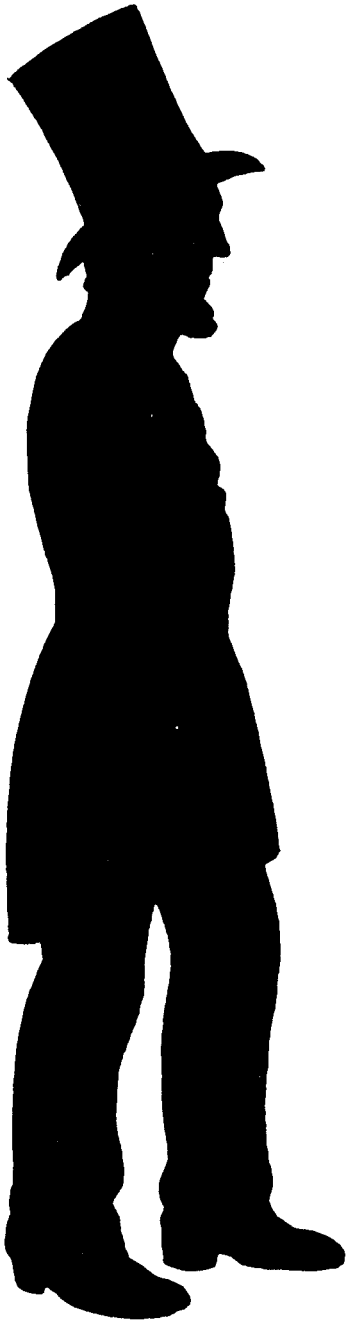

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FOREWORD - EDITOR

Our Society increases in strength as these formative years pass so quickly. This, the fourth Journal, reflects the international interest in our work. The subject and nature of the contributions reflect upon the broad nature of our membership from the academic to the interested. Those of us who manage the Society must not lose sight of this fact. Success will only continue so long as the PHS involves all the interested groups that have come together to establish what is now seen as the authoritative source on all matters of police history.

What I find particularly rewarding are the articles written by members who for the first time feel confident enough to submit articles for publication. There are many stories to be told, incidents, policies, events to be analysed. There is space for the academic analyses, room for the yarn, a place for the researched and well written article on a particular incident. Discover the past, reveal it now for this and future generations. Policemen who serve today have a particular responsibility to those who have gone before to ensure they are not forgotten. Take the plunge, be inquisitive, start to read and research; be analytical, write narrative and be part of the Police History Society.

THE NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE

R.F. Bartlett

A DOLLAR A DAY

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police is arguably the most extravagantly romaticised force in the world. The Mountie has been portrayed as "a handsome man in scarlet tunic singing of his love for Rose Marie; a six foot bachelor in Boy Scout hat taming savage Indians, tussling with villainous half breeds, fighting wolf packs bare handed, and winning the Canadian West single handed". (Ronald Atkin, "Maintain the Right" MacMillan p15).

The Mountie may well have been romaticised yet there are numerous tales of extraordinary courage and fortitude that make incredible reading. For a dollar a day in 1873 men of high calibre swore to uphold the law in the Canadian prairies and the North West Territories. As a self-governing country Canada was only seven years old and its population was well under 4 million. From Toronto in the east and the British Columbian capital Victoria, lay almost 3000 miles of lakes, forest wilderness, prairies and mountains. To the west of Toronto the only settlement of importance was the village of Winnipeg, 1300 miles away in the Red River Valley. West of Winnipeg, there stretched 900 miles of prairie ending abruptly at the Rocky Mountains. On those plains, whose monotony was relieved by occasional hills, ravines and rivers, the extremes of climate were fierce. Summers were short and hot - though only 4 months on average were frost free, temperatures rose above 100°F. Winters were long and so cold that mercury had been known to freeze in thermometers and the temperature dropped lower than 50°F below zero. Rainfall was uncertain and prairie fires ravaged the country (p21 Ibid).

The plains to the north of the 49th parallel contained about 30,000 Indians who spent their time buffalo hunting and occasionally fighting each other. The Blackfoot Confederacy, a loose military alliance consisting of Blackfoots, Bloods, Peigans, Sarcees formed the main grouping, but additionally there were bands of Plaintrees, Assiniboines and Saultreaux. Additionally, there were Sioux, Crows, Gros Ventres, South Assiniboines, South Blackfoot and Peigans who ranged northward from Dakota and Montana as the spirit moved them, or pressure from the US Military demanded. These then were the occupants of the vast open plains, bolstered by the servants of the Hudsons Bay Company, the scattered half-breeds and a few visiting traders who trafficked for buffalo products. There was also the occasional missionary who strove to convert the pagan Indian (p125 - NWMP). The half-breeds were an unusual bunch of Scots-Indian and French-Indian origin, numbering about 2000 in 1871 when Captain W F Butler of the 69th Regiment of Foot described them as: "gay, dissipated, idle, reliable ungrateful, in a measure brave, hasty to form conclusions and quick to act upon them, possessing extraordinary powers of endurance and capable of undergoing immense fatigue, yet scarcely ever to be depended upon in critical moments, superstitious and ignorant, having a very deep-rooted distaste of any fixed employment, opposed to the Indian, yet widely separated from the white man - altogether a race presenting a hopeless prospect to those who would attempt to form such materials a future nationality." The breeds were to become the guides for the new force, the North West Mounted Police when the formed.

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Photographs by kind permission of the Commissioner RCMP.

The government of the new dominion were well aware of the trouble between the white man and the Indian in the United States.

The British approach to the indigenous population had been less aggressive and the new government were determined that there should be a peaceful evolution as the West opened up to settlers. Careful management of the Indians was therefore essential and that depended on trust, the acceptance of order in the territories of the Great White Queen. Distrust of the US blue jacket was endemic as was the curse of the American whisky trader, the cause of a great deal of savagery and a constant potential for conflict with the law enforcers.

A new Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North West territories in 1870 commissioned Captain William Butler to travel to the Rockies and report on the condition of the Indian tribes and the amount of lawlessness that existed. Butler's journey, accomplished mostly in the harshest conditions of the prairie winter, lasted 119 days and covering nearly 3000 miles, reporting: "the region is without law, order or security for life or property: robbery and murder for years have gone unpunished; Indian massacres are unchecked even in the close vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, and all civil and legal institutions are entirely unknown."

Butler further reported that "Smallpox was decimating the tribes and causing widespread misery. American traders had established posts on British soil..... and were trading alcohol, arms and ammunition to the Blackfoot with dire results." (NWMP p70)

The report of Captain Butler recommended the appointment of a "civil magistrate" or a "commissioner" after the models existing in Ireland and India, the organisation of a well equipped force of from 100 to 150 men, one third to be mounted, and the establishment of several government posts. (NWMP p70)

The government in Ottawa were concerned that the West should remain peaceful but their total revenue was little more than 20 million dollars, a similar sum to that spent by the US in waging war on the western Indians. Peace was necessary to honour the federal commitment to British Columbia to build a railway to unite the new confederation linking the Pacific coast with the original provinces in the East.

Still undecided as to the best means of policing the massive territories of the West, the government, in August 1872, sent a further observer, Colonel Patrick Robertson-Ross, the Adjutant General of the Militia. His report, presented in December, made grim reading. During the previous year 88 Blackfoot Indians had been murdered in drunken brawls; a half breed, Charles Gaudin, had killed his wife just before the Colonel arrived at Fort Edmonton, and remained unpunished, despite a reputation for wanton brutality - he had previously mutilated an elderly Indian woman by severing the sinews of her arms. "Beyond the Province of Manitoba, westward to the Rocky Mountains, there is no kind of government at present whatever, and no security for life or property beyond what people can do for themselves." (M and R p36) American whisky traders were openly selling to the Indians and intended to continue in their pernicious trade so long as there was no Force to prevent them. Robertson-Ross recommended that a regiment of 550 mounted riflemen should be sent West, stationed in groups of 50 at the Hudson's Bay Forts and a larger body based on the US border to counter the whisky running.

These reports added to pressure from the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged the government on 23rd May to introduce an enabling Bill in the Canadian House of Commons. The Bill allowed for a "moderate grant of money to organise a mounted police force, somewhat similar to the Irish Mounted Constabulary. They would have the advantage of military discipline, would be armed in a simple but efficient way..... and by being police would be a civil force." (M and R p37)

Meanwhile, there had filtered through to Ottawa two tales of horror that emphasised the need for action in the West. "The first tale concerned the debauchment, with orgies too licentious to permit of outspoken description, of numbers of Blackfeet Indian encampments near the junction of the Bow and Belly Rivers, by illegal whisky traders from Fort Benton, Montana." (RCMP-F p6)

The second incident involved the massacre of Canadian Indians by some Montana trappers in the Cypress Hills 40 miles north of the border. The traders had their horses stolen by a group of Assiniboini Indians. Appealing, without success, to the US Military for assistance, the trappers bought supplies and new horses before returning to the Hills. Losing track of the Indian horse thieves the ten trappers camped near a trading post run by a whisky dealer, Abe Farwell. Nearby were 40 teepees under Chief Little Soldier, whose braves had recently stolen the horse of a friend of Farwell. The horse was recovered but soon taken again. The owner, by now very mad, took his rifle heading for the Indian camp accompanied by the trappers. The Indians, many of them drunk, were alarmed at the approach of armed white men and quickly gathered their own rifles. Shots were fired from the white men's rapid firing rifles and returned at a far lesser rate by the Indian muzzle loaders. Three times the Indians charged leaving 30 dead before the smoking guns of the experienced trappers. Only one white man was killed as he rode up to join the fight. The truth of the event became submerged beneath the weight of newspaper stories, but whatever the facts, the incident was the deciding factor in the formation of the North West Mounted Police.

The Act by which the Mounted Police came into being gave the commanding officer authority to appoint Constables and Sub-Constables as he might think proper, not exceeding, on the whole, 300 men. A Superintendent was to be appointed for each division of the Force along with Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, all of whom would hold the Queen's commission. No person was to be appointed to the police force unless of "sound constitution, able to ride, active and able-bodied, of good character and between the ages of 18 and 40 years; nor unless able to read and write either the English or French language". The Commissioner and Superintendents were to be ex-officio justices of the peace, and every constable and sub-constable could exercise his duties in and for the whole of the North West Territories.

The policemen were to serve for three years after which they would receive a free grant, not exceeding 160 acres, from lands in the Province of Manitoba or the North West Territories, provided they had conducted themselves satisfactorily and performed their duties efficiently.

The terms of reference for the Force are recognisable to any modern police officer - "the duties of the Force were to cover all duties which might be assigned to constables in the preservation of peace, the prevention of crime and offences against the laws and ordinances in-force, the apprehension of criminals and offenders, the attendance upon court officers when required, the execution of warrants and the performance of all duties related thereto, the escort and conveyance of prisoners or lunatics to places of punishment or confinement, and the performance of all duties assigned under the authority of the Act, with all the powers, authority, protection and privileges which any constable might be clothed with under the law." (NWMP p88).

Colonel Robertson Ross in his report to the Prime Minister, urged that any mounted force sent among the Indians should wear scarlet as "animosity is rarely, if ever, felt towards disciplined soldiers wearing Her Majesty's uniform in any portion of the British Empire". The men wearing the red coat were known by the Indians to be synonymous with friendship and fair dealing. The legend had grown among the Indians that the red coat was dyed with the blood of the Great White Queen's enemies (M the Right p40). The Times noted that scarlet had been chosen "in order that no misconception may exist in the minds of either Yankee ruffians or Indian Warriors as to the nationality of the Force, and it is indeed a glorious livery to fight in if fighting has to be done". This view was certainly borne out during the early months of the Force when Inspector Walsh nearly met his death in an encounter with a band of Sioux. Riding close to the American border on a cold and blustery autumn day, Mr Walsh and a constable chanced upon the Sioux who had just crossed the border after a brush with the blue coated US Cavalry. Forgetting that a greatcoat concealed his identity as an officer of the Mounted Police, Walsh turned to question the Indians

who promptly covered him with their rifles and ordered him to halt. Walsh was not about to take orders and rode slowly on towards the Sioux - their fate hung in the balance. The constable, realising what the Indians were thinking, flung open his coat, revealing not the hated blue uniform but the scarlet tunic of the Queen. At the flash of red, the Sioux lowered their rifles and begged Walsh to forgive their mistake "we kill the "long knives" when we can" they explained "and the "long knives" kill us. Until we saw your friend's red coat, we did not know we had reached the country of the Queen". (RCMP-F p41)

The "scout" hat was not initial issue, but a dull white or grey cork helmet, similar to the military model. A puggree of yellowish muslin like material, similar to that worn in the Raj, was wound several times around the helmet and the loose ends hanging down the back. A helmet plume, varying in colour according to rank was specified in the early regulations.

The ranks specified were cumbersome and soon altered, but initially consisted of Commissioner, Superintendent and Inspector, Superintendent and Sub-Inspector, who had their task set by the Prime Minister with as "little gold lace, fuss and feathers as possible".

A crack cavalry regiment was not required, but an efficient police force for a rough and ready country. To help the officers organise the force were to be the Chief and Staff Constables at $1.25 a day with the Constables and Sub-Constables receiving $1.00 and 75c respectively. (These ranks soon became known as Sergeant Major, Sergeant, Corporal, Constable and the majority - Sub-Constables.)

William Parker, from Kent in England, was one of the first to join and he wrote to his mother in April 1884 having just been accepted: "The pay is very good for constables, a dollar a day and sub-constables seventy-five cents a day and everything found, travelling expenses paid, a bully good horse to ride upon....." (WP p101)

Recruiting began in haste and 150 men signed on to serve in the West. Of the applicants engaged, 46 gave their previous occupation as clerks, 39 were tradesmen of various sorts, 9 were soldiers, 9 farmers, 4 telegraph operators, 2 sailors and only 2 had formerly been policemen. The rest were a mixture of professors, planters, gardeners, students, bartenders, lumberjacks, surveyors and drifting adventure seekers. (M the R p42)

Medical examination was less than effective as a few months later it was discovered that the recruits contained two men who were blind in one eye, five were suffering from serious heart ailments, one had tuberculosis, another syphilis and one man had actually been recruited with a fracture of the leg! (M the R p42)

The recruits gathered at the recently completed New Fort in Toronto to undergo a crash course in drill, riding and target practice. One recruit, Jean d'Artigue, wrote "Most of us had overrated our proficiency in horsemanship. Many laughable falls ensued, even the officers were as bad as ourselves at riding. Most did not understand the simplest field manoeuvres and their inefficiency was made manifest before we left Toronto. Their efforts almost invariably proved failures and produced indescribable confusion. Fortunately we had some Sergeants from the regular army among us who would come forward, put the officers in their proper place and restore us to order."

William Parker wrote to his father that he "was out for my first ride today and got on very well; the saddles have not all arrived yet so we had to ride bare back. Some of the fellows are sent spinning over the horses' heads." (WP p102)

Accommodation, reported Parker was "splendid". With "the size of rooms 40' x 30', twelve men in each. There are quite a lot of decent young fellows joined and a good many of them are from England, two are from Kent."

A daily routine soon evolved, Parker again writing to his father, "At half past six we have to fall in and are marched to the stables, clean and feed the horses and finish them up, fall in again, marched back in front of our rooms and dismissed for breakfast at 8 o'clock. At nine there is a general parade to drill, dismissed at half past ten, parade again at eleven for riding exercise, dinner at one and fall in for

drill at two and again at five for the stables, tea at six."

The evenings were spent in Toronto in playing bagpipes or practicing for the NWMP brass band. Cards were played noisily as were games of cricket and "fiery old games" of football.

As the recruits gathered and trained the senior officers were working feverishly to gather all the stores and transport to move the new force to their home in the west.

THE MARCH WEST

The North West Mounted Police marched from their base at Dufferin to their area of responsibility in the West on 8th July 1874. On the march were 310 of the 339 members of the Force who were about to undertake one of the epic journeys of the developing West. The intention was to establish a police presence in what was, until recently, virgin territory with practically no white settlements, beyond the Hudson's Bay Forts. The surveying of the border with the United States was well advanced with boundary depots establishing along the 49th parallel. The Indians remained dominant, a shifting population of about 30,000 hunting buffalo and occasionally raiding enemy tribes. In addition to the Blackfoot Confederacy of Blackfoot, Bloods, Peigans, Sarcees, there were bands of Plaintrees, Assiniboines and Saluteaux, all of whom wandered at will. Sioux, Crows, Gros Ventres, South Assiniboines, South Blackfoot and Peigans along with others, ranged northward from Dakota and Montana. (NWMP p125)

Blackfoot Indian

To the south of the 49th parallel there was continuous warfare between the Indians and the Whites. Montana was a lawless territory as settlers moved in forcing the Indians to seek refuge often in the north. Along with the settlers came the thieves, the vagabonds, those who would trade whisky and weapons with the Indians on both sides of the border.

The march was to be a harsh introduction to life in the NWMP and to policing in the West. The long march to the Rocky Mountains was followed by a year of consolidation on the plains. During the next few years the men of the NWMP were to establish a reputation for courage, fairness and tenacity that set the bench mark for generations of policemen.

All was not posture and glamour, in fact, the early Mountie would have seen little in his job to attract the attention of history. William Parker wrote to his sister in August 1877 from Fort Macleod: "We have been having, and are having, dreadful hot weather. It is often ninety in the shade at eight o'clock in the morning and rises from that up to 106, once to 109½, and we have to drill to have recruits ready for the treaty. Three of them have been sun-struck but not very badly. The other day one got his leg broken by being thrown from his horse."

On 18th December, "..... I just arrived from a long trip with dogs, was away 8 days and in that time travelled 250 miles. Every night when I was making my bed down in the snow, thought of you all ..... I enjoyed the trip very much. It certainly was a little cold, fourteen below zero the coldest. I ran nearly the whole distance there because the snow was so deep and no track and I wanted to give my dogs a chance. Coming home I rode plenty: one day we travelled 60 miles." (WP p137)

October 28th, 1880, "..... we only got in from under canvas the night before last and many a cold night we had of it before we did get in, snow on the ground three inches deep and about 20 degrees of frost...."

December 6th, 1880, "..... we thought when the winter set in that there would be an end to the fatigues, but ..... they are just as thick as ever. The weather for the last three weeks has been very severe, from ten to thirty-six below zero every night and below zero all day."

February 21st, 1882, "It was glorious fine weather going, but coming home we caught it. We had to sleep out two nights. The first night we camped in a clump of willows at 25 below zero and strong wind blowing: the following day was dreadfully stormy for travelling over a bar plain." The second night William Parker camped out in temperatures of minus 45 below zero. "The icicles on my moustache stuck out beyond the tip of my nose and to prove how intensely cold it was I happened to put out my tongue and on it coming in contact with one of the icicles it froze to it and before I could get it in again it pulled the skin off. At present the skin is peeling off my nose and cheeks where it was frost-bitten."

The extremes of weather demanded good quality equipment, but this was not available. There is a familiar ring about the actions of the Canadian Government in 1876 attempting to cut costs by having uniform and boots made of poor quality materials by inferior craftsmen - the inmates of Kingston Penitentiary, Ontario. The officers ordered their uniforms from a London firm but were to be disappointed. The Commissioner wrote to the company in 1878: "I regret very much to have to inform you that the uniforms lately supplied by you to the officers of the NWMP is made of the most miserable material. The lace is little better than tinsel and the workmanship so bad that many of the articles are coming to pieces. Several of the officers inform me that their trousers have split across the knee on the first or second time of wearing. The helmets are not the pattern which I advised and I don't think a single one arrived with the gilt edging perfectly attached ....." (M the R p126)

Commissioner G.A. French, NWMP 1873-76

Superintendent John Cotton was to write that "If anything is required to handicap the freedom and efficiency of a mounted man's movements on the prairie I can with confidence recommend a light tunic and a helmet". (M the R p126)

The scarlet jacket was totally impracticable, particularly when wet, and the helmet was confined to parades, the policemen preferring, and purchasing, a cowboy-type felt slouch hat. The helmet did have uses such as a water carrier or feed bag for horses. The pill-box cap was even more unsuited for a policeman's job on the prairies, offering no protection against any of the elements.

The Mounted Police nearly became a force of foot patrols as a result of the large number of horses lost during the march west and the reluctance of a Government to finance more. A force of 500 mounted police had only 201 horses in 1878. Remounts came from Idaho, few having felt a halter, and there was "great excitement" as they were broken in. In an attempt to retain mobility, the Commissioner suggested to Ottawa that at least half the force be carried in wagons. The suggestion was that two wagons, each drawn by four horses would carry twelve men and everything they required for a month. The Commissioner was also concerned about the quality of the horsemanship: "To make our men effective to fight on horseback against such enemies as we might meet in the North West, they would have to be engaged as children and made to ride every day till they grew up." (NWMP p425) Much like the Indian!

There were still more problems. The revolver ammunition was frequently found to be defective, possibly from the continual shaking it received in the men's pouches. The fifty Winchester rifles were popular but there was little opportunity to practice as only 200 rounds a weapon had been purchased.

Accommodation was not the best although the policemen managed to maintain high morale and organise a great deal of entertainment from cricket to stage shows. At one post, "Ou' Apelle", snow drifted through the cracks in the log walls and "it was not an uncommon sight to see someone using a shovel to take the snow off an occupant of a corner bed near the door". (M the R p127)

Inspector James Walter, who was in charge at Battleford in 1879, wrote: "This morning, with the thermometer 37° below zero, water was frozen on top of the stove in my bedroom, notwithstanding there was sufficient fire in the stove to start the morning fire."

New buildings were under construction but this meant, for example, that William Parker had to sleep in a tent in the snow. When there were no operations to undertake, routine in the barracks started with "Reveille at 6 am, we all rise, fold blankets and make up beds, tidy tents; 6.30 am to stables, see horses groomed and fed; 7.30 am breakfast consisting of coffee, cold beef and bread; 8.30 am fatigue commences and lasts until 11.30 ..... 11.45 am dinner consisting of roast beef, potatoes, bread and tea, 1 pm fatigue commences and lasts till 4.30 pm." (WP p141) "Tea at 4.45 pm consisting of dry bread and tea. The ration of meat only lasts enough for two meals ..... 5.30 pm, stables again, the horses all driven in by the herder, groomed, fed and turned out again for the night." (WP p142) During the evening the policemen could go hunting or into the small townships that were developing close to the police forts. However, most stayed in and "either play cards or get up a stag dance with the fiddle; a stag dance means no ladies." (WP p142)

"First post sounds at 9.30 pm .... second post goes at 10 pm when the orderly reports if any man is absent or if they are all present. At 10.15 pm lights sound out, but Sergeants are allowed to have them on to 11 pm." (WP p143)

Life was hard but it must be remembered that it was for those outside the service. The routine, food, care and roof provided by the NWMP offered a sense of security in a world where the individual survived by his own efforts with no safety net provided by a supportive state.

Nonetheless, the excess of spit and polish, the poor food, wretched accommodation, worse pay, long and demanding hours of work and the tedium of cold winters took its toll of health and spirits. In 1883, 27 men were invalided out of the force, 25 more deserted and there was a steady stream of men attempting to buy themselves out or misbehaving in the hope of being discharged free of cost. Word was spreading too, about the not-so-glamorous Mounted Police life. Superintendent Sam Steele reported from Winnipeg in the same year: "There are no recruits offering themselves for engagement ..... I think the prospect of getting many this winter is slight." (M the R p175)

There were recruits however. In one barrack block in the mid 1880s lived "a former militia officer, a colonial governor's son, a major-general's son, a medical student from Dublin, an Oxford BA, two ex-Scots Greys and several ubiquitous natives of Scotland." While the Canadians were a mixture of descendants of families of wealth and influence "as well as several others from the backwoods ....." Another resident was the brother of a Yorkshire baronet, a contortionist comedian who often teamed up with an ex-Dublin circus clown to give spontaneous performances.

One drifter named Roger Pocock from England pointed out "in my time a third of the crowd were broken-down gentlemen, a third were Canadian bucolics, the rest promiscuous desperados, old soldiers, cowboys, sailors and hell-rate adventurers from all ends of the earth."

At Fort Saskatchewan the cook was an ex-member of the London Metropolitan Police! (M the R p180)

Most of the early duties of the Mounted Police involved working with the Indians, establishing a bond of trust, identified by the red of the British Empire as opposed to the hated blue of the United States cavalry tunic. Several hundred mounted policemen patrolled the vast plains of Western Canada seeking out the whisky trader, the dealer in firearms, those who preyed upon the Indian. Not that the Indians were all innocence. There were murderers, horse thieves, cattle rustling and cross border incidents which demanded considerable courage and delicate negotiation by the policeman. It was not unknown for groups of two or three policemen to ride into an Indian camp of many hundreds to arrest a suspect. The confidence of the uniform, the awe in which the policemen were held by the Indian because of their bravery, ensured that the prisoner was taken, usually without too much fuss.

One such incident involved the arrest of a group of Assiniboines Indians who had been causing trouble with another tribe, the Salteaux. Inspector Walsh and 15 men traced the encampment of 200 Assiniboines, and with a war lodge conspicuous in the centre it was obvious that any police action would be very dangerous, and may be disastrous. Walsh asked his men if they should continue and make their arrests. This was agreed as to turn back, they believed, would disgrace the Force. The detachment, led by Inspector Walsh, entered the camp of sleeping Indians "at a sharp trot", broke into the war lodge seizing Chief Crow's Dance, another Chief named Crooked Arm and twenty other Indians. Having taken his prisoners and being vastly out gunned, Walsh retained the confidence to summon the remaining Chiefs for a memorable rebuke. "It was the privilege of all who lived under the Queen's Law", he sternly explained "to go where and when they would upon their lawful occasions. This was a basic right and the police would tolerate no interference with it, a fact which the Chiefs would do well to remember." (RCMP-F p41)

The arrests by Walsh and his men were indicative of the relationship that had developed between the "red coats" and the Indians. A firm, but thoroughly honest response to the predicament of the native Indians ensured a bond of trust which enabled difficulties to be resolved without resorting to violence as was so often the case in the United States. The origins of the NWMP response to the Indian can be identified clearly in their attitude to the influx of the Sioux in 1876. The Sioux were the most powerful tribe in the north west states and they appealed to the Canadian Blackfoot Confederacy to cross the border to join them to fight the cavalry regiments. There was a promise of booty and a prediction that the combined forces would later turn northwards to wipe out the Mounted Police and all white settlers. Though persistently repeated the request was spurned with the rejoinder that the Blackfoot were on friendly terms with the red-coats and the "Great White Mother". The Sioux threatened to attack the Blackfoot in retaliation, but Chief Crowfoot was assured by Inspector Denny that as subjects of the Queen if they were attacked without provocation, the Mounted Police would fight to protect them as long as a single one of their enemies remained on Canadian soil.

The Sioux wars culminated in the battle of the Little Big Horn in June 1876 where Custer and 264 cavalrymen died ensuring a great lust for vengeance amongst the American military. The Sioux were pursued with a passion until December 1876 they crossed the border into Canada. The influx consisted of 500 warriors, one thousand women, one thousand four hundred children and three thousand five hundred horses. A formidable problem for the police, as the numbers of vengeful dangerous people eventually grew to five thousand. The potential for war was high, particularly when faced with the Blackfoot Confederacy, those who had refused to join the Sioux to fight the cavalry. (NWMP-F p31) (RCMP - An Historical Outline of the Force - HQ 1967)

The NWMP, all 214, were "massed" along the 700 miles frontier and Inspector Walsh rode for eight days to meet up with the Sioux at Wood Mountain. Walsh summoned the Sioux Chiefs to attend a council and impressed upon them the conditions they must accept if they were to stay in the land of the "Great White Mother".

The following months were to see the handful of policemen travel thousands of miles in the saddle to keep order amongst the wandering bands of Indians and to preserve the integrity of the border area. The Sioux accepted the moral ascendancy of the policemen and the red coat became a symbol in their minds of an authority which could not be overthrown. A solitary rider in scarlet was to be obeyed and his person inviolate. As long as the policeman's orders were obeyed he could be accepted without fear or hesitation as the Indian's friend.

In May of the following year Sitting Bull arrived in Western Canada having escaped the net of US troops set around him. Assistant Commissioner Irvine met Sitting Bull and his followers on their arrival and warned them to obey the Queen's law whilst they remained in Canada. For several tense years negotiations took place between the United States, Canada and Sitting Bull before the Indian lodge began to drift south. It was not until July 1881 that Sitting Bull, deserting nearly all his chiefs rode dejectedly south and surrendered to the American military. Remaining a constant potential for disorder until 1890, Sitting Bull was killed in a skirmish with the Indian nation police.

There are many tales to be told of the dangers and excitement of police work involving Indians, but the relationship is testified to in the following words of Chief Crowfoot of the Blackfoot Confederacy:

"The advice given me and my people has proved to be very good. If the police had not come to this country where would we all be now? Bad men and whisky were killing us so fast that very few of us would have been left today. The police have protected us as the feathers of a bird protect it from the frosts of winter." (RCMP - Outline H of the F).

The transition from wilderness to a land safe for settlers, stretching across the plains from Manitoba to the Rockies was carried out almost wholly under the supervision and guidance of the NWMP. Duties were as various as those of any police force. There were prairie fires to be fought, smuggling, especially of whisky to intercept, customs dues to be collected, victims of winter blizzards to be cared for, starvation and other forms of privation to be overcome, illness and accidents to be attended to, weddings and funerals to be arranged, mails to be carried, insane persons to be taken in, lost travellers to be found, stolen stock to be returned to rightful owners, cattle and horse thieves, gamblers, murderers - all who participated in crime - to be arrested, and as settlements spread, mining lumber and railroad construction camps to be kept under strict observation. (An Historical Outline of the Force.)

Additional responsibilities came with the requirement to police the Northern territories, the area known as The Yukon, particularly following the discovery of gold in 1895. Little was known about the Yukon before the discovery of gold, which brought a flurry of activity on the Fortymile River. Fortunately, before the gold strike, the NWMP had began to establish themselves in the Yukon, with Inspector Charles Constantine, a Yorkshireman from Bradford and Staff Sergeant Charles Brown making a memorable journey to Fort Cudahy near Fortymile. Residents of the Yukon numbered about 1000 miners, traders and trappers living in the country where temperatures varied from -77°F during the 9 month winter, to 120°F in the summer. For the policemen, the environment itself would provide the greatest initial challenge.

Constantine's official title was Agent of the Dominion Government, which gave him all manner of responsibilities and authority as the Queen's representative in the territory. The Inspector imposed customs duties and an excise duty on locally manufactured "hootch", asserting the authority of the mounted police on the local residents and newcomers. It was obvious to Constantine that the territory would soon attract a larger population and so he proposed a police strength of 50 but in a typical government half measure received 19. The type of man for the work was believed to be of at least two years police experience, of "large and powerful build and a reputation for not drinking". The additional men arrived and all moved to Fort

Constantine, built in a swamp that was covered in 18 inches of thick saturated moss and overgrown with scrubby spruce trees.

Group - Fort Walsh, 1878

The first prisoner was arrested by Sergeant Hayne, one of the new arrivals for threatening to shoot another miner in a dispute over a woman. Whilst being taken to the police post under arrest he protested so violently that Hayne was "obliged to knock him down by way of a gentle reminder that I was in charge of the case now". The first problem was where to put the prisoner as there were as yet no secure buildings. A stake was driven into the ground, inside a hut, to which the prisoner was handcuffed. On discovering he was American it was decided the easiest option was to get rid of the prisoner and this was done by handing him a piece of bacon, placing him in a boat and pushing him out of the Swift Yukon current. Not far up river was American territory!

George Washington Cormack, Skookurn Jim and Tagish Charlie, with their discovery of gold on Rabbit Creek in August 1896, charted a new course for the residents of the Yukon territory. Dawson City, at the junction of the Yukon and Klondike rivers was to be the focal point for the rush of fortune seekers. The population was to increase from 500 at the end of 1896, to 5000 by the following summer and 15000 by 1898. Constantine pleaded for another 80 men "unless the government are prepared to put a strong force in here next year they had better take out what few are now here". The new recruits should be "of a cheerful disposition, of good physique, free from any tendency to weak heart or rheumatism

and above all sober and temperate". By November 1898 the force in the Yukon had expanded to 285, moving to a new Headquarters at Fort Herchmer in Dawson City, under the command of Superintendent Samuel Benfield Steele. In addition, the government sent 200 men from Canada's permanent militia, to be known as the Yukon Field Force, to assist the NWMP to guard prisoners, banks and gold shipments.

An exciting chapter in the history of a young country was about to be written, a period when the reputation of the Canadian Mountie was to be forged on the frozen anvil of the remote territories.

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INCORPORATING MAORIS INTO THE NEW ZEALAND POLICE

BY Richard Hill

Maori constables had been an integral part of the policing of the colony of New Zealand from the time of Governor George Grey's establishment of the Armed Police Forces in 1846. After representatives of the settlers gained control of policing on a regional basis in 1853, however, ethnocentric - and racist - attitudes ensured that Maori police were gradually phased out from the various provincial forces. By the onset of the main Anglo-Maori Wars in 1860 there remained but a mere handful of Maori police in the colony.

Then Grey's return to New Zealand as Governor in 1861 had led to the quick introduction of a new mode of Maori policing, one adopted from colonial practice elsewhere. A machinery of 'indirect rule' over tribespeople in semi and non-penetrated regions was implemented. Existing tribal and sub-tribal governing institutions, the chiefly-dominated runanga (assemblies), were accorded to status of state bodies of governance. The resulting 'official runanga' were placed under the guidance of white Resident Magistrates working for the Native Department; the means of enforcing 'official runanga' laws were the employment of their own small police forces.

The system was designed essentially as both a holding operation until European modes of behaviour could be fully enforced upon the Maori, and a contribution towards imposing the norms of the pakeha (Europeans) upon the indigenous people. Through the influence of the Resident Magistrates, went the theory, Maori forms of order would be gradually superseded within the territories controlled by the 'official runanga' by forms acceptable to the state. The Maori police would soon be enforcing an amalgam of European statutory and common law on the one hand, and Maori customary law on the other.

Events overtook history. The refusal of the major Maori resistance movement (Kingism) to submit to the requirements of British sovereignty and allow the state to function - and alienate land - within its territories led to the Government's decision to invade and conquer its fertile heartland. Conquest, and occupation by arms, became the prime mode of establishing pakeha hegemony over the Maori. By 1872, when the fighting stopped, the European side had definitively won.

This mode had a new requirement in its use of 'friendly natives': participation in the state military effort during the Wars. This was usually in Maori contingents headed by chiefly warriors, and - in the latter staes of the Wars - as members of the centrally-controlled Armed Constabulary. The 'official runanga' system had a low priority within this scenario, and was allowed to wither. But in the course of its decline the Resident Magistrates discovered that the services of karere (Maori constables) were in some areas indispensable, in most areas at least useful. Thus it was that what were increasingly called 'Native Constables' survived the withering, and then the official abandonment, of the system of 'indirect rule'. As runanga police their salaries had invariably been low, often a fifth or less of those of pakeha constables - on the assumption that they lived as an integral part of a tribal collectivity in which tasks and resources were shared. When their role evolved to make them policing servants of the Resident Magistracy (albeit sometimes still operating in conjunction with 'Maori Magistrates', or Assessors), these low salaries continued. The 'Native Constables' were then, in effect, Maori equivalents of the part-time rural European police who worked mostly with Justices of the Peace.

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In 1877, following the abolition of the provincial system of government, the New Zealand Constabulary Force was shaped from the absorption by the Armed Constabulary of the provincial police forces. The part-time European police, the 'District Constables', came under the control of the NZCF for they had nominally been part of the relevant provincial force covering their area. Only the 'Native Constables' remained outside what had now become an essentially centralised policing system for the whole colony. Within that system there were a sizeable number of Maoris, but almost all of these were in the 'field force' branch of the Constabulary: they were soldiers rather than policemen, despite being sworn constables.

In 1881 the last of the major indigenous resistance movements was symbolically crushed when the military branch of the Constabulary invaded the headquarters of Te Whiti's 'passive resistance' opposition to the state. In theory, official policy ever since the mid-1860s had been no longer to treat the Maori 'offender' differentially from the pakeha law-breaker, even if the offence was collective 'rebellion' against European hegemony. In practice this had emerged but slowly. After what was seen as the final showdown, the invasion of Parihaka with overwhelming force, the pace would perceptibly quicken.

Already by that time the majority of Maori people were policed by the New Zealand Constabulary Force. It was logical that, with the removal of differential enforcement procedures for the two races, the final sector of policing still outside the control of the Constabulary's Commissioner should be brought within the centralised policing system. The actual timing of the transfer of the 'Native Constable' institution, however, came about as the result of an initiative by the Native Department's Under-Secretary, T W Lewis.

With the onset of the 'long depression' of the 1880s, the Native Department had been placed under very heavy spending constraints. In February 1882 Lewis' attention was drawn to the 'Native Constables' by a petition from the JPs and settlers of Mangonui. This requested a pay rise for the locality's veteran 'Native Constable' Piri Raiti (Billy White). Not only, mused the Under-Secretary, could he not entertain a salary increase - perhaps he could actually save some money by having the Defence Department (the controlling authority of the NZCF) take over responsibility for the policeman? And indeed for more, even all, of the 'Native Constables'?

In case none of this happened, and to help make it happen, Lewis embarked on a tour of inspection of North Island Maori regions. He would investigate the indigenous police institution in each of them, with a view to recommending to his Minister that numbers be cut. Not only would this save the Native Department money, it might also make the Constabulary more amenable to taking the remnants of the runanga system's police under its wing.

In some areas he found that the usefulness of the 'Native Constable' was no more, but in many places the pakeha officials and settlers placed a great reliance upon the Maori constables. In the important Tauranga area (not so long before the scene of many an interracial battle) for example, none of the 'Native Constables' could be retrenched. Desperate to cut spending, Lewis instead recommended that all their salaries be reduced to a mere £10 per annum (plus the perquisite of a free uniform). The most important of them, Chief Watene, should be made a Sergeant and his current £20 salary lowered to £15.

Why were 'Native Constables' considered so valuable? One of the axioms of the policing of the New Zealand colonial frontier was the paramilitary concept of 'stranger policing stranger'. But complementary to it was the alternative maxim of 'like policing like'. The 'Native Constables' lived amongst their own people, knew their ways, surveilled them on behalf of the pakeha state, and attempted to persuade them to adopt European modes and manners. They acted too as in indispensable negotiating agency between pakeha officials and the Maori communities. Watene spent much time delivering summonses to fellow tribespeople, a job which might frequently have led to disturbance if attempted by the pakeha police.

Despite their small remuneration, many of them worked long hours - sometimes even full-time - for the state. Another chiefly constable spent most of his time assisting the European police in their interaction with the Maori citizenry in the streets of Tauranga town; the rest of the time he ran the 'Native Hostel', whose purpose was to ensure that visiting parties of Maoris did not encamp in the streets and reserves, or spend too much time 'loitering' around town.

In the hinterland of the town the 'Native Constables' were equally sought after by the white officials. In the Katikati area, where the indigenous population figure was high, the Maori constable was indispensable because the regular constable could not speak the Maori language. At Te Wairoa, only seven miles from the Bay of Plenty's principal European centre, the 'Native Constable' was mostly employed in keeping a constant surveilling watch upon the local hauhau (the major post-Kingite resistance movement) lest they again show signs of unsurrectionist interest. The authorities were all too aware that the region had been a key focus of 'rebellion' during the period of the Wars.

The state was fully alive to the dangers of supplementing the predominant 'strangers policing strangers' principle with that of 'like policing like'. In a typical case a 'Native Constable' clammed up in court when confronted by a number of defendants from his own subtribal grouping, amongst whom he lived in communal fashion. The issue was that of illegal fishing - or, in Maori eyes the extracting of traditional food resources which they believed had remained in tribal control under the 'Treaty' of Waitangi signed shortly after annexation by Britain in 1840. The magistrate declared the constable 'an adverse or unwilling witness'.

But when presented with evidence of the overall usefulness of the specialist surveillance, liaison and enforcement activities of the 'Native Constables', Commissioner of Constabulary H E Reader needed little persuading that the institution should be incorporated into the colony's centrally co-ordinated policing system. Late in April 1882 Lewis' Department negotiated transfer of the 'Native Constables' to the Defence Department, retrospective to the first of that month. The NZCF thereby gained 29 new members who policed large tracts of racially problematic territory - all for a total salary bill of £543 per annum (plus free clothing issues in some areas, and a total of £80 clothing allowance in the rest). The two highest paid 'Native Constables' received, at £50 per annum, two-fifths the remuneration of the lowest paid constable. The lowest paid Maori policemen received a mere £10 in salary.

On 1 September 1886 the police branch and the field force branch of the New Zealand Constabulary Force were legislatively split into two quite separate organisations: policing and soldiering were, at last, recognised as two dinstinct occupations. The Constabulary's regular full-blood Maori (and most mixed-race) members were transferred to the newly created colonial army, the Permanent Militia. The one exception, Hare Takerei, enrolled in the higher-paid New Zealand Police Force, was within two years downgraded to a £24 per annum 'Native Constable' position.

After 1882 the 'Native Constables' reported to the nearest pakeha constable, rather than to the magistracy. The relationship was often a stormy one, with the regular policemen resentful of the informal mode of policing of their Maori subordinates. In turn the latter frequently resisted attempts by the European police to impose 'correct procedure' and regular methods upon them. A typical 'Native Constable' was Arama Karaka, appointed in 1894 at Rotorua on £30 per annum (later increased to £40). At times he would have to attend daily Native Land Court sittings for months on end, controlling events inside the Court (the main means, after the Wars, by which the pakeha alienated land from the Maori) and outside - where turmoil often prevailed, with whole subtribal and extended family groupings forced to stay in town for months on end or lose their right to any proceedings from the sale.

When Constable W Bern decided to order Karaka to report at specific times to Rotorua's police station for instructions - delivering summonses, escorting prisoners, helping the sole-charge constable control the turbulent workers on the railway

contract etc - the 'Native Constable' was not happy. He needed time to cultivate food for his family, and to seek out any other work which might be offered. To be sure he was granted a small allowance for the days he attended Land Court sittings, but this was offset by other factors such as the need to purchase his own uniform.

Friction intensified as Bern tightened his grip, especially when the European constable ordered Karaka to carry out nightly beat duty in 'the old town', the Maori village around which the settlement had grown. When the ill feeling between the two reached the ears of the District's Inspector and the Commissioner of Police (former Scotland Yard Detective Inspector J B Tunbridge), and the officers unquestioningly accepted (as invariably happened) the word of the pakeha against that of the Maori, Karaka resigned. Turnover was high.

From 1882 to 1908, 35 'Native Constable' appointments were made. But there was a decreasing need for this type of specialist policing, quite apart from all the problems associated with it. Even in most backblock areas the Maori were increasingly socialised into ways of life that were, at the very least, not too inimical to the pakeha authorities. By the end of the century, too, the Maori population had fallen to its lowest ever point, a mere 40,000. The race was demoralised, and demoralised people do not engage in significant degrees of resistance. Those few tribes and subtribes which did - the last of them in 1916 - were put down with force by combined police-military expeditions. In the quarter century from 1908 to 1933, the year when the last 'Native Constable' was appointed, only nine Maoris were sworn into the office.

By and large the Maori had seemingly been responding to the state's wish that they become assimilated with the predominantly pakeha society. The official perception, that Maoris were not to be treated differentially from the pakeha in terms of the law, had in view of this come to encompass the idea of individual Maoris entering the regular New Zealand Police Force. By the time of the First World War the occasional mixed-race applicant was being accepted. This process too was a slow and difficult one. The 'half-caste Maori' William Carran was enrolled on the permanent staff on 1 June 1920. For a while it was uncertain whether he would be allowed to remain, for no proof could be found for one of the details on his application form - his date of birth. This had never been registered by his pakeha father and Maori mother, whose tribal lifestyle had made few concessions to the formalities of the law.

Inside the Force, Carran had to struggle amongst racial prejudice (he was universally known as 'The Black Tracker'), and to gain promotion he had to become more dedicated, more draconian, than his pakeha colleagues. By 1960, when he was killed in an accident, he had been 'the only member of the Maori race to have risen to officer rank'. More have done so since, but none of them has attained Carran's rank of Assistant Commissioner.

On a formal level the full integration of the Maori into the New Zealand Police Force had occurred on 1 August 1945, when the 'Native Constable' who had been appointed in 1933, Rawiri Hira of Ruatoria (but recently transferred from Te Kaha, where he earned his substantive living as a labourer), was sworn onto the regular staff. From now on, the only policing function (in the broadest sense) carried out internally within the Maori race was that by Maori Wardens (uniformed volunteers, recognised by legislation but without powers of arrest), with whom the police frequently liaised. Wardens alone controlled order at a huge function at Parihaka in 1981 - the commemoration of the Constabulary's invasion and dispersal of the Te Whiti's passive resistance movement.

When in 1950 the Government had explored the possibility of reinstating specialist Maori police 'to deal with matters concerning members of their own race only', Commissioner J B Young was 'very surprised to learn that the officers are almost unanimously opposed to the suggestion'. Those working at the racial interface, and those policing the now relatively few regions of predominantly Maori

settlement, had assessed that the Wardens were perfectly adequate to provide specialist help and information. Reversion to the institution of 'Native Constable, within or outside the auspices of the New Zealand Police, has not since been considered.

A Note on Sources

For the various police forces and policing activities in the first century of the pakeha presence in New Zealand, there is only one published source: Richard S Hill, Policing the Colonial Frontier: The Theory and Practice of Coercive Social and Racial Control in New Zealand, 1767 - 1867 (constituting parts I and II of Volume I of the series 'The History of Policing in New Zealand'), Wellington, 1986. For a theoretical framework for interpretation of the Stat's use of Maori police, see the same author's 'Maori Policing in Nineteenth Century New Zealand' in Archifacts: Bulletin of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand, June 1985. Much of the present article is basded upon archival material in the P1 series at National Archives, Wellington, and the Police Description Book (Vols I and II) held at the New Zealand Police Centennial Museum, Royal New Zealand Police College, Porirua.

POLICING IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

BY Nicholas Clark

The Shire Hall in Nottinghamshire stands on High Pavement. Since its construction in 1770 its outward appearance has changed little. Directly opposite it is a building that was once the lodgings of the judges during Quarter Sessions. Now, no longer set aside for that use County House is the home of the Nottinghamshire Archives Office. Within its walls are the records of judicial and policing matters, from their beginning to the present day.

Policing is a long established practice in Nottinghamshire as in anywhere else and before written records were kept there were keepers of the law. In Anglo-Saxon times Nottinghamshire was split into 'Tithings' which were groups of ten or so families. A 'Tithingman' maintained order and he was responsible to 'Eldormen' who met at Shire Courts under the Shire Reeve (later the Sheriff).

Later the Normans brought the 'Frankpledge' system by which all Freemen over twelve years olds were responsible for upholding the law within the Tithing and the failure of a member to appear in court or pay a fine was the fault of the remainder of the group. Court Rolls are good genealogical sources because they list the Freemen involved in Frankpledge for each parish. Gringley [1] is a fine example for Nottinghamshire.

The rise of the nobility brought the Head Constable, merely an extension of the 'Tithingman' and he was responsible to a manorial jury and they to the crown. So the Chief Constable of the present day begun to emerge. In Nottingham town there were two such heads, one for the French Borough and one for the English. They governed with different laws and fines but from them came a night watch and the system of 'Hue and Cry' [2]. The power in the Middle Ages rested then with policing by the individual - a personal duty.

With the collapse of Baronial power in 1285 there emerged one of the most popular historical figures of the time. The Parish Constable appeared and remained in Nottingham until the early nineteenth century. Throughout all those years the roll stayed an effective way of controlling crime at a local level. There were some times when it fell into disuse - England as a whole went through many and varied changes in that ara but the job always reappeared and it is the records of the Parish Constable that provide the first really detailed and well-documented accounts of Notts policing. Prior to this time any manorial deeds and documents are sparse and say little other than of the general nature of policing work but under the auspices of the Parish, accounts were kept and names of serving officers begin to appear more frequently.

The Parish Constable served for one year. He was not paid for his duties but received expenses which were then recorded in the accounts of the Parish. [3] From these it can be seen how wide reaching those duties were. He levied taxes for the Chief Constable, kept the peace (for which he could appoint deputies), apprehended villans and summonsed jurors to court. At the end of his duty he returned to his civilian life and another person was called upon to serve his year in the office.

In Nottingham town three constables served the whole area. Their names can be found on the Borough Court Rolls. [4] Unlike their rural counterparts they also had paid help by 1601. In that year policing duties were attached to the jailer's job at the House of Correction [5] and he joined the Parish Constables on the beat as probably Nottingham's first paid policeman.

By the close of the eighteenth century though there were severe public order disturbances in the town and in addition to the regular constables private citizens

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patrolled the streets. These men were paid for by shopowners who, after working themselves in the position on rota basis, eventually appointed a fulltime watchman to guard over property of subscribers. Elsewhere in the Shire these private associations grew up in other small towns like Retford and Southwell.

The problem of disorder in the town fianlly came to a head in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Luddites began framebreaking in towns and rural areas and in the 1830's the Reform Riots culminated in the burning down of Nottingham Castle.[6] All this brought about the passing of the Watch and Ward Acts which, for a time at least, reasserted the idea of policing by the population as a whole. All men over seventeen were eligible to carry out policing duties in the town. They patrolled in groups of twenty-five under the supervision of a permanent policeman. The index to the Watch and Ward Act is invaluable to genealogists though unfortunately no records exist of the way the Act was applied in rural areas. All this demonstrated how much Nottinghamshire needed a force of fulltime officers.

It was in 1835 that a regular town police first came into being in Nottingham. It arose out of the Municipal Corporations Act of that year which also established other such vital services like the fire brigade. They were placed under the auspices of a Watch Committee[7] which ran the three borough forces in the county (Nottingham[8], Newark[9] and Retford[10]) throughout their existence. The force was divided into three sections - on the same lines as the old private police established in the riots, that the new Act had rendered unnecessary. There were Daytime, Evening and Night Shift forces which initially competed with each other but later merged.

Four years after the establishment of the Borough Police the County Police Act of 1839 allowed the setting up of a rural equivalent on a non-statutory basis. It wasn't until 1850's that it became obligatory to replace the old Parish Constables but Nottinghamshire with its history of Luddism and framebreaking did so immediately and became one of the first counties in the country to try it.[11] There was much opposition to the intrusion of such a force in rural life but they remained and became established under the power of a Standing Joint Committee[12].

Nottinghamshire retained its four forces for over a hundred and twenty years until 1967 when it was decided to unite the three borough forces with the rural police to create for the first time, a single, united force to serve the whole of the county.[13] This was achieved by the establishment of the Combined Constabulary.

NOTES

1 The Court Rolls of the Parish of Gringley, NAO DD14/1

2 Quoted in the Borough Records of Nottingham, NAO Belper Library, vol iv page 257

3 Parish Constables Accounts kept in NAO under alphabetical sequence of Parish

4 Borough Court Rolls NAO CA sequence

5 This appointment is noted in the Borough Records vol 4 page 259

6 Walks in Nottinghamshire by H M Barker (NAO Belper Library RB) contains an excellent and lucid description of the reform riots of the time at the end of the book.

7 The Watch Committee minutes provide good detail of activities and legislation concerning Borough Police, NAO CACM Watch

8 The Nottingham Borough Police is excellently served by material surviving in the CA PO section of the NAC. Also in the smaller NP sequence a register of serving officers can be found for most of the period covering the existence of the force which gives family and career details as well as a physical description.

9 For Newark Broough Force a similar register of men exists as in 8 for which the reference number is NP13/1 and a file of reports is also helpful in building up a history of the force NP22/1.

10 An important feature of Retford Borough Police is the work diary NP26/1 although unfortunately no register of serving officers has been found.

11 Some examples of parish opposition can be found in NAO QAC2 and CP5/4/651-5. Other examples occur in parish collections, NAO PR.

12 Standing Joint Committee minutes give much the same information as 7 only with reference to the Rural Force. The power for the country police passed to several different committees but the main body of information can be found in NAO cc3/9.

13 The establishment of the present police force is well documented in NAO CP,CC3/42 and in all administration NAO CC3/51 and CC4/35.

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The political scene in Brighouse over these years had changed greatly particularly after Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867. This changed the West Riding into three, two member constituencies of which Brighouse easily formed a large part of what became the North West Riding Parliamentary Division. The Liberals held two of these seats and of these, one had gone to Lord Cavendish.

Looking back over the trouble that was to follow Lord Cavendish's death, it could hardly have been a political riot as most of the rioters did not vote and would hardly have considered Lord Cavendish as their M.P.

It is believed the real problems lay in the social conditions that prevailed at the time. Once the initial wrath had been vented over his death the continued trouble was a back-lash against conditions of the time and not unlike today the crowd took their feelings out on the authorities which as always in these situations, is and was the police.

For a quarter of a century prior to Lord Cavendish's assassination there had been a mood of prosperity about the town, but with the late 1870's came a social depression. The unemployment level reached a new high at twelve percent, prices were rising, and wage levels were spiraling downwards, strike after strike about conditions and wage levels were never ending, only a few days before the assassination there had been an end to a ten week strike at Richard Kershaw's, Silk Manufacturing, Woodvale Mill, (a premise recently destroyed by fire at the rear of the present police station).

Comparing the situation then with some of today's problems it could be said social conditions, particularly on the unemployment front, certain parallels could be drawn.

For all these problems the few days before the assassination Brighouse was in high spirits and everyone was in a happy mood. Laughter was heard all around the town on Tuesday (May 2nd) as the streets were packed and lined with people watching the parade pass along its route with Lord John Sanger's cricus coming to town on its annual visit. People behaving very much as we do today as we follow the Gala parade winding its way through the district. People screamed and yelled as the wild lions were led thorugh Commercial Street, mezmerised small children seeing the animals, clowns and whip cracking ring master tugged and hid behind mums or grannys bombazine skirt. An occasion not to be missed, sadly as the night come on, the circus closed and the town slipped back to its previous gloomy drabness.

As the fateful day in Dublin approached, Earl Spencer, Lord Lieutenant had accompanied Lord Cavendish to the Irish capital to take his oath as Chief Secretary, on the morning of Saturday, 6th May.

During the afternoon following the swearing in ceremony Lord Cavendish, in company with Thomas Henry Burke, the Under Secretary, took time off to walk through Dublin's picturesque Phoenix Park. Suddenly from nowhere both men were attacked by several men armed with knives, both were horribly murdered.

Rumours of the assassination reached Brighouse on the Sunday (May 7th) but were disbelieved by the few that heard it. By noon the news was officially brought from Halifax by an Alfred Stott, as the story spread throughout the town and outer districts it brought despondency, consternation and alarm. The few times Lord Cavendish had visited the town he had always had a warm welcome from his followers.

Irish labourers in the town were seen as possible followers of the Fenian troublemakers, the perpetrators believed to be responsible for this horrible crime.

Sunday evening services at the St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church were being conducted by Father Morgan, an Englishman. He sensed the high tension in the town and what anger the outrage was likely to bring out of the non-Irish residents. He strongly advised his Irish congregation to stay in-doors and keep off the streets. The few known Fenian supporters in the district were also advised to keep a low profile.

The local police were instantly put on alert to any possible trouble. All the neighbouring constables were drafted into the town. At this time only a handful of

officers actually worked in the town centre from the Police Street (now Lawson Road) Police Station. Mostly they were home beat 'Bobbies' working very much as Community Constables do today.

All through Sunday night tension was high in the town with conflicting stories circulating of how Lord Cavendish was murdered, everyone was going round giving their own version of the events, some saying he was shot whilst others said his throat was cut from ear to ear. Everyone eagerly awaited Monday's (May 8th) newspapers to get the true facts of the tradgedy.

'The Brighouse News' brought the details and even a supplement newspaper was issued to keep people up-to-date. Once having read the facts there was an eerie feel about the streets with large numbers of people walking about with no obvious deed or destination in mind, a feeling as if they were contemplating what they could do about this outrage.

As the evening came on, expectations of trouble in the town were high, particularly towards the Irish labourers who were now returning from work to their dark and dingy lodging houses. Young lads began by booing them as they made their way to the numerous lodging houses in the town centre. If the trouble needed a spark, this was it and little did the people nor the police know what chaos was about to reign the streets over the next few days.

7 p.m., Monday, May 8th, 1882

By 7 p.m. on Monday many of the Irish labourers were finding their way home from the out-lying quarries. As the first labourers appeared in Commercial Street, (Brighouse's main thoroughfare) making their way to their dark alleys where many of these squalid little lodging houses were situated, the crowds had gathered in anticipation of their arrival.

A mob gathered at the top of Taylor's Yard (better known at that time and for many years later as Zingo Nick in Commercial Street), chanting and waving their fists, as the labourers approached the mob, a man picked up a stool from outside Hutchinson's lodging house, smashed it against the wall and picked up one of the legs. Others from the mob dived for the remaining pieces. Many of the labourers anticipating being beaten up made a dash for Hutchinson's front door, whilst others fled in other directions. The mob surged at the door only to have it slammed in their faces. The crowd had now grown to a considerable size, all trying to push and force the door open. With the stool legs banging on the walls the resounding echo in the narrow alley struck terror to the hearts of the now trapped Irish men, holding the door tightly closed as if their very lives depended on it.

Thwarted in their efforts to get in the mob moved further into the dark alley, 'Long Charlies' was the cry. This man Charles Bottomley was known by most people in the town and had housed Irish men for many years in Taylor's Yard.

The mob arrived to find the door open and Charlie Bottomley insisting his lodgers had not come home yet. Not satisfied some of the mob pushed past him and began searching all the rooms. Ill-tempered with not finding anyone the crowd began smashing windows. Suddenly an Irishman known to some of the crowd as 'Larry' appeared from one of the rooms. The crowd surged forward and he was struck several times with the remains of the three legged stool.

The crowd dashed back into the alley just as another Irishman, William Connelly, went by. He was immediately knocked to the ground. He was kicked as he lay there but somehow managed to get into 'Long Charlies' doorway and the door slammed to again. By this time back in Commercial Street there was pandemonium with people chasing about looking to hit the first Irishman they saw. One of the worst incidents involved a young lad being chased into Nettletons Yard, another dark alley off Commercial Street. He had to seek refuge in Wardell's Coal Place where he grabbed a hammer and ran into a house. The mob followed him and dragged him out into the yard and back into the daylight of Commercial Street where they beat him up outside

Hallas Fent Shop and was only saved from further beatings by a policeman.

By this time it was eight o'clock and no Irishman was safe from being attacked. Suddenly the mob saw a man known as Andrew Finnigan, a stone bearer and his friend Dan Flanagan, a mason, both stood outside William Kings fruit shop. On seeing the screaming mob they both ran off to safety. With the mob in hot pursuit the two terrified men hid in a doorway at Briggs Wood Yard, only to be found and pelted with bricks, stones and pieces of wood. The mob surged forward and got hold of them beating them both senseless. The blood stained door highlighted the extent of his injuries.

Finnigan was badly cut and bruised, whilst Flanagan got off comparatively lightly with a black eye, but both were beaten black and blue with large sticks. The door itself, bore witness by the extent of damage caused to it by the continual barage of stones. The two beleaguered men only managed to escape by scrambling over a wall. It was said that by daylight they had left the town.

The mob then marched up Commercial Street looking for more of these terrified Irishmen. Four were seen outside 'The Wellington Inn' public house. Seeing the mob two ran off and got away, a third ran up Church Lane avoiding serious injury but nevertheless received countless glancing blows with sticks across the shoulders. The fourth man was cornered and surrounded, instantly set upon by several of the mob. Fortunately he was rescued by a number of sympatethic spectators who got him away.

Many of the quarry workers were still walking home, unaware of the chaos in the town. John Clark, a quarry worker from the outer districts, was casually walking down Halifax Road when he saw the crowd. Mistakingly thinking they were Church Mission Members he ran towards them only to be set upon with sticks and savagely kicked.

By now Inspector Hey at the police station had heard about the trouble and ventured into the town centre and found Clark unconscious. He was helped to the police station where he lay for two hours out cold. When he did wake up he was examined and found to be badly injured from his beatings. At midnight he was sent home in one of the Wood's cabs and like many others had left the twon by day-break. The mob having shown no mercy towards Clark, would have probably caused even more serious injuries if it had not been for the timely intervention of Inspector Hey.

By far the worst incident by this time was when the crowd descended on the 'Sun Dial Inn' in Elland Road. An inn kept by a William Lawlor, an Irishman. The crowds were now believing anything and several troublemakers were spreading rumours that the Sun Dial was the place where the Irish had their secret meetings.

Standing outside the crowd demanded the Irish to come out. Lawlor sensing what was about to happen bolted and fastened the door. Stones hailed down onto the building and through the windows. The door was smashed down and forced off its hinges allowing forty to fifty of the mob to surge in. Lawlor tried desperately to convince the mob that they were innocent and it was not the meeting place they all thought it was. At this time along with Lawlor there were only three or four Irish labourers in the premises and they were resident lodgers. Immediately they were all attacked with large sticks. One of the men, a Patrick Jordan, managed to escape into a bedroom but was chased by several of the mob. After being caught he was badly beaten and thrown down the staircase, only just managing to drag himself out into the street and escaping down a nearby back alley. Some time later, Dr. Pritchett was called in to attend to his injuries which included stitching up many scalp wounds. A second lodger called Bernard Daley was badly beaten and needed medical treatment to his elbow. A third was very baldy kicked about the head and body. The fourth man, Thomas Sweeney fled in terror and sought refuge in Mr. Baynes shop in Briggate, who allowed him to escape through a back exit in his shop premises.

Having sought out many of the Irish lodging houses the mob now set about smashing up the Sun Dial premises and looting the bottle beer store, after committing acts of criminal damage on a very large scale. It has been said that William Lawlor

the landlord and his famil t had to hide in the inn's cellars and stay there for the duration of the troubles in the town.

As the inn was being stripped of all the bottled beer, P.cs Calvert and Simpson arrived on the scene. Now it was the turn of the mob, who by this time were acting under the strong influence of drink, as soon as they saw the two policemen approaching the inn they all turned and ran off into the dark night.

Once having completed their escape they re-grouped outside another of the lodging houses in Thornhill Briggs, another premise that had housed Irish lodgers for many years and was run by a John Shillitoe. As at the Sun Dial the mob were faced with the door closed and bolted and stood there shouting for the Irishmen to come out and face the consequences. Shillitoe refused to open the door and let them in; this enraged the now drunken mob even more and once again the premises were bombarded by a hail of stones and bricks causing extensive damage. Many of the occupants were injured as stones went through the small mullioned windows sending glass fragments in all directions. Shillitoe was hit on the head and knocked out for a short while. He was carried through the house and out into the backyard only to be caught by some of the mob who were there to prevent them escaping. He was struck whilst unconscious, violently on the back with a large piece of wood and had to be taken to a neighbour's house to recover in reasonable safety.

The mob were now almost totally out of control. Inspector Hey and other officers arrived at the scene only to find the mob running off in all directions to avoid capture. Inspector Hey approached some of the remaining crowd and told them that their behaviour tonight would be remembered in Brighouse for many years to come. Their reply was simple and to the point "What about Lord Cavendish?"

Suddenly one or two in the mob shouted "What about the Catholic Chapel", for the moment this incitement to attack the church was not taken up. They left the Inspector and his men and marched on to the Liberal Club chanting "What about Lord Cavendish". This was repeated over and over again.

Another crowd mainly consisting of young lads were in Brook Street, Rastrick, where many Irish families lived, it was obvious further trouble was about to ensue. Fortunately for the frightened Irish families help was on hand when the appearance of P.c Barber, who lived nearby and was off duty, appeared in his civilian clothes. As soon as the young lads caught sight of him off they went running away in all directions.

Back in the town centre the main group of troublemakers were now in Bethel Street, when they saw another Irishman in Park Street who, like many of his friends, only escaped by running away. The mob went after him chasing him along Back Bethel Street, (now known as West Park Street). Poor old Lucy Fordes who was fast asleep in her Back Bethel Street cottage, suddenly heard her door burst open. In poured the crowd looking for the lone Irishman. Not finding him they pulled out Lucy's table and smashed it up to make more weapons. The police quickly arrived on the scene and dispersed the crowds away into the night. As the night wore on, the mob now suffering after the vast amounts of drink they had stolen and consumed, began to leave the town centre and a relative calm returned.

7 a.m., Tuesday, May 9th, 1882

As daylight broke Inspector Hey had his men out early patrolling the streets in the town centre in anticipation of further outbreaks of trouble.

By seven o'clock unknown at this time to the Inspector, some forty to fifty delvers had met at Lightcliffe Road. Following this meeting they went from quarry to quarry driving out the Irish labourers from the immediate area. From there, this crowd went to the outlying districts of Lightcliffe, Hipperholme, Hove Edge and Southowram demanding the Irish to get out.

This took up most of the morning, and by the early afternoon they were on their way to Bradley where it was known a large gang of Irish were laying a new

large watermain. On arriving the mob realised they were matched man for man and these Irish labourers were armed with pick axes and shovels. The mov decided to make a hasty retreat and leave them alone. After these visits the word was spreading and many Irishmen left the area without being told to and many vowed never to return.

Rumours were still circulating in the late afternoon that the Catholic Chapel was going to be attacked at nightfall probably from the safe higher ground in Oxford Street. This placed increasing strain and pressure on Inspector Hey and his small group of officers. The time had finally come to get some help. By early evening he had drafted in as many extra officers as possible, swelling his men to about forty officers. The Chapel authorities were advised of this possible night time attack and took the opportunity before any further trouble of clearing the Chapel of all removable objects.

The police were posted all around the Chapel building and held the now raging mob off for some considerable time before they decided to leave. With access to the Chapel being blocked they decided to return to the Sun Dial and continue where they left off the night previously by wrecking it even further. The police had to move in very quickly to disperse the crowd once again.

The situation in Elland Road, Commercial Street and Bradford Road finally ended up as a stand off between the police on the one side and the mob on the other. Taunting the police at every opportunity and trying to egg them into some kind of retaliatory action. It was obvious that the police would have to act swiftly or the mob would rule the streets.

The crowd sensing the outcome of this standoff turned their attention back towards the Liberal Club which was in sight of the Catholic Chapel. "What about Lord Cavendish", was echoed time after time. As if trying to trick the police a number of the crowd broke away and returned to the Sun Dial causing more damage to an already wrecked beerhouse.

It was apparent for all to see that the true intentions of the mob was to attack the Catholic Chapel. Little by little they got nearer and nearer, chanting and taunting the police who surrounded the building. As they got nearer the first attack was aimed at the defending group of policemen, pelting them with sticks and stones was the first thrust. The police held their ground.

A number of police reinforcements joined their colleagues at the Chapel. The scene was now very ugly and the police would have to respond in some positive way. They did this by charging the mob who retreated to a safer distance. This happened several times with no real winners of the situation. Stones were now being thrown over the policemen's heads and smashing the Chapel windows, causing great cheers amongst the crowds. The police came under repeated attacks from stones. Inspector Hey led his men from the front throughout and was injured many times by the showers of missiles. Many of his men were also hit many times causing injuries amongst the police ranks. Somehow a diversion was created and the mob withdrew from this stalemate situation to reform outside the Liberal Club. Seeing two policemen in Bradford Road who they believed were about to make an arrest, they immediately surrounded them throwing stones and hitting them with sticks. Many local residents and spectators were hit by the stones and caught in the melee.

The police station in Police Street had a further twenty officers standing by under the supervision of Superintendent Ormsby. Suddenly the mob marched on the Station and attacked it with a hail of missiles, causing damage to numerous windows. Superintendent Ormsby directed his reserves to clear them off. it was now late Tuesday night and further assistance was needed. Rumours were rife that the Irish were coming back to take revenge against the mob for causing damage to the Catholic Church. Irishmen were expected from all the neighbouring West Yorkshire towns and villages.

By now the rumours of the rioting in Brighouse had equally spread out to the neighbouring towns and villages and attracted countless spectators from out of town

and the out-lying districts. Gradually the crowds dispersed leaving the police to count the injured and check the town for looters and the extent of the damage. The town centre was quiet once again.

Day Break, Wednesday, 10th May, 1882

By early morning rumours and counter rumours were rife in the town. Irishmen were expected from Huddersfield, Halifax, Bradford and all the out-lying towns and villages. All seeking revenge for the cowardly damage inflicted on the Catholic Chapel. Against this possibility the mob were gathering and thought to be planning a further attack on the Chapel but this time it was going to be totally destroyed and raised to the ground.

With these thoughts in mind, Inspector Hey left Brighouse for additional help to come and assist in what was now expected to be a full scale riot at some point during the day.

As shop keepers began to opening their premises the sun was shining through and the weather was glorious for so early in May. More and more shop keepers opened to serve the huge numbers of people who poured into the town just to watch the riotous behaviour that was going on.

By dinner time police were arriving from Huddersfield, Barnsley, Dewsbury and many other West Riding towns. The numbers of police in the town swelled to over two hundred, all of whom were now armed with batons and cutlasses if the situation warranted their use. By six o'clock most had been settled in the Town Hall. Senior officers also arrived on the scene and were led by the Chief Constable, Captain Russell, who took over all control assisted by the Deputy Chief Constable, Mr. Hall Both officers were briefed on the current situation by Superintendent Ormsby and Inspector Hey.

Local businessmen fearing the worst met and drew up a public notice to try and discourage people from coming out on to the streets.

NOTICE:-

We, the employers of labour in Brighouse, most earnestly advise the people to REMAIN QUIETLY AT HOME during the present excitment and thus prevent a renewal of the uproarious proceedings of the last two nights, which tend to destroy the good name of our town.

W.A. Camm	Henry Stott & Sons
A. Goodall & Son	A. Waller & Son
Ormerod Bros.	Jonathan Stott
Thos. Ormerod & Co.	Thos. Sugden & Son
Ramsden Camm & Co.	H. & J. Sugden
Rhodes Sowden	Woodhouse and Mitchell

These posters were distributed and erected in all parts of the town so as to try and ease tension.

Meanwhile also arriving in the town was Captain Edwards J.P. and Mr. Baxter the magistrates clerk. They arrived in the event of a full scale riot ensuing and the possibility that the Chief Magistrate would have to read the Riot Act from the Town Hall steps.

By seven o'clock the streets were beginning to fill up but no trouble had yet been reported. Police officers were deployed in all parts of the town, with the Catholic Chapel totally surrounded by thirty to forty constables. A small group of constables remained at the police station in the event of the mob attacking it once gain. All the reserves, meanwhile, were stationed in the Town Hall on standby.

At eight o'clock a large group of people gathered outside the Liberal Club.

Tension was mounting minute by minute and within no time at all the crowds had grown to such proportions that the whole of Bradford Road was blocked off completely.

Young lads began taunting the police at the Bradford Road end leading to the Catholic Chapel. Kicking their caps and tin cans nearer and nearer to the police line. Some of the lads then formed a mock band and sang "We'll roll the old chariot along" and beat time out on the tin cans. Soon getting bored, the lads began playing football again almost under the noses of the police line, who remained passive and unconcerned. Gradually the more boisterous of the lads began kicking the cans at the legs of the police, inviting them to join in. The police showing no sign of emotion picked the cans up and threw them behind the lines. The now already agitated crowd were beginning to get bored, with the inevitable pushing and showing starting again. The spectators were also getting impatient as they stood at either side of the large Brighouse crowd, whose numbers now were several hundred strong.

Nine o'clock and things were beginning to take a turn for the worse. As most of the crowd were only dressed in light summer clothing, having taken advantage of the bright sunshine from earlier in the day, the evening cold was taking effect and the fact they were not going to go home but just stood about getting colder and colder and thoroughly bored with the whole situation. The colder it got the hotter tempers became, pushing and shoving seemed the only way to get warm. Then the stones were thrown at the front of the police lines. More and more the police were being bombarded with barrages of stones, bricks and sticks. After the police could sustain no more the whistle was blown for reinforcement. It was now apparent that the situation had reached crisis point. Sensing this some of the fringe spectators left the scene very quickly in anticipation that the whole situation was about to explode.

Some of the main crowd seeing the police reinforcements marching up Bradford Road began to disperse and ran towards Bonegate House. The reinforcements joined fellow officers outside the Liberal Club. The police slowly advanced towards the shouting mob, who threw stones continually, over and over they chanted "What about Lord Cavendish".

The police returned to the Liberal Club, lined up several deep and began moving forward. Everybody in their path was pushed out of the way. Pushing and shoving the situation got very ugly with shouting on both sides that could be heard in the far corners of the town centre. The police's intentions were now obvious for all to see. Clear the streets. The situation was now getting worse. Something had to give. What sparked the next move from the police is not clear. Was the order given out to draw batons? Again this is not clear. Batons were drawn and for some considerable time there was absolute chaos. Men, women and chuldren who only a few minutes before had been taunting the police bombarding them with stones, were now in a state of panic. The police struck anybody in their path in an effort to clear the streets, crowds which by this time had risen to over two thousand. Police officers chased people almost to their front doors, wielding their batons and hitting anybody in their path, men, women and children, it made no difference. Many people struck by the police fell where they stood after receiving heavy blows to the head and body. Never in the history of Brighouse had similar scenes ever been witnessed before. The stampede of a once chanting mob being pursued by the police, by this time to all parts of the town centre was unprecedented.

The reponse from those who had fled unscathed was 'police brutality', whilst back at the Liberal Club the windows were opened and the police were jeered and booed. Mr. Thomas Ormerod and Henry Sugden, two prominent citizens of the town came out and remonstrated with the police officers because of their 'over the top' behaviour. 'Investigate the Police' was now the cry.

Gradually the town became quiet and everyone was talking about the drastic actions taken by the police. A large crowd remained outside the Liberal Club exchanging stories about the quite unnecessary brutal actions taken by the police, believing that simply clearing the streets could have been done without the use of

batons. Many arguements were put forward; the police should not have allowed such a crowd to assemble, some said; whilst others suggested it was a deliberate trap set by the police for the crowd to fall into. Another suggestion was the police took the action because of the attack on the police station.

"Talk about coming to preserve the peace, they have come to disturb it."

Casulaties were numerous with countless people needing medical treatment for cuts and bruises to the head and limbs, some of the injured included:-

William Stewart, from Elland Edge; George Myers, from Park Street; Arthur Thornton of Toothill Bank; George Pilling who lived at Dale Street; Joe Roberts from King Street; Henry Milnes another man from Dale Street; John Thornton from Spring Banks; Sam Greenwood, Commercial Street; John Barwick from Gooder Lane; Green Wood, Church Street,; Benjamin Crossley, Oxford Street; Mrs. Wood, Clifton Bridge and Samuel Henry Rhodes from Birds Royd.

By midnight the town was once again quiet, anybody found still wandering about the town centre was kept moving by the patrolling police constables. The first batch of police officers to leave the town had left on the midnight train and many were to leave the following morning but the Chief Constable had made arrangements for the same number to be on duty again after these had left to prevent the riot scenes from happening again.

Thursday, 11th May, 1882

By early morning there was a strange atmosphere in the town, with thoughts very much on the previous nights police station. Many people were talking of retaliation. Mr. Francis Smith, a draper, realising the collision course that was iminent between the mob and the police, drew up a petition which was signed by all the towns leading citizens and handed in to Superintendent Ormsby.

He chose to dismiss the petition and keep his main contingent of officers on standby in the Town Hall leaving the town to be patrolled by the local Brighouse officers.

At ten o'clock a mob broke into Brigg's Wood Yard in Commercial Street and stole large quantities of hedge sticks to be used as weapons. Initially the mob were content to march around the town building up their numbers all the time, marching round with some degree of uniformity by keeping in step as they brandished their weapons and sang hymns.

Once reaching the Town Hall they kept quiet so as not to draw the police out. Once they arrived at the Sun Dial, where by this time the landlord was hiding in his cellar with his family and in fact was there almost three days, the mob arrived to inflict further damage but found it surrounded by five police officers (P.cs Dales, Lonsdale, Nixon, Nichols and a Sergeant).

The officers found themselves faced with over a one hundred strong mob, taunting then began straight away, quickly followed by a hail of stones and bricks. The tried to escape by running away but were engulfed by the mob, beaten and kicked, four managed to escape. Unfortunately, P.c. Dales was not so lucky. He was trapped and savagely beaten. He finally escaped, in a state of shock, with his eye badly injured after being hit by a stone. His head was split open and his uniform was torn and covered in mud. Another of the officers escaped into The Vine Hotel, where he took an overcoat and hat using them as a disguise and with some assistance from a Thomas Furness he managed to get back to the safety of the Town Hall.

At the corner of 'The Wellington Inn' in Commercial Street, P.cs Barber and Simpson were trapped and savagely beaten. Luckily they managed to get refuge inside the inn. Standing outside shouting and chanting the mob threw stones at the windows and some even used the hedge sticks as javelins, throwing them through the broken windows.

Gradually the crowd moved off once again and arrived outside the Town Hall, taunting the police to come out. Although Francis Smith's partition earlier in the day had been ignored by Superintendent Orsmby he had promised to keep his men inside the Town Hall as long as not one of the windows were broken. The mob resorting to its usual tactic of stone throwing had by this time smashed many of the Town Hall's windows. After each volley and expecting the police to dash out after them they retreated back to a safe distance. After several volleys some forty to fifty windows had been damaged. Superintendent Ormsby had had enough and directed forty constables to go out and clear the street. Once outside the police lined up and with almost precise marching approached the mob who immediately ran off in all directions. The police then double marched through the town and cleared away anybody that was in their path. Batons had been drawn and many pedestrians received glancing blows to the head and body.

Back at the Town Hall Captain Edwards J.P. sat waiting just in case the Riot Act would have to be read out. Thankfully as time passed that situation never arrived and by late evening the streets had been cleared and all was quiet once again. One final attack by the mob, did however occur at the Catholic Chapel when all the remaining windows were broken.

Inside the Town Hall P.c. Dales was being treated by the local Doctor, Doctor Brown, he advised that he should be taken out to rest. He was taken to The Royal Hotel, which was being utilised as a temporary hospital.

At 10.15 p.m. Robert Stubbs, a lone stone thrower, who lived at Thornhill Briggs was caught red handed by Inspector Hey and a detective throwing stones at the Town Hall. Having broken two windows he was immediately arrested and taken to the Police Station. He was put before the Halifax Court who remanded him to Wakefield to be tried for malicious damage on the following Wednesday.

Friday, 11th May, 1882

With still over two hundred police officers in the town things were quiet. To keep so many officers occupied and on their toes drill practice was carried out on what became known as 'The Long March', a stretch of Thornhill Road at Rastrick that was straight and level. With over two hundred officers lodging in the Town Hall the condition must have now become unbearable.

Captain Edwards was still in the town but by noon was found not to be needed and he returned home.

During the evening several policemen walked around the town in civilian clothes looking and hoping to catch the mob's ring leaders but no arrests were made and there was no repetition of the earlier trouble.

It was expected that the majority of the police contingent would leave today but a large number of officers would remain in the town until the election of a replacement for Lord Cavendish had taken place. Gradually the town got back to some kind of normality.

Reports of police brutality was still the high talking point amongst many people, all telling their own story:-

Henry Sykes, aged twenty years, from New Street, a labourer who worked at the Rastrick quarries said he was standing outside the Oddfellows Hall at about 9.30 p.m. on Wednesday and was caught in a police charge and struck with batons.

John Barker, a silk dresser from Jessop's Buildings on Elland Road, defied his father's instructions not to go out, but on Thursday night he did go out and whilst standing outside the George Hotel he too was struck by police batons during a police charge, but his injuries were not serious.

William Henry Schofield who, after leaving the Church Mission on Wednesday night, stood watching from the Oddfellows doorway. During the police charge he was said to have been dragged out by two policemen and batoned.

John Hirst, a wiredrawer from Bonegate Road, was batoned several times on the head and body by policemen in various locations about the town. When he complained at the Town Hall about his treatment he was directed to the Royal Hotel where the duty Inspector was, but it was said that when he made his complaint the police just laughed at him.

As the town returned to some degree of normality thoughts turned to the national scene, "Who did murder Lord Cavendish and would they be caught?"

Numerous names were put forward as to who the murderers might have been and where they had gone afterwards. One theory was that they had all slipped out of the country and had gone to South America. Extensive police enquiries left no stone unturned, both in Ireland and all foreign parts.

Saturday, 12th May, 1882

By now with the odd exception of a few juveniles still going around smashing windows, the quietness of the last twenty four hours continued. It was said these same youths went to the Catholic Chapel and smashed up the Chapel's harmonium in the absence of the police protection afforded to it previously. On this damage being reported, police officers were put back on round the clock protection patrols.

As the days slipped by and comparative calm prevailed, prisoners apprehended during the riots were prepared for their Wednesday court appearance at Halifax. On the day itself all the offenders got away with either fines or binding over orders to keep the peace. Magistrates listened to both offenders and police officers who gave their own graphic accounts of the violence that had prevailed.

A reward of £10,000 had been offered for information that would lead to the arrest of the murderers. Numerous arrests were made both in Ireland and in England, noteably at Southport and Preston but all the suspects were subsequently released. The trail was now getting cold.

* * * * *

The breakthrough came on January 13th, 1883, when a James Carey was arrested at his Dublin home. Most people when hearing who had been arrested could not believe that one of Dublin's most upright citizen was possibly involved.

At his trial an unbelievable catalogue of conspiracy and deceit was heard about him. He was certainly not the man he led most people to believe he was. James Carey was born in 1845 and was the son of Francis Carey, a bricklayer, who left his native town of Celbridge in Kildare to find work in Dublin. Once having settled in Dublin and getting married, his first son James was born in James Street. He began his working life following his father from building site to building site working as a bricklayer wherever he could get the work. Eventually he began his own business in Denzille Street, Dublin. He became very successful and became a leading spokesman for the building trade. Even at a time when he was heavily involved in the 'Nationalist Conspiracy' on the face of it he remained one of Dublin's rising men. Everyone believing him to be a helpful and generous man with many interests in the locality and he was always one to help the less fortunate. In 1882 he was elected to the town council and was strongly tipped as a future Mayor of the city.

As early as 1861 he had become a member of the 'Fenian Conspiracy' and became treasurer for the 'Irish Republican Brotherhood'. In 1881 this group became known as 'Invincibles' with its headquarters in Dublin. Carey like the others took the oath that pledged to remove all tyrants from the country. This was to be carried out

using whatever means were thought necessary, even murder and attempts had already been made on Earl Cowper and W.E. Forster's lives by the Invincibles.

The leader of this group was referred to simply as 'Number 1'. It was he that gave out the orders to have Thomas Henry Burke killed. The murder was to take place on May 6th, 1882 in Phoenix Park by nine conspirators. It was Carey who had the job of pointing the finger so as the nine conspirators were sure to get the right man. Whilst sat on a jaunting car he pointed the finger. Instantly the nine men attacked Burke and the apparently unknown man with him. Knives were the weapons and both were horribly murdered. The killers did not know that this unknown man was no lesser person that Lord Frederick Cavendish, the newly appointed Irish Secretary.

Carey was arrested with sixteen other people and charged with conspiracy to murder public officials. On February 13th, Carey turned Queens evidence and betrayed the whole Fenian Conspiracy, and the killers of Lord Cavendish. His evidence was sufficient to find five of the conspirators guilty and all were publicly executed.

Carey was now in serious trouble and his own life was in mortal danger, revenge would almost certainly be carried out for the betrayal. Immediately after the trial was over he and his family were given immunity from prosecution and new identities. One night along with his wife and children, he slipped out of the country on the S.S. Kinfauns Castle bound for the Cape travelling under the name of Power.

Needless to say the webb of informers had already passed the word to the Invincibles who sent Patrick O'Donnell to follow him and kill him. Half way around the world Carey and his family changed ships at Cape Town and set sail for Natal on the S.S. Melrose. On the 29th of July, 1883, just twelve miles off Cape Vaccus, Carey was shot, he died instantly. The Invincibles' revenge was complete.

O'Donnell was immediately arrested and taken back to England to stand trial for murder. With no mention of the Fenian Conspiracy he was found guilty of murder and executed.

James Carey had married his wife Margaret McKenny in 1865 and it is believed she and her seven children went on to make new lives in South Africa.

Some of the Irish did eventually return to Brighouse but many had left the town for good but for those who did return many bore the scars of that fateful week in May when the mob almost ruled the streets.

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WALTHAM ABBEY POLICE - THE EARLY YEARS

BY Bryn Elliott

Eleven years after the formation of the Metropolitan Police, further areas were added to the jurisdiction of the force, one of these was the Parish of Waltham Holy Cross. Covering part of Epping Forest, once the haunt of many a highwaymen, including Dick Turpin, it lies in the South-West corner of Essex.

The old style watch and parish constables were displaced, the latter remaining only in a titular form for a few years after the arrival of the new police in January 1840. The old watch had long been treated with some suspicion with regard to both their trustworthiness and their deterent value. In the main they were old men unable to look after themselves adequately let alone the 4,500 or so inhabitants of the area.

The police strength working from the police room, once used by the watch, amounted to four sergeants, one of whom was mounted, and nine constables for the town. Each of these men was accommodated in private lodgings. In addition four further constables were posted to outlying hamlets and villages, one at Sewardstone, another at High Beach, and two at the village of Chingford, four miles to the South.

The area worked by these seventeen men stretched from the twists and turns of the River Lea in the West to the London to Newmarket Road in the East. The Northern boundary, also that of the expanded Metropolitan force, was, and indeed remains, marked by the white coal posts on the roadside. These were set following the Great Fire of London in 1666, to mark the point at which coal taxes were imposed to help pay off rebuilding debts. From this Northern point to the Southern border in Chingford was in excess of eight miles. The area was mainly rural in nature, but the small town's closeness to London, and periodic influxes of itinerent workers constructing canals in the Lea valley presented their own problems. It was the custom of the population of London to visit the High Beach area of Epping Forest in large numbers each weekend, which in turn drew thieves and vagabonds to prey upon them.

The men policing the area wore the standard Metropolitan Police uniform of the period, a blue jacket and trousers. The coat was high necked and swallow tailed, the trousers were blue in the winter months and white in summer. A re-inforced top hat was worn to reduce any sense of militarism. The men were provided with a bamboo truncheon, but kept in the tail of the jacket, a cutlass and rattle. Whilst literate, they tended to be coarse and fond of their drink. The pay, which remained unchanged from the 1829 formation of the force until 1869, averaged £1.1.0d. For this sum the men were expected to work every day of the week, twelve hours daily. Uniform was worn even during off duty hours for many years, the only means of denoting the duty status of the officer being a removable blue and white armband worn on the lower left arm during hours. With such long hours of working, many men were dismissed from the force as "worn out" long before attaining pensionable age.

The two-storied building which the police took over from the watch was situated in Highbridge Street, facing the Abbey church and water mill. Immediate neighbours included the notorious dwellers in Camps Court, a row of filthy wooden slums to the rear of the station. The building was small, badly constructed and lacking in rear windows. As a result, the interior suffered from poor light and insufficient ventilation, aggravated by the stench of earth closets in the cells - especially in summer. Water for all purposes was drawn from the Cornmill stream, the tail of the water mill, which passed by the front of the station. The building only provided the ground floor for police purposes, the upper level serving as both Parish Meeting Rooms and Petty Sessions Court.

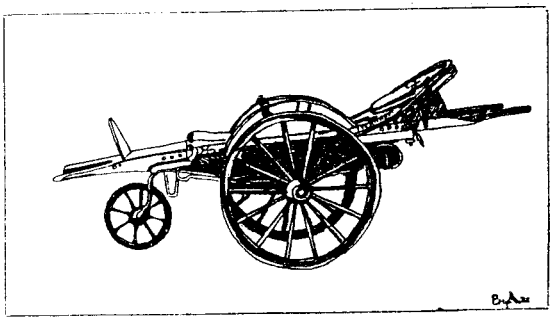
The Author is a serving Metropolitan Police Officer.

The position of that first police building was usefully placed in the centre of the town's major events of the time, the fairs held in May and September of each year. These short fairs occupied the Market Square and the Parish Church fore-court and dated back to 1253. Large numbers of people from the surrounding area were drawn into the town centre by a mixture of amusements and market stalls. Until 1846, as an addition to the numerous public houses the town boasted, any householder could set himself up as a fairtime "bough" house, simply by affixing a section of green branch to the front doorway. That with the addition of very liberal licensing hours, created many difficulties with drunkeness.

The police rented a small stable from a local solicitor, Joseph Jessop, in 1852 for which they paid £10 p.a. The stable was situated quite close to the station at the rear of an 18th century house called St. Kilda's which housed the local Baron Court. (Dealing with wills and probate matters.)

In 1859 a fire station was added to the side of the police station, it being the duty of police to both call out the volunteer firemen and collect the horses for the appliance from the marshes.

In 1860 the Metropolitan Police introduced a custom built hand carriage for heavy haulage. This cart, the Bischoffsheim Hand Ambulance, was the sole means of transporting the dead, ill or merely drunken, to either mortuary, hospital or police station. Known locally as "The Barrow" it was in heavy use on market days.



The Hand Ambulance 1860-1938

Like many items of equipment and uniform, it is highly unlikely that the use of the hand ambulance actually started in Waltham on the introduction date, any more than the previous watch arrangements disappeared overnight. On the 1st April that same year, 1860, the Royal Gunpowder Factory became the responsibility of the Metropolitan Police. As the factory, the main employer in the town, had no previous full-time security arrangements, it may have been the one exception to the overnight rule. With the taking over of the factory and its ready made accommodations, provision was made for the housing of single police officers in the barrack block attached to the police watch house.

From 1864 the men changed their uniforms for a new design. The white trousers were dispensed with for summer wear. A frock coat replaced the previous article, which in turn required the truncheon to be housed in a spring loaded leather holster on the belt. The following year the first of the familiar helmets and plate badges appeared.

In Police Orders published on the 11th January 1864, showing the distribution of the Metropolitan Police force, Waltham Abbey was shown as a station on 'N' (Islington) Division.

Until the middle of the next century, Police Orders were a daily issue, often only amounting to a single sheet transmitting information that in later years would be entrusted to telegraph (1883) and telephone (1907) instruments. Delivery to the station was by way of the mounted patrols acting as despatch riders. These men were mainly officers attached to the central 'A' division Rserve force posted to the outer division.

The same year, 1864, the Commissioner Sir Richard Mayne, directed in Police Orders dated 31st December, that Superintendents were to take immediate steps to find sites for various new police stations to be erected in the London police area. Included were Waltham Abbey and Chingford, the latter still being without its own station. The officer in charge of the Waltham Abbey station at this time, Sergeant Henry Whale 35N, was busied in supplying his Superintendent at Islington information upon sites at both of the parts of his area, the present state of the Waltham Abbey facility and the feelings of the local populace. The Superintendent himself would have undertaken very few visits to the locality which entailed a horseback journey taking up a full day.

In 1869 a small pay rise of one shilling was granted to the men, but efforts to obtain a day off were still blocked.

Very little appears to have happened on the provision of a new station site until the presentation of a request, in the form of a memorial signed by many of the townspeople, for something to be expedited which was sent to the Superintendent in March 1872. Within the month Superintendent Green penned two reports, one setting out the condition of the old police office, and another identifying two possible sites in the town, the first in Highbridge Street, alongside the 1850 construction County Court building, and the second in Sun Street upon the site of an orchard. Within six months the second site was selected and negotiated. The one acre plot was purchased from the estate of Mr. Richard Clayton Brown Clayton for the sum of £400, the contract being signed on the 29th September 1872. Subsequently a small section of the plot was resold for £25 to a neighbour Mr. Chetwood.

The new building, the one presently used as a police station in the town, was to provide facilities far beyond those endured in the old watch building, accommodation for families and men and sanitation far ahead of the earth closets that had made the building unbearable in summer. The cost of the construction reached £3,570 at the time of completion in December 1875, and on the 10th January 1876 business transferred from the old premises to the new.

The one time watch building remained in being as the Parish Meeting Room on the upper floor, with the one time police office taking up a new lease of life as the Parish Reading Room until 1898. The building was closed and demolished to make way for the construction of the Town Hall that had stood in its place since 1904.

The new building was constructed in the style of many police stations built at that period and cost £3,570. The operational accommodation was confined to one room, much as the previous building had provided. The major part was set aside for living quarters for one sergant and constable and their families and four single constables. The arrangement of the rooms left very little provision for privacy. All the sleeping accommodation was on the upper floor, each of the rooms opening out onto a common passage. The single men shared their bedroom, four to a room, and the wives shared the kitchen and laundry rooms.

The operational room, to the right of the main entrance, had three cells leading from it. A meal room, on the ground floor, was also communal.

To the rear of the building, across the gravel surfacing of the yard, stood the stables, a two stall building with a fodder store above. The building was enlarged on the original plans during construction, to provide a tack room alongside the stalls. A shed was provided for the hand ambulance in the lee of the main gates.

In December 1875, the police surveyor reported that the new building in Sun Street was ready for occupation by police. On the 10th of January, the next year, Police Orders announced the taking into use of the new station. The same order set

out the charges to be levied on the residents for their quarters. The married Sergeant was charged 4s.0d. (20 pence), the Constable and his family, 3s.0d (15 pence), whereas the single men were charged 1s.0d (5 pence) each.

The residents, six police officers, two wives and probably ten or so children had a somewhat frugal life style. In particular, the single men, were expected to comply with rules made for much larger single men's accommodation (the Powdermills Barracks for instance) which in 1873 had been set down bluntly. It was stated that

> "No article of furniture, and no picture, print, or statue is to be put into any of the sleeping rooms of the single men .... except ..... supplied by the receiver."

It was usual to hire a servant or a married constable's wife to look after the single men.

The families living at the station, who had gardens at the rear of the building, were forbidden by regulations to keep any pigs, rabbits or poultry of any description. This was in fact ignored giving rise to the virtual zoos of the 20th century garden scene.

Coal, for heating, was issued to the level of 40lbs (20 kg) per week, per man, in winter. The single man's allowance dropped by half in summer, though not the married. The station had the capacity to order a total of 440 lbs (200 kg) of coal each week. An allowance was paid to men living outside the station in lodgings at the rate of 3½d. (1½p) weekly. The basement boiler room provided heating for the cells. This heating was usually confined to the period between October and March. Each day, at 4 p.m., it was lit, and maintained until 10 p.m. at which time, dependent upon prisoners being present, it was either kept or left to die out. The other heating, under the control of the individual men in their rooms, was in the form of open fires. The lack of privacy, with the common corridors, mess room and scullery, required a great deal of discipline amongst the families. There was little opportunity to play in a building inevitably containing sleeping night duty policemen. At that period the officers were working two thirds of their time on night duty with two days off a month. Sick leave was not used lightly for extra days off. The sick officer had to see the police appointed Divisional Surgeon before being allowed to go sick, and his pay was cut by a third. Annual paid leave was at a rate of 14 days for Inspectors, 10 days for Sergeants and 7 days for Constables. Applications for a period of more than three days at a time had to be submitted to the Police Commissioner's Office.

Within each of the ranks a seniority, or class system existed, and the least misdemanour detected, would result in removal of seniority. A hard core of the lower ranks often lost class payments through drunkeness. Any punishment often included a transfer of station, and eventually dismissal.

At the end of the individual officer's service, he could look forward to a pension, but unless they were aged 60 years upon retirement, or had completed 30 years service, the pension would only run for five years. The full penison was thirty fiftieths of pay. Even in those days pensions were fairly complex. The widows of constables killed in the execution of their duty could expect to see £15 per year plus £2.10s (£2.50) for each child, not a princely sum. To supplement this amount, brother officers of the same rank only, were allowed to subscribe a set amount. In the case of constables, this amounted to one penny each. A town the size of Waltham, would find it difficult to raise more than 3.0d (15p) from both of the Sun Street and Gunpowder Factory stations. Deaths in service were common.

The physical working of the beats by constables was set down in regulations even to the part of the footway to be used by the men, i.e. on the kerb on day duty, and alongside the buildings on night duty. Any report of crime was considered a derelection of duty by the man upon whose beat it occurred.

The local newspaper, the "Weekly Telegraph" was very impressed by the new building stating that the police station was one of the three best buildings in the town, ranking alongside the County Court and the new school.

The men of the station took delivery of new style helmets with a wide brim in the September, and were reported to have all appeared on the streets of Waltham Abbey the same day wearing them. A few days later, on the 9th September, 1876, four of the sergeants received promotion on the same day with the introduction of the four stripe station sergeant rank. This affected Sergeants Hole, Tubb, Ware and Rolfe. These sergeants were as assisted by acting sergeants who were constables. Upon the death of one of these acting sergeants, APS 84N Jepthah Farrow, on the 9th November 1876, the group were present at his funeral a few days leter. Jepthah had succumbed to a lingering illness that kept him from duty for four months prior to his death. He left a widow and two young children, the eldest eight years. Over ten years of his fifteen in the force had been spent in Waltham, at the R.G.P.F. as well as the town station. He was 39.

On the 18th March 1872, the Divisional Commander of 'N' Division, Superintendent W.F. Green, produced a report setting out the poor state of the police room in Waltham Abbey.

In a further report, on the 29th March, Superintendent Green wrote of two possible sites for a new police station in the town. The first was in Highbridge Street, adjoining the County Court. The second, in Sun Street, was an orchard, on the South side of the Town's main street. The one acre orchard was purchased from Mr. Richard Clayton Browne Clayton for the sum of £400. A section of the site was resold for £25, an addition to the estate of Mr. Chetwood. The deal was signed on 29th September 1872.

The Evolution of the Uniform

In the field of uniform dress - as well as many other - Waltham Abbey lagged behind the rest of the Metropolitan Police Force. Although a number of changes occurred to the dress from 1864, in many cases by the time one particular change perculated down to Waltham Abbey it was itself being changed. By 1890 the design had evolved into the standard that was to remain largely unchanged until the introduction of the collar and tie style. This latter required an almost complete change in the issued clothing.

C1885 to 1950

The helmet, first introduced in 1865, evolved through at least three designs. The first two included flat brims. The second of these, an 1872 introduction deleting the spine of its pre-desessor, did not arrive at Waltham Abbey until September 1876. Until 1980 the helmets were of wholly cork construction. At that time a cork lined glassfibre shell was introduced.

1865 Helmet

1829 to 1864
(1840 Waltham)

C1864 New Uniform

POLICE RAISON D'ETRE
The History of Fear of Crime

BY Peter Bennett

Introduction

The concept of police in the United Kingdon, North America, Australasia, and other countries with British links, is remarkably similar in its fundamental rationale of crime prevention. Despite the rapid and radical changes in social life through the Industrial Revolution, despite the pioneering frontier societies, and despite England's practice of dumping its surplus production of criminals onto the new colonies, police are united in their mission to keep the peace and prevent crime according to the principles of Sir Robert Peel.

In practice, however, all have developed self-images of being crusaders in a holy war against crime. The rationale of prevention has been lost or at least obscured. There is much belief in its existence but no-one seems to have seen it in reality. As with the Holy Grail of the Christian religion, it may be realised or conceptualised with a little faith, hope and charity. I appeal to you for a little of each now as I take you on a journey in search of the holy grail of policing. Accompany me on a laser beam through early policing history to 1829 when we will perambulate a little before catching the winds of change in a sailing ship around the world to survey the seas of prevention and fear that ebb and flow with desire for police in the minds of freedom-loving, law-abiding people. In the passing landscape we will see features of another social institution, medicine. In the milieu of social life, the police are but one contributor to public health. Crime itself may not be a disease, but its effects can indeed cause a range of degenerative and debilitating symptoms of ill-health. Fear of crime is destructive. Let us face it together and trace its history.

Up to Peel: Pre 1929

In the beginning there was fear. Fear of attack is a fundamental reason for living in communities. The survival and health of a community depends on the level of trust and co-operation between members and their contributions towards vigilance, alarm signalling and crime-control activities. The English police system developed out of such contributions embodied in laws of ancient kings including Athelstan, Edgar, Canute and Edward the Confessor. Their operation of systems like the hundreds, tythings and frankpledge enabled people to police themselves in order to secure free rights, at least for some. Besides those monarchs, an occupying republican power influenced the concept of policing in the British Isles, the Romans. Whilst they enjoyed slaves, the Romans also enjoyed freedom and forms of democracy that we still cherish. For them, the word 'policing' was a generic term including many functional parts of which magistrates, urban cohorts, and prefects are examples. They had no specialist police force to counter their great and constant fears of disorder and plots against the Republic but they had a collective faith in their protective law backed by the display of magisterial authority rather than its application.

Prior to the English peasant rising of 1381, the 'battle for freedom' was led by John Ball and other itinerant Christian preachers to secure justice for individuals. The story of that rising describes how ill-policed England was at that time when,

> "Lord, miller and peasant must each guard his own family, property and life ..... local violence was always to be feared ....." (G.M. Trevelyan, 1944.)

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In those times, crime prevention techniques produced buildings with narrow shot-holes for windows facing out over moats and larger openings overlooking enclosed courtyards. The fear of Hell was exploited by preachers to great effect whilst the introduction of the college system defeated the criminal bands of students in Oxford and Cambridge.

The reported events of crime and disorder, suggest that there must have been a prevailing order and relative peace, but in the 18th century, fear of crime prevented some people from venturing out into the poorly-lit streets of towns and from travelling between urban settlements. The city marshal of London recorded in 1718:

> "It is the general complaint of the taverns, the coffee-houses, the shop-keepers and others, that their customers are afraid when it is dark to come to their houses and shops for fear that their hats and wigs should be snitched from their hands ... or that they may be blinded, knocked down, cut or stabbed ...." (George, in: Yi-fu Tuan, 1979.)

The coffee-houses were the news and social centres from which institutions like the insurers, Lloyds of London, developed. Edward Lloyd of that company stated:

> "Many quiet citizens had found the magistrates, ever since the Restoration, scandalously lax in restraining drunkards from annoying the sober, in protecting women from insult, and in preserving any show of decency and order."

The inefficiency of law executed by magistrates and constables was of great concern to the Fielding brothers in the mid-1700's, as Henry Fielding wrote:

> "The innocent are put in terror, affronted and alarmed with threats and execrations, endangered with loaded pistols, beat with bludgeons and hacked with cutlasses, of which the loss of health, of limbs, and often of life, is the consequence; and all this without respect to age, dignity or sex." (1751)

The following year, Horace Walpole stated:

> "One is forced to travel event at noon as if one was going into battle." (Fowler, 1979)

In 1785, shortly after the Gordon Riots at the time of the American war of independence, Pitt introduced the London and Westminster Police Bill which failed. The Solicitor General of the day, Sir Archibald McDonald, remarked:

> "No person could feel himself unapprehensive of danger to the person or property if he walked the streets after it was dark." (Fowler, 1979)

Patrick Colquhoun, the architect of modern policing, recorded:

> "We cannot lie down to rest in our habitations without the dread of a burglary being committed, our property being invaded, and our lives being exposed to imminent danger before the approach of morning." (1806)

These, and other, writings have been taken as indicative of the actual state of crime at the time. Yet, they all describe, in the first instance, the fear of crime. The crime rate was probably never as bad as it was made out but the chroniclers of the day clearly expressed the great concern felt by people about crime. From his studies of the period, Trevelyan concluded:

> "Indeed, the wonder is that our ancestors preserved public order and private property as well as they did. They must have been, on the average, at least as moral and law-abiding a folk as our own generation." (1944)

The riotous massacre at Peterloo was considered by Trevelyan to have been directly caused by the absence of a civilian police which "aggravated the symptoms of political and social disturbance".

The English social system became ripe for change to its criminal justice institutions. In the early part of the nineteenth century, 'policing' was still a generic term as the writings of Colquhoun reveal. The Industrial Revolution brought upheaval and greater movement of people from place to place. There developed a threat to order for the State and its people. Clearly, there was dissatisfaction with policing as it then was. No doubt there was frustration, too, particularly for Colquhoun who had already proved the principle of prevention with his river police. Putting preventive innovations into practice is never easy and law is often considered necessary to ensure compliance. Peel knew that he would require legislation for his preventive police. What followed represented a fundamental change in societal as well as individual attitudes towards, and demand for, public order. The word 'policing' was about to become somewhat obscure in meaning by being applied both to a general function and to the specialised agency to fulfil it.

Peel's Preventive Police: Circa 1829

Sir Robert Peel is generally credited with the founding of the Metropolitan Police in 1829 though there is little evidence that he contributed much original thought to the matter. Patrick Colquhoun and Edwin Chadwick were prominent advisors. The innovative Edwin Chadwick, who was responsible for improvements in public health and poor law, insisted that the principal mission of the new police should be the prevention of crime. Peel agreed, but what did they understand as 'prevention'?

In order to prevent something, a degree of knowledge about its possible occurrences is essential. Peel's idea was for that knowledge to be gleaned by non-militaristic men of ordinary backgrounds, regularly walking prescribed beats, and establishing good relations with local people. Constables could then use their local knowledge to determine when and where to place themselves. We now understand the word 'prevent' to mean, 'hinder or stop' but in Peel's time, it also meant:

meet or deal with, before expression;

precede;

arrive before.

The Anglian Prayer Book of the time included an appeal for the Lord's gracious favour to "prevent us .... in all our doings". That, of course, does not mean to pray for hindrance or to be stopped.

The Editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, tells me that the modern sense applied in the early nineteenth century and the antique meaning 'to preced or go before' is unlikely to have been in popular use at that time. But we know that parliamentarians were not always given to using words with popular meanings in mind. Eloquence and erudition were more their aim. If Peel was thinking of prevention of crime as the prime function of the police, he could well have been planning a secular version of God's omnipresence to guide, protect and go before those who feared criminal attack. Perhaps there was a desire for a police organisation that would prevent, not hinder, law-abiding people moving freely about their business, warding off the evil enemies of their freedom.

It appears reasonable to accept that 'prevention' meant that the new police were to anticipate and forestall criminal events which threatened people as they went about their lives. Anticipation of crime or any other catastrophe generates fear and so perhaps the new police were intended to respond to people's fear of crime. At the same time, such a police would be preventing criminals by actual or possible presence, or display of authority, on the occasions of their likely attacks. Thus Colquhoun's river police in 1800 included a member of 'preventing officers'.

It was in the same period of English history, that the concept of preventive medicine was being developed. That energetic preventor, Edwin Chadwick, argued for, and then headed, a sanitary commission in the 1830's. He banished cesspools and established proper sewers. Cholera, tuberculosis, whooping cough and typhoid were some of the prevalent diseased causing high death rates in the 19th century.

Improvements in hygiene through preventive public health measures were more responsible for decline in those diseases than medical treatment or technology. Piped water from uncontaminated sources, dispelled fear of disease from contact with water-borne infectious organisms. People began to bathe, shower and swim again. That in itself improved overall health and it indicates how behaviour can respond positively when fears are removed or significantly reduced.

Peel wanted to "teach people that liberty does not consist in having your house robbed by organised gangs of thieves, and in leaving the principal streets of London in the nightly possession of drunken women and vagabonds". (C.S. Parker, 1899). He appears to have succeeded and the fear of crime in London lifted noticeably, if not measurably. As a testimonial, the journalist J. Grant, wrote in 1838:

> "You may walk at any hour, in any part of London, without the least danger of any outrage being offered to you."

Peel's preventive policing idea quickly spread around the world, particularly in those countries with transplanted British traditions. The Sydney Police Act of 1833 put it into Australia where the Sydney police administered not only traditional criminal laws but also those affecting public health and hygiene. The role of Medical Officer of Health was clearly combined with the role of police in the colonies whilst in England separate Medical Officers of Health were established in parallel. South Australia enjoyed a leisurely police in its first two years of settlement but an invasion of convicts from other colonies led to adoption of the Peel model in 1839.

In America, New York was first to adopt the London model in 1844. Cincinnati and New Orleans waited until 1852 and then Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore quickly followed. The tradition of private police forces in the U.S.A. began in Chicago in 1855, with the son of an invalided Scottish constable, Allan Pinkerton. He had already demonstrated the need to trace travelling criminals across State boundaies with the rescue of two Michigan girls kidnapped to Illinois in 1852 (Morn, 1977, in: Stead). This problem of criminal mobility led to calls for police unity for the prevention and detection of crime (Dilworth, 1976).

New Zealand established its national force in 1867 but Canada was later with the North West Mounted Police founded in 1873. It was modelled more on the Irish Constabulary than the Metropolitan Police. In fact, the first commissioner was a former officer of the Irish force. Consequently, it had a militaristic structure and many of its officers held judicial powers as well as investigative and prosecutorial duties.

Underlying the adoption of Peel's principles in other countries, was the ubiquitous element of fear of crime. In Western Australia, the lieutenant-governor in 1832 sent a despatch to London stating:

> "Unless a police force be established and maintained for the purpose of protecting, controlling, managing, and gradually civilizing the aboriginal race of this country, there will be a fearful struggle between the invaders and the invaded, which will not cease until the extermination of the latter be accomplished to the discredit of the British name" (Chappell & Wilson, 1969).

The element of fear was again illustrated in a report by a man arriving to establish "law and order" in Victoria, Australia, in 1836:

> "One of the first persons who made himself known to me was Dr. Thompson, who, with a formidable brace of pistols in his belt, told me he was very glad I had arrived, as they were in a most lawless state, and always in dread of being assaulted, or something to that effect." (Chappell & Wilson)

It was the same in the United States of America with the most obvious modification being the inclusion of a gun in the constable's equipment. Other significant changes are found in structure, control and style. Some are militaristic

and others civilian. Some are politically influenced and others autonomous. Yet, little or no change has occurred in the basic ideology which is preventive, despite changes in practice and policy.

Further Development After Peel

The 1850's experiment known as 'ticket-of-leave' for releasing convicts from prison, heightened fear of crime. The Times newspaper thundered:

> ".... we protest, in the name of the British public, against the system of turning out criminals upon society, under the name of ticket-of-leave men, to rob us in the public streets by day, to break into our houses at night, to assault and throttle unoffending persons - in a word, to keep the country in a state of constant alarm." (11.10.1855)

Hansard of 11.5.1857 reported:

> "Society had been horrified and frightened by the uncertainty of life and property created by the ticket-of-leave men throughout the country, and the terror had proceeded so far that people had been afraid during the late winter of walking through the streets of London."

Some of the ticket-of-leave men left Britain to settle in the new colonies. Some were appointed as constables in the Sydney police force. Those who settled in Britain were monitored by police who kept registers on habitual criminals who were required to report to police. The police statistics enabled the size of an active criminal population to be calculated and in 1858, Walsall had 150 and Wolverhampton had 507 (Woods, 1979).

Religious morality was powerful at this time with a desire to portray constables as godly men. Wolverhampton Watch Committee Minutes of 1863, show that the chief constable was having difficulty in keeping the Committee's wishes to have every officer attend church each Sunday. He reported that it was impossible for those on duty because "a much greater demand is made for the services of constables on Sundays than on week-days", but, those on night duty were not excused for, "they came off duty at 5 a.m., and were not required again until 3 p.m., which allowed time for church attendance." (Woods, 1979). Constables were expected to set 'good' examples to other members of the community and to represent divine retribution for 'wrong-doing'.

> "..... people afraid of crime and criminals hoped that the appearance of a man in uniform would strike the hearts of potential criminals with fear, just as in the late 19th century novels the appearance of a cross caused vampires to cringe and shrink back. Neither technique worked well." (Monkkonen, 1981)

It appeard that the aldermen, councillors and magistrates, having power to legislate and control enforcement of local and national laws, interpreted 'prevention' quite simply as, 'stopping'. Their actions based on that interpretation have led many historians and sociologists to conclude that the police were oppressive and designed to control or subdue the 'dangerous classes'. An excerpt from the 1836 Portsmouth Council Minutes indicates the divergence between theory and practice:

> "We were informed by several inhabitants that watchmen were necessary; but the cause assigned them was not so much the fear of the commission of crime, as the annoyance caused by the disorderly state of the streets ....." (Field, 1981)

They, of course, were not aware of the 'Broken Windows' theory of Harvard's Professor Wilson and the revelations in America during the 1970's and 80's that street disorder is a cause of fear. Nevertheless, a shift from preventing fear of crime to law-enforcement had become clear by the 1850's:

"The concern of the authorities had shifted, from a fear of crime as part of a general, social and political threat to the existing society and its institutions, to a view of crime as a normal problem inherent in industrial society." (David Philips, 1973)

The great majority of offences dealt with by the police in the mid 19th century were committed by people who were employed and certainly not full-time criminals. The offences themselves generally involved low value and unsubstantial property. They were carried out with little or no planning. London's early police effectiveness was in arresting "drunks, vagrants and disorderly characters", (Bailey, 1981). The same occured elsewhere so it appeared that crime was very high. The foundations of today's belief that the police are primarily a law enforcement tool, were set. Measurement of police efficiency and effectiveness soon became locked into crime rates and detections. The ideal of prevention was converted to post-eventuality, with clearup rates of reported offences becoming the predominant objective. When there was a desire to prevent some offensive behaviour, legislation was first required. Once embodied in law the police could discharge their preventive role by prosecution.

Police manpower is a major factor whether it be preventive or reactive and it must affect fear levels. In 1885, the Secretary of State for the Home Department warned local councils on the dangers of too few policemen. Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary threatened to withold the grant to county forces that did not have a ratio of 1 constable to every 1000 people on grounds of inefficiency. In 1856, seventeen of the 25 largest boroughs were below the national average of 1:940. There was little consistency:

Liverpool	1 : 460
Manchester	1 : 610
Birmingham	1 : 840
Wolverhampton	1 : 1008
Walsall	1 : 2152
Oldham	1 : 2850
Stockport	1 : 3620

The Inspectors of Constabulary were all military men, some without any police experience whatsoever. One, Major Cartwright, noted the small amount of crime in the borough of Walsall in 1862. Nevertheless, he insisted on an increase in the size of the local force because the 1861 census had shown the population to be 36,692 with only 26 constables, a ratio of 1:1411. The council objected and even considered foregoing the government grant because they believed that the town was efficiently watched. Other towns had apparently rejected the grant rather than increase the numbers and one magistrate commented upon Major Cartwright's dictate:

".... it furnished not the slightest criterion as to the character of the people, which really, was the proper statute whereby to regulate the police force of any place."

In Australasia, North America and the United Kingdom, police establishments became geared to their respective populations in a common ratio of one constable for every five hundred population. Never was manpower geared to fear of crime in the populace or determined on any specific criteria.

It was impossible to assess any police effect on the prevention of crime. If Peel's dictum of looking to the absence of crime as a measure of effectiveness had been followed, the police would have been constantly failing. As it was, they were shown to have been so successful that in 1889, a borough newspaper was proclaiming:

"... as matters are going, the work of the police will be a sinecure - a very satisfactory state of things, and one which we hope will long continue ...." (Woods, 1979).

A sinecure indeed! An office of honour without duties attached! In that particular borough, the fear of crime and disorder must certainly have been low

enough to allow people to view a forthcoming police role of maintaining the peace, having warded off crime. In 1890, a report to the Royal Statistics Society declared:

> ".... it is conclusive that there has been a continuous and marked decline in crime in England and Wales; and this fact is the more encouraging when a comparison is made in the numbers with the increased population during the same period." (Woods, 1979)

The Official Judicial Statistics for England and Wales in 1893 were supportive, if more cautious:

> "On the whole there is good ground to think the decrease in crime, though not so great as it has often been represented, though by no means comparable, for instance, to the decrease in prison population, is nevertheless real and substantial."

But there was a real problem according to a government report in 1894 which was the number of travelling habitual criminals:

> ".... the offences committed by men travelling from county to county or conducting operations in one police district while habitually residing in another are not inconsiderable in number, and are often of a preculiarly serious and dangerous character. If a dinstinction be made between a "professional" criminal - the man who has deliberately adopted a career of dishonesty or violence as a means of obtaining a livelihood - and the man who only lapses into crime occasionally and, as may be said, under stress of circumstance, it is clear that the travelling thief or burglar belongs almost always to the former rather than the latter category. To the former class also belong, as a rule, those criminals who, without being regular travellers, move from district where they have become well known to the police to another in which they hope to be rid of their past history and to begin with a clean record a new career of crime ...."

The Committee considered that the numbers of travelling criminals were grossly under-estimated by chief constables. The main outcome of the inquiry was the practice of taking fingerprints and it appears that reliance on fingerprint identification led to abandoning the ideas of separating the criminal population and authorised police supervision of criminals.

Perhaps as a result of their success in reducing crime at the turn of the century, the police were given a wide range of other responsibilities. Sir Leonard Dunning, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary, declared in 1909:

> "Originally established for the special purpose of preventing and detecting crime, they are now engaged at all times on such work as Weights and Measures, Contagious Diseases (Animals), Food and Drugs, Explosives Acts, Swine and Cattle Licences and sheep dipping and during the past year, local taxation duties have been thrown in." (Martin & Wilson, 1969)

The same kind of development occurred in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Duties connected with public health provisions were often passed to the police for attention. This extended to fire and ambulance services as well as supervision and attendance at public mortuaries. Disease control amongst animals also fell to the police and this continued in Britain until the early 1970's. However, the reduction of "extraneous" duties had begun in the post-war period of the second half of the 20th century. As the published crime rate grew, police resources were diverted to it following declaration of war on crime.

With the concentration on recorded crime, the underlying need for police to stem the fear of crime became a lost cause. Even the idea of prevention was relegated in favour of detection. The divergence of thought and action did not end there either.

Reported crimes became more important than those who suffered them and those who committed them. The close contact between police and public was being lost. The London police, Monkonnen suggests, rejected the notion of identifying with the community in favour of the concepts of the rule of law and constitutional principles.

Now for a concordic flight into the turbulent policing years of the 1960's. As we pass the 50's note the changing American scene with rapid centralisation of police departments and the closing of local police stations. In Britain, socioligists began aerial surveillance as if they were quasi-helicopter pilots, hovering over the police landscape to take snap-shot surveys. A 1960 picture of Britain revealed that 82.7% of the public had great respect of the police. Similar surveys in Australia in 1967 and in New Zealand in 1968 found lower satisfaction rates with 64% and 72% respectively. Britain's 125 police forces were reduced to 50 and the American centralisation virus took hold. Chief constables transferred officers many miles into other counties or boroughs in order to establish new identities for their own expanded communities of police. Little or no thought was given to the people who were deprived of their 'own' police officers. Many village police stations closed down as their occupants were drawn into towns and to further isolate police from public, the mobile barriers of pressed steel and rubber tyres, coupled with the new law-enforcement ethic, ensured sterility. Public satisfaction began to crumble and fear of crime surely increased. For the police, improved communications with personal radios and mobility with the ubiquitous 'panda' cars, reduced fear on constables who raised their risk-taking in intervention and arrestes and lowered their use of talking to deter and to persuade. Instant support from other officers reduced the need to be considerate and patient in volatile situations. The war against crime became a crusade.

Whilst the British police were adapting to their new structure and equipment, the American Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967 formulated the fear of crime concept. Much research into the concept was spawned in that country but the phlegmatic British police ignored it. They were fully occupied in occupying the streets which they claimed as their own territory. This ownership was later challenged by youth in the Brixton riots of London and other cities in the late 1970's but it was still evident in the 1984 coal-miners' strike when an assistant chief constable declared on British television:

"My chief constable will not tolerate this behaviour on HIS streets."

In America, the root causes of fear of crime were being discovered. An experiment in foot patrol in Newark, New Jersey produced the equation that more police feet equals less public fear. Research in Chicago be Lewis and Maxfield (1980) revealed that fear of crime was a major social problem in urban America with 50% of the adult urban population being afraid to go out at night in their own neighbourhoods. Confirming earlier researchers and preceding, or should I say preventing, J.Q. Wilson and G.L. Kelling's theory of 'Broken Windows', they found that fear of crime was affected not just by actual crime, but by what they calld the level of incivility which included signs of disorder such as vandalism, excessive speed on neighbourhood roads, and loitering youths.

A few year-steps behind the American pattern of national crime surveys, the first British Crime Survey was made in 1982. It reported that 80% of people who had contacted the police for any reason were satisfied with the response but young city men were not. Most significantly, crime victims were less appreciative of the police than others. The survey found a similar pattern to that in America:

* Within inner cities, women and those aged over 60 were most fearful.
* Despite the greater fears of the elderly, they were least at risk.
* Young males were least fearful but at most risk.
* Those who fear becoming crime victims go out less and avoid pubs.
* 12% of all inner-city residents declared they never go out at night because of crime.

Many surveys in Britain, Australasia and North America have since been carried out specifically into fear of crime which is revealed as a greater problem than crime itself. A need for an anxiety-preventing police was evident. Some American police departments have pioneered the provision of this need. In Newark, New Jersey and Houston, Texas, experimental policing systems have been operating to provide a response to fear of crime. The emphasis is on basic nuisances and ordinary problems including: excessive speed along neighbourhood streets; hooliganism and vandalism on buses; groups of youths loitering on street corners; and clearing derelict buildings and abandoned cars. Their police are becoming physically and mentally closer to their publics. Volunteers and unemployed young poeple co-operate in running neighbourhood cop-shops so that police manpower remains fexible and free to operate.

Conclusion

Sir Robert Peel's preventive innovation of police in 1829, and its widespread diffusion to countries with historical and cultural links to Britain, was a response to a complex need. The obvious aim was to counter crime but there was no single cause or objective for the need although different scholas do argue over particular causes which form a pattern which:

> ".... suggests both that the consensual view of police reform has underplayed the local resistance to a centralised police structure, and that the conflict view has too readily assumed the existence of a unified ruling elite, spurred into action by social fear. In all, the social reality which the historian is increasingly uncovering suggests the myopia of highlighting any one set of interests and events to explain the rise of the new police." (Bailey, 1981)

I agree, but I have argued that one set of interests can explain, not the rise of the new police, but its foundation, its real reason for existence, and its progenitor. That set of interests is fear, a complex emotion which may be a positive motivator and protective cue-to-action, as well as a negative debilitator and destructive cue-to-inaction. One historian has asked a most pertinent question:

> "What fears were the police intended to allay, what concerns to protect?" (Field, 1981)

In answer, the stated objectives of Peel's police were:

1. prevention of crime;
2. detection and punishment of offenders;
3. protection and help for members of the public.

The first was paramount, the second and third equal in importance. The prevention of crime does not simply mean stopping criminal acts. It must also mean forestalling, avoiding or otherwise reducing the effects of crime. The most significant effect is fear of crime, which was a major reason for Peel to establish the new police.

The preventive ideal has been a problem throughout development of the police. It is far simpler to prohibit and prosecute than prevent.

Peel's objectives one and three were relegated although kept as flags of convenience to be hoisted and saluted when police idealism required expression. The same happened in the public health and medicinal services as disclosed by the 1979 Royal Commission on the National Health Service. Brian Inglis has pointed out that:

> ".... the most obvious defect of the current medical system is the lack of interest it has shown in prevention." (1981)

In the 1970's, the British General Practitioner was at the top of the opinion polls - just above the police. In 1980, an epidemic of acquired preventive health and iatrogenic deficiency syndroms (APHIDS) caused a collapse of trust from 52% to 39%.

In both public health and police fields, patients and crime victims are often blamed for causing or failing to prevent their misfortunes. Doctors are trained in alleviating sickness and disease, not in the promotion of health. The medical profession does not study health. Similarly, police officers are trained in alleviating crime, not in the promotion of law-abidance. The police profession does not study lawful behaviour, or indeed freedom. Consequently, disease and crime both rise inexorably.

Increased freedom of mobility within and between national and county boundaries, and greater prosperity have challenged public health and policing. Travelling people transmit infectious diseases. Life-threatening pollution has no respect for political boundaries. The AIDS virus is spread by transient people with transient relationships. Police have difficulty in dealing with travelling criminals who induce fear of crime and fear of strangers has to be instilled in young children.

Although historical statistics do not show it, there must always have been a gap between fear and crime, and actual crime. As people came to think that criminals were being subdued by police activity, so they must have felt safer, less fearful. Functionally, the new police provided protection simply through a public belief that they were always 'there' - on watch. That belief in law-abiders has been repeatedly damaged through corruption of Peel's principles and a rejection of concern for the feelings of people caught up in the crusades fought out on the territorial streets. Despite many investigative commissions on the workings of the police and subsequent legislation to restoring that belief, the elusive grail has been missed.

So we come to the holy grail of policing. It is symbolic of a belief. A belief that contains faith, hope and charity and which dispenses comfort; distributes peace; salves anxiety and fear; and bolsters freedom under the law. This belief must be sustanced in policing, and those who look to the police. The grail is the symbolic rod that accompanies the real staff to comfort and prevent fear of crime.

Until recently, the police had secured faith, hope, and charity from the public. As a fear-reducing agency, the police provided an answer for the fundamental problem which led to their foundation. Unfortunately, they do not recognise it, nor has it been measured. It is now a problem at least as serious as crime itself. The fear of crime is the fundamental raison d'etre for police and perhaps Peel did not spell it out clearly enough! But there remains hope and faith can be restored. Charitable chiefs of police there are. In Newark, New Jersey; in Houston, Texas; and in London, England. I leave you with the Sir Kenneth Newman Rules for policing derived from the American innovators who re-discovered Peel's principles and returned them to us:

1. Upholding the rule of law;
2. Protecting and assisting the citizen;
3. Co-operation with others;
4. Maintenance of a peaceful community; AND
5. Freedom from fear of crime.

I give you the fifth toast first and salute you with the holy grail of policing - may you all be free from the debilitating and deleterious fear of crime.

MORE THINGS THAN DREAMS

BY Jean Schmaal

It was the end of a tiring, dirty day's work, not long after the turn of the century. The two police Troopers, Jim Kelly, the senior man, and Alec Johns, a new chum to the outback, had returned only the previous day from a long patrol of their vast outback 'beat'. It being Sunday they had called it off for the rest of the day. After fourteen nights sleeping on the ground even the rough galvanised iron and reed Police Station on the Roper River seemed like the Hotel Ritz to the weary, travel-stained horsemen.

Next morning they rose earlier than usual, hungry for fresh meat, which meant the slaughtering of a station beast. Even in the comparative cool of early morning it was an unpleasant job, and battling with the hordes of flies which swarmed about them as they and their two native trackers went about their task, added to their discomfort.

By late afternoon they had cut down the beast; its hide would serve later as a new bed for Alec - no such luxury as a mattress in that remote region. What fresh meat could not be eaten immediately had been salted down in casks in the Police Station meat house.

W.F. Johns in outback bush uniform, with truckers. Pine Creek circa 1910.

And now, with the night closing in, the men had eaten, washed and changed into fresh clothes. They sat at the table in the living-room, the flame of the newly lit kerosene lamp lighting up their features. Kelly (a seasoned Trooper of many years) lit his pipe and leaned back in his chair with a sigh of satisfaction. The soft light of the lamp shone on his suntanned face, and brought out the lights in his fiery, red hair, and turned his massive full beard into another blaze as it hung across his deep chest. His keen blue eyes glanced across the table at Johns.

Alec, young, and as yet untried in police work in that vast outback district, was as dark as Jim was flamboyant.

"Handsome young buck!" Jim thought to himself. "Give him a couple of years and he'll make it." He half-smiled to himself as he saw that the youngster's beard was showing signs of development.

The authoress is the daughter of Alec Johns referred to above, the widow of a South Australian Police Officer and the mother of a serving officer. The incident happened on the Roper River in the Northern Territory in about 1910.

"Won't be long and he'll have a ziff to match mine, and with his dark eyes and good looks he'll be lucky if he gets out of the Territory without one of the station owner's daughters latching on to him. Even now there's something of the young pirate about him. Oh, to be his age again!"

The two men sat in silence, glancing once again through their six months' old letters and papers. Outside the darkness gathered, and the whole gamut of insects from the nearby lagoon fluttered and struggled against the fly-wire netting which covered the surrounding verandahs. From the lagoon itself came the intermittent bellowing of a crocodile, for all the world like some bul.. There were more than enough crocs lurking in the depths of the neighbouring water.

"Better get to work with the heart of the beast we killed today", thought Jim. "Must remember that in the morning. First thing - the bullock's heart. There's strychnine and carb. soda left to do the job. Should make things a little quieter at night - safer, too, for the native kids from the camp."

"About time for the 'Nelson' to come up again, isn't it Jim? It'll be good to hear what's going on outside. Six months is a hell of a long time to wait for mail", Alec queried.

"Yes, I know, lad," replied Jim, as he brushed a large beetle away from incineration on the lamp glass. "But that's one of the many things you learn out here in the bush - patience. The news from home seems all the sweeter when the boat comes in, somehow. Guess you really learn to appreciate your folks then."

With that Jim turned back to an out-dated magazine he was reading, but Alec could not settle.

"Got the fidgets tonight, lad?" asked Jim.

"Dunno - I should be about ready for the cot, but for some reason or other I'm restless. Gues I'm just plain bored stiff."

Just then there was a cough outside the screened door.

"You there, boss?" came the soft voice of one of the native trackers.

"Yes, come in Delta," called Kelly. "Anything wrong?"

"It's old Bessie from the camp, boss. Says she's got a message for you. Won't tell me - says it's for Boss Kelly."

"Right oh! Fetch her in," replied Kelly. Bessie was not one of your mission-reared natives, but she could make herself understood clearly enough. Wrinkled, bent, Bessie was respected by both white and black folk. More than once Kelly had been glad he'd listened to Bessie, and he always saw that she received a share of tucker when a beast was killed. Now she gazed at him intently, her great, dark eyes wide and glistening.

"Something wrong, Bessie? You all right? Them young fellers no more been fight over young gins," he asked.

"No more Boss! Not this time! But, Boss, white feller down Lily Lagoon, him been speared by blackfeller."

"That so? Who told you, Bessie", Kelly enquired, all ears.

"No feller tell me, Boss. I know. I see 'im stand there in doorway. Look! You see?" and she pointed to the open doorway.

Both men stared, Kelly solemnly, Johns with disbelief, both seeing nothing.

"Thank you, Bessie, we'll see what we can do about it", Kelly told her.

"What a lot of bull!" Johns exploded into laughter when the old woman had gone. "Somebody's been giving the old girl something stronger than water to drink. That's one bit of entertainment I wasn't expecting at any rate. I'll bet she's seen a smoke-signal somewhere and come in here with this yarn."

"Over three ranges of mountains? No, Alec. When you've been as long as I have in this part of the world you'll find that there is something in the old saying that there are more things in this world than are dreamed of in our philosopies. Don't laugh at these people. They are a strange crowd, but they are a whole lot nearer to nature than we are, and they have some strange powers. Just wait and see."

With that the lamp was blown out and the two men retired for the night. Alec gazed for a long time into the warm darkness, wondering at Kelly's words....

Some days later a horseman rode into the Police Station yard, just on dusk. Kelly and Johns were coming in from the yards, where they had been attending their horses, and the rider headed his mount in their direction.

"G'day, Jim. How's things?" he asked as he approached.

"Not bad. What's like down your way, Lofty?" answered Kelly.

"That's why I'm here, Jim. Better come back with me. Been a bit of trouble. One of the damn-fool stockmen got himself speared the other night. Haven't got to the bottom of it yet, but guess it's the same old story. Some of them can't leave the native women alone for five minutes."

"When did this happen?" Kelly queried.

He glanced at Johns, one eyebrow half lifted. Alec's eyes were fixed intently on Lofty.

"Last Monday night - about this time I'd say," came the reply.

Kelly and Johns at Roper River when they opened the first Police Station there in 1910

POLICE FIREMEN

BY Richard Ford

One early and important aspect of police work which is often overlooked or forgotten, but which existed right up to the time of the Second World War, is that of fire fighting.

Up until the nineteenth century fire fighting was a rather haphazard affair, carried out by volunteers, parish officers, troops and eventually insurance company fire brigades. With the formation of regular police forces from 1829 onwards, however, many local authorities, becoming increasingly aware of their fire fighting responsibilites, seized the opportunity to establish fire brigades as part of their police forces. The Liverpool Police Fire Brigade, for example, was formed in 1837 and similar brigades came into being at various times at such places as Hull, Leeds, Bristol and Worcester.

Doubts arose in earlier years as to the pensions positions of police firemen who were injured when acting as such. The point was eventually clarified by Section 1 of the Police Pensions Act 1893 which stated that any police officer engaged in extinguishing fire, or protecting life and property from such, should be deemed to be acting in the execution of his duty.

Concern still existed in some quarters about using police as firemen and in 1891 H.M. Inspector of Constabulary threatened to withold his certficate of efficiency from the Rochdale Force if their firemen continued to be used for extinguishing fires outside the borough boundaries.

A select committee set up in 1899 to enquire into the provision of fire brigades in England and Wales had several Chief Constables and Chief Fire Officers on it. The general feeling seemed to be against police brigades, the Chief Constable of Bristol remarking that "personally he would be very glad to be without the fire brigade".

Police firemen, generally speaking, were to be found only in city and borough forces, but in 1910 the Worcestershire Standing Joint Committee expressed concern over having to pay pensions to men who, by an earlier agreement, had served in the Dudley Fire Brigade. This is one of the few instances on record of county policemen being firemen.

Costs of maintaining fire brigades were often heavy and in 1922 the Hull Watch Committee considered the question of obtaining powers which would provide for insurance companies contributing towards such expenses. This was eventually decided to be unsound practically.

An idea of the shortage of employment in those times can be gained from the fact that in 1923 there were 780 applications for five vacancies in the Newcastle on Tyne Police Fire Brigade, all the applicants being mechanics under 27 years of age.

Difficulties of police firemen doing two jobs were fully shown in 1929 when a fire occurred at a tin plate works in the Swansea valley. Calls to Swansea and Neath for fire brigades remained unanswered as the police firemen were all fully committed to duties in connection with polling for the General Election.

The 1930's saw various Chief Constables and Police Authorities expressing concern over their fire brigades and recommending separation of the two services.

It should not be imagined that inefficiency was general among such brigades. Some of the leading brigades in the country were police-run and were superbly officered, staffed and equipped. Leeds and Hull, for example, had automatic traffic control systems in operation in the streets to facilitate the quick passage of their appliances to scenes of fires. The latter brigade owned at 150ft turntable ladder which was reputed to be the longest in the British Empire. Cardiff, by use of the

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Richard Ford is a retired police officer.

Gamewell Fire Alarm system, were said to be able to turn their first appliances out of the station within eight to twelve seconds of receiving a call. Superintendent D.D. Sloan of the Manchester Brigade was believed to be one of the most decorated firemen in the country.

But progessing fire-fighting methods, plus the gathering clouds of war, were forcing the matter of separation and, following the report of the Lord Riverdale Committee on Fire Brigades, the Fire Brigade Act of 1938 was passed and this, among other things, required local authorities to make arrangements for establishing fire brigades independent of the police.

H.M. Inspector of Constabulary's Report of 1939 showed that there were 63 police fire brigades in England and Wales, employing 1,055 men whole time on fire fighting duties and 2,151 men part-time. The largest was Manchester with 200 full-time members and the smallest was Newark with five part-time.

The outbreak of war threw heavy strains on the police firemen who well acquitted themselves against the ravages of the "blitz". But the drastic air attacks of those times meant drastic measures of defence. In 1941 all the counry's fire brigades, police and non-police alike, were unified into the National Fire Service under direct government control. Several former police officers gained high rank in the new service.

After the war, fire brigades were returned to local authority control, though in a different form from the pre-1941 era. The Fire Service Act, 1947 abolished police fire brigades, stating that policemen were not to be employed in public fire brigades. One police force, incidentally, which continued to use policemen in a non-public brigade was the Admiralty Constabulary which had its own fire service up to 4th August 1968 when it was disbanded.

So the police firemen passed into history, leaving behind them a gallant memory and knowing that, as in all other aspects of police work, they had done their duty and served the public to the best of their ability.

FINDING A MARBLE AND BREAKING A WINDOW

BY Eric Jenkins

J.D. Kellie McCallum was the Chief Constable of Northamptonshire for over fifty years - surely a record. His last resting place, not far from the modern headquarters of his own Force, is an extraordinary grave in the churchyard at Quinton. Terra-cotta angels watch over him, sculpured by his sister-in-law who happened to be wife of the famour Victorian arist, G.F. Watts.

Exactly a century ago he was a figure of controversy in Northamptonshire. He had just lost an action for wrongful arrest, and the ratepayers did not want to pay the £400 damages.

The action arose out of a dispute over the cost of repairs to a bridge on the road leading into Towceter. The local landowner, Sir Thomas Fermor Hesketh, was unwilling to bear the cost of making the bridge safe for traffic, although a deed showed the bridge to be part and parcel of land with a mill nearby. Sir Thomas was charged at Northampton Assizes early in 1886, with neglecting to repair the bridge. The Grand Jury returned a True Bill, (i.e. there was a case to answer), but before it came to trial, Sir Thomas, whose wife was an American, decided to visit the United States. He was actually on board the steamship Britannic, just about to sail, when the Liverpool Detective Force received a request by telegraph from the Chief Constable of Northamptonshire to arrest him. They went on to the liner on 20th May 1886 and removed Sir Thomas into custody.

The dispute over the bridge was settled in January 1887. A Hesketh plea of not guilty was accepted on the understanding that he undertook to maintain the bridge and paid the costs of the action. Once that was settled, Sir Thomas brought his own action against Kellie McCallum, claiming £1,000 damages for illegal arrest. It was heard at the end of February 1887 at Birmingham Assizes. The Attorney General (Sir R.E. Webster, Q.C.) appeared for the plaintiff. The Clerk of the Peace for Northamptonshire, H.P. Markham had instructed a well-known Q.C., Jelf, to defend the Chief Constable.

The main defence was that the arrest was believed to be proper at the time; and was ordered without ill-will; and that compensation offered later had been refused. Nevertheless, the defendant placed at the disposal of the court £25 to cover the expenses Hesketh had incurred at Liverpool in obtaining his release and rejoining the ship at Queenstown.

The Attorney General pointed out that no warrant had been issued for the arrest, and that at the time, Mr. Markham, the Clerk of the Peace, had in his pocket a letter undertaking that Sir Thomas Fermor Hesketh would repair the bridge. He said that the defendant had been offered the opportunity of making a public apology but had continuously refused. A suitable letter of apology to be signed by the Chief Constable had been sent to the Clerk of the Peace but had not even been shown to Kellie McCallum.

George Williams, the Chief Superintendent of the Liverpool Detective Force was called and stated that if he had known the facts of the case he would not have arrested Sir Thomas.

In summing up, the Judge was perplexed that an admitted illegality had been committed by the public officer which he did not attempt to justify. It was clear that the case was being fought because the defendant was not allowed to admit that he was wrong. It seemed that the Clerk of the Peace was afraid that it would reflect on him as the legal adviser to the County.

The special jury, after a ten-minute absence, returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff: damages of £400 not including the £25 paid into court.

Eric Jenkins is a schoolmaster in Northamptonshire.

This was not the end of Kellie McCallum's embarrassing problems. Throughout 1887 the various rate-collecting units of local government in Northamptonshire, especially the boards of guardians in all districts, protested at their meetings, against having to bear the cost of the Chief Constable's damages. £400 was a considerable sum a century ago.

The Clerk of the Peace, H.P. Markham, eventually broke his silence and attempted to explain in a letter which was read out at the meeting of the Brackley Board of Guardians on 27th July. According to his account the Chief Constable did apologise on three separate occasions, but not in a manner to satisfy Sir Thomas Fermor Hesketh. A written form was afterwards sent to Markham for Kellie McCallum to sign and return by a certain date. There had been a delay because Markham was absent on circuit, and so the case went to trial.

The Guardians could not see how this explanation affected the question at issue - whether the ratepayers should be called upon to pay for the Chief Constable's mistake.

The Editor of the Northampton Mercury (30th July 1887) observed: "Mr. Markham congratulates the ratepayers that the ..... liability for the repair of the bridge has been settled by the case, but under the circumstances the advantage seems to be on a par with that of the youngster who found a marble and broke a window."

SOURCES:
Minutes of Boards of Guardians, Brixworth, Towcester, Brackley, 1887
Northampton Mercury 5th March 1887, 30th Jult 1887

CRIME AS ENTERTAINMENT - AND SHOULD IT BE?

BY Michael Robson

In the first detective story I ever wrote for Radio Four, my innocent but rightly shattered Victorian heroine cries: "But can our path to happiness lie across a meadow strewn with corpses?" I'm here to say it can, and it does. Since 1985 I've accomplished over forty murders, and smiled all the way to the bank - until I met the manager. In radio, film, theatre, television and fiction there's a constant demand for murder, and there appears to be no dearth writers willing to supply the demand.

At least a quarter of my work is occupied with finding novel ways of bringing about the sudden deaths of men and women. The only trouble lies in trying to discover new ways of telling the old, old story. Basically, there are two: one in which the writer makes no attempt to conceal the identity of the criminal, or how he goes about his appalling work; and this is paralleled with the hero/policeman's investigative adventures. The second, in which the hero/policeman starts with the fact of a murder committted, and spends the rest of the action attempting to discover the identity of the killer.

But this doesn't explain why so many people want to read, watch or listen to stories about murder. Just about everyone, since speech began, has enjoyed a good yarn; but of its nature can a yarn about the most dreadful act of which a human being is capable be a good yarn? What moral justification do we have for spinning such a yarn, that keeps children from play, and dear old men by their radios? The Greeks, hardly surprisingly, had a word for it, and that word was catharsis. (Definition: purgation: outlet to emotion afforded by drama.) We witness a great tragedy full of murder and other horrors and, if the playwright is a great playwright, we experience an almost sublime blending of pity and terror which, if the play ends supremely, is purged from the bowels of our minds, along with all other unworthinesses.

This catharsis can certainly be experienced if we watch one of the greatest Greek tragedies ever written: OEDIPUS REX. And, for my money, it's also one of the most brilliant and disturbing detective stories ever written.

Young Oedipus destroys the menace of the Sphinx, liberates Thebes from horrors, and as a reward is invited to marry the widowed Queen, Jocasta. By her he has two daughters. But after some seventeen years, things begin to go wrong again, in and for Thebes. It is suggested that the trouble all goes back to the brutal murder of Jocasta's first husband, King Laius, with several of his retinue, many years earlier.

Oedipus, an impetious man of action, instantly begins investigations into these killings; but several wiser, older heads warn him that he may be biting off much more than he can comfortably chew. Possessed of that tragic flaw, pride, Oedipus pursues his investigations far and near. Finally he learns it was he who killed Laius and his retinue at a dusty cross-roads two decades earlier. To compound the horror, he also discovers that he is the natural son of Laius and Jocasta, abandoned for death as an infant lest he fulfil the prophecy that one day he would murder his father and marry his mother. When Oedipus and Jocasta - son and mother, husband and wife - face the magnitude of these calamities, Jocasta hangs himself, and Oedipus blinds himself with grief and shame. He is sent into exile with his daughter/siser Antigone as sole companion.

Could anything be more hideous than this story of parricide, incest, self-mutilation, attempted infanticide, and suicide? Yet the play is one of the noblest in world literature, and certainly the first in which the detective discovers that he himself is the criminal.

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What prevents it from having us rush vomiting from the auditorium are two elements: first, all the violence takes place off-stage; second, the intensity and beauty of the playwright Sophocles' verse, which retains much of that intensity and beauty even in translation:

Out from the snowy dawn on high Parnassus
The order flashed, to hunt a man from his hiding.
But where is he?
In forest or cave, a wild ox roaming the mountains,
Footing a friendless way; but the deathless voices
Live in his ear;
From the Heart of Earth they cry against him.

This staggering detective story was written c. 420 BC.

Interestingly, the play of Shakespeare's that many consider to be his tragic masterpiece - KING LEAR - contains echoes of the crimes that littered Sophocles' work: the blinding of a good man, in detail, on-stage; bastardy; brother plotting to kill brother and father; the hanging of the most unselfish character in the play; the driving of a proud old man to madness and death.

How can we watch it? Simply because of the language: its passion, brilliance, and that universality that only tragedy possesses. After a true performance of such a play you come out, not feeling depraved and sullied and harrowed, but invigorated - full of awe and wonder; and gratitude that from such depths of human cruelty a human being could construct a work of towering beauty.

Many years ago, in an editorial for THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, as a pigsqueak young reviewer I argued that not since the death of King James I (1625) has a tragedy been written in the English language. Plenty of great drama, to be sure, but no more tragedy. Playwrights were turning from the universal to the specific; from the activities of mighty heroes and villains to domestic squalor; from poetry to prose. I received not one letter of disagreement.

It seems that, lacking the unbelievable genius of Shakespeare, dramatists began to see murder, adultery, incest, rape and allied crimes less as a means of rinsing the brains of the audience than as a titillation: something forbidden but fascinating: something to keep bums on seats in the theatre. Virtually all writers are Grub Street hacks - and in this category I gratefully include myself - and we who live to please must please to live. So, crime was becoming entertaining; and so, year by year, came the need for more and more stories of crime.

The first great flowering of crime fiction, and that which featured police investigations, came in the era of Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins - about 140 years ago. Here were stories of domestic crime, "probed" by members of The Detective. The Detective was not highly regarded, in reality, in those times, by those who underwent its investigations. Most members were regarded as uncouth, unlettered poachers-turned-gamekeepers: feared and resented by the working class and patronised or snubbed by the upper class. Yet they solved the crimes, in many a case.

Detection, of one sort or another, promised to be a profitable hunting-ground for writers, and the charm of detection came to full fruit with Sherlock Holmes. In the stories concerning him, we frequently read that the always anxious, always baffled, surly but desperate Inspector Lestrade must go, hat in hand to Sherlock, and confess himself beaten. Sherlock shoots a little cocaine, plays his violin, then undertakes to help The Detective to solve the mystery.

In what kind of light did this place The Detective?

In limbo, one might say. From the turn of the twentieth century until after World War II, writers and dramatists were less concerned with the CID than with languid and elegant, or erudite and eccentric amateur sleuths. Their life-style appeared far more interesting than that of the jobbing detective, who almost certainly spoke with a strong Loamshire accent, had a nagging wife and a daughter with halitosis, and was only too relieved when a member of the gentry could achieve a

solution to the murder. "Bless my soul, sir, but you're a caution - and I congratulate you!" The police in general tended to be subservient bit-players.

Today it's very different, and a good thing too. Ted Willis began to break the mould with DIXON OF DOCK GREEN. It's easy now to laugh at the apparent simplicities and sentimentalities of the early DIXON stories, but we have to remember that they were early. We would be unjust to sneer at them for parochialism.

The focus of interest was not on drawling peers or bumptious Oxford dons, but on a beleaguered Desk Sergeant, doing his utmost for his parish. Some of the DIXON episodes contained incredibly fine writing, acting and direction. One of them haunts me still, and I'm certain the playwright took his cue from a funny, tiny, send-up item in PUNCH: "A man is helping police with their enquiries, and won't go away." What this became was a tragi-comedy worthy of Tchekhov. We laughed, and we wept. Good on you, whichever "hack" that penned it.

Then there was Z-CARS, and the whole public perception of police behaviour began to alter. With the advent of THE SWEENY - one of the slickest, feistiest police series Britain has known - we were in serious competition with the best of the American cop-series, such as KOJAK. But most of our police work isn't like that, and it was good to see that with ITV's THE GENTLE TOUCH, and the BBC's much-loved JULIET BRAVO, we were back with smaller, personal stories; where a gun in the hand of a policeman was a rarity; and where social commitment was far more important than gun-toting and generally neurotic leather-clad bully-boys who shot it out with raucous and trigger-happy gangsters.

That excellent writer of detective fiction, Raymond Chandler, creator of the tight-lipped Philip Marlow, always had his piece of advice for budding writers in the genre: "If you're stuck, if you don't know where the story should go, have a guy burst into a room with a gun in his hand." American gun-laws are much laxer than ours. I remember visiting a gunsmith's shop in the very quiet and eminently respectable town of Lebanon, Ohio. I could have bought enough fire-power to equip a regiment, then and there, had I possessed the dollars and the inclination. But in Britain, you have to keep asking yourself: "How did this guy who bursts into the room come to acquire a revolver in the first place?"

What I'm working up to is this: Macclesfield is less prone to public fire-fights than is Detroit. The disciplines are different. We lack the dramatic contrasts and isolations of America - the sombre deserts, the cloud-capped peaks, the obscure dankness of the Louisiana swamps; the dislocated mix of many nationalities; the aggression that seems to be so much a part of its urban life; the grating, acerbic, often violent Jewish-American humour that can make their movies a delight, while we thank our Maker that we don't have to live there. Remember that wonderful line of Walter Matthau's? In charge of the Underground in New York? An entire train hi-jacked by brutal gangsters. The passengers complaining. And Matthau, chewing gum, suddenly snaps and shouts: "What do they want for their 35 cents? They should live forever?" This is urgent black humour at its best; but things don't happen like that here. People don't respond to catastrophes as do the members of the Bronx, or wherever.

We don't have easy access to formidable weaponry, from the smallest Derringer just right for a girl's knickers to the largest grenade-thrower or anti-tank gun. Every schoolboy knows that it's perfectly possible to buy a handgun and the ammunition for it if you have the right contacts and the right folding money. But in the main, our criminals don't operate with handguns, and we have to give cognisance to that fact. We, the writers, have to be more ingenious with our killings, unless they are gang-land killings. The most suitable weapon for your bank-robber, payroll-heister or paid hit-man is the sawn-off shotgun - far more reliable than a pistol or revolver - and much easier to obtain.

Given these restrictions, why do writers go on writing crime stories? Given also that the greatest blow to the crime-writer came with the abolition of the death

sentence for murder. (I'm not advocating its return: merely lamenting its loss in a literary way.) In the cosy, golden years of Agatha Christie, Dorothy L. Sayers, M. Allingham and the early Michael Innes, what gave their elegant investigations an edge was the knowledge that someone - the murderer - was actually fighting for his/her life. That, once discovered, they were in for the noose. So that the settings and the action could afford to be rural, or parochial - certainly small-scale - because we, the readers, had the frisson of knowing that the ultimate saction was there in the wings, waiting for the criminal. A good old topping. The drop. The dangle, followed by a quick necropsy. No half-measures there, sir.

What started me on the path to murder was the generosity of BBC Radio. They allowed me to write plays I thought far more suited to the measured, recondite cadences of Radio Three than for the more popular slot of Radio Four. Eventually, sitting in my bath, I felt I owed Radio Four the odd thriller - or the occasional thriller, if you prefer that adjective. I wanted the sanction of the death penalty, and I wanted a period in which the grotesque and articulate characters would predominate. Loving as I do the early examples of police work in fiction - Dickens' BLEAK HOUSE and Wilkie Collins' THE MOONSTONE - I decided that this would be my period: some time in the 1850's.

I began researching, and discovered that, some years before, a Prime Minister's Personal Assistant was assassinated, in mistake for the leader himself. That gave me a general jog. Then I felt that the prime mover in the investigation would not be a lantern-jawed and brilliant member of the House of Lords, but a jobbing policeman. I created a man named Inspector Millions, and his assistant Dynasty Surecard. Millions was played by the late, great brilliant character-actor Nigel Stock. However overwhelming, politically and socially, Millions might feel himself to be, his adroit mind and long experience ensured that he finally discovered the identity of the murderer. But he was in love with her! And let her die, of chloral hydrate poisoning, because he knew why the murdered man HAD to be killed, and could sympathise with the motive of the murderess.

The period and the social situation enabled me to write, however tongue-in-cheek, some opinions that were in the minds of the intelligent in the 1850s:

This may be of small comfort to you both, and perhaps none at all. I offer it merely as an observation. The man who meets a violent end at the hands of another is seldom free from some contribution to those passionate emotions and criminal thoughts that have first entertained the notion of murder. In a society such as ours... there is generally to be found a terrible connection between the assassin and the slain.

But what I also wanted to do was to present, yes, a hindsight view of the horrors of a public hanging. Of hanging in any event. Impossible in a play of this nature, in that slot - SATURDAY NIGHT THREATRE - to do it realistically; and anyway the plot dictated otherwise. But I was able to indulge in black humour the night before the expected execution, in a scene between Deadfall, the public hangman, and Bidgood, the Prison Governor:

Bidgood: The interest of the entire Western World will be centred on your gallows. I hope, therefore, that your arrangements will prove satisfactory. And instantaneous! I do not desire to have a half-strangled man dancing for breath whilst your assistant swings from his knees!

Deadfall: Those days are now a purple memory, Governor. We are aided in this present affair by Gravity. A body dropping free falls at 132 foot per second per second, for which we are indebted to the Fellows of the Royal Society. The Wilbraham party is five foot eight inches tall and weighs, when stript, 160 pound. I have therefore calculated that a drop of 14 foot will do the trick neatly, without tearing off the party's head; and I can safely guarantee

that your party's neck, at 14 foot, will snap as clean and wholesome as a man could wish for. Any twitching, Governor, will be the result of Organic Spasms, and will bear no relationship to the urgent dictates of the party's soul, or sperrit, which by then will be winging its way to bliss or torment, depending upon Mr Wilbraham's religious persuasion.

The noose is prepared, the gallows high, the platform snug, the trap free from encumbrance. All we await, sir, is the arrival of the condemned for as civil and pleasant a ceremony as could be wished, outside the Lord Mayor's Banquet.

Bidgood: Your enthusiasm does you credit, Deadfall, but it affords me little consolation beyond the fact that, since we must despatch this unfortunate creature, he will be despatched with precision. And indeed on your part with some measure of exuberance.

Deadfall: Gusto is a word I frequently use in this connection, sir. But exuberance will do very well. Show me a happy hangman and I can show you a tidy corpse.

I hope I can think of nothing more likely to deter people from hanging than that passage. Who would OFFER to be a public hangman? And a happy one, at that?

Thereafter, it was all downhill. Like a fox with a hen, once the writer has committed murder he needs to strike again - and again. But one can't always return to the past. In contemporary thrillers, the writer has to come to terms with the presence of the police: how else is our society ordered?

In crime fiction, for whatever the medium, the writer must expect to have the police appearing. There are a few time-honoured ways:

1) Where the hero pursues the investigation on his own, and the police come in a bad second, with muttered congratulations.

2) Where the hero, suspected by the police, conducts his own investigation and the police carry on their own, contemporaneously. Honours are frequently even.

3) Where the central characters are the police detective and his side-kick.

4) Where the investigator is a private eye, always one jump ahead of the police, and frequently at loggerheads with them.

5) Some of the best crime fiction comes from a thorough following of the motives and characters of the criminal, whose progress we observe throughout the action; and where the police appear merely to mop up the pieces, as it were.

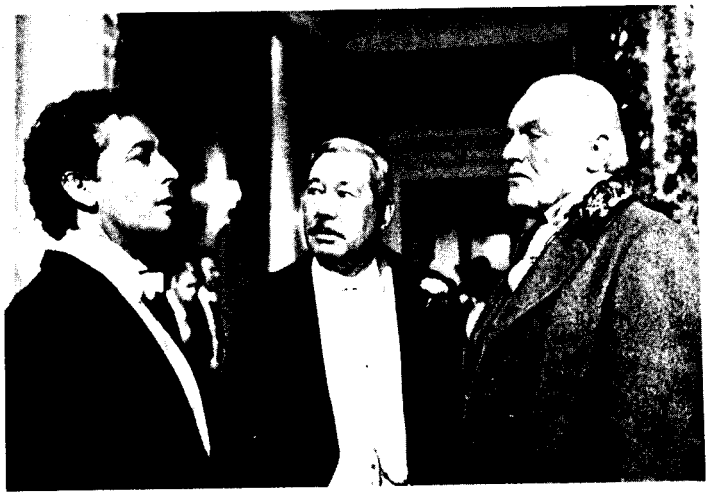
All these ways are possible ways, and justifiable ways. In fiction, it's my persuasion that the finest writer of police stories is Georges Simenon, whose Maigret novels contain some of the wisest and most percipient observations in prose, this century. My next favourite would be Nicolas Freeling's Inspector van der Valk, of the Amsterdam Police, for similar reasons. Is it that distance lends enchantment?

In television, things move in a remarkable way. I was telephoned by a Granada producer who said, most succinctly: "This is the deal: The slot is an hour. After half an hour a murder has to be done or reported. Within the hour the murderer has to be brought to book. The period is now. You have no exteriors. The action passes within whatever building you care to choose. It has a hall, staircase, and up to six rooms. You may have not less than seven and not more than nine characters. How does that grab you?"

It grabbed me. It's always easier to write a sonnet than a blank-verse epic. My script was valiantly given life Claire Bloom, Trevor Howard, Charles Dance and, as the edgy police detective, Emrys James.

At present, I'm working on the new, original adventures of Richard Hannay - the endurable hero of John Buchan's THE 39 STEPS, et al. In 1978 I wrote the latest screenplay of the Steps, with Robert Powell in the lead, and it appeared to go down quite well with the film-going public. So here we are, on behalf of Thames Television, with a series based, in the first instance, on Hannay's adventures in

Britain and the Continent prior to his excitements in THE 39 STEPS. We have Robert Powell again, and we have the problems Buchan so cleverly dealt with in his original novel: the hero cannot employ the help of the police, or all will become too easy for the plot. Yet the police, and the heavies, must not appear to be incompetent, or the plots will capsize. It's a nightmare, but it's fun, and I hope the police will not emerge from it all without due recognition.



The dishevelled Richard Hannay (Robert Powell) fails to please Lord Haslemere (David Waller) and Commander Nevil, Special Branch (Charles Gray) in HANNAY: THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE BLACK STONE. Photograph courtesy of Thames Television.

But in the end my heart goes out to the masters of language who could write crime stories with dignity and style. What's strange is that what is almost certainly the finest radio play about crime ever written was done so by a man who didn't speak English, or live in England, until he was nine years of age. That man was the late and multi-gifted Dr Jacob Bronowski, whose BBC TV series, THE ASCENT OF MAN, some of you may have seen. But I'm talking of Bronowski in a much earlier period, and I'd like to tell you about his play, THE FACE OF VIOLENCE, because it seems to me to be particularly significant for members of the police force.

Its hero is a boat-builder, Mark, who qite suddenly, six years after World War II, becomes obsessed with the need "to find a man called Crump!" He has no recollection of what Crump looked like, or what dreadful act Crump must have committed during the war, but he must be found, and punished. So Mark leaves his wife, his work, his fishing-village, and sails to France in search of Crump. Soon he becomes known as "the man around whom fights happen". He visits sleazy bars, shabby boxing-booths, queer offices, a circus full of sadistic clowns. He's thrashed by heavies who think he's a police nark .... One chilly night he meets a policeman and a night-watchman crouching over a coke brazier, and joins them. they've heard all about Mark, and the policeman tells him:

You and I are looking for a deed in the past
When the moment of hate suddenly became solid;
And we're wonderful at kidding ourselves that Fate
With a great show of innocence
Has picked US only to dispense
A more respectable brand of hate,
An extra-special brand they call revenge.

For months Mark treks around the Continent, looking for Crump with increasing desperation and anger - and encountering nothing but cynicism and violence. Time and men begin to toughen his bearing and coarsen his eyes. Eventually he makes the place too hot to hold him, and returns to England: to London. He is now "overwrought with history", obsessed with finding Crump and with killing him for a crime he knows Crump committed, but which he still can't recollect.

Finally he catches up with his man, who is listening enraptured to a frenziedly Fascist harangue at Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park. The moment he recognises Crump, Mark remembers what the man had done ten years previously, and forces him to go home, accompanied by a Mark huge with vengeance. In an astonishing scene in a shabby suburban living-room, Mark denounces Crump in front of an apathetic adolescent girl who may be Crump's daughter. At the camp in which Mark, a soldier, had been imprisoned, Crump had deliberately brought about the death of a small boy, while his fellow-guards prevented the boy's mother from saving him; laughing and "busting their flies with the joke". Mark forces a response from the insignificant, weary criminal:

Crump: Shall I tell you what the anger was in my mind when I kicked that boy?

Mark: Well?

Crump: I remembered, no I heard again my mother falling on the stair, the day my father threw her out in the early morning, and she never came back.

Mark: So to take revenge on the agony of your childhood, you stood over an innocent boy while he drowned? You sicken me.

Crump: We all sicken one another; we all sicken ourselves with the tang of our humanity. We aren't gods. You, with your monomania, what do you know of the humuliations which make us what we are? Look at me: did I ever look like a superman to you? I didn't to myself. I was a slow boy at school, a sly boy at home. Errand boy and street corner tout, not good for much. A joke in the billiard saloons. Not trustworthy enough for the shock-troops, not battle material, and not vicious enough to be posted to the killers. A prison-guard! Too weak and too changeable to be good or bad. And wanting, oh, wanting so much to be one of the boys, and to feel a man the way I thought the boys felt. Only the boys were all just like me. Craving for sympathy. Crying for a leader. Dying for a leader, if only he can make us forget for a day who we really are. The world isn't made of gods or of devils either; only poor devils like us.

The argument rages, with Mark working himself into such a passion of fury at Crump's self-justification that it can only be moments before he kills the man with his bare hands. Then into the room comes a faded woman called Clarissa, whom Crump had married after the war. And Mark remembers her, also: because she was the mother of the boy Crump had drowned! This incredible turn-up for the books provokes a bitter debate between Mark and Clarissa. But Clarissa's low, persistent, desperate honesty defuses Mark's anger:

Clarissa: There are times when I remember. There are times when I am lonely. We are all lonely. What have we learnt, Crump, you and I, in these years when we've talked about everything except our thoughts? We've learnt to pity one another for being alone. And we've learnt that nothing remains to be discovered except compassion. There is nothing else in yourself worth the finding. At the end of years of despair, there is nothing to grow in you as tall as a blade of grass except your own humanity. Everything else is a form of loneliness. We lonely people must give one another pity. Otherwise we are alone like animals.

And this was written by a man only six years after the holocaust in which some ten million of his race had been anihilated by the Nazis.

In 1951 THE FACE OF VIOLENCE was co-winner of the coveted Prix Italia for radio drama. In 1954 my university's Dramatic Society produced it, as for radio, and I was lucky enough to be invited to play Mark. The play affected me profoundly, and after thirty years I could/can still remember long passages from it. Then last year the producer/director, Neville Teller, was kind enough to send me a tape-cassette taken from the original acetate discs we'd cut, one frantic afternoon in a studio when, with no radio experience, we'd had to record the lengthy play from beginning to end without a break, and where every cough or turn of the page or verbal fluff would be recorded, and we had to plough on, dropping in the many effects and the music as we went along. No dubbing; no post-production editing.

A friend and neighbour of ours, a conscientious and well-regarded magistrate, asked if she could hear the play-back with us. It was an extraordinary experience, to hear us all at it after so many years. There we were, emoting away with our clipped diction and our unanswerable egoes. But in the end the storyline won; Bronowski's passionately-argued philosophy triumped. Our Justice of the Peace was also deeply impressed, and borrowed the text of the play, which comes together with Bronowski's 50 page essay on "The motives and manifestations of violence in modern society". She said it should be required reading for every magistrate in the land. I must agree; and it should have an honoured place in the libraries of every police college or training establishment. the only problem is that it's been out of print for about three decades, and it took the services of the best professional bookfinder in England to secure a copy for me.

I still can't help wiping an eye when I hear the Chorus's final comments; and it's not without significance that we have references to the Sphinx, and thus to OEDIPUS REX, with whom we started this story. It would be a person of bleak heart who would not be moved by Bronowski's concluding verses: particularly in view of those terrible events at Broadwater Farm estate:

And here is the pitiful moment when the weak
Lose their loneliness:
The young men with a cosh go in pairs
Because brutality is their courage
And their tongue-tied comradeship.

Here is the moment of the dispossessed,
The sad anonymous
Whose grudge is that the world's indifferent;
Whom life has made a promise
It has not fulfilled.
They search the blank face of society
For a look, for a grace,
For an acknowledgement of their human place.

And having long been denied
Any personal pride,
One day they meet a leader
And explode into violence.

Which of us has not cried, "Revenge!",
Which of us has not felt
A liberation in the act of anger?
Which of us has never said
"I'll show 'em yet!"

Who has not hoped
To outrage an enemy's dignity?
Who has not been swept
By the wish to hurt?
And who has not thought that the impersonal world
Deserves no better than to be destroyed
By one fabulous sign of HIS displeasure?

The world is a dumb sphinx
That stares at the boy
Out of animal eyes;
And the boy stares back
Until her face seems to melt in violence,
And violence has the face of the fallen angels.

Life stares at the man
Out of the stony face of his boyhood,
And the man shivers to think
What he has become.
If the stony face will not flinch
Under his pleading look,
Forgive the man his violence...
For violence has a human face.

Those who have suffered violence, either personally or politically, will find Bronowski's words hard to stomach. But stomach them they must: Bronowski did, and he was a Jew, and writing this play very close to memories of Dachau, Mauthausen and Belsen. Personal vengeance so much beloved of Charles Bronson in his films, is an opiate, not a cure. The criminal must be brought to account. The Law must have its sway. Years ago, my pretty, then 14-year-old daughter and her equally pretty chum were dragged by a couple of louts into - would you believe it? - the Lord Mayor's garden, with intent to rape. I heard the screams of the girls, and went hotfoot in pursuit. First - to find that the girls were bruised, but not sexually molested. Over to my wife. Then I found a knobkerry I'd been given in Africa, and drove off with this, quite determined to beat the young criminals half to death. Fortunately, I didn't find them. The Desk Sergeant said I would've been the one in jail, not the "alleged attackers", who might have been "led on by my daughter and her chum. He was sympathetic, but firm. He had girls, and he understood my mad rage; but he calmed it down. We have to calm things down. Bronowski did.

This is why we need the exemplars of great drama to defuse our anger and our uncertainties. We need to see our worst fears realised, confronted and overcome at second-hand; and most of all, we need the calming effect of the man of wisdom: the gifted playwright. John Milton espoused the cause of Oliver Cromwell during our vile Civil War, and actually went blind writing manifestoes in defence of the Protectorate. Years later, disgraced, separated from his wife, living in black discomfort in a

country hovel, he dictated SAMSON AGONISTES to a probably bored and reluctant daughter. But that young woman stood to her guns, and took down Milton's astonishing play exactly as he dictated it. It was never meant to be physically performed: only to be read. Milton drew his text straight from The Bible, and how he must have empathised with Samson - once a hero, now blinded, and having to perform feats of strength for the enjoyment of the enemy. But Samson is not a performing bear: he tugs down the pillars of the temple and destroys his sneering foes to a man - and himself.

It is once again the Chorus that somehow manages to re-assure us:

All is best, though we oft doubt
What th'unsearchable dispose
Of the highest wisdom brings about
And ever best found in the close.
Oft he seems to hide his face,
But unexpectedly returns
And to his faithful Champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously...
His servants he with new acquist
Of true experience from his great event
With peace and consolation hath dismist,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

It's all in the words, isn't it? The magic of language, with a mighty soul to conceive it.

THE REIGATE POLICE

BY Bernard Brown

The 1st April this year will see the forty-second anniversary of the many former borough police forces being amalgamated into the county forces by virtue of the Police Act 1946, one such force being the Reigate Borough Police which was located only twenty-one miles from the Metropolis in the county of Surrey.

Redhill on the Brighton Road (A23) is probably better known to the traveller than its neighbour Reigate only 1½ miles away, but this has not always been the case and a short account of the development of the district is necessary to show how the Borough force came into being. As early as 1696/1697 the first turnpike road had been opened in the county by the Reigate Trust from Ryegate (as it was then spelt) to Crawley in the adjoining county of Sussex and onto Sutton in 1755. The much improved roads led to faster and easier communication to London and a degree of safety in the form of toll-gates which were erected at Woothatch and London Lane, one of the earliest forms of 'watching' the highways. Hitherto a journey from London to the South coast could possibly take several days during the winter months due to the roads becoming impassable; not only was there danger from the elements but highwaymen and footpads roamed the countryside on the lookout for an unsuspecting traveller.

The roads from Southwark to Croydon and Sutton had been improved as early as 1718 by the Surrey and Susex Trust and was so successful that the first stage coach through Reigate was introduced in 1732 between London and Brighthelmstone, as Brighton was then known. In order to combat the highwaymen the famous Bow Street Office in London in 1805 introduced a horse patrol around the Metropolis but patrolled the Brighton Road no nearer to Reigate than Sutton and Croydon. Three years later the Croydon and Reigate Trust cut a new road through the former narrow winding lanes between South Croydon and Reigate avoiding the old post road over Riddlesdown Hill by way of Wray Common and Gatton Point where toll gates were erected.

In 1818, much to the disgust of the Reigate Trust, the Gatton and Povey Cross Trust made a new road with less gradients running through Redhill, a toll gate was set up to the north of the town known as 'Frenchies Turnpike' where legend has it that it was named after the toll keeper who was a former Prisoner of War of Napoleon's army. This new road (the present A23) soon became the accepted Brighton Road after travellers using the former roads soon tired of having to alight from the comfort of their warm coach and walk up Reigate Hill on a cold winter's night and much traffic was lost from the town of Reigate.

Some effort to restore prosperity to the town was made in July 1824 by diverting the Turnpike Road under Reigate Castle, appropriately called Tunnel Road, but an even greater threat to the livelihood of Reigate came in 1841 when the London and Brighton Railway opened a station in Redhill which brought with it new settlements in the area. The police in the town had yet to appear and the only law thereabouts was in the form of the local parish constables of which there were four who all resided in Reigate. They were John Easton, a builder and George Wickham, a baker, both residing in Bell Street and William Fuller, a tea dealer, together with plumber James Killick who both lived in the High Street.

The tranquil existence was shattered in 1849 by the opening of the Philantropic Society's 250 acre farm for the reformation of 300 criminal boys only half a mile from Redhill and the opening of an Asylum for Idiots and Imbeciles at Earlswood.

In 1840 the Metropolitan Police had extended their jurisdiction further south into the county of Surrey and along the Brighton Road to take in the parishes of Banstead and Coulsdon. However, it was to be over a decade before the county

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The Author is a Metropolitan Police Officer.

force was established in the district which was heralded by the following statement which appeared in the 1850 edition of Kelly's Post Office Directory, which read:

"Police are about to be established in the County of Surrey. Reigate is to be one of the principal stations."

This prophecy, however, proved wrong for when the Surrey Constabulary finally arrived on 9th January 1851, it established itself not at Reigate but at London Road, Redhill instead! Inspector James Miller of the County force was later banished to Witley in 1868 and finally forced to resign following his attempts to circulate copies of 'The Police Service Advertiser' which was sympathetic to the Metropolitan Police strike which had broken out at Bow Street at that time.

Reigate became a Borough in 1863 which resulted in the formation of its own police force on 25th March 1864. The first Superintendent of Police was one George Gifford who held office for a mere nine days when he was succeeded by Mr. George Rogers who was at least more permanent staying in the job for twenty-five years, his salary at that time being £90 per annum.

The original Borough police station like the County force was also situated in Redhill at 3 Carleton Terrace and housed the sergeant, who was paid 21/- (£1.05) and eight constables who each earned 19/- (90p). As there were no cells available all prisoners were conveyed to the Market Place lock-up until a second station was added at West Street, Reigate.

The constables were rather restricted in the early days and were not allowed to go beyond the Borough boundaries when off duty without the consent of the Superintendent or indeed the Mayor and had to wear their uniform on or off duty as well as being ordered to salute not only the Head Constable and the Inspector, but also members of the town council, their clerks and all Justices of the Peace and his clerks.

After November 1865 all turnpikes on the Brighton Roads north of Sutton and Croydon were abolished but the Borough police were often called to disputes over tolls at the remaining gates which were not removed from the Borough of Reigate until October 1881.

The post of Superintendent of the Borough force was changed in 1870 to Head Constable and to this was added the grand sounding title of 'Inspector of Common Lodging Houses and Weights and Measures'. These ancillary tasks were eventually delegated to the lowly P.c., that is until the rank of Inspector was introduced in 1890 when it was discovered that the constable in his capacity as Weights and Measures was always referred to as 'The Inspector', much to the disgust of the real Inspector and this task was hastily undertaken by a sergeant who at least would not be mistaken for an Inspector!

In June 1891 William Morant took over as Head Constable from George Rogers remaining only until October 1894; his successor Phillip Woodman had an ever briefer spell in office, his hasty removal being prompted by a five month term of imprisonment for embezzling funds from Bradford Borough Police, his previous force.

James Metcalfe, the new incumbent, stayed in office for thirty-six years, the longest of any of the Head Constables but even under his command scandal was not far away as in 1897 one of the town's P.c's absconed with the Chief Constable's money and was traced to Naples, obviously disregarding the Standing Orders on leaving the Borough without permission! An Inspector was immediately dispatched to Italy to arrest the miscreant and recover the booty.

At the turn of the century the Borough force had two Inspectors, four sergeants and twenty-eight constables. In 1902 Police Headquarters were moved from Redhill to Reigate at the new Municipal Buildings at 'Castlefield' which also housed the Borough Fire Brigade.

Misdemeanours were viewed by the watch committee and varied with the gravity of the offence, drunkeness which had once been met with instant dismissal now ranged from a day's pay up to a week's pay depending on the state of intoxication.

One constable who failed to report the finding of a dog which escaped from him forfieted his monthly leave day, on the other hand a concientious officer could find his job quite remunerative especially the five shilling (25p) reward given for the arrest of deserters of which there were many from the nearby Caterham Barracks while a guinea (£1.05) was awarded for stopping a runaway horse which was a common occurrence in those days.

At the start of the Great War in August 1914 all annual leave was suspended but restored again in October. Ordinary day leave was only to be taken with permission but this regulation was also relaxed in November that year, the force was deployed on all the main roads leading to the town in order to stop all vehicles to search for aliens and from February 1916 the Tunnel Road was blocked off and used to store materials for the War Department. The war imposed a great strain on manpower and in May 1922, four years after the armistace, a day duty sergeant had to be employed for a two hour spell on point duty so that a P.c. could be released to cover the outer emergency beats to Frenchies Corner and Gatton Point due to the shortage of men.

The last Chief Constable of Reigate was Mr. W.H. Beacher, formerly a Superintendent in the West Sussex Constabulary who took office in December 1930. He was a compassionate man who was concerned with the welfare of his men who in January 1934 issued an order to the effect that any officer suffering from a cold, however trivial, should report sick at once in order that he may recuperate and avoid infecting his colleagues rather than prolong the illness.

In June 1935, anticipating by many years the introduction of the in-car computer used by several forces in the United States, he invented a card index system for the use of his mobile patrols no larger than a cigarette case which was divided into a list of stolen vehicles, pedal cycles, travelling criminals, unoccupied premises and a miscellaneous file of local interest, the system being far ahead of its time considering the size of the force.

With the outbreak of the second world war in September 1939, the days of Reigate as a separate force were numbered and on 1st February 1943, under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, the Reigate Borough Police was temprary amalgamated with the County Force which was renamed as The Surrey Joint Police. Chief Constable Beacher, who was awarded the K.P.M. in 1942, remained in charge of the Reigate Division throughout the war years.

After the end of the war the Police Act 1946 abolished once and for all the existing Borough Forces and with it Reigate which now became officially part of the Surrey Constabulary who once again re-occupied the London Road Police Station given up to the Borough Police back in 1931.

After 82 years as an independent police force Reigate was no more. However, since 1974 the Borough of Reigate has been merged with the former Urban District of Banstead bringing part of the new enlarged Borough into the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police.

POLICEMEN AND THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE

BY M.D.W. Jones

Any connection between the police and the legendary Charge seems very unlikely, unless Captain Nolan's unsuccessful attempt to divert the Light Brigade into the correct valley is to be interpreted as an early example of point duty! In fact, there is a direct link for some of these light dragoons and hussars later became policemen (a story that must surely have been repeated with the participants of other famous Victorian battles).

Of the 673 men who rode into the North Valley against General Ryjoff's horse artillery on 25th October 1854, nearly 560 survived to tell the tale. Some were subsequently killed on active service, while others retired on leaving the army. Many were still active men when discharged, however, found another job and eight have (so far) been identified as serving policemen:

4th Light Dragoons:	635	Private Samuel Parkes
8th Hussars:	1060	Private John Bevin
	911	Private Samuel Wilson
11th Hussars:	1570	Private Benjamin Beeson
	1521	Private John Smith Parkinson
13th Light Dragoons:	1230	Sergeant John Mulcahy
	1401	Private Albert Mitchell
	1378	Private William Nicholson

(Regimental numbers and ranks as on 25.10.1854)

This list in no ways claims to be definitive. Further investigation is likely to turn up other Light Brigade policemen but, if only an interim survey, these names are nonetheless worthy of being recorded and may hopefully stimulate reserch on those policemen who wore medal ribbons from this and other wars.

Equally, further research is still needed on the police careers of these first eight. Thus far, the following has been discovered:

4th LD

Pte SAMUEL PARKES V.C.

Born 1815 at Wiggington, Tamworth, Staffordshire (birthplace of Sir Robert Peel); baptised 24.12.1815 at St. Editha's, Tamworth; labourer; enlisted 28.7.1831 at Birmingham saying he was 18; served 11 years in India (including 1st Afghan War - Ghuznee Medal, 1839; orderly to regimental C.O. (Lord George Paget), 2nd i/c Light Brigade; horse killed early during retreat from the Charge - awarded VICTORIA CROSS for twice defending and saving life of Trumpeter Hugh Crawford from marauding Cossacks "until deprived of his sword by a shot" when both were captured (London Gazette, 24.2.1857); the first p.o.w. V.C., the oldest V.C. of Crimean War and the V.C. with the earliest campaign medal; released by Russians 26.10.1855; decorated by Queen Victoria 26.6.1857; discharged 1.12.1857 with 4 Good Conduct Badges (out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital); appointed Warder at Hampton Court; married Ann Jeffrey 13.2.1858 at St. George's, Hanover Square, London; appointed Inspector, PARK CONSTABLES, HYDE PARK; stationed first at Marble Arch and then Stanhope Gate; died 14.11.1864 at Stanhope Lodge, Hyde Park; buried Brompton Cemetery in common grave 19.11.1864 (no. 39265); oil painting and his medals with Queen's Royal Irish Hussars. (Parkes is my great-great-great uncle.)

Martin Jones is Head of History at Brighton College.

8th H

Pte JOHN BEVIN

Born 1831 at Bandon, County Cork; carpenter; enlisted 1849; wounded and captured in the Charge; discharged 1856; emigrated to Australia and then New Zealand; joined OTAGO MOUNTED POLICE November 1861; promoted Sergeant December 1861; later resigned; then rejoined; promoted Sergeant 1st Class April 1874 and Sergeant Major in November 1874; died 11.5.1892 in Dowling Street, Dunedin, New Zealand, still a serving policeman (buried in Southern Cemetery).

Pte SAMUEL WILSON

Born 1829 in Northern Ireland; enlisted 1846; emigrated to New Zealand; joined OTAGO MOUNTED POLICE; became a Sergeant; died August 1884 in Christchurch, New Zealand.

11th H

Pte BENJAMIN BEESON

Born 1825 at Croydon, Surrey; enlisted 1852; transferred to 12th Lancers 1861; discharged 1864; returned to South Croydon (20, Sanderstead Road); joined (?) SURREY CONSTABULARY, serving 26 years; died 25.12.1908 at Epsom, Surrey (buried All Saints, Sanderstead).

Pte JOHN SMITH PARKINSON

Born 1834; enlisted 1851 at Nottingham; discharged when a Sergeant 1864; worked for S.E. Railway Co at London Bridge; joined BIRMINGHAM BOROUGH POLICE 1866; promoted Sergeant 1869; retired 1892; died 12.1.1917 in Birmingham.

13th LD

Sgt JOHN MULCAHY D.C.M.

Enlisted 1845 or '46; promoted Troop Sgt-Major 26.10.1854 and awarded Distinguished Conduct Medal for his part in the Charge; discharged 1857; joined ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY 1858 (no. 22742); 1st Class Head Constable July 1858; Sub-Inspector 3rd Class and Depot Riding Master June 1866; died 1872.

Pte ALBERT MITCHELL

Enlisted 1850; promoted Corporal 1855; a Sergeant when discharged 1862; joined KENT CONSTABULARY; Instructing Constable; retired before 1885 (lived then in Norton Road, Southborough, Kent); published 'Recollections of One of the Light Brigade' (Albert Mitchell, Tunbridge Wells, 1884); still alive in 1897.

Pte WILLIAM NICHOLSON

Born c. 1829 at Naburn, Yorkshire; miller; enlisted 1848 at York; wounded in the Charge; promoted Corporal 1857; discharged 1858 because of leg ulcers; moved to Leeds and then London; became an Inspector with SOUTH-EAST RAILWAY COMPANY POLICE, stationed at Charing Cross; still alive in 1875.

By way of a postscript, it is interesting to note that a grandson of Sir Robert Peel, Major Edmund Yates Peel, served with the 11th Hussars throughout the Crimean War, but was not present at Balaclava.

THE KILLING OF CONSTABLE SMITH

BY Len WOODLY

Tucked away in the pages of the East London papers of June 1877 is recorded the death of a Police Constable in the execution of his duty. This killing would have passed virtually unnoticed had I not been researching an entirely different subject and found the entries quite by chance. Looking further into it I was greatly assisted by Alan Bazzone of the Port of London Authority Police who not only helped me go through the records of the East and West India Dock Company, but showed me around the old dock gates where the unfortunate Police Officer worked. I was also aided by Mr. Robert Aspinall of the Museum of London at Poplar, who kindly allowed me to look through the records of the Docks Companies. Both these gentlemen offered me their time and advice and I am most grateful. I would also like to thank the Librarian of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets for being allowed to look through the local papers of the period.

P.c. Smith, variously recorded as John William Smith, John Edwin Smith or Thomas Smith, was employed by the East and West India Dock Company. He had joined as a watchman in August 1873, when he was twenty-four years of age. He was promoted to Police Constable in 1875 and at the time of his death, was married with four children. His wages were 24/6d (123p) per week. He lived with his family at 2, Lower North Street, Poplar, E.14.

Smith's duties were, in the words of the Company, "to patrol the docks and premises and at the gates enforce the regulations as to passes and the collection of charges thereon. Prevent plunder, search labourers and suspected persons leaving the premises and carry out the ordinary duties of a Police Officer as to law and order." It was in "carrying out the ordinary duties of a Police Officer" that Smith met his death.

It was at approximately 5.20 p.m. on Saturday, 26th May 1877 that Smith and a fellow Constable named Ludlow were at the Commercial Road entrance to the West India docks, when they saw Robert Brown, a labourer coming out of the gates. Their suspicions were aroused by Brown's bulky appearance and Smith asked him what he had hidden in his breast. Brown's reply was that it was none of the Policemen's business.

Smith persisted, however and took hold of Brown's arm, again requesting to look and see what he was concealing. Brown's response was to raise his arm and hit the Constable in the face with his fist, knocking Smith into a recess in the wall. Smith recovered and took hold of Brown's arm and informed him that he was being arrested.

At this point, Ludlow had his attention diverted by a van leaving the docks. When he looked back he saw Smith and Brown struggling on the floor. He went to his colleague's aid, but as he arrived Smith got up and with blood pouring from his mouth ran to the nearby Police box at the gate.

Inspector Douglas of the Dock Police saw Smith inside the box, "covered with blood and either dead or dying." He went out to where Ludlow had detained Brown and told him that he was under arrest. Brown's sullen reply was, "I won't be handled and if you put a hand on me, I'll smash your face in. I'll serve you the same as I have him", and nodded in the direction of the Police box, where poor Smith lay.

Douglas, however, persuaded Brown to accompany him to the box, where on their arrival the Inspector informed his prisoner that he would be putting handcuffs on him as he had been so violent and killed one of the Constables. When Brown objected, Douglas went on "I shall have no more trouble with you. If you don't have them put on quietly, you will have them put on roughly."

Len Woodly is a serving police officer in the Thames Valley Police

Brown drew back and putting one hand behind his back attempted to draw out a billhook he had concealed. Douglas took out his staff and struck him about the fore-head. Brown, now suitably subdued, was taken to Poplar Police Station, where he was charged with killing P.c. Smith.

An inquest was held at the Black Horse public house in High Street, Poplar, where Dr. Nightingale, giving evidence, stated that he had been called to the Police box and had seen Smith lying dead with a large amount of blood which had come from his lungs. He had conducted a post mortem and had found both Smith's lungs so diseased that he could not have lived for many more days. He gave his opinion that Smith had died from natural causes and this was the verdict that the jury brought in.

When Brown appeared before Thames Police Court, however, the prosecutor asked for the prisoner to be committed for trial. This, of course was resolutely opposed by the defence solicitor who drew the magistrate's attention to the inquest verdict.

Mr. De Rutzen, the magistrate, said that although he had the greatest respect for Coroner's juries, nevertheless he still thought there was ample evidence on which to commit Brown for trial on a charge of manslaughter.

On Wednesday, 27th June 1877, Brown appeared at the Central Criminal Court and after hearing all the evidence was found guilty of the manslaughter of Constable Smith. He was sentenced to 18 months hard labour.

Meanwhile, at a meeting on the 12th June, the committee of the East and West India Dock Company heard an appeal from the widow of P.c. Smith. It was ordered that a gratuity of £50 was to be placed in the hands of the Charity Organisation for the benefit of Smith's widow and children.

SOME INTERESTING ITEMS

WAR RESERVE

Robert Bartlett

The Northamptonshire Police was recently lucky to receive the wartime pocket book of a Reserve Constable for the years 1942/1943. Life in a small county town even in war-time was pretty uneventful, although 45 years on, some of the incidents have a "quaint" appeal.

Working an odd selection of shifts, with 4 days off a month, the War Reserve received between £7.6.5d and £8.6.4d with time off in lieu of overtime pay. A regular diet of drill and lectures accompanied pay parades where inevitably the officers were inspected by a Chief Officer.

One September evening, as dusk fell, the Constable was forced to enter a house through the dining room window to extinguish a light coming from a 15 watt bulb in the kitchen. The owner of the premises was at a loss to explain his negligence!

One man dominated the life of the War Reserve - an Inspector Valentine - who visited the men on his beat as many as four times during a tour. Even when a prisoner was arrested for stealing a cycle he was handed to the ubiquitous Inspector Valentine for interview. Those were the days!

Endless points, every half an hour at night, and many an hour outside the dance hall whilst American servicemen from local bomber bases let off steam without, apparently, causing too many problems.

One lecture in October 1942 concentrated on the threat of invasion and the use of pigeons for sending messages after an air raid. In the museum at Wootton Hall a pigeon post message pad is on display and may be useful again if WARC problems continue.

One Sunday, a motorist was stopped for driving home to lunch. On being questioned, the driver admitted using his car to go home for a meal every day. "I want your licence and the reason that you are using this car on a Sunday". "I am tired of this," came the reply "I will see your Inspector". This hungry motorist was found to be using 12 gallons of petrol every 2 weeks, but there is nothing to say what his fate was to be, or if the policeman was subject of an harrassment complaint.

Nothing much has changed as the following day a drunk in the High Street was making a nuisance with "a lot of females about, he made a lot of obscene remarks including: "Mrs - you want to pay your f.... rent" and "Hitler ought to come her and drop a f.... bomb like he did at Wellingborough". Not surprisingly it was Inspector Valentine who drove the prisoner to the cells.

The diary ends in March 1943 with a visit of the King and Queen to a neighbouring town. A split shift that day, Royalty in the morning and two visits from Inspector Valentine in the evening. Did the War Reserves need so much attention from their supervisors?

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The Institute of Historical Research of the University of London is developing a Centre for Metropolitan History. A variety of activities are planned, including a series of fortnightly seminars starting in the autumn and the collation of a comprehensive bibliography of London history. The Centre is particularly keen to build up and publish a register of work in progress on London history and are inviting researchers to give details of their subject and its likely completion date. If you work in this field, contact Miss Heather CREATON on 01-636-0272.

A.A.CAMPBELL SWINTON.
M.INST.C.E.M.I.E.E.

66 VICTORIA STREET

LONDON S.W.

Telegraphic Address,
"DUNAMIS, LONDON"

Telephone No
"WESTMINSTER 156"

March 16th, 1903

Dear Sir,

Referring to your letter of the 13th. inst. and my interview with you on Saturday morning last, I have now carefully considered the question of motor cars for official use.

If it were a matter of merely getting about the centre of London, and covering those distances for which a carriage and pair might otherwise be used, I think that an electric car might be very suitable. I understand however that what is really required is a car that will travel over the whole Metropolitan Police area, and that journeys to places as distant as Staines and Epsom will from time to time require to be made.

Under these circumstances I should not recommend an electric car, as I do not think that such a car would prove to be reliable or suitable, having regard, among other things, to the fact that portions of the journeys would have to be made over roads which are not paved, and which at certain periods of the year are apt to be very heavy.

Under all the circumstances of the case I have no hesitation in recommending the adoption of cars with the ordinary internal combustion petrol engines, such as are now used to some extent by the War Office.

With regard to particular makes, I take it that it would be desired to obtain the cars in England, from British manufacturers, and not from abroad.

The best makers of motor cars in this country are I think the Wolseley Tool & Motor Car Co., who are an offshoot of Vickers Maxim, and whose London address is 32 Victoria Street, S.W., the Daimler Motor Car Co., 219 to 229 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C., and the Napier Company, care of S.F. Edge, Ltd., 14 New Burlington Street, W.

There are numerous other makers, such as the Motor Manufacturing Co., of 47 Holborn Viaduct, E.C., but I think the above are the best.

I may mention that the King has several "Daimler" cars, while the Prime Minister has a "Napier", and I understand the War Office have eight "Wolseley" cars.

I enclose herewith a copy of the Wolseley Cos. price list, and should imagine that one of their 10 horse-power cars, with ordinary tonneau body, and with pneumatic tyres on the front wheels and solid tyres on the back wheels - this being the type of the Wolseley car that has I understand been adopted by the War Office - is probably what would suit best. As will be seen, the price of this car, when fitted with pneumatic tyres, is £380 complete, but I believe that in order to ensure early delivery it would probably be necessary to pay a premium of about £50 extra. Even with this premium however the price of a Wolseley car would be very considerably less than either a Daimler or Napier, the prices of which for 10 or 12 horse-power run I think about £650 to £750.

I am informed by the Wolseley Company that the War Office paid a premium of £50 each upon two of the cars that they obtained from them.

Failing a "Wolseley" there are other makes of cars which I think would be suitable which could be obtained at about the price of £400 to £450. I should however have to make enquiries about them before I could recommend any specific make.

In conclusion, I should like to say that from my own personal experience of motoring, I am sure that one or two motor cars will be found of great service by the Commissioner and the Police, in regard to saving time and expense in getting about over the whole Metropolitan Police area.

If I can be of any further assistance I hope you will let me know.

Yours truly,

(Signed: A.A.C. Swinton)

The Receiver
for the Metropolitan Police.

(Reproduction of original letter)

A.A.CAMPBELL SWINTON.
M.INST.C.E.M.I.E.E.

66 VICTORIA STREET

LONDON S.W.

Telegraphic Address,
"DUNAMIS, LONDON"

Telephone No
"WESTMINSTER 156"

April 1st. 1903.

Dear Sir,

MOTOR CARS.

Referring to our previous correspondence on this subject, I recommend that you should obtain two 10 H.P. Wolseley motor cars, each fitted with wagonette body, so as to hold six persons including the driver, the cars each to be fitted with a moveable canopy and glass screen for use in bad weather, and with Clipper-Michelin pneumatic tyres.

The Commissioner has been out for a drive upon one of these cars, and I understand that he is quite satisfied that they will suit his requirements. I am also personally of opinion that taking all things into account these cars are the best for your purposes.

The price of each car will be £475 for delivery at the end of April. If the catalogue price of £415 only is paid, the Wolseley Company could not deliver until 1905. I may add that even at the price of £475 these cars are cheaper than any other English make of equal power, workmanship and value.

The Canopy and glass screen will cost £30 extra for each car.

In addition I should recommend that spare parts and instruments as per the enclosed list should be ordered for each car. The cost of these will come to something under £50 per car.

The Wolseley Company are ready to lend the Commissioner a car for use until the above cars are ready free of charge, but they will require to be repaid the wages of the driver, which will amount to something between £2 and £3 per week, probably say about 50s.

I am, Dear Sir,

yours truly,

(Signed: A.A.C. Swinton)

The Receiver,
for the Metropolitan Police.

(Reproduction of original letter)

BLUE SERGE WIVES?

Some years ago there was a Television series in Canada, based on a book written by wives of members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The book and series, entitled "Red Serge Wives", outlined the hardship and difficulties of the early pioneer of policing as they moved westward into the harsh and unforgiving plains and northern territories. The tales of courage and endurance are remarkable and have no comparison in the history of the British Police. Yet, within our own service, men have served with their families often in remote and possible dangerous situations. Supported by their wives with their nearest colleagues possibly many miles away, there must be many a stirring tale of determination, fortitude and courage to be told.

With no wish to write a television series, the Police History Society Journal would welcome any material that reveals the role of the police family in the early days. Those who serve today, particularly in isolated areas, know the special position of the policeman's wife in the community and the contribution they make. Put pen to paper - let the Police History Society have Grandmother's story, or even your own!

INSIGNIA

There is an Australian Police Insignia Collectors Association with further information available from Steve MUSCAT, PO Box 31, BOOLAROO, 2284, NSW Australia.

POLICE REVIEW
4.7.41

POLICE PIG CLUB

In less than a year, £157.00 has been realised by the sale of pigs reared at Union Grove Police Station, Clapham, where the first pig club in London was started by Sub-Divisional Inspector Gilbert BARTLETT.

REST FOR LIVERPOOL POLICE

A scheme has been put into operation for providing rest periods for small batches of Liverpool policemen by transferring them to the Isle of Man for spells of light duties.

WAR RESERVE SHOT DEAD

War Reserve Thomas COCKELL was shot dead by a soldier who returned home on leave and found the officer in bed with the serviceman's wife.

8.8.41

Flight Lieutenant Roger Hunter, a former Metropolitan Constable who is 6' 8" tall, has been awarded the DFC after 850 operational flying hours.

31.10.41

More than 650 Metropolitan policemen have already joined the RAF or FAA as pilots or observers.

GALLANTRY IN AIR RAIDS

Awards to the Police

Not everyone was having a relatively safe war as this small sample of awards for bravery indicates.

July 4th, 1941 GEORGE MEDAL

William Aubrey BAILEY, Captain, Church Army, Paddington: P.c.s Sidney Cyril COOMBER (CID), Reginal George GROSE and Edwin John POPE ("D" Division, Metro). As a result of enemy action buildings were damaged. Detective Constable Coomber and P.c. Grose entered one house and found several men lying severly injured and one man trapped. They removed all of them to safety and then climbed to the second floor where they were joined by Captain Bailey. Search was made for two men known to be trapped on the premises. After removing a quantity of debris, one man was released and lowered to the ground. The rescuers then climbed to the third floor and eventually located the other man who had apparently fallen through to the floor below. Coomber, assisted by Bailey, tunnelled under the wreckage while Grose removed rubble passed out to him. In spite of the fact that debris was continually falling around them, and a large slab of stonework was hanging overhead in a dangerous position, they succeeded in releasing the casualty. P.c. Pope, who was on duty nearby, was thrown to the ground by the force of the explosion. He recovered and, after attending to two severely injured victims and helping seven people to safety, he scrambled up to the second floor of a building where a woman was trapped. He made an opening in the wreckage and by supporting himself with his right hand, gradually lowered himself. After removing debris with his left hand, he was able to extricate the woman, who climbed over his back and was hauled to safety. The rescues were performed while an air attack was still in progress. Huge pieces of masonry and timber were poised in perilous positions, and the danger was further increased by escaping gas and water.

P.c. James William Crichton LESLIE ("L" Division, Metro); Edward SCANLON, member A.R.P. Rescue Party. A high explosive bomb partly demolished a house and a little girl was trapped under ten feet of wreckage. Scanlon tunnelled beneath the debris towards the child but was unable to reach her. P.c. Leslie then crawled into the tunnel and Scanlon followed him. Owing to lack of space neither man could use more than one hand. Finally, by lifting the debris piece by piece and propping it in position with wooden struts they managed to reach the child, but could not get her out. The child's arm was trapped by the debris supporting the party wall, which, if disturbed, would probably have brought down the wall on the child and the rescuers. The combined weight of the two men was an added source of danger and they therefore took turns at removing the debris bit by bit above the girl's arm, until after one and a half hours' work she was lifted out uninjured.

H.M. INSPECTOR'S REPORT

HIGH PRAISE FOR THE POLICE

(Police Review August 1941)

The Home Secretary has received from H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary, in place of the customary annual reports, a joint statement reviewing the war organisation, duties and state of efficiency of the Police.

"All forces," say the Inspectors, "have been visited much more frequently than is usual, and there has been ample opportunity to judge the efficiency of the Forces. High tribute to the work of the Police Service under war conditions can be paid, and we desire to assure you that you may have the fullest confidence in it."

"There is no service so intimately linked with the people, and no one so well able to gauge the pulse of the masses of folk as are the Police, and on all sides Chief Constables report there has been displayed courage, calmness and common sense which have helped materially to lighten the Police burden in attacked areas. For this our tribute and gratitude to the public cannot be expressed too highly."

Where air attacks have been heavy, full opportunity has been taken by all H.M. Inspectors to examine the situation on the spot, to see how the Police fared, how their organisation stood the test, what improvements could be effected, and what lessons could be learned. Prompt steps were taken to ensure that Forces everywhere gained full advantage of such experience and to make appropriate alterations and adjustments in the organisations and schemes. "From investigation of the work of the Police during the actual moments of attack we can report with satisfaction that our confidence in the steadiness and courage of the Police has been fully justified."

"Over and over again the Police are first on the scene, and in their own calm way apply themselves to the tasks at hand, whether these be works of rescue, fire-fighting or looking after the public generally." The Inspectors add that the Home Secretary and the Regional Commissioners have recognised the part played by the Police in the face of danger, and the recent expressions by the Prime Minister have made this clear to the public generally. His utterances have given tremendous encouragement and satisfaction to the Police Service.

The Inspectors state that the pre-arranged plans for mutual aid between Forces under conditions of attack have worked satisfactorily. Lessons have been learned and improvements made in the provision of food and accommodation for reinforcements.

It is pointed out that there is a tremendous call on Police manpower, not only for guarding vulnerable points but also for innumerable other tasks concerned with the war. In most Forces there exists a first-class organisation of Special Constables, and the Inspectors pay a tribute to their work. "Under actual attacks, Special Constables have performed their duties efficiently and fearlessly and with a devotion to duty worthy of the highest traditions of the Police Service."

The Inspectors mention that the ordinary work of the Police is progressing well, that crime is presenting no special difficulties or features, and that the discipline of the service is in accord with its usual high traditions. Within the Service the Police Federation has co-operated readily and effectively and has functioned to the advantage of the Service.

Employment of women in the Police Service has become more general, not only in the capacity of women Police, but also as members of the Women's Auxiliary Police Corps, performing clerical, telephone, canteen and motor duties. The value of the services of these women, both full and part-time, is worthy of recognition and thanks."

BOOK REVIEWS

Charlie Peace, the Sheffield Gang Wars, the Rhino Whip affair, the arrest of the Yorkshire Ripper are just some of the more famous episodes from the history of "Crime in Sheffield" recounted in a new book of that title recently published by Sheffield City Libraries for £6.95.

The book is written for the general reader and is intended as an insight into crime, policing and punishment in Sheffield from feudal times.

The author, J P Bean, is well known as the leading authority on the Gang Wars of 1920s Sheffield. His book on the subject, which was a local best seller in Sheffield, was recently the basis of a BBC Television documentary.

"Essex Crime and Criminals" by Harold Priestley, Ian Henry Publications, £4.95, paperpack £0.87 plus bibliography. A fascinating miscellany of crime in Essex from the 14th to 19th centurues. Body snatching, murder, robbery and poaching all find a place along with some material on Parish Constables, lock ups, stocks and local Associations. This is not a comprehensive, heavy, academic book, but a chatty collection of interesting local material. Some of the cases included are sufficiently interesting to warrant a great deal of further research. If you are interested in crime in Essex beware, as Mr Priestley may well spark off in you the enthusiasm for a great deal of hard work following where he has led.

Three books are available to members of the Police History Society from KAF Browns Books, 13 Gunners Lane, Studley, Warwickshire, at a discount of 15%:

"Policing Shropshire 1836-1967" by Douglas Elliott; a year by year account of the Shropshire Constabulary and the police force of the Boroughs of Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Oswestery, Shrewsbury and Wenlock. Hardback: £9.50; paperback £4.60.

"Policing Northamptonshire" by PC Richard Cowley is a history of both the County Constabulary and the Northampton Borough Police from formation until end of 1986. £7.14 paperback.

Finally, there is soon to be published "From Rattle to Radio" by John Bunker. This book is to cover the development of communications in the Metropolitan Police from 1829 - 1937 when the 999 system was introduced, and on up to the present time. For members, this paperback will cost £7.14.

EXTRACT OF LETTERS

Supplied by Mr. J. Stratfull, Polegate, East Sussex

The information on William Murray comes through some letters written to his old comrade-in-arms Davie Bucham. They both served in the Napolianic Wars in the 3rd Foot Guards.

5 Southwark Bridge Road
13th July, 1838

Dear Chum,

I received a letter from you about the time the police were forming, but at that time we were told by Sir R. Peel that it was only on trial, so that it would have been hazardous to have left a certainty, for anything on trial, only however on the 9th November the following year, the police fully established themselves, and proved to all who witnessed the streets of London that night, that London could never more be without a police force. Now they are like Scotchman, they are all over the world. We have sent some to Gibralter and yesterday, two to Australia and one to Kangaroo Island, and next week one goes to the Cape of Good Hope, so that the London Police will be in all quarters of the globe soon.

Remaining yours very truly while there is a button on my coat.

William Murray

3 Millfords Cottages
Commercial Road
Old Kent Road, Surrey
Monday 16th Nov. 1845

Dear Chum,

I am a free man at last, and my own master, grow my own cabbages and scotch Kaile.

Letter ends:

I am now safe at anchor and riding comfortable. Two anchors out, one £125, the other £35.7.11.*

Yours affectionate comrade

William Murray

* £125 army pension
£35.7.11 Police pension

LIGHTNING STRIKE

BY Mrs. E.J. SCHMAAL

This remarkable photograph, was taken in February 1901. It shows the tragic result of a freak accident - a team of six horses and their driver (his hat remains on the wagon, but his body has been removed) killed by lightning near the small township of Roseworthy, in South Australia.

The disaster happened when two brothers named Carey were taking the team to their home at Templars, not far from Gawler, 25 miles north of Adelaide. Near Roseworthy one of the brothers left the wagon and went to the home of a neighbour to borrow at coat. The other, Thomas Carey, aged 35, remained with the wagon. There he died, along with the horses, apparently killed by lightning. Neither wagon nor harness were damaged, but the dead man's hair and moustache were singed, and there were injuries to his side and one foot. He was later buried at Willaston Cemetary near Gawler. A big, dry dam near the scene of the fatality was used as a grave for the horses - magnificent animals said to be the best team of heavy working horses in the district.

FORCE HISTORIES

The bibliography of force histories prepared by Martin Stallion and published in Journal No. 2 was keenly read by many members who have since notified the author of some additional works:

AVON AND SOMERSET — Clark, Lewis. A concise history of the British police and the Avon and Somerset Constabulary. Bristol: (197-?). 30pp.

BRISTOL — Hallett, Penny. 150 years policing of Bristol. Bristol: Avon and Somerset Constabulary, 1986. 48pp.

Walters, Roderick. The establishment of the Bristol Police Force. Bristol: Historical Association (Bristol Branch), 1975. 22pp.

CARMARTHEN — Molloy, Pat. A shilling for Carmarthen: The town they nearly tamed. Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1980. 201pp.

GUERNSEY — Le Poidevin, Stephen E.F. History of the Gurnsey Police (St Peter Port: 198-). 15pp.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE — Thomas, Harry. The history of the Gloucestershire Constabulary, 1839 - 1985 (Cheltenham): 1987. 360pp.

LEAMINGTON SPA — Gibbons, W.G. Royal Leamington Spa. Part 6: The letter and the law. Coventry: James-Sands, 1986. 20pp.

METROPOLITAN — Bunker, John. From rattle to radio. Studley: Brewin, 1988. Not published at time of writing.

Elliott, Bryn. Waltham Abbey Police at war, 1914 - 1919, 1939 - 1945. (Waltham Abbey: The author), 1986. 18pp.

Fairfax, Norman. From quills to computers: the history of the Metropolitan Police Civil Staff, 1829 - 1979 (London: The author?, 1979?) 158pp.

Muddock, J.E. Preston. All clear: a brief record of the London Special Constabulary, 1914 - 1919. London: Everett, 1920. 122pp.

Pike, Alan R. A brief history of the Criminal Investigation Department of the London Metropolitan Police. Police studies, (June 1978), pp22-30.

Thompson, Victor. Civilians of the King: being a history of the Metropolitan Special Constabulary in Chingford. (1919)

Wood, James Playsted. Scotland Yard. New York: Hawthorn, 1970. 211pp.

NORTH YORKSHIRE — Milburn, M.D. North Yorkshire Police (Northallerton: The author), 1987. 5pp.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Cowley, Richard. Policing Northamptonshire 1836 - 1986. Studley: Brewin, 1986. 237pp.

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Northumberland County Constabulary. Northumberland County Constabulary, 1957 - 1969. Morpeth (ca 1969). 51pp.

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Hyndman, David. Nottingham City Police: A pictorial history, 1930 - 1960 (Nottingham: The author, 197 - ?). 78pp.

Hyndman, David. Nottingham City Police: A pictorial history, 1960 - 1968 (Nottingham: The author, 197 - ?). 95pp.

SUNDERLAND

Conlin, J. History of Sunderland Borough Police. Sunderland: Jobling, 1967.

Yearnshire, John. Back on the Borough beat: a brief illustrated history of Sunderland Borough Police Force. (Sunderland: The author, 1987). 104pp.

SUSSEX

Poulsom, Neville. Sussex police forces. Midhurst: Middleton Press, 1987. 152pp.

ULSTER

Clark, Wallace. Guns in Ulster. Belfast: Constabulary Gazette, 1967, 127pp.

Sinclair, R.J.K. Arresting memories: captured moments in Constabulary life. Belfast: RUC Diamond Jubilee Committee, 1982. 137pp.

WEST YORKSHIRE

West Yorkshire Police. A history of the police in West Yorkshire. (Wakefield: 1986 or 7). 15 leaves in folder.

YORK

North Yorkshire Police. Open day, Divisional Police Headquarters, Fulford Road, York, Saturday 3rd May 1986, to celebrate 150 years of policing in York. (Northallerton: 1986). 16pp.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OFFICE OF CHIEF CONSTABLES: 1935 - 1985 [1]

BY David Wall

Today, chief constables have a high public profile and their statements and opinions are eagerly sought after by the nation's media. This high public profile is a recent phenomenon as the predecessors of today's chief constables, bar the odd scandal which caught the public's imagination, were relatively unknown outside their locality. We know very little about who they were or where they came from.

This article traces the development of the office of chief constable from the introduction of the 'new police' in the early 19th century through to today. It illustrates the way in which the office developed out of two different traditions of local police organisation and examines both the policies which governed the choice of chief constable and the origins of those who were appointed to it. Particular reference is made to the way in which chief constables have become a nationally based professional elite.

Before the Local Government Act 1973 caused the police area boundaries in England and Wales to be redrawn, the provincial police was composed of county and borough forces, each of which had very different statutory origins.

The Municipal Corporations Acts of 1835 and 1882 provided for the creation of borough forces and the County Police Act 1839 and Local Government Act 1888 for the county forces. Only in the county forces was there to be the appointment, by the police authority with the approval of the Home Secretary, of a chief officer. That officer was to be known as chief constable. The Municipal Corporations Acts vested in the borough police authority (the watch committee) the same powers that were granted to the county chief constable. The Act made no provision for a chief officer of police and the post was not given statutory force until 1919. The post of borough chief constable literally 'emerged' out of the impracticalities of having a watch committee, which had neither the skills nor the time, to take the responsibility for policing the borough.

Selecting Chief Constables before 1919

The formal procedure of selecting a chief constable has not changed much over the years. The police authority still advertises the vacancy, draws up a shortlist, interviews candidates, ballots its members for their choice of candidate and then seeks the Home Secretary's approval for the appointment. The informal aspects of the selection process have, however, changed considerably. The police authority can no longer choose whoever it wishes to fill the post. All candidates now have to be approved in advance by the Home Office which takes into consideration the candidates' performance in both their force and on the senior command course at the Police Staff College.

Before the Desborough Committee [2] recommended in 1919 that only persons with police experience be appointed as chief constables, the only guidelines regarding the appointment of chief constables came from rules made by the Home Secretary under the County Police Act 1839. The Home Secretary's rules stated that chief constables:

> ".... must be certified by a medical practitioner to be in good health and of sound constitution, and fitted to perform the duties of the office." [and] "... must be recommended to the Secretary of State by the Police Committee, in whom the appointment is vested, as a person of general good character and conduct." [3]

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These vague rules did not apply to the appointment of borough chief officers.

County Chief Constables

In the absence of any direction on the qualities a chief constable must possess, the police authorities were given a free hand to appoint whoever they wanted and the persons they tended to appoint were ex-army officers:

> ".... who at any rate were men of education, with a knowledge of the world, accustomed to discipline and to the management of men and whose personal qualities were generally known to those making the appointments." [4]

The 23 chief constables who were appointed under the non-compulsory County Police Act 1839 all had officer experience and tended to come from landed families. But, about one third of that number also had some experience of police work from either the Metropolitan Police, the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.) or the borough forces. These first chief constables were appointed whilst they were in the early to mid-forties after an army career of about 21 years and stayed in office for 20 to 30 years; leaving office in their early 70s. Over a third died whilst they were 'still in harness'. [5]

When the County and Borough Police Act 1856 made the installation of police forces compulsory, the chief constables who were chosen to command the 24 new forces were men with the same backgrounds as those appointed before the Act but, overall, they had less experience of policing [6]. Their average age at appointment was the same as those appointed before 1856 but they stayed in office for much longer leaving whilst in their late 70s or early eighties [7]. These observations tally with those of Steedman [8] who found that the 24 chief constables appointed immediately after the Act of 1856 stayed in office for an average of 24 years each. On further examination six actually stayed in office for over 30 years and two for over 40 years. Only a small percentage of this group (15%) died in office, with most retiring during the 1890s.

The county police authorities did not need to consider what qualities they would require in their chief constable until the latter part of the 19th century by which time the pattern was set. All of the replacement chief constables appointed during the 1890s, with the exception of the chief constable of Rutland (whose command was less than 10 men) were from the same county backgrounds as their predecessors, half of the chief constables appointed between 1905 and 1915 died in office. [9]

An examination of the inclusion of county chief constables in contemporary directories of elites, such as Who's Who and Kelly's Handbook of Official and Titled Classes, revealed that over three-quarters of those in office in 1905 had an entry in one or the other. The inclusion of county chief constables in such directories was by virtue of their background rather than their occupation. [10]

The county chief constableship became a popular occupation for the younger sons of the landed gentry in the same way that the army and cloth had done:

> "Becoming head of a county force might enable a man to consolidate and extend an existing social position and wed himself to the upper reaches of the county hierarchy." [11]

Particularly after the Crimean war when the chances of promotion in the army were reduced. Many frustrated young officers, like Nott-Bower [12], opted for a police career rather than wait many years for promotion.

The social backgrounds of the first county chief constables and their successors were similar to those of the members of the quarter sessions [13]. In 1888, after the Local Government Act of that year the quarter sessions were replaced by the half elected SJC. This change threatened to open membership of the county police authority to other social groups if they were elected. But, recent unpublished research Buckle [14] has shown that in reality there was little change as most of the first county councillors were, if not themselves, justices of the same landed gentry stock as the justices [15].

By appointing a chief constable with a similar world outlook to themselves the

county police authority could be fairly certain that he would not only have an understanding of their position in the local social hierarchy, but would also share the same social and governmental assumptions [16]. Once a chief constable was appointed he exercised a great deal of autonomy in his control over policing in the county and could not be removed from office arbitrarily. The police authority could only exercise informal means to influence policing; the most potent of which was controlling the purse strings of the county force.

The county chief constables were from very different backgrounds to those under their command. In the 19th century a policeman's pay was based upon the wages of an agricultural labourer and many of the first policemen were chosen from the occupation [17]. The tradition of paying low wages was set by Peel in order to deter gentlemen from joining the police [18]. Peel's intention was to prevent the police from becoming as class ridden as the army and in the Metropolitan police the commissioners were, until recently, justices and not policemen. Peel's idea backfired in the provinces as a commissioned/non-commissioned divide between the lower and very senior ranks developed.

Borough Chief Constables

The origins of the first borough chief officers were very different to those of the county chief constables. The non-statutory nature of the office meant that the borough chief officer, where one was appointed, was an employee of the watch committee who could be hired and fired at will. It would seem that this was the fate of many of the first chief officers, and their predecessors. As many as 40% of the borough chief officers appointed between 1836 and 1845 were dismissed from office; although only about 5% of those appointed between 1846 and 1855 shared the same fate. [19]

The turnover of borough chief officers due to transfer to another force was also high. About one third of the borough chief officers appointed between 1846 and 1855 left to take command of another borough force. In each case the transfer was to a larger sized command [20]. Critchley [21] makes this point and describes how there were 12 chief constables of Congelton between 1836 and 1847, five of whom transferred elsewhere; this example is sometimes used to illustrate the high turnover of borough chief officers. On further analysis it would appear that there were in fact 12 chief officers of the Congelton force between its origin in 1836 and its amalgamation with the county in 1947 [22]. However, Critchley's point still stands.

As the size of borough forces grew with enforced amalgamations and an overall increase in the establishment of the police, the posts of chief officer in the remaining forces became more firmly established. By the turn of the century most borough chief officers were referred to as chief constable even though the smallest borough command of between 10 and 15 men was over 100 times smaller than the largest. Ironically it was the largest borough force, Liverpool, which insisted on retaining the title of head constable for its chief officer until the Police Act 1919 changed and forced the watch committee to use the title chief constable.

The men who became the early borough chief officers were invariably policemen; many were officers from the Metropolitan Police who were drafted in to help install a police force [23]. A typical borough chief constable before the first world war would have joined a police force whilst in his early twenties and served for about ten years, rising to inspector, before being appointed to a small force in his early thirties. After a few years experience in a small force it was common for them to move to a larger force in their mid to late thirties. Most served for about fifteen years before retiring in their early fifties.

Appointments to the medium sized forces tended to be of older men with many years service or of a younger person with experience of command in a number of forces. The very large boroughs competed for the same candidates as did the counties, although the careers of the men chosen were in the professions rather than the military. [24]

The social backgrounds of borough chief constables in the 19th century were very different to those of the county chief constables described earlier. They were from the working, and lower middle, classes although the chiefs of the larger borough forces shared many social characteristics with the county chief constables. An idea of how different their backgrounds were in comparison to the county chief constables can be illustrated by comparing entries in elite directories. Only 5% of the 127 borough chief constables in office in 1905, typically those in command of the very large borough forces, had an entry in either Who's Who or Kelly's Handbook. Whereas, it was shown earlier, that over three quarters of county chief constables had such an entry [25].

The demands made by the watch committee of their chief officer were different to those made by the county police authority of their chief constable. The county police authority wanted a person with a similar outlook to themselves, possibly with social or familial links as well, who they could trust to police the county according to their version of the world. The watch committee, by comparison, merely wanted an employee who they could trust to carry out their orders. Thus the borough chief constableship became a reward for dutiful service rather than a recognition of competence as a policeman.

Over the years there have been many allegations that freemasonry played an important part in promotions within the police [26]. Certainly many borough chief constables, during the last century, were openly proud of their association with the freemasonry. In 1885 as many as three quarters of borough chief constables were freemasons, although by the turn of the century that figure had reduced to only about a third [27]. A reduction that can be explained by a growing reluctance on the part of chief constables to reveal their membership in the face of allegations of masonic interference in promotions.

Few of the allegations that have been made against freemasonry have been substantiated in any way and whether or not freemasonry played a significant role in appointments is debatable. There existed many other organisations and bodies in which policemen were also involved and which must also be taken into consideration. What is certain is that there was a general disquiet over the grounds on which appointments to chief constable were made in both the counties and boroughs. In his evidence to the Desborough Committee in 1919 one of Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary said that he thought that chief constables were appointed:

"not on their merits as policemen, especially in the smaller boroughs". [28]

Selecting Chief Constables after 1919

A number of issues came to a head at the end of the first World War and culminated in the police strikes of 1918 and 1919. One of the issues which contributed to the crisis was the idiosyncratic way in which chief constables were selected, particularly as policemen in the lower ranks could not reasonably expect to gain promotion beyond the rank of superintendent. The Desborough Committee inquired into the appointment of chief constables and was presented with arguments from those who favoured the retention of the present system and those who wanted a fully professional police service with all senior officers having served in the police throughout their careers. The Committee's recommendations were a compromise between the two view points:

> "We recommend that no person without previous police experience should be appointed as chief constable in any force unless he possesses some exceptional qualification or experience which specially fits him for the post, or there is no other candidate from the police service who is considered sufficiently well qualified." [29]

This recommendation became incorporated into the rules that the Police Act 1919 empowered the Home Secretary to make in order to govern the pay, conditions of service and appointments of the police. It became known as Regulation 9 and it was the first time that an attempt had been made to prescribe the qualities a police authority should look for in a chief constable.

For a variety of reasons the effect of Regulation 9 was minimal. On the one hand an examination of the previous occupations of chief constables prior to their first command reveals that the percentage of county chief constables from police occupations increased after the introduction of Regulation 9.[30] On the other hand the increase in appointments from police occupations was a continuation of a trend towards the selection of men from police occupations that had started in the mid-19th century.

Whilst there was a move on the part of police authorities towards selecting chief constables from the police, the extent to which this change was in any way contributable to Regulation 9 can be questioned. The wording of Regulation 9 was loose enough to allow police authorities, particularly in the counties to 'creatively' interpret the rule and thus minimise its effect. They either appointed men with colonial police or R.I.C. background. Alternatively they appointed ex-army men directly as assistant chief constables, a post that was traditionally 'in the gift' of the chief constable and not covered by Regulation 9; hence the apparent modification of selection practices. Once a person had served as an assistant chief constable then they could claim that experience in order to qualify them for candidature as chief constable whenever a vacancy arose.

The apparent change in selection practices, described above, was an attempt by the county police authorities to accommodate the changes that were being pressed upon them. The police authorities saw Regulation 9 as an attempt to usurp their powers and influence over policing and were naturally hostile towards it.

The extent to which police authorities evaded Regulation 9 can be illustrated when the occupational origins of chief constables serving in 1908 are compared with those serving in 1939.

In his evidence to the 1908 Select Committee on the Police Weekly rest day, John Kempster, then editor of the Police Review informed the committee that only 3 of the 44 English county chief constables had risen through the ranks. Of that number 33 were ex-army officers and the rest were a combination of colonial policemen and gentry all with army experience. In Wales, because of the need for a Welsh speaking chief constable, half of the chiefs had served as policemen; the rest were ex-army officers. In contrast to the origins of the county chief constables only 15 of the 123 borough chief constables had not risen through the ranks of a British police force.

Thirty one years later, just before the outbreak of the second World War, only four of the 42 English chief constables, one more than in 1908, had been in the police service throughout their careers. Similarly, only six of the 117 borough chief constables had not risen through the ranks.[31]

The Internal Recruitment of Chief Constables

During the 1920s the idea of internally recruiting chief officers gained currency, not least because of the new professional ethos which crept into policing as a result of the Desborough recommendations on higher pay, better conditions and centralised training. The question of who should command a police force was the subject of much discussion amongst the various bodies concerned and opinions on the matter were polarised between the professionalists and traditionalists. The former favoured a professionally integrated police in which all senior officers would have served in the lower ranks whereas the latter, supported by The Royal Commission on Police Procedures and Powers in 1929, wanted the best men for the job regardless of their training or previous occupation to be chosen.[32] However, Davies argued that the Royal Commission was merely reflecting public opinion after the Savidge case in which

senior officers were blamed for the misconduct of their men. The Royal Commission's view-point also conflicted with current opinion in senior police and Home Office circles. In his report for 1929 the Inspector of Constabulary commented that:

"there is probably no other profession in the country where a man of no experience can be placed in such a responsible position."[33]

The tide of opinion was flowing towards the professionalisation of the upper ranks but the type of person who police authorities normally associated with a command position was not to be found in the ranks of the police. The police were not attracting recruits with the relevant education qualities to suit them for command. People with the same educational attainment as in the 19th century were being recruited, yet the general provision of secondary education throughout England and Wales had been increased by five times. A system was needed to bring out and train men who had command capabilities.

A variety of schemes were put forward to facilitate the training of senior officers from within the police. The Home Office's idea for a National Police College to train serving policemen was proposed and rejected on financial grounds, as was an idea for the introduction of a sponsored cadet scheme similar to that proposed by Nott-Bower[34]. The scheme that was accepted was Trenchard's proposal for a Metropolitan Police College.

Drawing on his experience of commanding the R.A.F., Trenchard wanted to create an officer class in order to solve the problem of finding men for the senior ranks from within the Metropolitan Police. Recruits to the college would be inducted through a course of tuition at a newly formed Metropolitan Police College at Hendon. On successful completion of the course they would gain automatic promotion to inspector. To allow the Hendon men to rise quickly through the ranks the promotion of all Metropolitan police officers appointed after 1933 was frozen. The scheme aroused great hostility from within the lower ranks of the Metropolitan police.

The college opened in 1934 and before closing at the outbreak of war, 188 graduates passed through its doors; 132 had entered from the Metropolitan police and 56 as direct entrants through either open selection or open examination. The recruits to the college were what Trenchard referred to as 'officer material' and were drawn primarily from the middle classes. The legacy of Hendon was to be left most of all in the years after the war.

After the outbreak of war no chief constables were appointed to their first appointment without having served in the ranks. This was due to a combination of policy, wartime regulations which increased the Home Secretary's powers over the police and police authorities, and also the fact that many of the traditional candidates for chief constableships had rejoined their regiments. In 1946, after the wartime regulations ended, the Post-War Committee on the Reconstruction of the Police Service gave force to the policy that all future chief constables should have served throughout their careers as police officers.

At a time when police authorities, particularly in the counties, were resistant to the changes being forced upon them, the presence of the Hendon graduates in the pool of candidates for senior appointments enabled them to appoint the type of people they wanted and also not fall foul of the Home Secretary's rules.

The Hendon men came to dominate the most senior ranks in the police service until the early 1970s. In 1965, for example, the Commissioner, deputy commissioner and four assistant commissioners in the Metropolitan Police, 19 county chief constables, six borough chief constables, the Chief Inspector of Constabulary and three of his colleagues were all trained at Hendon.[35]

The Metropolitan Police College was not reopened after the war. Instead a National Police College was formed to train serving officers in the intermediate ranks in command. In 1960 that college was moved from Ryton-on-Dunsmore to its present location at Bramshill House.

A series of scandals in the 1950s which involved chief constables led to the Royal Commission on the Police in 1960 considering the issue of senior command.

When looking at chief constables and their training the Commission identified the need to attract more educated recruits into the police to improve the quality of the police and more senior positions. But it found:

> "... no recent instance of a university graduate entering the service" [36]

and that less than a third of all recruits had GCE passes.

In 1961 a white paper entitled Police Training in England and Wales [37] followed the Commissioner's initial findings on the quality of police recruits. The paper proposed firstly, a special course for constables with the most outstanding marks in the examination for sergeant and successful completion of the course would give automatic promotion to sergeant. Secondly, a proportion of the places on the existing course which prepares sergeants for promotion to inspector was also to be open to sergeants who qualified by examination. At the time all entry to the course was by recommendation of the chief constable. Thirdly, a senior staff course, of a primarily professional character, was to be introduced to equip officers at the rank of inspector and above for the highest posts in the service. The white paper intended these courses to:

> "improve the ability of the Police Service to attract and train its own leaders, and enable the Police College to make an even greater contribution than at present to the efficiency of the service." [38]

These proposals provided a foundation for the four main courses that are run at the Police Staff College, as it is now called. Each course prepares officers for promotion to the next rank.

Whilst the proposals for training catered for serving officers, the need was identified to attract more highly qualified recruits into the police and a graduate entry scheme was also introduced; although the numbers who enter by it are small. This scheme is complemented by the Bramshill scholarship, introduced in 1964, to offer police officers who had slipped through the educational net an opportunity to take up higher education.

The Police Staff College has had a marked effect on the senior ranks. All candidates for chief constableships today are graduates of the senior command course and a growing number of those appointed are ex-special course. By the 1990s it is very probable that the majority of new chief constables will be graduates of the special course and that the average age at their first command will fall. The average age on appointment as chief constable in the latter part of the 19th century rose from about 40 (which represented the age at which an army officer can retire on pension after 21 years service - see earlier), to between 55 and 60 in the early 1980s after 30 to 35 years police service. The special course graduates tend to rise through the ranks to chief constable after 20 to 25 years service and be appointed to their first command in their mid- to late 40s; or even younger. [39]

The Social Origins of Chief Constables

The social origins of today's chief constables (sampled between 1975 and 1985) were found to be very different to those of their predecessors. Whereas all county chief constables at the turn of the century, with the exception of very small forces such as Rutland, were either from the upper middle and/or titled classes, the majority of chief constables today come from working and lower middle class backgrounds. They were educated at grammar and state schools in contrast to their predecessors who until the second world war were mostly educated at the Clarendon list public schools.

Just over two thirds of the modern chief constables sampled [40] received some form of further education on either a full or part-time basis. Half of them attended a university (typically redbrick) and the rest a technical college. Two thirds of those with some form of further education had a qualification, half of which were certificates or diplomas and the other half degrees. The majority of those

qualifications were professionally oriented with the diplomas and certificates tending to be in management and the degrees being in law.[41]

One indication of the growing status of the office of chief constable over the years has been the inclusion of most of its incumbents in Who's Who. Today just over half of serving chief constables have an entry in Who's Who. They are there because of what they are, whereas their predecessors were included in a directory of elites because of who they were. It will be remembered that over three-quarters of the county chief constables in office in 1905 had an entry in either Who's Who or Kelly's Handbook of the Official and Titled Classes.[42]

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated the developments that have taken place in the office of chief constable over the past century and a half. It has shown that today's chief constables are very different from their county and borough predecessors. Where chief constables were once part of the local power elite, in the counties the gentry, and in the boroughs, to a lesser extent, the local municipal elite, they are now an elite group in their own right. A professional elite bounded by specialist training, a professional association, a professional ethos and a unique autonomy amongst local government public service officials.

1 This paper is drawn from Wall, D.S., Chief Constable: A Changing Elite, in Mawby, R., Policing Britain, Plymouth, Plymouth Polytechnic, 1987, and is based upon ongoing research into the selection and origins of the 1735 appointments to chief constables who are known to have held office in England and Wales between 1835 and 1985. It will be published as an MPhil dissertation later this year by the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York.

The data on which the research is based was compiled from publically available sources such as Who's Who, Kelly's Handbook and Police Review and the autobiographies of ex-chief constables. The scale of the lack of information was realised at the outset of the research when it was found that there did not exist a list of the names of all of the chief constables in England and Wales.

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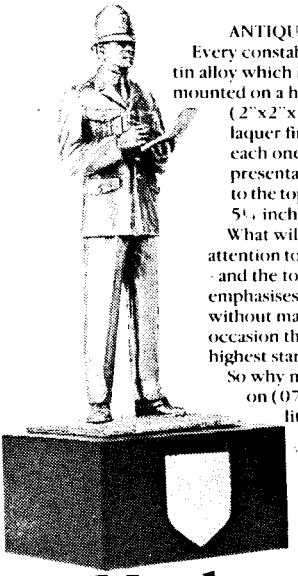

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