the exception of high and special constables. Thus, when implemented by the justices, this Act effectively abolished the old localised systems of policing, and was innovatory in that, for the first time in rural areas, it meant that full-time paid police could be appointed with the rate payers footing the bill, compared with the pre-existing system, where the sole provision was for the appointment of elected or delegated volunteers who were only paid their expenses. The 1839 Act was therefore a landmark in the history of policing because it enabled the creation of the first recognisable rural police forces and is particularly interesting for the fact that, rather than being based on either the Metropolitan Police Act 1829, or on the Municipal Corporations Act 1835, both of which had enabled the setting-up of paid police forces, it was based on the 1831 Special Constables Act. The 1839 Act was a permissive Act, and rather than compelling the justices to appoint full-time police officers, felt it to their discretion as to whether or not such a need existed in their locality. One of the reasons why it was implemented in certain areas but not in others, may have been the difficulty which the authorities were experiencing in getting enough recruits to be special constables, and the hope that it might be easier and more satisfactory in terms of imposing discipline, to find applicants for a full-time secure job rather than relying on reluctant volunteers.

Recruitment Problems

From 1838 onwards, Chartism was developing as a popular movement, and was associated with widespread rioting. in the North of England, the movement had many sympathisers. There were few

volunteers to police rallies and demonstrations, and in some areas employers again resorted to attempting to co-opt their employees on threat of dismissal. Even with the prospect of imminent unemployment, many workers refused to be sworn. Additionally the middle classes in Northern Chartist areas were reluctant to come forward as volunteer special constables, for fear that the Chartists and the local community would impose a trade boycott on them and force them to go out of business. Recruitment was a recurring problem throughout the 1830's, and in 1830 during the arson scares in the South East, the pensions of Chelsea and Greenwich pensioners were made conditional on their serving as special constables. The policy of using pensioners as special constables was revived between 1839-42, when the Chartist movement was growing in strength. This was because not only could they be co-opted, but also because the Home Office saw the use of pensioner special constables as a suitable alternative to use of the Military, as in theory they had been exposed to both army training and army discipline. This tactic was not without its problems, as the pensioners appear in many cases to have sympathised with the crowds and were in any event closely integrated into the local community. It is also alleged that, when faced with an angry mob, unless they were closely supervised and controlled, rather than standing their ground they had a tendency to turn and run in the opposite direction. Because of the defects of this system, the swearing in of Chelsea pensioners as special constables had been abandoned by 1847, and they were instead formed into a separate reserve force under the control of the military, rather than the civil, authorities. By the 1840's the 1835 and 1839 Acts had been implemented in a piecemeal fashion across the country. A complex system of policing had developed with the new permanent county and Borough police forces in some areas coexisting with the older, more traditional forms of watch and ward and parish constable in others. In all cases, the system continued to be supplemented by and highly dependant on the swearing-in of special constables in emergencies. The inadequacies of the system were further exposed during the 1840's, a period when the Chartists were attracting a growing following. The revolutions in Europe in 1848 gave rise to fears of a mass revolt in England, but the use of special constables and the military was constantly being shown to be an inefficient and inadequate method of policing. In neither case was it politically reliable - both specials and military could be partisan - and this could have a serious effect on the outcome of the demonstration. It was during the late 1840's, in response to fears of a civil insurrection, and to fears that existing methods of public-order control would be incapable of dealing with such a situation if it should arise, that many of the previously reluctant Watch Committees and Police Authorities decided to set-up paid professional police forces in their areas. Meanwhile, other areas continued to resist the introduction of paid forces, mainly because local authorities were reluctant to impose the burden of increased policing costs on the rate payers and felt that the existing system was sufficient to deal with potential disturbances. In an attempt to consolidate policing arrangements on a national basis, and to encourage reluctant authorities to set up local forces, an Act was passed in 1856 which set up the police Inspectorate. If a local force was certified to be efficient in

terms of numbers and supervision, the Treasury would pay an annual grant of 25% of the policing costs.

After 1856

Traditionally, 1856 has been seen as the cut-off date for the use of special constables in the Victorian age. It has simply been assumed that the Act resulted in the introduction of paid police forces on a national basis, and that all the areas which still relied on the old method of policing automatically complied with its provisions, and set up paid forces of their own. The argument runs that, once professional forces had been created, the need to rely on special constables to supplement and augment the existing force disappeared. However, this is too simplistic a thesis; special constables continued to be relied upon to perform a variety of policing tasks, although the military were less frequently resorted to in times of major disturbance. The continued use of specials after 1856 can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, not every Borough or County immediately took advantage of the Act to set up their own Force, so that by as late as 1870 there were still 17 Boroughs whose policing arrangements were deemed 'inefficient' by the Inspectorate. In some areas, resistance to the implementation of the Act was justified on the basis that existing arrangements - i.e. reliance on the old parish constables system, reinforced by the use of special constables when the need arose, were perfectly adequate and that the additional cost of a paid police force could not be justified. Alternatively, professional police could be drafted in from contiguous areas at minimal cost to the ratepayers. In other areas, even where there was a police force which had been certified as 'efficient' under the Act, the actual members of paid police were kept as low as possible on economic grounds, so that in the event of a public-order crisis, it was still necessary to rely on the appointment of special constables to augment the regular force. For example, Cambridge was one of the Boroughs which took advantage of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 to set up its own force, but by 1850 the records show that there were only 20 paid professional police employed by the Corporation, compared with 92 supplementary amateurs, including 32 special constables, who could be called on in times of emergency. As rule of thumb, any borough with a population of 5,000 or more could apply for the grant, whilst the Inspectors considered that 5 full-time police officers were the bare minimum for efficiency in these cases. This meant that the new certified efficient police forces could consist of less than half a dozen officers, including those who held purely supervisory roles. Therefore, even though the majority of areas had introduced paid police forces by the late 1850's special constables were still being widely deployed. Despite the introduction of paid police forces on a national basis, and the abolition of the office of parish constable in 1872, the principle of annually appointing special constables in the boroughs was restated by the 1882 Municipal Corporations Act. In addition, various occupational groups were still being sworn-in in order to give them additional police powers, whilst specials were continually relied on by the authorities to deal with localised disturbances such as election riots. However there was some decline in this latter type of usage, and this may be

because, as the economic climate has stabilised there were fewer disturbances generally, or because the large boroughs which had been particularly susceptible to disturbances at meetings and rallies, now had more efficient police forces and were able to contain disorder without recourse to volunteers. Rowdiness at local fairs and festivals appears to have become less of a problem, perhaps because it was now possible to police them effectively with the presence of a handful of regular officers. On the occasions when large scale local disturbances could be anticipated, such as at elections, special constables were still apparently being sworn-in en-masse to supplement the regular force.

Fenian Troubles

There were also few national emergencies in the second half of the nineteenth century. There were no more invasion scares after the Napoleonic Wars, nor, after 1848 and the collapse of the Chartist movement, were there any more fears of internal revolution. Trades Unionism was however growing in strength and support, and anti-Irish feeling coupled with Fenian attacks on the mainland provoked explosive gatherings. There was a wave of riots in the Midlands between 1866 and 1871 caused by the inflammatory anti-catholic speeches given by a protestant preacher, William Murphy. As a result, special constables were sworn in on eleven separate occasions in the Midlands alone. During the same period the Fenian Society was set up to advance the cause of Irish Nationalism. In 1867, three of their members were executed for the murder of a police officer, and they blew up part of Clerkenwell prison in retaliation. A Home Office circular warned of possible disturbances that winter, and recommended that special constables should be sworn-in as a precautionary measure. This time, there were fewer recruitment difficulties as Fenianism was not a popular working-class cause, and large numbers of volunteers were enrolled throughout the country. The Fenians continued to pose a threat during the 1870's until 1881, when the Special Irish Branch (later, simply Special Branch) was created in the Metropolitan Police to infiltrate the movement. The other major source of disturbances during the latter part of the nineteenth century was caused by the Salvation Army. During the 1890's their processions provoked considerable hostility, particularly from brewers and publicans who saw a threat to their livelihoods in the Army's temperance philosophy. Special Constables were enrolled on these occasions but often contributed to, rather than ameliorated, disorder, as those who enrolled tended to be antagonistic to the Salvation Army. Records held at Eastbourne show that the majority of those who enrolled to police the processions in fact had some interest in the liquor trade themselves. Further, as the protesters were well-organised and often included local pillars of society, the special constables tended to side with them rather than objectively maintaining law and order.

Contrasts and Comparisons

As a final point, it is interesting to look at the similarities and differences between the use of special constables in the nineteenth century, and the deployment of special constables today. There are surprising number of similarities in their

roles. Since their inception, special constables have always been used to supplement, rather than to compete with or replace, whatever system of policing existed at the time. There are parallels between their early duties of watching and warding, and the current practice of training specials by using them on foot and vehicle patrols. The specials' traditional role of policing fairs and fetes is far more longstanding than is generally accepted, pre-dating as it does the introduction of permanent special constabularies in 1923, and having its origins in early nineteenth century policing systems, before paid professional police forces were introduced. The difference between the modern specials and their nineteenth century counterparts are just as marked. Early specials received little training - perhaps a smattering of military-style drill, but nothing in comparison with the sophisticated and intensive course which specials now receive to equip them with a ready knowledge of law and procedure, and policing techniques. The other major difference is in the deployment of specials today compared with their deployment in the nineteenth century. For the last sixty years, it has been policy not to use special constables on the front-line of public-order situations, and particularly to avoid deploying them to police politically sensitive demonstrations or trade disputes. Peterloo, Chartist demonstrations, Anti-Irish and Fenian disturbances, and the Salvation Army processions of the nineteenth century are all examples of the types of occasion when special constables used to be deployed, but their twentieth century equivalents would never be expected to put themselves at risk in similar circumstances.

Underestimated Role

In conclusion, histories of policing have too often ignored or underestimated the crucial role played by special constables in the preservation of the peace and maintenance of law and order. The assumption is that England and Wales existed in a state of near-total anarchy until 1856, when suddenly almost overnight efficient new police forces sprang up to solve the country's crime problems. In fact this was not the case. Policing remained an undervalued and underpaid occupation until well into the twentieth century, and the acceptance of the need for a well-paid, trained and disciplined police force is a relatively new phenomenon. Regardless of the presence or absence of a full-time professional force, throughout the nineteenth century the entire policing system in England and Wales was underpinned by the use of volunteer special constables. Despite the emergence of professional forces, and with their increase in experience, strength and efficiency, the role of special constables in policing in the twentieth century has changed, but the variety of ways in which they offer support to regular force today, they bear remarkable parallel to the role played by their nineteenth century counterparts.

An earlier historian of the specials, Seth*, claims that the office of special constable was created by a statute of 1673. *Melville Lee gives an even more specific reference. Clare Leon can find no record of the statute to which they refer - in fact, it appears that Parliament was prorogued in 1673 and that no Acts were passed in that year. If any reader can throw light on this mysterious statute please write to the editor.

*Seth, Ronald (1961) The Specials. The Story of the Special Constabulary in England and Wales. London. Victor Gollancz.

*Melville Lee, W.M. (1905) 'A History of Police in England'. London. Methuen.

Clare Leon worked on a three year research project into the historical development and contemporary use of special constabularies, which was completed in 1988. The project itself formed part of a wider survey being conducted by the University of Bath into community participation in policing, under the direction of Rod Morgan, Senior Lecturer in Criminology, Ms. Leon has spent the same time looking specifically at the identity, use and deployment of special constables in the nineteenth century, and is now engaged in a nation wide research into the current recruitment training and deployment of special constables. Clare Leon trained initially as a lawyer, but became interested in the sociology of the police whilst studying for her first degree at Ealing College in London. She then studied for a M.Phil degree at the Institute of Criminology in Cambridge and afterwards completed her academic legal training by taking her Solicitor's Final Examination. In 1985 she was employed by Bath University on the Special Constables project.

A MURDEROUS ATTACK AT CWM CILLE FARM

By Jeremy Glenn

The 'Rebecca Riots' were the culmination of popular discontent, principally amongst farmers, following a gradual increase in the financial burden levied upon them during the early years of the nineteenth century through the establishment of road trusts. They erupted, spontaneously, in West Wales in the late 1830s and early 1840s and were characterised by the destruction of toll gates and toll houses which presented many with a focal point for their discontent. At this time travel by road was becoming prohibitably expensive through the imposition by the trusts of increasingly excessive levies, which were collected at toll gates sited at irregular intervals along major highways. Such a tax was found particularly burdensome by farmers who had no option but to travel regularly by road, both to and from their markets, and to collect much needed lime with which to fertilise their acidic soils. The rioters' leaders always assumed the image of the biblical character Rebecca whilst their followers disguised themselves variously in women's clothes. Moreover they found religious justification in the literal adoption of the words spoken to Rebecca in the Book of Genesis, Chapter 24, Verse 60, which reads "let thy seed possess the gates of those which hate thee".

At that time Glamorgan was the only county in South Wales to maintain a professional police force and the story of how the Chief Constable, Frederick Napier, apprehended four suspected rioters following the first outbreak of disturbances in the county is an interesting one. Not only does it provide an insight into how Captain Napier, recently retired from the Rifle Brigade, dealt with the most serious threat to law and order within Glamorgan since the formation of his force some two years earlier, but it also provides the first recorded instance of firearms and cutlasses being issued to junior officers within the Glamorgan Constabulary.

Until 1843 'Rebeccaite' disturbances had been confined to the lands west of Glamorgan. However, on the night of the 6th - 7th July 1843 'Rebecca' and 'her' followers descended upon Glamorgan and destroyed toll gates at Bolgoed and Rhydypany near Llangyfelach, a small village north of Swansea. News of these occurrences prompted an immediate reaction from the Swansea magistracy. At a meeting held on 10 July it was resolved to appeal for information regarding the identity of the rioters with an offer of £100 reward for anyone who could supply enough information to lead to a conviction. Furthermore, that the local division of the recently formed Glamorgan Constabulary be provided with sufficient horses to enable the six man complement to mount patrols of toll gates in the area. An application was also made to the Home Office for the provision of twenty-four pistols and the same number of cutlasses with which to equip a combined Swansea borough and county force to protect those gates closest to the town.

MUSAAA

Within a few days the Chief Constable of the Glamorgan Constabulary, Captain Charles Frederick Napier arrived at Swansea together with a constable Lewis who was stationed at Cowbride. At about the same time a local farmer named John Jones came forward to inform the police that he knew of four local men who had been part of the recent 'Rebecca' disturbances. Warrants for the arrest of the four men; Matthew Morgan and David Jones from Pontardulais, and William and Henry Morgan from the Llangyfelach areas were issued to Captain Napier on the evening of Saturday 23 July 1843. At Midnight he set off with Constable Lewis along with Inspector Rees, Head Constable of the Swansea Borough Police, and Sergeant Jenkins, of the same, with the intention of apprehending the four men. They were armed variously with pistols and cutlasses. By dawn they had successfully taken the two Pontardulais men and lodged them in the borough station house. At 7.30 a.m. on Sunday 24 July they set out a second time. Once again they made a successful arrest, taking William Morgan completely by surprise. However, the apprehension of the last man, Henry Morgan, almost cost Napier his life.

Napier decided to leave William Morgan some distance from Cwm Cille Farm where he believed Henry Morgan to be, in the custody of Constable Lewis and sergeant Jenkins, while he and the Inspector approached the farm together. On arriving Rees went into the house with the intention of persuading Morgan to accompany him to Swansea. He was met by Henry Morgan's mother, Esther, who said that her son was lame and unable to move without pain. Napier then joined Inspector Rees in the Morgan household and produced a warrant for Henry Morgan's arrest. From this point onwards the story is perhaps best pieced together from the evidence given by the two policemen at the trial of the Morgan family some time later.

Inspector Rees, "He (Napier) told me to take hold of Henry Morgan. I took hold of him by the arm. Rees Morgan (Henry Morgan's brother) then took hold of me and John Morgan (brother) and Margaret Morgan (sister) came downstairs and also took hold of me and rescued the prisoner who went towards the stairs. I was pushed out of the house by Rees, John and Margaret Morgan. After we got out of the house Rees Morgan took hold of this spear (producing a three pronged spear) and kept poking me with it to prevent me from returning to the house. John and Margaret went back to the house".

Captain Napier, "Henry Morgan succeeded in avoiding being captured and ran towards the stairs. I came forward and laid hold of him by the collar, upon which the mother attacked me. She jumped on my back, scratched my face and bit my ear. The father took a crutch and struck me repeatedly on the head. The old woman then took an iron bar from the fire and struck me two or three times upon the head with it. Immediately afterwards Margaret Morgan and the young brother John came into the room and also attacked me. Margaret, after having struck me with a stick took a saucepan of

MUSAAA

hot water off the fire and threw the water over me which compelled me to let Henry Morgan go. They continued struggling with me till I got outside the door to the yard when I fell. Previous to my falling I drew the pistol from my pocket. While I was on the ground the father laid hold of my pistol hand by the wrist, and John Morgan put his hand over my hand, his finger on the trigger. At this time the pistol was not cocked, the hammer was upon the cap. The father placed his right foot against my thigh and was kicking me with his other foot. Having felt the younger man's finger pressing the trigger. Receiving a cut upon my head at that moment with a reaping hook from Margaret Morgan, and finding them making repeated efforts to fire the pistol off by pressing the trigger so much so, that if the pistol had been cocked I must have been shot, I considered my life to be in danger, turned the pistol, cocked it with my thumb and fired. I hit the young man who is now in the infirmary. He stepped back on receiving the shot, and then again advanced and attacked me. I succeeded in getting to my feet. John Morgan, his brother who had a mason's hammer in his hand, and Margaret Morgan with a reaping hook, all advanced towards me. I fired the second pistol but not at anyone. I then saw Henry Morgan with a hatchet in his hand. Rees Morgan attacked me with the hammer. I knocked him down with my fist. Rees Morgan again attacked me with the hammer but I wrenched it out of his hand and struck him upon the head with it. He then left me alone".

Sergeant Jenkins, who had heard the pistol shots, left the prisoner William Morgan with constable Lewis and rushed to the farm to assist his colleagues. He drew his cutlass and beat back Napier's attackers with its flat edge. Inspector Rees appears to have been effectively prevented from returning to the fray by Rees Morgan and his three pronged spear.

Mathew Morgan and the wounded son, John, who had been shot in the groin, were arrested and taken immediately to Swansea, where the latter was treated for his injury at the infirmary. Henry Morgan, who by this time had disappeared, was eventually arrested along with the remainder of his family by a posse despatched from Swansea the following day. However, the detention of the entire family aroused anger within the town and angry crowds gathered on at least two occasions in the vicinity of the gaol.

Their trial, which was held at a Special Commission of the Assizes at Cardiff on 28th October 1843 prompted the following reaction from *The Times*.

"All prisoners with one voice confessed their guilt, which, indeed was sufficiently manifest, and threw themselves at the mercy of the court... the two ancient Morgans were despatched scatheless upon entering into their own recognisances of £50 to appear and receive judgement if called upon. Margaret Morgan who had well nigh cut Captain Napier in two with a carving knife or kitchen cleaver gets off with six months, and her two relations with twelve months respectfully".

MUSAAA

The Times goes on to say that these sentences were all too lenient and hardly worth the convening of a Special Commission.

The charge relating to Henry Morgan's part in the 'Rebecca' incident was rejected on account of a private feud being waged between the Morgans and the informer, John Jones.

Both John Morgan and Captain Napier made full recoveries, the latter doing so with apparent speed as he was playing cricket for Swansea within a few days of the arrests being made.

The attack at Cwm Cille Farm did not however mark the end of the Rebecca disturbances in Glamorgan. I will save the story of the operation which achieved this for another article. In the meantime the last word should perhaps come from the descendants of the Morgan family, for it was their contention that Henry Morgan was quite willing to 'go quietly' with Napier and his men, but that he wanted to change his clothes first. To this end he made for the stairs only to be pursued by the hasty Chief Constable. Now Esther Morgan objected to the Captain, wearing dirty boots, following her son upstairs whereupon Napier cocked his pistol and fired at her... but that's another story.

M. Jeremy Glenn, BA
Curator,
South Wales Police Museum
Committee Member PHS

THE BAROTSE NATIVE POLICE
by Colonel T.B. Wright

The Western Province of Zambia was formerly Barotseland. It is the home of the Lozi tribe. In the late Nineteenth Century their Litunga or King, Lewanika, claimed overlordship over tribes as far East as the Kafue River and West into Angola. He was fearful of the advance of Arab slavers from the North East, the ambitions of the Belgian King to the North, the Portuguese from the West and East, and Germans from the South-West, in present day Namibia, and of invasion by Matabele impis from South of the Zambezi. Lewanika was anxious for the protection of the British Crown.

In March 1890 he welcomed Frank Lochner, late of the Bechuanaland Border Police, an emissary sent by Cecil Rhodes. By 24th May Lewanika had conceded to the British South Africa Company mining and commercial rights over all the lands he claimed and had agreed to accept a British Resident at his capital, Lealui.

Rhodes' many preoccupations, especially the pacification of Southern Rhodesia, delayed the appointment of a Resident. Finally in September 1897 Robert Coryndon arrived with an escort of five British South Africa Police including Corporal F.B. Macaulay, who may be regarded as the first member of the Barotse Native Police.

In 1898 a troop of B.S.A.P. under Captain F.V. Drury was sent up and established a fort at Monze, some miles from the present town of that name. The troopers patrolled on horseback over the Batoka Valley and the Kafue Flats. Later in the year they established a post at Kasungu at the head of the Kaleya Valley, East of Mazabuka.

The main duty of these police was to ensure the safety of European traders and prospectors and to prevent tribal fighting. Sankamonia, a Mashukulumbwe chief, stole a bale of blankets from a Jewish trader who complained at the fort. A patrol went to the chief's village on the banks of the Kafue. Sankamonia was fined six cattle and some of his indunas were detained at Monze for a month.

On another occasion Chief Umgaila made a false allegation against a rival, Mgala. A few troopers rode out. They charged Mgala's village, scattering the inhabitants. When this news reached Lealui, Lewanika complained that the police were attacking his friends. An apology followed and Umgaila was compelled to surrender five cattle to his enemy.

In his annual report Coryndon wrote, "White police do not prove to be suitable for this territory. Under circumstances which necessitate frequent prolonged patrols at all seasons, and often on very limited or unsuitable rations, I have found them subject to a very large amount of general sickness and fever, and the difficulty of providing transport for white police, the expense of mounting them, and their natural inability to perform duties required among natives quite unaccustomed to white men, have convinced me that it is necessary to police the territory with natives controlled efficiently by responsible white officers and instructors."

Rhodes was already of this view. In February 1898 he had written to Lord Grey of the suggestion for a white police force, "their day's work would be eating three meat meals, lying on their backs on stretchers for the balance, reading Tit Bits and devoting their conversation to cursing the country and the Chartered Company."

In October 1899 Major Colin Harding CMG, formerly Commandant of Native Police in Mashonaland, returned from leave in England where he had discussed the problem with Rhodes. Harding was sent North to act as Resident while Coryndon took leave. Accompanied by his brother, William, and Sergeant Macaulay, Harding made a brief inspection of police posts in Batokaland before travelling up the Zambezi to Lealui.

On 28th November 1899 the constitution of the Territory was laid down in the Barotseland/North-Western Rhodesia Order in Council which provided for the formation of a police force.

Harding had instructions to ascertain the extent of Lewankika's sphere of influence and the limits of the advance of Portuguese administration from Angola. On 19th January 1900 the Hardings accompanied by a party of Lewankika's indunas left Lealui by canoe to follow the Zambezi to its source. Harding reported many deserted villages in the country of the Western Lunda who lived in fear of raids by the Balovale and Mambari slavers. On 1st April on their return to Nyakatoro he sent William back to Lealui with the boats. On the arrival of his horses and mules from the capital, Harding set off overland for Chisamba in the Bihe country of Angola. He wrote, "Every day I am seeing traces of the slave trade. The wayside trees are simply hung with disused shackles, some to hold one, some two, three, and even six slaves. Skulls and bones bleached by the Sun lie where the victims fell, gape with helpless grin on those who pass, a damning evidence of a horrible traffic." The Mambari, Portuguese half-castes, traded calico, guns and powder for slaves and rubber. On 9th May Harding met a caravan 84 strong making for Lunda country. In Portuguese territory and with no force of his own, he was in no position to stop them. The garrisons of the Portuguese forts at Kekenge and Nyakatoro appeared to take no interest in the passing trade.

From Chisamba Harding travelled South-East to Lealui, being met by Macaulay near the Kwando River about two hundred miles West of the Zambezi. Harding had covered 2,235 miles since entering Barotseland in October

On Coryndon's return Harding was appointed Commandant of the Barotse Native Police, formation of which was authorised by a letter signed by the High Commissioner in South Africa on 23rd May 1900. Harding had sought Lewankika's assistance in recruiting. The Litunga was reluctant, fearing the police would lessen his authority. Harding argued that they would only be trained at Lealui and then posted to Batokaland, so far away that Lewankika could not maintain order there himself. Harding explained that the police would enforce the Litunga's authority, albeit under the orders of the Administration, "with these assurances he was content, and promised to get forty or fifty recruits, but I am

convinced that his consent was not given spontaneously. With that view before me and a likelihood of Angonis relieving the white police in Batoka (an arrangement which I strongly recommend, and which I discussed more fully with Major Coryndon), I did not press the matter further."

"The gist of the whole indaba was that the King, whilst only too pleased for native police, Barotse or others, to relieve the white police in the Batoka country, disliked the suggestion of having any force in the Bartose Valley, except under his own control. Under the present arrangements the Queen, Letia, and the King, have from six to ten men each at their beck and call, who act as their bodyguards; these are clad in uniform and designated as police."

In Harding's absence Macaulay had commenced recruiting. Indeed No. 1 Private Chinlele was recorded as having attested on 1st September 1899. Almost immediately after his return to Lealui on 20th June 1900, Harding left with Macaulay for Batokaland via Victoria Falls. By the time they reached Kalomo, selected by Coryndon for the seat of the Administration, they had found thirty or forty recruits who were despatched to Lealui for training. Two days were spent inspecting the new camp at Kalomo before they left for Monze, where Captain John Carden had succeeded Drury. his thirty troopers were going down with fever at the rate of four a day. Sergeant-Major Norris and two troopers had died and were buried at the fort. A few days before Harding's arrival fourteen troopers were invalided to Bulawayo.

Harding and Carden selected a new site which appeared more healthy. Carden and this troop then left for the South except for Trooper Lucas who remained to assist Sergeant Macaulay who was to command the native police at the new fort.

Chief Monza complained at having to pay tribute to Lewanika now that they were both under the protection of Queen Victoria. However he provided labour to build the new police quarters and brought in twenty recruits.

On 5th August Harding left with ten native police, four of Lewanika's indunas who had accompanied him from Lealui, and thirty porters supplied by Monza. Harding had instructions to meet the District Commissioner of Sibungwe and, while the latter patrolled South of the Zambezi to patrol the North Bank, sending back to Southern Rhodesia natives who had left to evade the poll tax. Since these were tonga who had migrated South some years before, Harding could see little wrong in their return home. Furthermore it was not easy to establish who belonged where. he did not pursue the hunt vigorously.

While in the Zambezi Valley Harding received a pleas for help from Chief Mwamba. Six Matabele, calling themselves police, had come from Bulawayo demanding food and accommodation and aid in labour recruiting. The Commandant sent them back to the South. He considered their employers to blame for sending them, armed and in uniform, without money or supplies, to carry out their mission by deceit and intimidation. Harding patrolled along the Zambezi, reaching its junction with the Kafue on 30th August. He continued

up the Kafue, then the boundary between North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia, through the Belingwe Gorge and back to Monze.

Chief Monza happily produced skins to be conveyed to Lewanika as his tribute. He also requested assistance in disciplining one of his own sub-chiefs who had declined to provide labour for the new fort. Three native police were sent with Monza's messenger to summon this recalcitrant. He came immediately and all was resolved to Monza's satisfaction.

Harding now left for Lealui with Lewanika's indunas, fifteen recruits, armed only with sticks, and a train of carriers. On arrival at the village of Samosonta a policeman was sent to call the chief in from the fields. The policeman was threatened and an armed crowd gathered round Harding's entourage. The sticks of the police recruits were little deterrent against the spears and bows of the Mashukulumbwe, but eventually Samosonta came forward and was fined two cattle. He then failed to produce carriers to relieve those provided by Monze. Harding divided the loads between his police except for one which he personally placed on Samosonta's back. After their chief had staggered a few hundred yards under this burden enough of his people came forward to carry all the baggage.

Harding reached Lealui in time to witness the Lewanika Concession of 17th October 1900. He then became Acting Administrator while Coryndon took the document to London.

Lewanika expressed concern about the activities of Mambari slavers to the North. Before the end of October Harding set out to patrol the Kabompo River with fifteen police, trained and armed, and the usual indunas and carriers. As they went up river they were joined by several hundred natives looking for lost relatives. At Kasempa, Harding stormed and burnt a slaver's kraal. An American prospector who had joined him, Bricker, nearly drowned helping to disperse a caravan. They found many deserted villages where the inhabitants had fled from the slavers, but managed to reunite a number of families.

The patrol returned to Lealui in January 1901. After a few weeks rest Harding was off down the Zambezi to Batokaland. His brother, William, had died of blackwater fever at Monze. Trooper Lucas was down with the disease and Trooper B.C. Franklyn, who had come from Kalomo to nurse them, had also contracted it. Franklyn died two days after the Commandant arrived. Lucas was sufficiently recovered to take command of the firing party at the funeral. Harding decided to close the fort and left with Lucas for Victoria Falls. Fever had struck so hard that rainy season that only four white officials, including police, were left alive in the Territory.

Soon Coryndon returned and reinforcements arrived, freeing Harding to take leave. In December 1901 John Carden returned to North-Western Rhodesia as Second in Command and Acting Commandant with the rank of Major.

In late 1901 Sergeant-Major Mobbs, Trooper Lucas and a party of

African police pitched camp at Kasempa, one of a number of sites selected by Harding for forts from which patrols could operate to free the country from slavers. In 1902 Captain Harry Stennett fortified a permanent camp there.

In 1902 the Force reached a strength of nine European officers and NCOs and 240 native police out of an establishment of 300.

At Kalomo, Headquarters, were the Commandant, Regimental Sergeant-Major, Orderly Room Sergeant-Major, one white Company Sergeant-Major, and 159 native NCOs and men. At Monze were just three native police. At Nkala Sub-Inspector Harris was in command with a white sergeant and 21 natives. Sub-Inspector Macaulay was now at Kasempa assisted by a white sergeant-major and 30 native police. At Lealui were 20 native police, and Victoria Falls, ten, under the District Commissioner at each place.

Coryndon reported, "The corps is recruited chiefly from the Batoka natives who take to the routine and discipline at once and who make smart and reliable soldiers; a few Mashukulumbwe who contrary to expectation are amenable and obedient; and a few Barotse, who, though more intelligence, do not seem to take to the military life at all." "Major Carden has since his arrival in December worked up the internal discipline of the corps to a high pitch of excellence and Regimental Sergeant-Major Toulson's wide experience of native police work will always ensure a very high standard of discipline and smartness at the headquarters station. The native corporals and sergeants are especially good and assume and exercise their authority in the right spirit." Carden wrote, "The behaviour of the police has so far been excellent; they take readily to discipline, and no serious complaints have been received from native kraals to which they are occasionally sent alone." He recommended an increase in establishment to 350 to keep pace with the development of the Territory, "though this may I think stand over till the arrival of Lieutenant Harte-Barry and recruits from North-Eastern Rhodesia. The health of the white non-commissioned officers has been fair, so far there being only one case of blackwater, though a good deal of simple malaria. The health of the native police is good, except that after the rains they seem to get bad ulcers on the feet and legs from patrolling in the wet long grass." About seventy five recruits were obtained from North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1902.

The uniform at this time was a blue serge frock as worn by the British South Africa Police. The brass buttons were stamped with the lion and tusk from the arms of the Chartered Company, with the letters BNP below. White Cotton knickerbockers reaching just below the knee were worn by native ranks with no puttees or footwear. Blue field service caps had been replaced by pill box caps with a black tassel. Khaki drill "jumpers of Zululand Police pattern" were also issued with matching knickerbockers and field service caps. Equipment consisted of a brown leather bandolier, waist belt and bayonet frog, a haversack, mess tin, waterbottle and cape. They were armed with the Martini-Henry rifle. White NCOs wore the blue frock with rank badges on the right arm, khaki breeches, blue puttees, ankle boots and spurs. All European ranks wore a slouch hat with pugri and the brim turned up on the left.

Pictures of Major Carden show him on parade with a sword in a khaki drill frock, breeches and leather leggings.

All ranks were issued with free rations, uniform and equipment. All whites were also issued with a horse, saddlery and forage. The pay scale was:-

Inspector (Captain)	25	shillings	a	day
Sub-Inspector (Lieutenant)	17	"	"	"
Regimental Sergeant-Major	10	"	"	"
Company Sergeant-Major	9	"	"	"
Sergeant	8	"	"	"
Corporal	7	"	"	"
Trooper	6	"	"	"

One shilling a day was withheld from NCOs and troopers, giving each man £36.10s on completion of his two year engagement. Those who re-engaged for a further two years were paid an extra shilling a day. The pay was slightly higher than that of the British South Africa Police in Southern Rhodesia.

Native Sergeants were paid 15 shillings a month in their first year of service, corporals, 12s6d., and privates, 10s. An additional 2s.6d was payable in the second year of service, and a further 5s. a month after two years.

There were two Maxim machine guns with pack saddles and tripods. For transport there were five pack horses, two mules, eight donkeys and three "American" wagons with 54 oxen. During 1902 thirty two camels were sent up by the BSA Company for use by the police and administration. In his annual report in April 1903 Coryndon wrote that the corps had been maintained at nearly the authorised strength of 300 and that great progress had been made in training in drill and routine duties, musketry, signalling, improving physique by gymnastic exercises etc. A bugle band has been formed. it was, "an exceedingly smart and soldierly force, of great service in supporting the authority of civil officials, most of whom are situated at scattered and isolated stations throughout the country.

In 1903 one white NCO, Henry Byas, was commissioned as Quartermaster, and Sub-Inspector F.A. Hodson of the BSAP transferred as Captain and Adjutant.

Early in 1904 the District Commissioner, Kafue, A.C. Anderson, sent a messenger to call a witness to court. The messenger was assaulted at Malimbeka. Anderson called on Lieutenants Hamilton and Fowler and their detachment for assistance. Malimbeka was surrounded at dawn. The headman and several suspects were arrested and a fine of 1,600lbs of grain imposed in the village, on delivery of which the headman was released. Later in the year, soon after leaving this detachment's fort in the Kafue Hook, Harding was mauled by a lion and laid up for six weeks, missing a rendezvous with Lord Roberts who visited Victoria Falls on 21st September. The Field Marshal was met by a guard of honour commanded by Captain J.J. O'Sullivan.

The Railway had reached the Falls on 24th April 1904 reducing the journey time from Bulawayo to twelve hours from as many days by wagon. Most of the 19 European inhabitants of the Victoria Falls District lived at the "Old Drift" on the North Bank of the Zambezi. The District Commissioner considered this site unhealthy as is witnessed by the cemetery there. He moved his office five miles away to where the town of Livingstone now stands. When visiting the District Henry Rangely, the first magistrate in North-Western Rhodesia, held court at the police station which remained at the Drift.

On 1st April 1905 the Falls Railway Bridge was completed over the Zambezi. Captain O'Sullivan rowed in the North-Western Rhodesia crew in a celebration regatta. Now that stores no longer had to be ferried across the river the "Old Drift" settlement had no purpose and its inhabitants gradually moved to Livingstone.

In 1905 there were 71 white officials in the Territory including 11 officers and 7 NCOs in the police. Native Police strength was still 300. According to the Administrator's report, "The natives are agricultural people, particularly tractable and law abiding. A bigger police force is not necessary, especially because of the railway."

A poll tax had been authorised with Lewanika's consent by Government notice No. 9 of 31st December 1900. He was to receive ten per cent of the money collected in his domains. Collection did not commence until 1904. On 23rd March 1905 Harding wrote of 40 police and a Maxim having been sent to enforce payment at a village in the Ila country.

In April Harding was instructed to lead patrols into Batokaland to assist with collection. He recorded in his diary, "Arrived at Robompo's Kraal at 4.30 p.m., distance 22 miles. We found the cattle grazing close at hand and the natives sitting grimly at their kraals. On pitching camp Robompo, the chief, was sent for, and eventually arrived with some of his people, bringing with them several baskets of grain as presents. Robompo was asked if he had his hut tax ready, but he replied in the negative and said he had no money to pay. He was told that if he did not pay the money his kraal would be burnt and the cattle sent to Kohunga till the tax due to the Government was paid. A guard was put over the cattle and the Chief slept (without irons) with the main guard." "I am of the opinion that the people here have no money and, therefore, cannot pay the tax due. The women and men all wear skins and you hardly see a piece of calico amongst them."

"I again saw Robompo this morning early with the Assistant District Commissioner. Apparently Robompo himself and a few others had already paid their tax levy on a former occasion. Robompo still adhered to his statement of last night that the people had no money, and that when traders bought his cattle they gave blankets for them and no money. After searching the nuts and securing all assegais and guns, I, acting on the wish of the Assistant District Commissioner, proceeded to burn the kraal and three other smaller kraals under this chief close by." "The hut of the chief was pointed out and as he had paid his tax I did not

burn it, but eventually it was ignited by sparks from the neighbouring huts. However I secured another man's hut which was handed over to the chief. The people offered no resistance, in fact, a more friendly lot of natives I have not seen for a long time. The cattle (About 15 in number) were collected and eventually sent to Kohunga. A lot of assegais and fowls were found."

"Received a despatch from Captain Hodson, dated April 5th. He is well and still burning kraals. The natives offer no resistance but still say they have no money."

Harding had sought instructions about hut burning from the High Commissioner in South Africa. Lord Selborne telegraphed forbidding such action against tax defaulters. The Chartered Company, which had to finance the Administration, and Coryndon, the Administrator, were displeased with the result and method of Harding's appeal. There was talk of reducing the Force to a strength which would not justify a Lieutenant Colonel as Commandant at the salary of £800 a year now paid to Harding. He was prevailed on to resign. Harding always maintained that the proposed economies were merely a device to get rid of him. Questions were asked in Parliament but these seem to have been designed to secure him fresh employment rather than to show up mistreatment of the native population.

In 1909 Harding became a District Commission in Ashanti. In 1915 he went to France as Second in Command of the 2nd King Edward's Horse, which he had helped raise in London. For a year before being invalided he commanded the 15th Royal Warwicks. In 1917 he was back on the Gold Coast as a provincial Commissioner. Colonel Colin Harding CMG DSO retired in 1921 and died in 1939.

On return from leave on 1st November 1906 John Carden was appointed Commandant of the Barotse Native Police and promoted Lieutenant Colonel. Hodson who had stood in as Acting Commandant was promoted Major and Second in Command.

The strength of the Force was reduced in April 1906, but in September was restored when 69 recruits arrived from Fort Jameson. On 12th March 1907 there were 11 officers, 7 white NCOs and 294 natives, almost entirely recruited in North-Eastern Rhodesia, "the natives of the country being found to show greater aptitude and efficiency than the Barotse and other tribes of North-Western Rhodesia." The Commandant reported, "The Force is at present a military one, maintained for the purpose of defence and the occasional escort of civil officials. Headquarters are at Kalomo, and garrisons are maintained at Shelenda, Membwa and Lealui. At Membwa they perform a few duties as civil police." A patrol of 25 men under Lieutenant F.S. James with the District Commissioner in the hilly country near the junction of the Zambezi and Kafue Rivers, "had a very good effect since many tax defaulters were brought to book and one witch doctor was captured".

On 1st June 1907 Robert Codrington was transferred from North-Eastern Rhodesia to succeed Coryndon as Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia. He decided to move the seat of Government

to Livingstone., The main body and Headquarters of the Barotse Native Police moved with the Government, occupying the site which was to be Livingstone Police Camp for more than 60 years and probably still is.

By this time the native police uniform had changed to a short sleeved khaki drill jumper worn with khaki shorts and a black fez and tassel. Europeans now wore khaki jackets and breeches with khaki puttees, brown boots and khaki Wolseley helmets. White shirts were worn on parade and khaki shirts in marching order, both with black ties. A khaki cap might be worn after Sundown.

In 1902 lead and zinc had been discovered at the place now called Kabwe but then named Broken Hill after the Australian mining town. The Railway had reached Broken Hill in January 1906 when new work stopped. In April 1909 the Crown Prince of the Belgians travelled by train to Broken Hill from where he was escorted to the Congo boarder by Captain Stennett of the Barotse Native Police. Work on the railway recommenced and it reached Sakania in the Congo in December. Captain Stennett, now Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, was appointed Acting Assistant Magistrate at Kansanshi, another mining settlement.

In the Kasempa District a Swede, Frykberg, described as "a difficult character", had set up as a trader and labour recruiter. In 1910 he sent some 400 kaonde to work in Southern Rhodesia. About 100 died in a smallpox epidemic. Their relatives sought compensation from Frykberg without success. Dissension spread among another party waiting to go South. Three, Tumila, Topeka and Kungwana, deserted. They were caught and briefly imprisoned for breaking their indentures. They decided to kill Frykberg. he was away, but a fellow Swede and former partner, Ohlund, worked a small gold claim not far from Kasempa. The three Africans went to Ohlund's house one evening and shot him in the back through the window as he worked at his typewriter. The killers fled into the bush where they were joined by about forty sympathisers.

Lieutenant Frederick De Satge, in charge of police at Kasempa, set out by night and made a dawn attack on the fugitives' camp. Tumila, Topeka and Kungwana had already moved on. Only about twenty men, women and children fell into the hands of the police. The murderers went North-West across the Kabompo River. They quarrelled with their associates and two or three were killed. The murderers and their remaining followers settled at Katetandimbo's village in country which is now part of Angola, but was then a virtual Nomansland. Here they felt free from pursuit.

When word of their whereabouts reached Kasempa, De Satge and the Assistant Magistrate made a plan. Katetandimbo was offered £20, enormous wealth when the usual wage for an African was five or ten shillings a month. In order to ensure surprise no white man nor police went near the village. Head Messenger Kanyakala and eight district messengers went in, and with Kateandimbo's cooperation took the killers without resistance. Kanyakala cut the bark from a tree, encased Tumila in it, and lashed it round with bark rope. in this state Tumila was carried back in triumph to Kaempa.

A few years earlier Tumila had been a district messenger. He now confessed that he had then robbed and murdered an African hawker near Kasempa. After trial and conviction all three murderers were hanged on 11th November 1911 in the presence of a crowd including all the chiefs of the District and a large number of village headmen. Two chiefs were sentenced to imprisonment for failing to give information of the whereabouts of the killers.

By 1910 eight native NCOs and men were employed as town police in Livingstone under Sergeant-Major Coote, who also acted as prosecutor. A white Sergeant in charge of a detachment at Broken Hill was also "responsible for patrolling the town", and it was intended to place a similar detachment at Ndola in the following year. The Bwana Mkubwa Mine was now in operation near Ndola.

In 1909 the following circular had been issued from the public prosecutor's office at Livingstone:-

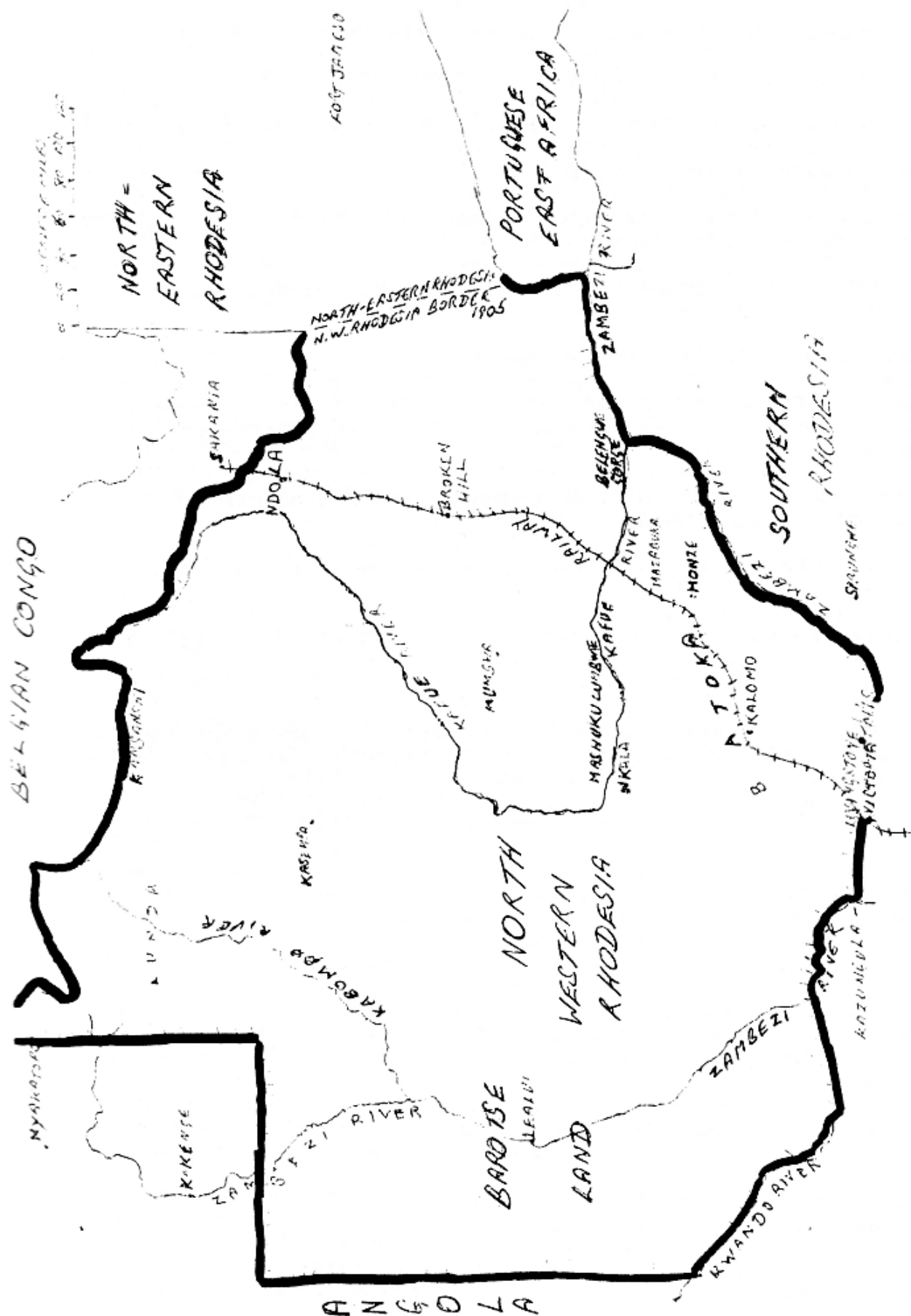
"Prisoners' escort - Removal Warrant - Prisoner's Property.

It is most essential that any prisoner (white or black) sent down country should be in charge of a proper escort throughout the whole journey to their destination. An instance occurred sometime back of a prisoner being put on a train with no escort at all: there was nothing to prevent him slipping off at the first convenient halt or slowing down and escaping into the bush. With the escort must also go the Removal Warrant, so that the jail authorities at prisoner's place of destination may have the necessary knowledge as to why he has been sent thither and the necessary authority to detain him.

Prisoner's property, if of a portable character, should also be sent with the escort. It will be handed over to the jail authorities with the prisoner and a receipt therefore given to the escort. When a prisoner is released, his portable property should be handed over to him and this cannot be done if it is not at the place where the prisoner obtains his release. Also it may be that the prisoner has been given the option of a fine. Then if he decides to pay that fine, or if his friends come forward to pay the difference, the fact that some property of his is lying with the jailer will expedite payment of fine and consequent release."

On 14th November 1910, 168 men were on parade at Livingstone for Field Marshal the Duke of Connaught who was visiting Victoria Falls with his family. The brass band, formed in 1909, was present and the Duke gave permission of or the Force to adopt "Wings", the march of the Royal Engineers of which he was Colonel-in-Chief.

In 1911 Barotseland/North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia were joined as one Territory, Northern Rhodesia. In 1912 the Barotse Native Police and the North-Eastern Rhodesia Constabulary were formally amalgamated as the Northern Rhodesia Police.



Sources:-

"In Remotest Barotseland", Colonel Colin Harding CMG, 1905

"Far Bugles", Colonel Colin Harding CMG DSO, 1933

"The Birth of a Plural Society, The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company", L.H. Gann, Manchester University Press, 1958

"The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment", V.R. Brelsford, Government Printer Lusaka, 1954

"Rhodes", J.G. Lockhart and the Hon.C.M. Woodhouse, Hodder and Stoughton, 1963

"The Victoria Falls - A Handbook to the Victoria Falls, The Batoka Gorge, and Part of the Upper Zambezi River" (Second Edition), edited by Brian M. Faga MA PhD, Commisison for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, Northern Rhodesia, 1964

"Land Forces of the British Colonies and Protectorates", Revised 1905, War Office, London

"Nkwazi, The Magazine of the Northern Rhodesia Police", various issues.

"African Sunset", Robin Short, Johnson Publications Ltd., 1973

Colonel T.B. Wright is a member of the Army Legal Services and a former Colonial Policeman. He is at present stationed in Germany.

THE LUCKIEST MAN ALIVE?

by Bernard Brown

Pc. Daniel Woodhill (warrant no. 2630) had joined the Metropolitan Police on 2nd February 1830 and was posted to the 'M' or Southwark Division which was formed on the same day and stationed at the principal station house at no. 4 Southwark Bridge Road.

He had now been in the job for the best part of a year and knew just how hazardous his occupation could be, for already two officers of the 'New Police' had been murdered, the first being in June that year when Pc. 169 'S' John Grantham was kicked to death in Somers Town, this in turn was followed by the fatal stabbing of Pc. 43 'G' John Long in August. What Woodhill didn't know was that he was to almost become victim number three!

Four months later on a cold December Saturday morning Pc. Woodhill was patrolling his beat alone in Long Lane, Bermondsey when he noticed a suspicious character by the name of Bartholemew Mahoney loitering on the corner of Chapel Place (now Hankey Place). Suspecting that he was there for an improper purpose the constable moved him on, warning him that he would be arrested if he was still there on the officers return. The officer continued on his beat, returning a short while later to find Mahoney where he had left him. As the policeman approached, the man suddenly gave out a loud whistle. When asked the reason why Mahoney replied that his dog had run off down Chapel Place. Pc. Woodhill decided to walk into Chapel Place and had not gone many yards when he saw two men in the act of retreating in haste from the garden or court leading to the front door of a house. On seeing the policeman they attempted to run past him as Chapel Place was a cul-de-sac. As they did so Pc. Woodhill grabbed one of them tightly by the coat collar, the fellow struggling hard to regain his liberty. The second man exclaimed, "Damn his eyes, fire Jack or we are done!" The words were no sooner uttered than the ruffian who the constable had hold of presented a pistol at the officers head and fired the ball striking his tall hat about two inches under the crown. The ball entered the right side of the hat, passed through and lodged in a door. At the same time Mahoney came up and the constables two assailants finding the ball had not taken effect knocked him down and one of them fell upon him. As Pc. Woodhill endeavoured to raise himself up, his assailant drew a knife from his back pocket and attempted to stab him. The officer seized the weapon with his right hand which was severely cut in the struggle compelling him to let go, at that instant his would-be assassin made a plunge with the point of the knife at the policeman's side. Having survived being shot at point blank range Woodhill's luck held, being Winter he had on a thick greatcoat, the side pocket of which held two pocket books with parchment covers. These saved his life as the point of the weapon passed through them and merely grazed the skin above the officer's heart.

On hearing the noise some of the neighbours opened their windows but before they could sound the alarm the three suspects had flown, Pc. Woodhill being found lying on his back in a state of insensibility and suffering from shock. Mahoney was the first to be captured and subsequently was his partner in crime Timothy

Sullivan who Pc. Woodhill later identified as being the man who had tripped him up in Chapel Place, knocked him down and had tried to stab him.

Both suspects were brought before the magistrates at Union Hall police office, Southwark charged with the attempted murder of Pc. Woodhill. The third man who had fired the near fatal shot succeeded in his escape and was never recaptured. Woodhill had held this ruffian so tightly even after the pistol was discharged that in his efforts to disengage himself from the officer's grasp the whole upper part of his coat was left in the policeman's hands which was produced as an exhibit in court.

Pc. Woodhill also produced the right hand sleeve of his greatcoat which was cut in several places by the knife which his assailants had attempted to murder him. In the course of the examination Pc. Woodhill's hat was also produced and it was clear that if the aim had been half an inch lower the ball would have taken effect and blown out his brains! The coat and books of police regulations through which he was stabbed with the knife were also exhibited and it was evident had it not been for those obstructions the point of the knife would have entered his body to a considerable depth! However, despite Pc. Woodhill's miraculous escape, his luck finally ran out when only ten days later on 30th December 1830 he was dismissed from the force for an undisclosed offence but still lucky not to have been the third Met Officer to have been killed on duty. This was to be the fate of Pc. 95'C' Robert Culley stabbed to death during a demonstration at Coldbath Fields in May 1833.

Bernard Brown is a serving officer in the Metropolitan Police.

MARTHA TABRAM - THE FORGOTTEN RIPPER VICTIM?

by Jon Ogan

Of all the women murdered in that Autumn of 1888, the least known is Martha Tabram, otherwise known as Turner. She was a woman typified in the subsequent murders. But, perhaps more interest would have been shown in her case if it were not wrongly assumed that she had been killed with a bayonet. But first to the background, and events leading up to the murder.

In 1888, August Bank Holiday Monday fell on the sixth. Throughout the night the celebrations went on in typical Bank Holiday spirit. More particularly, in Whitechapel where two women were helping two soldiers celebrate the event. One of the women - Pearly Poll Connolly had set herself up with a corporal her friend, had been paired off with a private. From at least 10.00 p.m. the foursome had been drinking around the Inns and Taverns of Whitechapel. But for the women, their work may have begun much earlier. At 11.00 p.m. they were seen drinking together in the 'White Susan' Public House on Whitechapel Road by her friend's sister-in-law, Anne Morris. Forty five minutes later the two women separated each with their prospective clients. Connolly left with the Corporal to go down an alley for what was coyly referred to as "immoral purposes". Her friend left with the Private, entering George Yard Buildings for a similar purpose. Connolly never met up with her friend again.

For some, the night's celebrations were slowly winding down and the revellers were leaving the taverns to find refuge in their beds. For others not even the Holiday would break the monotonous drudgery of life. One such person was the unemployed John Saunders Reeves, resident of 25, George Yard Buildings. At 4.50 a.m., Reeves descended the communal stairway looking for work. On the first floor landing, he came across the body of a woman "lying in a lake of blood". Her clothing had also been disarranged.

The local bobby, Pc. 226 H. Barrett found that the woman had been ferociously stabbed. He at once searched the stairway, but found no trace of weapon, or of blood leading up or down from the spot. Evidently she had been murdered where she lay.

Dr. Timothy Keleene, the local physician was astonished to find no fewer than 39 stab wounds on the neck, body and private parts. one account has them separated into 9 in the throat; 17 in the breasts; and 13 in the stomach. But Keleene's official disclosures at the Inquest are even more accurate. "The left lung was penetrated in 5 places, and the right lung was penetrated in 2 places. The heart which was rather fatty, was penetrated in one place and would be sufficient to cause death. The liver was healthy but was penetrated in 5 places. The spleen was penetrated in 2 places and the stomach, which was perfectly healthy, was penetrated in 6 places." Keleene added ominously, "Whoever it was, knew how and where to cut." He believed that two weapons had been used, perhaps simultaneously. one, a narrow bladed dagger-like instrument. But the other posed more problems. It must have been strong enough to have broken the sternum. The reasoning went, that it must have been a bayonet.

Pc. Barrett remembered a soldier he had seen in Wentworth Street at 2.00 a.m. He was a Grenadier, 22-26 years of age, 5ft 9 or 10 inches tall. Fair complexioned with a small brown moustache turned up at the ends. He had no medals, but wore one good conduct badge on his tunic. When challenged by the constable the soldier said he was waiting for a "chum who had gone off with a girl." One report stated that he was seen in the building itself. However, a married couple called Mahoney had been down the steps and out of the building at that time, but had seen neither body or soldier.

Another potential witness was licensed cab-driver Albert Cow. At 3.30 a.m. he had finished his night's work and was heading up the stairway to his room. On the first floor landing, Cow encountered "something". Concluding it was a tramp, sleeping rough, he decided to let it lie and went on to his own bed in room 37. But Chief Inspector Donald Swanson believed, that although it was common for tramps to sleep out on stairways, he felt sure that the "something" Cow saw was indeed the murdered woman.

But as yet, she still remained unidentified. Well, at least not formally. The description release: "Age: 27, Length: 5ft 3 inches, Complexion and hair: Dark. Dress: Green skirt, brown petticoat, long black jacket, brown stockings and side sprung boots, black bonnet." turned up three possible victims. The most likely was a woman named Withers, but fortunately she was found alive and well the following day.

In the meantime, the officer handling the case, Inspector Edmund Reid, arranged for an identity parade to be held at the Tower including all the men out on leave over the Bank Holiday. His aim was for Barrett to pick out the man he saw loitering around George Yard Buildings.

In addition to the Constable two other witnesses were located. A mother and daughter from Aldgate called Guildhawk, said they saw a man from the Guards and a woman, together on the day before the murder. They failed to pick out anyone from the row. Barrett on the otherhand picked out two. After the constable was warned by his superior that a great deal depended upon his actions he was directed along the rank. The first chosen he admitted was a mistake on account of his medals. The man he saw had none, so the Guardsman was released without further questioning. The second, Pte. John Leary, was asked to account for his movements on the Monday night. His alibi involved another soldier called Law. Leary said they headed for Brixton on the Bank Holiday. they remained in the area until the taverns closed. Just before they left the last inn, Leary went outside to the rear, when he returned Law had gone. He looked around trying to find him, but couldn't see him, so headed off towards Battersea, alone, by way of Charring Cross and the Strand. At 4.40 a.m. he caught up with Law on the Strand, walked towards Billingsgate, had a last drink and returned to Barracks at 6.00 a.m. Law, who was questioned separately was able to substantiate his friend's statement and both men were allowed to leave the orderly room.

One soldier who did not appear in Reid's line-up was the absent without leave Pte. Benjamin who had been missing since the Sunday night. Benjamin re-appeared on the Tuesday, directly after the identification parade. At once, Reid took possession of his clothing, bayonet, and a statement. According to Benjamin he spent the weekend's impromptu leave at his father's hotel at Kingston-on-Thames. Enquiry was made at the Canbury Hotel and Mr. Benjamin verified his son's statement.

On Thursday, the ninth. Pearly Poll finally came forward to tell the Police what she knew of the events and the victim's name: Martha Turner. The following day another parade was arranged at the Tower's Barracks. Connolly agreed to attend, but when Sgt. Caunter of CID went to her address at Crossingham's Lodging house on Dorset Street she could not be found. When she was located a second parade was fixed for 11.00 a.m., on the thirteenth. This time Connolly did appear, but failed to pick out anyone. Instead she boldly asserted "They are not here, they had white bands around their caps." This meant the two men Connolly saw were from the Coldstream Guards, a totally different regiment from the Tower based Guards.

Yet another parade was arranged for the fifteenth. This time at the Wellington Barrack's, and it appeared to have had some success.

Connolly picked out two men. One, who she believed to be the corporal was in fact a private called George, and had two good conduct badges to his name. The second man she identified as the victim's companion was another private named Skipper. but Reid's optimism was short lived. George was able to prove that he had been at home, on the Hammersmith Road from 8.00 p.m. of the Monday and only left at 6.00 a.m. the following morning. There was another such failure in the "suspects" case. Skipper was found to have returned to Barracks at 11.00 p.m. and did not leave the compound. The books kept in the Guardhouse confirmed this and Skipper was eliminated from Reid's enquiries.

Several days later-sometime between the inquest's adjournment on the tenth to it's resumption on the twenty-third a Danish Sailor and husband to the deceased Henry Tabram came forward. Now resident at 7 River Terrace, East Greenwich, he confirmed the identification as Martha Tabram (which should remain as her "official" name because the couple were married). They had been separated for thirteen years so her husband could add little more.

A more recent acquaintance was Martha Tabram's landlady. The Police report, written in longhand, gives her name as something like Sunhurst. But Tom Cullen writing in his book: "Autumn of Terror" renders it as Bousfield. Both sources agreed on her address as 4 Star Place, a narrow street running off the southern side of Commercial Street. Tabram lived there for some four months, along with her co-habitee Henry Turner who's name she then took, leaving six weeks before her murder. The Turners 'knocked' Bousfield for the rent and disappeared.

Subsequent Police enquiries turned up another address and a new

name. After her hasty departure from Star Place, she lived at no. 19 George Street under the name of Emma. Thus avoiding any further contact from her former landlady. It was an astonishing coincidence that the name Emma and an address, on George Street admittedly not no. 19, were both the name and address used by one of the other alleged Ripper victims, Emma Smith. Her murder was to be attributed to different hands, "hands" being the operative word.

After so many false starts, Reid was forced to abandon the idea of identity parades. Reid's report to his superiors admitted that since both witnesses had picked out wrong men, that even if another positive identification could be made their evidence would be "worthless", and his investigation ground to a halt. The two soldiers were never found, nor did they come forward.

A perfect circumstantial case could be built up against Connolly's Soldier. one which had stood for over one hundred years.

One: Tabram had been seen in the company of two soldiers by a number of eyewitnesses.

Two: She had gone off, alone, with one of the men.

Three: Tabram had been killed with something thought to have been a bayonet.

Almost unshakable, but if we take a look at numbers one and two first, a different picture begins to emerge. The length of time between the soldier last being seen with the victim, and the discovery of her body was 4 3/4 hours, which gave Tabram ample time to have entertained her companion and to have found another. Mary Kelly had done this. At 11.45 p.m. on the night of her murder, she was seen with Widow Cox's blotchy-faced individual. At 2.00 a.m. she was seen with Hutchinsons stereotyped music hall villain. Two totally different men.

Careful analysis of Stride's movements on the night of the "double-event" similarly point to her having more than one client over her last few hours and it is certain that these were not the only women.

Swanson too, believed that it was possible. Even though police enquiries were unable to find anyone who had seen the deceased with anyone other than the soldier. he said: "From the lapse of time, it is possible that she might have been."

The Chief protagonist in the "soldier theory" is Sir Melville MacNaughten. Although not drafted in to head the CID until 1889 a year after the murders. His writings, moreover the 1894 Memo have still been the final say on the subject, particularly over the number of murders and those now infamous three suspects. In the paragraph on Tabram's murder he reviews the old ground, the soldier, the victim's friend Connolly. But then his account deviates from the facts. He states that the two soldiers had been arrested. But Connolly "Failed or refused to identify, and the two soldiers were eventually discharged." This seemed to indicate

that Reid had found the two men. Clearly, he had not. both Connolly and Pc. Barrett had failed to recognise anybody in the line-ups, there was never enough evidence to arrest any soldier. MacNaughten had also tactfully drawn a veil over the constable's shortcomings.

In respect to party three of the circumstantial case, the bayonet, MacNaughten too, had his say. he described that "The body had been repeatedly pierced" - a curious expression to use - "PROBABLY by a bayonet." That assumption was wrong. Although no P.M. report remains, a short note appended to a Home Office document gives the revised official view that "some of the wounds are so narrow that a bayonet WAS FIRST suspected as the weapon. BUT bayonet wounds are quite UNMISTAKABLE". Indeed Keleene hinted as much that the murder weapon may have been some sort of surgical instrument.

All of which makes sense, if a soldier had killed Tabram in a fit or rage, then only one weapon - his bayonet would have been used. But of course, Tabram had been killed with two separate knives. TWO SEPARATE KNIVES, that alone suggests premeditation. Hardly the work of someone who kills in a drunken rage. If then, MacNaughtens notes have been shown to be "faulty", and they remain the only source attributing Tabram's murder to a different culprit, there is now every reason to include her name to the list of victims killed by Jack the Ripper. Indeed, the circumstantial evidence can be taken one step further. The date fits in with one particular suspect, a surgeon in fact, called Puckeridge. He was released from a Lunatic Asylum on August 4th. Three days before Tabram's murder. The suspect appears in the Home Office file on a letter written by Sir Charles Warren to the Home Secretary's assistant, Mr. Ruggles-Brice. Sir Charles added that "We are still looking for him." But that is a different story.

Sources: Home Office Files A 49301 Series.
Mepol Files 3/140 (Victim's File)
The Times, August 10th 1888
Autumn of Terror - Tom Cullen

THE INDIAN POLICE FROM 1861 TO 1947

By Basil La Bouchardiere

History

The service, later known as the Indian Police, came into being in 1861 and ended in 1947, when India and Pakistan became two independent countries establishing their own police forces. They inherited about 200 Indian Police Officers out of a total Indian Police cadre that numbered about 600 in 1947. The rest, being British, chose to leave India.

And of those that left, not more than 150 survive as members of the Indian Police (U.K.) Association today (1988). These survivors have been angered by the gross misrepresentation of the Indian Police in the film "Gandhi" and in the television series called "The Jewel in the Crown". In another television production called "A Passage to India", the service has not been besmirched. One can forgive one error in it in which a Superintendent of police is shown prosecuting in court a case that he had investigated: this is incorrect, prosecution was a separate, non-police function. On the whole its portrayal of the Indian Police and its uniform was correct.

Origin of the Indian Police in 1861

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 forced the British Parliament to make changes in the government of India, forced it to take over control from the East India Company by Act V of 1861 by vesting its powers and responsibilities in the Secretary of State for India. Thus the British were firmly established as rulers of British India.

From now on only British persons were appointed to the key posts of Viceroy, Governors of the eleven Provinces of British India and District Magistrates.

These District Magistrates were members of an elite corps called the Indian Civil Service (ICS). They numbered no more than 1,500. They formed the 'steel framework' that ruled India.

The Indian Civil Service

The ICS were recruited by open competitive examination held in London. Only gifted candidates secured the few vacancies each year. Oxford and Cambridge produced men of the required intellectual quality. Any candidate who had not already done so, spent one year at Oxford or Cambridge before taking up his appointment in India. The ICS were the most highly paid of the All-India services. A knighthood or governorship of a Province was the reward for the best among them.

The District Magistrate

The District Magistrate was the most accessible as well as the clearest symbol of British rule in India. He ran the district. He collected the revenue. He maintained law and order. He was invested with great authority.

His right hand man in maintaining law and order was the District Superintendent of Police. He was subordinate to the District Magistrate, but he was left in complete and sole charge of the recruitment, training, discipline and operational control of the district police force.

There was an Inspector General of Police in overall charge of the twenty or so districts in each of the eleven provinces.

The District Superintendent of Police

From the records in the India Office Library, it seems that in 1861, out of 114 Superintendents of Police, 55 were former military officers and 59 were civilians. The former were seconded from the army and the latter were nominated. These nominees were frequently the sons or grandsons of men who had already served in India. Some families had a proud record of two or more generations in the service of India.

Recruitment

Till 1919, Indians were rarely appointed to be Superintendents of Police. Charles Forjett was one exception. He was appointed Superintendent of Police, Bombay from 1855 till he retired in 1864. He was a man of mixed European and Indian descent, born in India. His knowledge of the languages history and customs, made him an outstanding investigator.

After the Mutiny, however, all superintendents were British. The few Indians promoted to be superintendents were of exceptional merit and loyalty.

It was after the first World War of 1914 to 1918 that 'Indianisation' of the service began and in 1919 the first open competitive entrance examinations for entry to the Indian Police were held in India and the first Indians were appointed directly into the Indian Police as Assistant Superintendents of Police. By 1947, about 200 out of 600 were Indian officers.

Training

On appointment the probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police would be between the ages of 19 and 21 and he would be posted to a police training school, in the Province of his choice.

There were seven Police Training Schools located as follows:

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>P.T.S. at</u>	<u>Main Languages</u>
Assam and Bengal	Surdah	Assamese and Bengali
Bihar and Orissa	Hazaribagh	Hindi and Oriya
Bombay and Sind	Nasik	Marathi, Gujurati and Sindhi
Central Provinces	Saugor	Hindi and Urdu
Madras	Vellore	Tamil, Telegu and Malyalum
NWFP. and Punjab	Phillaur	Pushtu and Punjabi
United Provinces	Moradabad	Hindi and Urdu

The Police Training School

The Police Training Schools were well established in each Province by 1907. Their main aim was to train Sub-Inspectors of Police. Great care and attention was paid to the training of Sub Inspectors. They would hold charge of police stations. They formed the backbone of the whole police system.

Probationary Assistant Superintendents of Police were trained at the Police Training Schools with the Sub Inspectors of Police. They were taught drill, musketry (Rifle and revolver), and riding. Classes in law and procedure were separate. They had to study the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Law of Evidence, Practical Police Work, the Police Manual, Medical Jurisprudence and First Aid.

The course for Sub Inspectors lasted 18 months. Probationary Assistant Superintendents of Police were allowed two years in order to become proficient in the main language of their Province.

The Principal of the Police Training School was carefully selected for the task. He was usually an Indian Police officer with about fifteen years' service with an aptitude for training and often he was the type earmarked for promotion still higher.

That First Sub Division of a District

From the Police Training School, the Probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police was posted to take charge of a Sub Division of a district with about ten police stations. He was placed under the supervision of a selected Indian Police Officer who would report to the Inspector General of Police whether the probationer was fit to be confirmed in his appointment as an Assistant Superintendent of Police.

That First Independent Charge of a District

An Assistant Superintendent of Police might hope to be given his first independent charge of a district when he had between five and 10 years' service. It depended on vacancies in the Province arising due to officers going on leave.

Prospects

An Assistant Superintendent in the 1930s was paid £300 per year. He received annual increments of salary. He earned eight months' leave in the U.K. about once in three years with first class return sea passages. (Air travel was out of the question in the 1930s). He had prospects of being promoted to Deputy Inspector General or Inspector General of Police in due course.

Some officers were selected for the Criminal Investigation Department or the Intelligence Bureau in Delhi if they possessed the qualities required for the work.

At the end of their service a few, very few, received knighthoods, but more were appointed C.B.E. or C.S.I. and Police medals were

awarded for gallantry or for distinguished service.

Chronology of the Main Police Events from 1861 to 1947

1885	The Indian National Congress was formed
1897	Sir Edward Henry introduced the Finger Print System
1904	The Thuggee and Dacoity Department became the Intelligence Bureau
1906	Inauguration of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca
1908	Criminal Investigation Departments formed
1919	Massacre at Amritsar in the Punjab April 13
1920	M.K. Gandhi enters politics. The pro-Muslim Khilafat movement
1921	The Moplah Muslim Rebellion in Calicut, Madras presidency
1922	Murder of 22 police at Chauri Chaura nr. Gorakhpur in the U.P.
1930	Congress demands independence. Surge of terrorism in Bengal
1930	'Salt' march to the sea, Dandi, Bombay
1932	Another civil disobedience movement
1940	'Individual' civil disobedience. Congress declines to serve on the Ward Advisory Council
1942	Cripps' Mission. "Quit India" Resolution passed. Congress leaders arrested August 9
1946	British Cabinet Mission
1947	Parliament decides to leave India by June 1948. Partition Plan accepted by both Congress and Muslim League. Independence of India Act passed in July. Partition of India August 15.

The Nature of the Job : Collating Criminal Intelligence

The Thuggee and Dacoity Department was the origin of what later became the Intelligence Bureau, Delhi. The Bureau took over the existing organisation formed for the collection of information about Thugs.

The Thugs were organised professional stranglers who had operated with impunity throughout India for about 300 years. They worshipped Kali, the Hindu goddess of destruction. They were very superstitious. They performed prescribed religious rites in which the consecration of the pickaxe and the sacrifice of sugar formed a prominent part. When the omens were auspicious, they would start on their murderous expeditions, well away from their homes.

Thugs travelled in gangs. They would worm themselves into the confidence of well-to-do travellers, who welcomed the company of able-bodied companions to protect them from robbers on the journey.

The Thugs knew the way well and they would choose a suitable camping site on a sandy river bed for the night. Then, at a signal from the leader, each Thug would strangle one traveller by throwing a handkerchief or noose round their necks. Within seconds they were all dead. Not one drop of blood was spilled. To spill blood was to betray Kali. The travellers were then

plundered. Their bodies were buried in the soft sand. They had vanished without trace. The Thugs would find other victims till it was time to return home.

When the Thugs brought back the jewellery and cloth and articles of many kinds, they said they had traded successfully and profitably. They were accepted as wealthy and successful merchants and were greatly respected in their own towns and villages.

Thugs recognised one another at once because they spoke a jargon of their own called Ramasi and they used signs by which they knew one another at once.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India from 1833 to 1835 appointed Sir William Sleeman to grapple with the evil of Thuggee. It took years. He had to get information from informers who were afraid to betray their fellows. But he succeeded in proving how widespread the evil was. He arrested more than 3,000 Thugs. Over 400 were hanged for murder on the evidence of some 500 who acted as informers to save themselves from the gallows.

A large rehabilitation centre was set up near Jubbulpore for the Thugs and by 1879 Thuggee was no more. They were absorbed into the community.

The Nature of the Job: Dealing with Riots

The Amritsar Massacre 13th April 1919

At 5.15 p.m. General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on an unarmed mob of about 10,000 persons who had assembled despite an order forbidding such gatherings. The troops fired for ten minutes, expended 1,650 rounds, killed 379 person and wounded 1,200.

Events preceding

This incident arose due to rioting, arson, looting and murder since the 9th April. Four Europeans were among those killed because they were British. Thousands had been on the rampage. The Telegraph Exchange was destroyed and the Chartered Bank was razed to the ground. The Alliance Bank was besieged and its Manager Mr. G.M. Thompson was murdered on the roof and his body thrown below and cremated on a pile of bank furniture. The bank safe was broken open and the contents looted. Miss Marcia Sherwood, a woman doctor with the Zenana Missionary Society, was knocked off her bicycle, beaten unconscious and left for dead. The National Bank was attacked and the Manager Mr. Stewart and his Assistant Mr. Scott were both beaten to death, their bodies saturated with kerosene and set on fire. Sergeant Rowlands the electrician at the Military Power Station, was waylaid at Rego Bridge, and his skull battered in.

Besides the murders of these four Europeans and the beating of the missionary doctor (she recovered miraculously), the mob had burned

buildings, looted, torn up telephone wires and uprooted railway lines. The situation was now completely out of control of the police by the 11th.

General Dyer (1864-1927) was Brigade Commander at Jullundur. He was told to go personally to Amritsar, restore order and regain control of the city. He arrived at Amritsar at 9.00 p.m. on the 11th and control was handed over to him in writing at midnight 11th/12th April by Mr. Miles Irving, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar. The other officials there were: R.G. Beckett, Assistant Commissioner, F.A. Connor, Extra Assistant Commissioner, R.F. Rehill, Superintendent of Police, R. Plomer, Deputy Superintendent of Police. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. Their respective parts are omitted from this narrative which outlines only the essentials of the story.

Amritsar 12th April

On the 12th General Dyer toured the city with a formidable show of force, 435 men (125 British and 310 Indian) out of the 900 he had at his disposal that day.

On the 13th at about 10.30 a.m. he toured the city and had a proclamation read out loud at nineteen place in the city forbidding any processions or meetings. Surprisingly, he omitted to visit the Jallianwalla Bagh (Garden) and the Golden Temple. Admittedly he was a stranger in the town, but it does not explain why neither the Superintendent of Police nor the Deputy Superintendent of Police, who were with him, failed to point out the omission.

At 12.40 the C.I.D. reported that a meeting was to be held in the Jallianwalla Bagh. At 4 p.m. it was confirmed that the meeting was taking place.

Meanwhile Dyer had worked out his plan of action. He had 50 riflemen and 40 with kukris march to the Jallianwalla Bagh. It was a few minutes before sunset.

The massacre 5.15 p.m. 13th April 1919

General Dyer with his force of 50 riflemen and 40 with kukris entered the narrow entrance to Jallianwalla Bagh. The men went in at the double and spread out along the raised earthen platform on either side of the entrance.

Dyer shouted: "Gurkhas, right and left. Fire". The order was immediately repeated by the subaltern in command of the men. The fifty kneeling soldiers raised their rifles, took aim and fired a volley into the heart of the crowd. As the people began to fall dead and wounded, the crowd rose and ran in all directions in a desperate attempt to escape the hail of bullets. There was total panic as people fought to find a way out. There was none. The soldiers had blocked the only exit.

The subaltern kept his eyes firmly fixed on the general. When he repeated the general's orders, his men obeyed him implicitly. The

kneeling soldiers continued to fire with accuracy and deliberation, carefully selecting their targets and making each round tell. When the soldiers had emptied their magazines, Dyer ordered them to reload, and to continue independent rapid fire, and to direct their fire where the crowd was densest. An eerie silence filled the Bagh when the magazines were empty again. The soldiers were disciplined as calm as marksmen at the butts. There was no wild or sporadic firing. As the soldiers fired, reloaded and fired again, the panic was indescribable.

For ten minutes the firing continued, broken only by the occasional pause as the soldiers reloaded. They had fired 1,650 rounds of .303 ammunition, killed 379 persons and wounded 1,200.

Dyer calmly gave the order to cease fire and for the force to withdraw. They left by the same narrow entrance, sloped their arms and began the march back to the Ram Bagh, whence they had come. Dyer strode briskly to his car without so much as a backward glance at the carnage in the garden.

The nameless Gurkhas had performed their duty with a relish that characterised the bitterness and rivalry that existed between the hillmen and the people from the plains. They remained nameless: none of them was ever asked to give evidence at the Hunter enquiry.

Lord Montagu appointed a Commission under Lord Hunter to hold a full inquiry. Dyer was relieved of his command but he returned to England as a hero to many British admirers.

Indian reactions

The Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre turned millions of moderate Indians into nationalist revolutionaries who would never again trust British "fair play" or cooperate with a government capable of defending such action.

Gandhi's response the following year was to launch his first "satyagraha" ("Hold fast to the truth") campaign.

.....

N.B. This account of the Massacre has been summarised from "The Amritsar Massacre" by Alfred Draper, published by Buchan and Enright, London 1985.

The Khilafat Movement 1920

The Caliph of Turkey was the religious head of the worldwide Muslim community.

In India, the brothers, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and Abu Kalam Azad led a campaign in defence of the Caliph. They joined Gandhi's non-cooperation campaign for Indian freedom in return for his support of the Khilafat movement. But the movement was later tarnished by the Muslim Moplah Rebellion in South India in 1921. The fanatical excesses there deeply stirred Hindu India.

The movement was undermined when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk drove the Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922, deposed the Caliph in 1923, and abolished the Caliphate in 1924. The movement in India collapsed.

The Moplah Rebellion near Calicut 1921

The Rebellion near Calicut in the Madras Presidency had its roots in the previous century.

In the 1850s there was a long-continued campaign of assassinations by the Moplahs. A band of them traversed the region for six weeks without a whisper being conveyed to those charged with the preservation of law and order. What were the police doing? It was when it culminated in the murder of the District Magistrate of Malabar that it came to light. It appears incredible that such a state of affairs existed in the police organisation in Madras Presidency.

In the 1920s, the Moplahs were inspired by the Khilafat Movement (a movement to restore the Caliph to his rightful place at the head of all Muslims) to believe that the British government was against Islam. So the Moplahs declared "Swaraj" (Home Rule) and formed gangs, wearing makeshift uniforms and using assorted weapons.

Some assembled at Tirurangadi near Calicut, where in 1894, the bodies of some Moplahs had been burnt during an outbreak of violence. The crowd picketed the police headquarters, then went on to assault a number of Tiyya toddy drawers, and broke their pots. The District Magistrate attempted to arrest the leaders of the gang but they were protected by the mob.

In the course of searching for the leaders, a mosque was entered, and according to rumour, it was defiled. This was enough to cause a holocaust. Mobs of between 5,000 and 10,000 attacked post offices, railway stations, houses of officials, liquor shops and plantations. Arson and murder were committed. Almost every house where loot was obtainable, was attacked and plundered. There were even a number of cases of forced conversion of Hindus to Islam, and Hindu women were appropriated as wives.

The Provincial government delayed in declaring martial law (with Amritsar in mind).

On August 21st, 1921, some 2,000 Moplahs wanted to convert a Hindu house with a temple into a mosque. The Deputy Inspector General of Police summoned military help, and arrived there with the Police Armed Reserve and a column of the Leinster Regiment.

The police opened fire but not until several of them had been hit including Mr. Lancaster, the Assistant Superintendent of Police in Charge of the Armed Reserve. The mob slowly retreated.

Now due to a misunderstanding, the main body of the police was sent away and the mob were able to wreck the police station and cut the telegraph wires.

A second mob arrived at Tirurangadi. A detachment of the Armed

Police Reserve supported by a small party of the Leinsters went to disperse them. Mr. Rowley, the Assistant Superintendent of Police in charge of the Armed Reserve, against the advice of two head constables, went out to parley with the leaders. He was accompanied by Lieutenant John Stone and an India Army officer attached to the Leinsters. All three were cut down and killed. The police and the Leinsters had to fight their way out. The fortunate arrival of a Lewis gun party saved them. The machine gunners opened fire, killed thirty or forty of the mob and rescued the police party.

It took over one year, and huge forces of troops to restore order. At least one thousand people died. 80,000 were arrested. 6,000 were sentenced to transportation. 400 got life imprisonment. 175 were executed.

The two Indian Police officers killed on duty were the Assistant Superintendents in charge of the Police Armed Reserve, C.B. Lancaster and W.J.D. Rowley.

Chauri Chaura Police Station, Gorakhpur, U.P.

On February 4th 1922 twenty two policemen, including two Sub-Inspectors, were brutally killed and then burnt and so was the police station.

Gandhi had been apprehensive that mass demonstrations against police stations in Bihar and Bengal might lead to violence, but the pressure on him was so great that he announced his intention to organise civil disobedience in Bardoli. But a great tragedy relieved him from the necessity of implementing it.

Early on the 4th February 1922 about 2,000 villagers moved towards Chauri Chaura Police Station and began to throw brickbats at the police and then to attack them with staves. This was because the mob had been frustrated the previous day by the same police from picketing a market in the town.

In order to frighten away the mob from the police station, the Sub-Inspector fired a few shots in the air. The mob was infuriated and rushed the police station, killing a few policemen outside. The rest of the police ran into the police station to save themselves. By now the crowd had tasted blood and set fire to the police station with oil and straw, forcing the police back out of the building. Outside the mob attacked them and put them to death in the most brutal manner, soaking their bodies in oil and setting them on fire. Then the mob burnt down the police station, before rushing to and dismantling the railway line in two places, threatening to kill the stationmaster and the postmaster if they sent any messages for help to the authorities in Gorakhpur.

In all 22 policemen were killed.

As soon as news of this tragic slaughter reached Gandhi, he called off the civil disobedience campaign lest it lead to more such violence.

The Nature of the Job

Collecting Political Intelligence

The Indian National Congress first met in December 1885. In India it was more commonly known as the Congress party.

By 1917 its "Swaraj" (Home Rule) wing took over led by Tilak and Annie Besant. And in 1929 at Lahore it demanded complete independence as India's political goal. Mahatma Gandhi began the first non-cooperation movement.

In November 1930 the British government invited Gandhi to London to attend the Round Table Conference. He attended. The Conference lasted till January 1931.

Years afterwards in 1935 it emerged as the Government of India Act of 1935. It gave to the Indian provinces a system of autonomous government. It also provided for a federal government which never came into being. However Congress gave it a try. They accepted and formed provincial ministries in 1937.

But in September 1939 the Viceroy committed India to war against Hitler without consulting the provincial ministries: the Congress withdrew its ministers.

By October 1940 Gandhi launched a limited civil disobedience campaign in which leading advocates of Indian independence were selected to participate one by one. In 1942, however, the Congress sponsored mass civil disobedience to support its demand that the British 'quit India' at once. Gandhi, Nehru and other leading Congressmen were arrested on the night of August 9th. Congress was silenced till the end of the 1939 to 1945 war.

The Muslim League was inaugurated at Dacca in 1906.

Muslims always feared being dominated by the Hindus in the Congress party and in 1940 the idea of a separate Muslim state, apart from an independent India, was advocated. The League feared, not without reason, that a united India would be dominated by the Hindu majority.

This idea of "Pakistan" (Land of the Pure) was ridiculed at first, but it caught the imagination of the Muslims. Jinnah led this movement with such skill and tenacity that ultimately, both the British government and the Congress had no option but to agree to the partitioning of India.

Combating Terrorism in Bengal in the 1930s

The task of the Intelligence Branch was to unravel the organisation behind the terrorist movement in Bengal. To do so required courage, tenacity, powers of observation and the ability to piece together clues from many sources. Which were false? Which were true? It involved handling agents and informers. On no account could the identity of agents be revealed. If the identity of an agent was disclosed, then the sources of information dried up.

There were two main phases of the terrorist movement in Bengal, one from 1923 to 1927, and the other from 1929 to 1935.

To keep this brief: what happened during the second phase? There was the Chittagong Armoury raid in April 1930, the throwing of a bomb that missed Sir Charles Tegart, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, the murder of Mr. Loman, Inspector General of Police on the 25th August and of Lieutenant Colonel N.F. Simpson, Inspector General of Prisons on the 29th August, also in Calcutta.

Three consecutive District Magistrates of Midnapore District in Bengal were murdered: J. Peddie (1931), R. Douglas (1932) and Mr. Burge (1933).

However by the use of the powers of detention without trial under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, effective police action was taken, and by 1935 the main wave of terrorism had been broken.

Tribute must be paid to the unsurpassed skill of the Bengal Intelligence Branch in this achievement.

Political Events

The Cripps Mission 1942

Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in Delhi on March 23rd, 1942. He tried to obtain the participation of India in the war effort. That ended in deadlock.

Secondly, had Cripps conceded a 'national government' that would function as a Cabinet? Congress claimed he had. Cripps backed down.

Jinnah seized on the proviso that a province might not be compelled, against its own expressed majority opinion, to accept a constitution devised by the rest of India.

So, in August 1942 the All-India Congress issued a statement demanding the immediate departure of the British from India. If this was refused, Congress would begin "a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale". Two days later, Gandhi and the whole Working Committee were arrested.

Within six weeks the revolt had been suppressed, and for the next two years there was silence in Indian politics.

The British Cabinet Mission 1946

When the Labour government decided to send a Cabinet Mission under Lord Pethwick-Lawrence the Congress had won all but five of the non-reserved seats. The Muslim League won the seats reserved for Muslims in the 1946 elections to the central legislature.

In the Provinces the Muslim League was able to form ministries only in Sind and Bengal. In the Punjab it was just short of a majority. Congress won the rest.

The Cabinet Mission produced an ingenious three-tier plan, but both Congress and the Muslim League failed to accept it.

The League called for 'direct action' on August 16th 1946.

In Calcutta that day and for two more days there was widespread bloodshed. In three days in Calcutta some 4,000 persons were killed.

The Partition Plan 1947

In 1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, had asked the Labour government for a time limit for the termination of British rule in order to prevent India from drifting into a civil war.

Attlee decided to replace Wavell with Mountbatten.

On February 20th 1947 Attlee told Parliament of his 'definite intention' to transfer power 'into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948'.

Mountbatten arrived in India in March 1947. At the end of April he sent a draft plan for Cabinet consideration: the people of India should choose whether they wanted to partition their land. He later went personally to London with agreed modifications.

He returned and offered a straight choice: Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province could either merge with India or form a new entity (for Pakistan was still not identified by Name). The Provincial legislatures of Punjab and Bengal were to vote whether or not their province should be partitioned.

The plan was accepted by the leaders of the congress and the League, and Mountbatten revealed that the date for the transfer of power "could be about the 15th August 1947".

There were four great questions to be solved:

1. Division of the assets of undivided India.
2. Division of the Public Services into two portions.
3. Demarcation of the frontier within Punjab and Bengal after partition.
4. The future of the 600 princely states.

Item 1 was dealt with by a Partition Committee. Item 2 was left to individual choice. Item 3 was to be demarcated by Sir Cyril (later Lord) Radcliffe, knowing his award would offend both sides. Item 4 the majority of the states signed instruments of accession to India. Hyderabad acceded in 1948 when Indian military forces intervened.

The Refugees

Seven to eight million people left their homes in India and fled to Pakistan, and about the same number in the opposite direction.

About 200,000 were slain on the way.

For Gallantry

The Bombay Government Gazette 1st January 1936

"On the night of 22nd January 1935, a Sikh of Poona City shot dead a Mussulman and an Arab woman. Mr. O'Gorman was summoned to the scene where he found that the Sikh had ensconced himself with a breech-loading gun in a strong position on the top storey of a large building, occupied by a large number of men, women and children, from which he commanded the common staircase.

The Sikh threatened to shoot anyone who approached, and to have rushed the staircase would almost inevitably have led to heavy loss of life.

Having thrown a cordon round the building, Mr. O'Gorman with a party of armed policemen occupied a room at the top of an opposite house from which rifles were trained on the house where the Sikh was hiding. It was of importance that the Sikh should either be made to surrender or be rendered harmless by shooting, for any ineffective action by the police would probably have resulted in the Sikh firing indiscriminately and causing several casualties.

The Sikh, however, did not expose himself, and subsequent attempts by Mr. O'Gorman and a Sikh priest who arrived on the scene, who both addressed the murderer from the front of the house, merely elicited a determined reply from the Sikh that he would never surrender, and would shoot anyone who came near him. Finally, however, the Sikh told the priest to bring up the 'Sahib', Mr. O'Gorman thereupon accompanied the priest to the top storey. There he discovered a passage leading to a room where the Sikh stood with his gun. In front lay the body of one of the murdered persons, and stepping over this, Mr. O'Gorman entered the room, calling out that he was unarmed and asking the Sikh to surrender, which he did. He had six live cartridges in his possession.

The cool and patient manner in which Mr. O'Gorman handled the situation undoubtedly prevented further loss of life. He displayed admirable personal courage and power of leadership in himself incurring the great risk of going unarmed up the stairs to confront the armed murderer.

Mr. O'Gorman has already been awarded the King's Police Medal with a Bar. He is now awarded a second Bar".

.....

Mr. F.W. O'Gorman CIE OBE KPM + 2 Bars served in the Indian Police 1913-46.

.....

APPENDIX

A Brief Bibliography

1. 1861
1890
1902 Police Commissions
1925
2. 1932 The Indian Police J.C. Curry
3. 1971 To Guard my People
The History of the Indian Police ... Sir Percival Griffiths
4. 1975 The Long Afternoon 1601 to 1947 William Golant
5. 1980 Encyclopaedia Britannica
6. 1985 The Amritsar Massacre Alfred Draper
7. 1985 On Honourable Terms
Memoirs of some I.P. Officers Martin Wynne (Ed.)
8. 1985 Policing the Raj Leslie Robins
9. 1986 Peacock Dreams
(The I.P. in Burma) Bill Tydd
10. 1987 Duties and Diversions
I.P. Vignettes M.C. Clerici and
G.E.D. Walker (Eds.)

The Author served in the Indian Police from 1936 to 1947

"THE TARDIS"
by R. Howard

Few youngsters would today know what is meant by 'The Police Box', yet would perhaps know what is meant were it to be called a 'Tardis'. Many young police officers will not have seen, never mind used, these 'refuges', ~~It~~ is this that prompts me to describe the Police Box.

The Police Box System was introduced to Sheffield City Police by the famous Chief Constable, Captain (later Sir) Percy J. Sillitoe after a visit to Newcastle to inspect a system already in existence.

Whilst little more than a 6' x 6' sentry box, the construction and equipment was such as to provide an efficient 'point' on the officer's beat and a recognisable place of refuge for the beat P.C.

Some 360 such boxes existed within the City boundaries when fully operational, one box to each beat to be known as the 'conference box' where papers, files and printed information was to hand for the patrolling officer, and several 'additional boxes' or calling places for the P.C., these could also exist as 'points' (later described) on the beat. Often the additional boxes were in fact the 'conference' box on the next beat.

The boxes remained in use until the 1960's and even today the 'Town Hall Box' can be seen outside the Town Hall with a suitably inscribed plaque on the door. This is still operational and provides an H.Q. for the Town Hall Bobby.

The Police Boxes survived the Second World War and there are no known instances of bomb damage to them. Having been a Cabinet-maker as a boy, I was one of the individuals partially responsible for their removal and dissection. The wooden structures consisted of 2" x 2" framing clad with 3/4" tongued and grooved timbering with an outer framework suggesting a mock Tudor half timbering. The panels were filled with wire mesh and coated with cement. Structurally most of them ~~still had~~ ^{would have survived} another 30 years service ~~to serve~~ upon their 'retirement'.

The main item of equipment was obviously the private line telephone to the divisional station, this could be reached from inside or outside of the box by means of having a door at the back and front of the telephone cupboard. Should there be no occupant in the box upon headquarters telephoning the box the blue lamp above ~~the~~ would light up to indicate that the P.C. was wanted. One of the instructions to the patrolling P.C. was to make himself aware of the various vantage points from whence he could observe the lamp on the police box. This was one of the few excuses for being in the box, with the result that the lamp was never switched off until the last moment before departure.

During the war years the general public kept a close watch on the police box lamps in the belief that when the lamp was illuminated that there was a 'purple' on i.e. that an air raid was imminent.

A well stocked first aid box was stored in an outside cupboard by the side of the telephone. The usual instructions to break the glass to obtain the key was inscribed in an enamel panel often still with P.Sillitoe, Chief Constable inscribed upon it. A second key was

available to the constable inside the box should he require use of the first aid kit. The boxes were kept up to date to St. John's Ambulance standards who supplied the various items in it.

The box furniture consisted of a desk, a stool and (if it was a conference box) an electric fire. The desk consisted of a three foot high shelf across half of the box thus making it uncomfortable for more than one person. The desk supported the telephone message book which was slightly less heavier than the desk itself, therein all messages, in or out, had to be legibly handwritten. The square hardwood stool was constructed not for comfort and if the box was empty and the stool seat was warm the beat P.C. would be hard pressed to explain away this phenomenon. The electric fire was a free standing 3" high and 9" square element of cast iron. To have the same item warm was not a good idea for most sergeants could detect how long it had been switched on and thus how long the officer had been sheltering out of the rain. With a little practice one could boil an enamel breakfast can full of tea water in the space of 20 minutes or toast one's sandwiches on it.

The small blue glass windows gave a good view of the public or an approaching sergeant provided that the internal light was not on. they did not offer a view into the box and were small enough to prevent all but the slimmest of officers from escaping from the sergeant's blind side of the box.

The internal decor was simple and functional. Small cupboards existed for blank report forms and numerous hooks and nails adorned the internal walls to support various files, orders, documents etc. The nails were usually reserved for wet leggings and capes. mealtimes were taken in the conference box, often the mealbreak being whiled away chuckling at the ancient photographs in the 'Thief on the Beat' booklet, or memorising the streets, boundaries and 'points' on the extinct day and night beats.

Few of the boxes were equipped with water, though some small corner wash handbasins were to be found here and there, however the siting of the boxes had obviously been affected by the location of street horse troughs, thus providing enough water to fill the breakfast can during the wee small hours. x

The public knew of the locations of the boxes and would often be awaiting the returning P.C. Should their errand be urgent the most telephone shy individuals would have had little problem in lifting up the telephone in the cupboard to gain contact with the police station.

The 'Box system' and the 'points system' became one and the same. A 'point' being a location on one's beat where the patrolling officer had to present himself punctually at a specified time. The intention being that supervisory officers could also attend and check if the beat was being worked efficiently. Such 'points' consisted of 'starting', 'beat', 'conference', 'meal' and 'finishing' points. Obviously all this happened before the existence of personal radios, when the telephone, word of mouth, staff-tapping and in extreme cases use of the police whistle, were the recognised methods in communication.

Starting and finishing points are self-explanatory and like all the points were road junctions, telephone boxes or other specified locations on the beat. One had to telephone 'on duty' at a specified time which varied from day to day and beat to beat. The 'ringing on time' would be within the first half hour of duty and 'off' in the last half hour, with just enough time to walk from the starting point to the box, or from box to finishing point. If therefore the ringing on time on No.3 beat was 12 minutes past the hour the ringing off time would be 42 minutes after the penultimate hour. Routes were pre-selected with points at interval of perhaps 20 minutes (or if there was snow underfoot perhaps 30 minutes). One night therefore find oneself travelling at 12 minutes past the hour to point 'B' for 32, A for 52 and back to a conference again at 12 minute past the hour and a similar return route back to the police box, and so on throughout the eight hour shift. In order that the 45 minutes mealbreak was not exceeded a 'meal point' was usually set some 15 minutes walk away from the box. It was necessary therefore for the beat book to be consulted to ensure being at the correct place at the correct time.

By the 1950s "Discretionary" working came into being thus supposedly offering a free choice to the P.C. on the beat. Instead of traversing the set prescribed routes he then became able to select his own points prior to making his two or three hourly travels. Certain conditions still however applied and one had to have a good excuse for using the same point twice within the same route, but at least the general public were not longer aware of the probable routes that the officer would walk at any given day of the week. All of the ten or so 'points' on each beat had to be used up at some time during the shift to ensure that the beat had been fully covered and it was till a disciplinary offence to be found on the wrong side of the road. But the worst offence seemed to be that of 'idly gossiping to a member of the public'.

This is not a tall story as many old-timers will know. Bring back the Police Boxes.

The Author is a retired Police Officer.

BOOK REVIEWS

You may have missed a new series of books recounting classic crimes.

Already published have been 'Exhumation of a Murder', the Life and Trial of Major Armstrong by Robin Odell and 'The Royal Baccarat Scandal' recounting the trial of Sir William Gordon-Cumming who was suspected of cheating at a baccarat table presided over by the heir to the throne.

The publishers, Souvenir Press, intend to publish two 'Classic Crime Series' books each season and for your winter reading are offering 'That Nice Miss Smith' by Nigel Morland and 'Who Killed Sir Harry Oakes' by Marshall Houtes.

"That Nice Miss Smith"

In July 1987 twenty-two year old Madeleine Smith, daughter of a prosperous Glasgow Architect, walked free from Edinburgh High Court, acquitted by a verdict of Not Proven of poisoning her lover, Emile L'Angelier. Ever since her case has fired the minds of criminologists, lawyers, novelists and playwrights.

Was she guilty or not? Although she was respectable, sheltered and outwardly decorous, her own defence lawyer, John Inglis, commented that he would "sooner have danced with her than supped with her".

Brilliantly told, this compelling story of a truly classic case was first published in 1957 and remains unchallenged. Frankly exposing the shadier side of Victorian life and morals, it presents an excitingly fresh handling of a case which, after one hundred and thirty-two years, has lost none of its fascination.

About the Author

NIGEL MORLAND, co-founder of the Crime Writers' Association, died in 1986. An immensely popular and prolific writer of crime fiction, he later turned increasingly to criminology and published many books and articles on forensic science and on a number of notorious cases, including Madeleine Smith and Mrs. Maybrick.

"Who Killed Sir Harry Oakes"

An intriguing tale of murder involving those close to the Royal Family.

On 8th July, 1943, HRH the Duke of Windsor, then Governor of the Bahamas, was woken at 7 o'clock in the morning to be told that his friend, the richest and most powerful man in Colony, had been brutally murdered, his head bludgeoned and his body half burnt.

Coarse in habits and language, Sir Harry Oakes had countless enemies who resented the privileged position his wealth had brought him. But which of them had the knowledge and the opportunity to kill him as he slept in his own bed?

In a riveting reconstruction of intrigue, scandal and Underworld

conspiracy, a distinguished lawyer and criminologist examines facts never brought before a court of law. Unavailable for many years, here are statements from a number of anonymous informants and a chilling solution that implicates too many people in high place for the truth ever to have been revealed.....

More than 45 years after the event, this sinister story has lost none of its power to chill the reader.

About the Author

MARSHALL HOUTES, a native of Chattanooga, has been a professor of law and a professor of forensic pathology, and in 1959 launched Trauma, the prestigious Medico-legal journal of which he is still editor in chief. He has published 35 books, ranging from studies of murder cases to aspects of law and justice. He returns to Souvenir Press 35 years after their success with his From Gun to Gavel.

These books are well presented, with clear print, illustrated, and the paperbacks are excellent value. This series will be of great interest to police officers or anyone interested in the darker side of human nature.

Paperback £6.95

Hardback £12.95

"The Treadmill and the Rope"

Todd Sloan £1.95 pb. 64 pages - The Galley Press Leighton Banastre, Parkgate, South Wirral - A small book, written by a member and published in October 1988. The author has deliberately written for the general market and this work concentrates on the history of Liverpool Prison.

Other books are to follow on social conditions and life in Liverpool. An easy read of particular interest to Merseyside Members.

Ripon Museum Trust

Two small publications have been prepared by the Hon. Curator of the Ripon Prison and Police Museum, J.K. Whitehead, assisted by Mr. A. Chadwick. The first is an information pack containing a set of fact sheets giving a history of Law and Order in the Liberty of Ripon. Price £1.75 + 30p post and packing.

The second is a Datafolio published as an addendum to the above for use by students of the history of Law and Order, containing 21 facsimile documents, warrants, extracts from Court records. Price £2 + 30p packing and postage.