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THE RACE COURSE POLICE

JEFF COWDELL and PETER KENNISON
on the Short-Lived Specialist Force

CLIVE EMSLEY * TIM WRIGHT * PAUL DIXON * COLIN JACKSON
CLIFFORD WILLIAMS * FRED FEATHER * MICK SHAW * JOHN BUNKER
MARTIN BAGGOLEY * TONY MOORE * ELVYN OAKES * GAYNOR HALIDAY
DR JAN BONDESON * JOHN THORNCROFT * GILL WHITEHOUSE

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Post-War Policing

EDITORIAL by ADAM WOOD

Welcome to the 2018 Journal. We begin with a report by Clive Emsley on his recent research project, funded by the PHS, into the overseas involvement of British Police officers during the Second World War. As Clive writes, little is known on some parts of this crossover of duties.

We are fortunate, therefore, to be able to include three articles on the subject in this edition of the *Journal*; the first is by Clive himself, an assessment of the career of A.F. 'Michael' Wilcox, who succesfully applied to join Lord Trenchard's new Police College at Hendon and later joined the Civil Affairs unit of the Allied Armies, serving in Italy and Austria between 1943 and '46 before ending his career as Chief Constable of Hertfordshire Police, serving 22 years in the post. Gill Whitehouse tells us of her police medal collection, which includes a group belonging to Chief Constable Thomas Oliver of the Port of London Authority Police, who was seconded to the Civil Affairs Branch a year after Wilcox and in 1947 to the Foreign Officer as a member of the Special Police Corps of the Control Commissioner for Germany. Tim Wright then writes of the Post War reconstruction of police in Germany, which was overseen by the likes of Reginald Mitchell, who had reached the rank of inspector in the Norfolk Constabulary by the time war broke out and acted as Training Officer for War Emergency Duties at Constabulary HQ, Norwich, with operational responsibilities. He was was released for service with Allied Military Government, and took part in the liberation of and re-establishment of civil administration in Turcoing near the Belgian border north-east of Lille before moving on into Germany.

Away from the War years, this edition includes era-spanning articles on a wide range of subjects, from the murder of a constable in the early days of Peel's New Police to a pioneering woman police officer who in the late 1980s became Lord Mayor of Portsmouth. In between, we have a detailed look at the specialist force the Race Course Police, the role of certain suffragettes in the development of women policing, biographies of officers around the country, and a constable attending the scene of an early motor car accident.

Enjoy the read.

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ADAM WOOD has been on the editorial board of *Ripperologist* magazine, the largest circulation journal dedicated to the Jack the Ripper case, since 1997, and has acted as its Executive Editor for ten years. He is co-author of *Sir Howard Vincent's Police Code, 1889* and the forthcoming official history of the Metropolitan and City Police Orphans Fund. He is finalising a detailed biography of Det. Superintendent Donald Sutherland Swanson.

He lives in Kenilworth, where he runs book publishing house Mango Books, which specialises in non-fiction historical crime and investigation. An imprint of Mango, Blue Lamp Books, was established earlier this year to focus on books on police history. www.MangoBooks.co.uk

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The Society's website provides a link to all UK forces, as well as museums and similar organisations. Through the website, researchers can submit enquiries on any aspect of police history for answering by our members.

The Society publishes Monographs from time to time and is prepared to consider applications for grants.

It publishes four Newsletters per year plus an annual *Journal*, and the Annual Conference is usually held in September at varying locations throughout the country.

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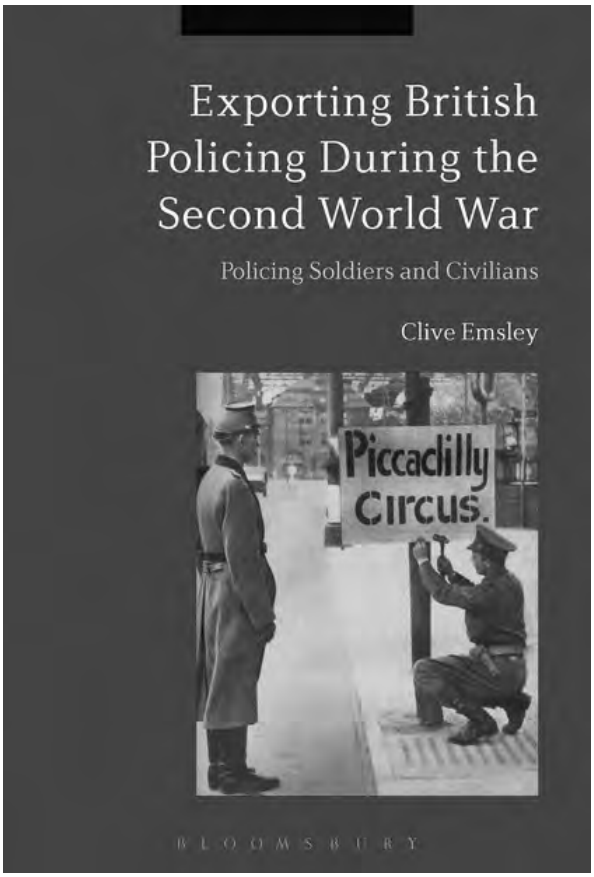
Exporting British Policing During the Second World War

Report on the PHS funding of my last research project

By CLIVE EMSLEY

This project was a logical follow on to the research conducted for my book *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services since 1914* (Oxford University Press, 2013). My work on this book demonstrated two things:

1. There was very little on the origins and wartime development of the Military Police Detective Branch (the S.I.B.). This body was originally formed to investigate crime in the BEF in France and Belgium in 1940; the original 20 members were Metropolitan Police detectives, and their numbers were increased initially by bringing in police officers who had been recalled to the colours in December 1939.
2. The role of police officers who served in Civil Affairs units was largely unknown. These men were charged with following assault troops to re-establish civil society in liberated territories and then in the country of defeated enemies. In the immediate aftermath of the war this also involved training, most notably, Austrian, German and Greek police in an attempt to turn them into idealised British Bobbies.



The PHS grant enabled me to travel regularly to and from The National Archives, the archive of the Imperial War Museum, and to stay in Portsmouth for an extended visit to the archive of the Corps of Royal Military Police. The backing of the PHS enabled me to access the Central Records of Service of a large number of Metropolitan officers who served in SIB or CA. It also facilitated access to archives that remain in private hands and here I would particularly like to thank the family of Albert Wilcox, eventually Chief Constable of Hertfordshire but who served initially as a CA 'spearhead officer' in Italy before moving on to be a senior officer in the Allied Military Government in Italy and in 1945-46, the chief British Police officer in Vienna (see following article).

The book, *Exporting British Policing During the Second World War: Policing Soldiers and Civilians* was published by Bloomsbury (Academic) in July 2017. Unfortunately 'academic' means they want first to sell it to libraries and the price is pretty high. I am told that a paperback will be available in 2018.

A Police Officer and a Gentleman

By CLIVE EMSLEY

It is fairly common for the ordinary reader to assume that we know just about all there is to know about the history of the Police and the history of the Second World War. Yet there are very significant parts of both that are almost entirely unknown. Surprisingly, as far as Police history is concerned, there is no significant history of Lord Trenchard's training college for future police leaders opened in 1934.

On the Second World War, as detailed in the previous article I completed a book on police officers who, during the Second World War, continued to fulfil policing roles but as soldiers, either investigating crimes committed by soldiers or attempting to restore civil society to countries once occupied by enemy forces and then, ultimately to the enemy countries themselves. The former of these groups still exists as S.I.B. (the Special Investigations Branch) of the Military Police. Civil Affairs, as the other group was broadly known, is scarcely even a memory.

It was during this earlier research that I kept coming across Albert Frederick Wilcox – he was not keen on those Christian names and to his friends, his wife and his children he was known as 'Michael' or 'Mike.' I also had the fortune to find that he had been a great collector, especially of his wartime papers, and with great generosity, his children kindly loaned them to me.

Michael Wilcox is not now well-known but he had a very distinguished police career. Forced to leave school because his mother believed that, following the death of his father, she had insufficient money to keep him and his siblings there, he began life as a factory clerk.

Yet Michael wanted a more exciting life and, as soon as he was able, he joined the City of Bristol Police. At 6 feet 4 inches he looked the part; unfortunately his superiors recognised his ability to organise and get things done, consequently, as a police constable in his native Bristol, he never made an arrest and rarely left the force headquarters. Though his education had been cut short, he was not deterred from applying to Trenchard's new Police College established in Hendon in 1934. His success in the entrance exam, when he was up against men from schools such as Eton, some who had university degrees, required him to transfer to the Metropolitan Police.

In 1943, by then an Inspector with a wife and two very small daughters, he volunteered for the Civil Affairs unit of the Allied Armies.

He landed at Salerno during the fierce fighting on the beaches and set about 'liberating' towns in southern Italy. This was a role that he seems thoroughly to have enjoyed; he made his own decisions and with a G.I. for a driver – a man who had got the job because of his Italian ancestry, but who seems to have been good enough to order a pizza or a panini, but had little real grasp of the language – he drove across difficult, sometimes dangerous country, telling the locals that there was now an Allied Military Government. He was rapidly promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and found himself doing the lion's share of the work in attempting to reorganise the Italian Police.

Wilcox (seated, second right) with his fellow British Public Safety Officers, Vienna, May 1946

At the end of the war he failed to get immediate demobilisation and opted to join the Public Safety Officers bound for Austria which, like Germany, was divided into four zones – American, British, French and Soviet. As the principal British PSO in Vienna he found himself in regular confrontations with his Soviet equivalents; he was also the most interested of the senior police officers in all four zones in the recreation of a police force for Vienna.

Post-war Vienna was the city of Graham Greene's novella and, more famously, carol Reed's film *The Third Man*. When Wilcox arrived it was both violent and a centre for the black market. Wilcox intensely disliked and suspected the continuation of political involvement with the police, but as the economy gradually improved so his new, well-trained Viennese police managed to get a grip on crime and the general breach of regulations.

He watched colleagues leave the armed forces to take up senior police positions elsewhere; many of these men he knew through Hendon and shared wartime experience. He wrote home to Ethel, his wife who had had hardly seen in three years, saying that he would relish something like the rank of chief constable to look after her and his daughters.

He applied for several such posts and in late 1946 he was appointed Deputy Chief Constable of Buckinghamshire. After six months he was encouraged to apply for the vacancy of Chief Constable of Hertfordshire. Though not someone who shone in interviews he got the job, and served in Herts for the next 22 years, until his retirement in 1969.

Several of his friends and fellow graduates from Hendon moved on to senior posts in the Metropolitan Police and the Inspectorate of Constabulary. It seems that Wilcox may have been eyed for being transferred to the Met on a couple of occasions, but he had no desire to move on from Herts and relished the challenges of command, of the new motorway system and new technology.

AF 'Michael' Wilcox as Chief Constable of Hertfordshire Constabulary

On retirement he enjoyed a link with the new Criminology Institute at Cambridge, publishing a small book on prosecution which is still well regarded; and he developed a variety of academic links. He also took on a variety of temporary posts for the Home Office.

Wilcox was clearly a very able police officer and leader. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it had been common for military men to command county police and the forces belonging to the bigger cities. In the aftermath of the Second World War there were, once again, men with significant military rank acting as chief constables, but like Wilcox, they had enlisted in the police, several had attended the course at Hendon, and their military rank had been acquired through war service.

Some of these men were from monied backgrounds and had gone to the 'right' schools and even to university; and one or two of them were keen to press their social superiority. Wilcox, in contrast, had no such feelings of superiority. He was man who was not inclined to push himself forward; family was as important to him as the job. Nevertheless, he rose through the ranks by demonstrating his ability and a strong commitment to his role. As Chief Constable he appears to have been popular and respected by those who served under him; while he, in turn, made their welfare a key consideration.

"A Police Officer and A Gentleman: A.F. 'Michael' Wilcox" by Clive Emsley (Blue Lamp Books, 2018) is available from Amazon.

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CLIVE EMSLEY is Emeritus Professor of History at the Open University. He was educated at the University of York and at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and was one of the first appointments made at the Open University in 1970. He has also taught and held research fellowships at universities in Australia, Canada, France and New Zealand.

For ten years he was President of the International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice hosted by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris, and he was a research associate of the Australian Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security. He has published and broadcast widely on the history of crime and policing.

His *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* was first published in 1987 and has recently appeared in its fifth edition. His most recent research has focussed on crime and policing in wartime, notably *Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services since 1914* and *Exporting British Policing During the Second World War*.

Chief Constable Thomas Oliver

By GILL WHITEHOUSE

Having recently moved house, I have just unearthed *Journal* no. 30, which contains an article on the Port of London Authority Police.

Amongst my police medal collection is the group belonging to Chief Constable Thomas James Oliver (1958-1972). The group consists of :

O.B.E. (Civil)
1939-1945 Star
France & Germany Star
Defence Medal
War Medal
Coronation 1953 Medal
Police Long Service Medal

As an orphan, Thomas Oliver was brought up in institutions (Barnado's?) so to achieve his rank was a remarkable effort. In 1944, he was seconded by the Police Authority to the Civil Affairs Branch of the Army, hence the two stars. In 1947 he was seconded to the Foreign Office as a member of the Special Police Corps of the Control Commission for Germany, serving until 1955. This was the organisation responsibly for the post-war policing of the civilian population of Germany.

From 1955-1958, he was Civil Defence Officer for Kent, and Chief Police Officer, P.L.A. from 1958.

With the group of medals came his police and C.C.G. insignia, and a photograph on the occasion Her Majesty's visit in 1959.

I appreciate that this is rather a long time from the *Journal* article, but things get buried in a move!

The Post-War Reconstruction of Police in Germany

By TIM WRIGHT

Lt Col Reginald Mitchell
Senior Public Safety Officer

Just too young to see active service in World War I, Reginald Mitchell served with the King's Royal Rifle Corps in India and Baluchistan before attesting in the Norfolk Constabulary in 1921. He was promoted sergeant in 1929 and inspector in 1937.

In 1936 when war with Germany was beginning to be seen as a real possibility, he had been appointed Training Officer for War Emergency Duties at Constabulary HQ, Norwich. With the outbreak of War in 1939 he continued in this post, which now included operational responsibilities.

In 1944, prior to the invasion of Europe, he was released for service with Allied Military Government. 'C' Wing of Peel House, then the Metropolitan Police Training Centre had been lent to the Civil Affairs Branch of Supreme Headquarters Allied Forces Europe for courses for potential public safety officers, but it is not known whether Reginald Mitchell attended one of these. Presumably he passed through the Civil Affairs Mobilization & Training Centre at Eastbourne, and 228 Detachment Military Government formed up there. The nucleus of each detachment was two general administrative officers and two public safety officers.[1]

Landing in France he took part in the liberation of and re-establishment of civil administration in Turcoing near the Belgian border north-east of Lille, before moving on into Germany, about which he wrote:

PUBLIC SAFETY IN MULHEIM-RUHR, GERMANY.

AS EXPERIENCED BY A PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICER

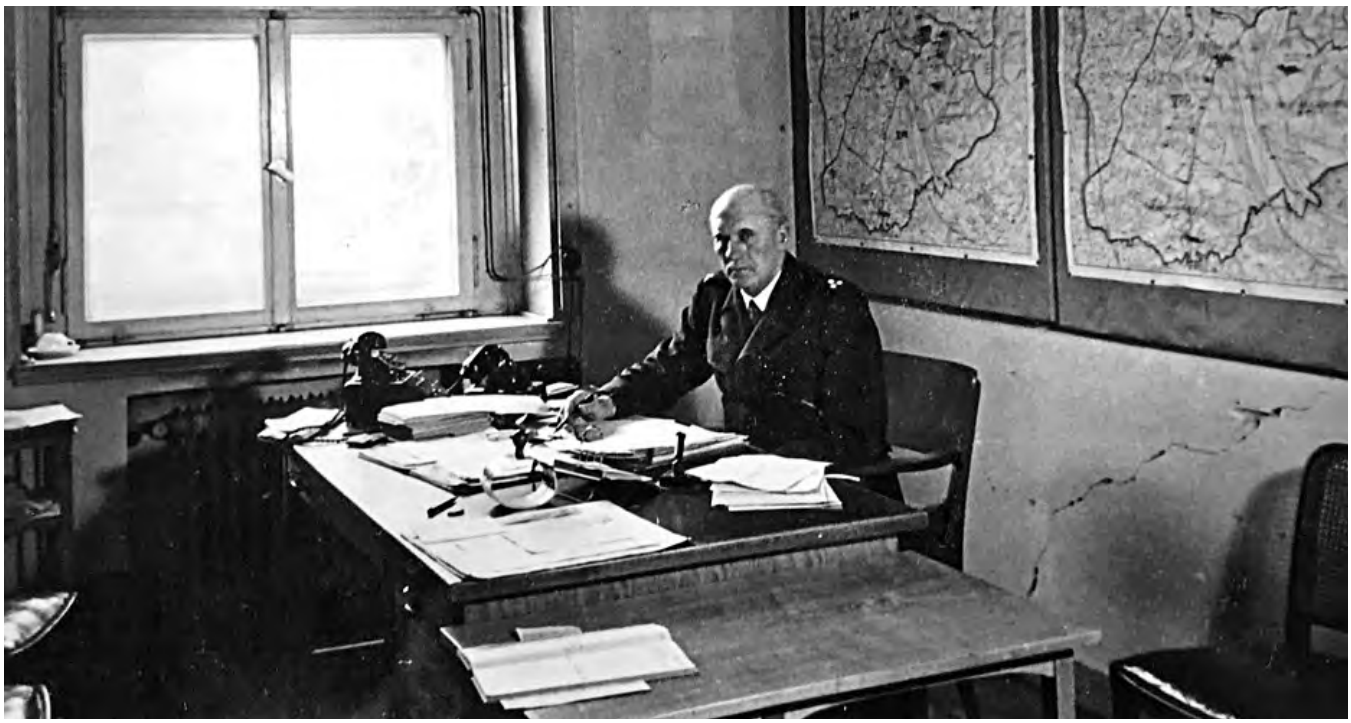
228 DETACHMENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT

1945 - 1947

As described by Lt. Colonel Lawrence Ford. No. 228 Military Government Detachment found itself at Mulheim-Ruhr to take over from an American Unit of the 17th U.S. Airborne Division. I was the senior Public Safety Officer having with me Jack Gardiner another P.S officer who had joined us on our way through France, Belgium and Holland.

We had been loaded with much paper advice as to our future role. Much of it was indigestible, but one thing stuck out prominently and that was that somehow we must get some sort of Law and Order in the chaotic conditions then prevailing in the devastated area of Mulheim.

With Lt. Col. Ford, our Detachment Commander, I attended a briefing by the then General Templer at



William Büttner
Chief of Police

Munchen-Gladbach [sic] *describing what was taking place in the near-defeated Germany. It was obvious that until Law and Order was restored nothing else by way of getting some sort of normal life could be done. Jack Gardiner and I set about the problem on that basis. Jack Gardiner was a great chap in every sense - always cheerful and energetic. He was forever undaunted. Nothing ever surprised him. General Templer had assured us that whatever we did and whatever mistakes were made he would stand by us provided that what was done was done in good faith. This was good news indeed as we could see the possibility of plenty of mistakes in the offing! Under our Detachment Commander's guidance we were assured of 100% co-operation from all Mil. Gov. personnel. On arrival at Mulheim I found a most efficient U.S. Army Unit dealing with Public Safety and took over. I was introduced to the German Chief of Police, Herr Wilhelm Buttner, formerly a Major in the German Police and C.O. at Mulheim. He proved to be a tower of strength and was my very good friend.*

Of an approximate strength of 450 Police personnel only about 25 could be mustered the rest having either just disappeared or been absorbed into the German Armed Forces. Herr Buttner worked wonders and in a short time he built up the strength of the Force complete with rank structure. The Mounted Branch was re-formed and the Police dogs provided with work to earn their keep. Vehicles were obtained and we were ready to do business. The Police Presidium. a vast building had ample room for us all. The Prison, in the same block, already full, was to play an important part in future events. It became so full at one time that minor offenders were released in order to make room for more serious cases.

Personnel of the former C.I.D. came to light and were found to be reliable and hard-working in the main. And so we became a going concern. Mil. Gov. Public Safety HQ for us was at Dusseldorf with a former British Colonial Police Officer named Nottingham in charge as Deputy Inspector General. The Inspector General with H.Q. some distance away had over-all control of Public Safety affairs in Germany and Austria- a colossal task. He was Col. G H. Halland a former Indian Policeman, one time Commandant of Hendon Police College, Chief Constable of Lincolnshire and afterwards one of H.M Inspectors of Constabulary.[2] *Our bosses left us alone which was just as well as we knew our problems and needed no goading. Of course we suffered from self-seeking snoopers who "tried it on" but they were either ignored or seen off the premises.*

Next came the question of uniform. A Mil. Gov. order said that the old German Grey-Green uniform was to be discarded. The colour was to be blue. Where the cloth was to come from was not stated. After much consultation with Herr Buttner a supply was obtained from where I know not.

1 'Civil Affairs & Military Government North-West Europe 1944-1946' F S V Donnison CBE 1961 page 62.

2 Col Gordon Herbert Ramsay HALLAND CIE (1931) OBE (1918) b.1888 son of the Rector of Blyburgh, Kirton-in-Lindsay; Indian Police, Punjab 1908; Major IARO GSO2 AHQ India 1917; Principal Punjab Police Training School 1921-26; Lt Col GS Shanghai Defence Force & North China Cmd 1927; S/Supt Delhi 1930; CC Lincolnshire 12.10.31-15.1.34; ACP Met i/c Hendon Police College 1934.

Mounted Police

Very soon therefore Mulheim Police were clothed in a complete smart blue uniform and boots, peaked cap and great-coat. My chaps were as happy as circumstances permitted. We were the first Police Force in Germany to be so equipped. The question of police pay and finance was left to somebody else. Gradually our strength and efficency improved and we began to make our presence felt. Of course I was pressed to disclose the source of the supply of blue cloth for our uniform, but as I did not know I could not tell.

Police Foot Patrols under the British Shift and Beat System were found to be workable after a time. Marauding gangs of Russians, Poles and others caused a great deal of trouble. They were mostly dealt with by the U.S. and later British Army Units in the locality. The German Police dealt with their share of the problem with efficiency and courage.

Crime was rampant. Burglary, theft of all kinds, serious breaches of Curfew etc. ran parallel with the ever recurring paying off of old scores and denunciations.

Thus we began to instal some sort of Law and Order. The Germans being a well-disciplined race were in the main most co-operative and law-abiding. There were scoundrels of course. The Police themselves caused little trouble- the few "bent" ones were soon dealt with.

Then we came to the De-Nazification Programme. A panel was set up to cope with this, under Jack Jackson. It became evident that as always members of the Nazi party and fellow-travellers were anxious and willing to denounce their neighbours. A load of delicate work was got through by the Panel and those whose guilt was confirmed were sent to a higher Court. What happened to them all I do not know as I had no time to find out.

One major problem was the issue of Passes for every kind of thing:- accommodation (which was very limited), extra food for medical reasons, exemption from clearing rubble from the streets by the sick lame and lazy, furniture from over-stocked houses, clothing and footwear from the well-to-do. Here I might mention that a great deal of the rubble was removed in bullock-drawn carts: All this was managed by a very able staff, some German, some Dutch and other Displaced Persons. In this connection I give great credit to Heinz Linnmann a former German soldier who had discharged himself, John Klein a Dutchman who as forced-labour had remained in the locality and many others too numerous to mention and whose names a forgotten. They all brought to bear a vast amount of loyality and administrative skill and became my friends. I still keep in touch with several of them.

Co-operation with the British and U.S. Armies of all arms was excellent. As the inevitable crises arose as in theft of crops, demonstrations against this and that, a request for military presence to support the German Police was always forthcoming.

Towards 1947 things had greatly improved. The German Administration was on its feet thanks to the efforts of Lt. Col. Ford and his advisers. In Mulheim the Police still had a long way to go but they were 100% co-operative. I left in 1947 having enjoyed the experience. My successor was a P.S. officer from a Scottish Police Force.

Now I should like to pay tribute to those people who did so much to assist P.S. First and foremost must be Lt. Col. L Ford who gave us a free hand. Then the late Wilhelm Buttner, the German Chief of Police who co-operated fully in what was often an unpopular task of assiting Mil. Gov. He was a good German. His sole object was to restore Law and Order for the benefit of the public regardless of his own personal

interest. He visited me and stayed at my home in England and we kept in touch until his tragic death in a road accident later. My family and I have been welcome guests in some of their homes in Germany. The "contacts" made outside Police circles must not be overlooked. They were many and varied and kept us in touch with public opinion and the effect and scope of the Black Market which was rife. Officers of the C.C.G(3) of other functions were able to feed us with information gathered in their travels. Prominent in this connection was Joe Everiss (Engineering) whose interest in P.S. was invaluable.

Military Government of which Public Safety was part proved its worth. It had its faults, of course, but few in the work of personnel on the ground. Without the work of Mil. Gov. the chaos in the stricken Germany would have been much the same as it was in the Russian Zone. We were indeed fortunate in our Detachment Commander who welded it together. We all admired his sterling qualities of leadership. He was cultured, efficient and modest. What success we achieved was solely due to the example he set us. In the course of events he left us but his influence remained.

P. S. personnel at Mulheim changed from time to time and continued to give unstinted service. They were as follows:-

Criminal Investigation Department

Reg. Mitchell.
P.S.O. 1 (Lt. Colonel)
(Norfolk)

Jack Gardiner.
P.S.O. 11 (Major)
(Warwickshire)

Bob Port.
P.S.O. 11 (Major)
(Kent)

Jack Turner-Jackson
P.S.O. 111 (Captain)
(Liverpool City)

Frank Wallis
P.S.O. 111 (Captain)
(Metropolitan)

Reg Ward
P.S.O. 111 (Captain)
(Bedfordshire)

All Police Officers of long and varied experience with a lot of " Know-how".

Women Police

Lt Col Mitchell returned to the Norfolk Constabulary in 1947 being promoted to superintendent in command of the Sandringham Division with HQ at Dersingham, in which post he remained until retiring from the police service in June 1959 to take up an appointment as Director of the Cyrenaica Defence Force Officer Cadet Academy at Benghazi, Libya. He had been awarded the King's Police Medal for Distinguished Service in 1953 and was made a Member of the Royal Victorian Order in 1960. On 1 July 1946. for his work at Mulheim he had been awarded the Medal of the Swedish Red Cross. His son, John, served in the Northern Rhodesia Police and the Swaziland Police before, having qualified as a barrister, being commissioned into Army Legal Services also attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel.

3 C.C.G. = Control Commission Germany, the successor to Military Government.

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TIM WRIGHT joined the Northern Rhodesia Police in 1957, attaining the rank of Chief Inspector in which he retired from the Zambia Police in 1967. He then qualified as a solicitor and served in Army Legal Service, retiring as a colonel in 1996. He has been a PHS member almost from the start and is the author of *The History of the Northern Rhodesia Police*.

The Life and Times of Police Sergeant John Knowles

A Victorian Police Officer in Bradford

By PAUL DIXON

Some years ago I began researching the history of Bradford's Police Stations, courts and other judicial buildings. Much like family history there were stumbling blocks along the way and the inevitable brick walls. One such wall was my inability to identify the location of the first district police station, opened in Great Horton in 1854. However, applying all my investigative skills I succeeded in resolving the conundrum and managed to place the building in Southfield Lane Court. Both the building and the street have long since disappeared.

My ultimate objective was to compile a potted history of the Officer in Charge of the station during the period 1854-1873 (Police Sergeant John Knowles), to provide an insight into the spartan conditions in which the Officer lived and worked, and furnish examples of the day-to-day incidents which fell to his lot. Sadly, save for a handful of newspaper accounts and a few locally-held records very little archive material remains for the project I had selected. However, what I did uncover was the case of a horrific murder coupled with the suicide of the assailant, which was ably and professionally dealt with by this Officer.

It would be useful here to provide an "overview" of what preceded Victorian policing in Bradford. With due deference to those more knowledgeable on the subject, I offer my apologies for what is very much an abbreviated history. The title "Bradford City Police" was adopted in 1897, in what was Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Year, and I am proud to say that I served as an Officer in the Force from the early 1960s until its demise in 1974 when Local Government reorganization created a West Yorkshire Metropolitan area and what later came to be known as our present West Yorkshire Police.

The forerunners of the first salaried deputy constable appointed by the church vestry in Bradford in 1825 were respectively, the "watchmen" and "parish constables". The former comprised old men, who, in terms of preserving the peace, were a terror to nobody. One can picture in the mind's eye these venerable old codgers, muffled in their greatcoats and leggings, equipped with rattle and lantern patrolling with slow steps the dirty and dimly-lit streets and crying out the hour and state of the weather! (A less-than effective means of illuminating Bradford had only only materialized in 1822, with the formation of the Bradford Gas Company). Villains had little to fear from these often infirm or lame "guardians of the peace", as their cries served to acquaint thieves of their whereabouts. Moreover, it was not uncommon for watchmen to be suspended, either for being drunk on duty or for failing to discover a burglary which had occurred on their "beat"!

During the early years of the 19th century, policing in Bradford was still based on the old "Watch and Ward" system which had been set up in the 13th century. Each parish was policed by its parish constables, the number of which depended on the size of the parish, with a minimum of two who were appointed by the parish vestry committee. The role of the parish constable was extremely unpopular since it was unpaid, so incumbents had to fit its time-consuming tasks around their usual work – the more affluent members of the parish usually managed to buy their way out of serving as a "constable". On those occasions when a nightwatchman apprehended someone he would be handed over to the parish constables, who placed him or her in a "lock-up" until he could be brought before a Justice of the Peace.

What remains of a Bradford lock-up can be found at the junction of Stoney Lane and Victoria Road at Eccleshill, in an area which hitherto was known locally as "Lock-Up Lane".

Essentially, a lock-up was an underground cell akin to a dungeon.

1831 saw the appointment of William Brigg as head deputy constable, on a salary of £150 per annum, Charles Ingham as an assistant head deputy constable at £50 per annum and John Andrews as deputy constable without pay.

Left: Bradford Police cap badge. Right: Victorian Bradford Police pocket whistle

However, in lieu of pay he was permitted to retain fees paid for serving summonses, executing warrants and conveying prisoners to Wakefield goal. Effectively, this marked the beginning of the Bradford Police Force.

1847 heralded a new era in the history of Bradford, when the corporation acquired all the statutory powers of a municipal corporation. Thereafter, on 1 January 1848 a Police Force was established and Bradford's first police station was opened in Swaine Street, in the city centre.

It is against this backdrop that I come to recount events which span the period 1816-1857 and which hopefully will provide an insight into the life and times of Police Sergeant John Steed Knowles and in particular the horrific murder of Hannah Holroyd coupled with the suicide of her murderer, Samuel Charlton. The localities featured are Great Horton, Lidget Green and Brownroyd.

John Steed Knowles was born in Fort Pitt, Chatham, Kent in 1816, the second eldest in a family of three children. His father Thomas was a native of Limerick who was from a military background and was himself a soldier, seeing service as a gunner with the 3rd Battalion Royal Artillery during the Peninsular War at the battles of Corunna and Vitoria.

We know that the family was in Bradford in August 1834, when John Knowles married Mary Ann Harrison at Bradford Cathedral. Albeit Thomas Knowles died in December of that year, the 1841 census reflects the fact that at that time both father and son were wool combers

Quite why and when John Knowles was appointed a Police Constable cannot be determined. It might be the case that he responded to advertisements which featured in the local press inviting applications for the positions of Constable, Sergeant and Detective Officer. One such advertisement appeared in the *Bradford Observer* on 9 December 1847, where the weekly pay for a constable was 17/-s. Interestingly, the Chief Constable of the time, Mr. William Leverett, was on a salary of £200 per annum and living at 14, Fountain Street, Bradford. What is known is that in the 1851 census John Knowles was living at 40, Horton Road, Bradford along with his wife and family, and described himself as a "Police Officer".

Moving on to 1853, the Bradford Force consisted of 84 men. In those days a Constable was either always on day duty or always on night duty. Vacancies on day shift were filled by selecting from the night Constables, usually one who was conspicuous for tact or ability in discharging his duties.

The conditions of service for a Police Constable at that time were bordering on ruthless. No provision for days off; no pay whilst off duty through illness; a requirement to check street lighting; clear blocked street gulleys; deal with stray cattle. Little wonder that officers resorted to alcohol in an effort to deal with authoritarian orders and instructions. In the latter part of 1884 five Police Constables were dismissed for being drunk on duty.

Between 1853 and 1856 the *Bradford Observer* and the *Leeds Mercury* reported on a number of criminal cases in which Sergeant Knowles had featured, involving offences of robbery, theft, desertion (armed forces), drunkenness, assaults on himself and gambling (playing "pitch & toss" in a public place on Sunday). For the most part, these offences appear to have been committed in the Great Horton area.

On 7 January 1854 the Chief Constable announced the opening of the first branch police office in Bradford. Whilst no vestige remains of the building, it is known that it comprised two cottages and is variously described as being located at; 153; 275; or 275a Southgate or Southfield Lane. In reality the buildings were situated in Southfield Lane Court, almost opposite The Fire Brigade public house. The land also served as a "pinfold" (An enclosure for stray animals).

A surviving plan from February

1881, when the Council disposed of the property by auction, shows two adjacent two-storey cottages with an outside privy, ash pit and coal house. The indications are that the sergeant's accommodation was connected to, but separate from, the police station. A sergeant's weekly wage in 1854 was £1 3s 0d; not a princely sum, but he had nothing to pay for rent, rates, coal, gas and water.

In 1854 a small manual fire engine was located at the Police Station. This was the forerunner to a steam-powered engine, the first of which was purchased in 1867. Doubtless the name of the aforementioned Fire Brigade public house derives from the proximity of the fire appliance housed at the police station.

I now turn to the events of Monday, 11 May 1857, which culminated in the murder of Hannah Holroyd, a widow, then aged 42 years, a mother of four children whose ages ranged from 9 to 19 years, then living at 9, Club Street, Lidget Green, Bradford. The cottage had been let approximately seven months earlier for and on behalf of Mrs. Holroyd by Samuel Charlton, a 54-year-old widower and father of eight, who also occupied a cottage in Club Street, almost immediately opposite that of Mrs. Holroyd.

Charlton had occasionally acted as a bailiff's assistant, but was then unemployed and of dubious character. He had served a period of imprisonment in the Wakefield House of Correction for embezzlement and other offences of dishonesty.

Charlton and Mrs. Holroyd had entered into a relationship, but it seems their courtship had latterly become less intense on account of differences which had arisen between them. In truth, a much younger local man named Luke Normington was vying for Mrs. Holroyd's attention and the appearance of a rival had angered and upset Charlton.

On the evening of the afore-mentioned date Charlton and Mrs. Holroyd attended a temper-ance meeting at Lidget Green. Whether they attended together is questionable, but at any rate at the conclusion they walked together back to Club Street. Whilst en route they encountered Luke Normington, who engaged Charlton in conversation whilst Mrs. Holroyd proceeded without him to a neighbour's house. We shall never know the nature and extent of the conversation between Charlton and Normington, but suffice to say when the former arrived at Mrs. Holroyd's house to sit and await her return, his mood was, according Martha, the eldest daughter, described his mood as sullen, sober and quiet. When Mrs. Holroyd did arrive home Martha retired to bed, leaving her mother and Charlton together.

Between midnight and 1.00am Martha was awakened by the sound of groaning and a struggle, closely followed by the sound of the front door closing. Looking out from the bedroom window she saw Charlton crossing the road and making towards his cottage. On venturing downstairs in the light of a candle, the poor girl found her mother lying on the floor in a pool of blood with her throat most horribly cut.

Martha's screams of "murder" attracted the attention of a patrolling Police Officer, PC Reuben Binns, who, on approaching the cottage, found the front door locked from the outside. Once inside he established that Mrs. Holroyd was dead. So deep was the cut to her throat that her head had been severed almost completely from her body.

Sergeant Knowles was the Officer in Charge that night, and he was in Legrams Lane when he responded to PC Binns' whistle call for assistance. He was quickly on the scene and assessing the situation. It would be useful at this point to remember that the sergeant would have had few, if any, resources to call upon. We know that he succeeded in calling a leet constable, PC Henry Jowett, to assist in subsequent searches, but he would not have had the luxury of today's support services such as a scenes of crime officer, coroner's officer, a dog handler, a family liaison officer to deal with distraught family members, in this case on both sides. In fact to put the matter into true perspective, the sergeant had to return to the Police Station to retrieve a lamp to enable him to conduct a search.

It emerged that immediately after the murder Charlton had intimated to his family that he intended to take his own life and the consensus was that suicide by drowning could be a likely choice. He had discarded the razor used to commit the murder, but in reality he could have taken flight literally anywhere. The nearest piece of enclosed water was New Mill Dam at Brownroyd, adjacent to the Manningham Soke Mill. Leading a search party Sergeant Knowles followed a route from Lidget Green along Thiefscore Lane (now Cemetery Road) towards Thornton Beck (Bradford Beck), continuing along a footpath beside the beck from Thiefscore Bridge via the settlement of Brownroyd to the New Mill Dam.

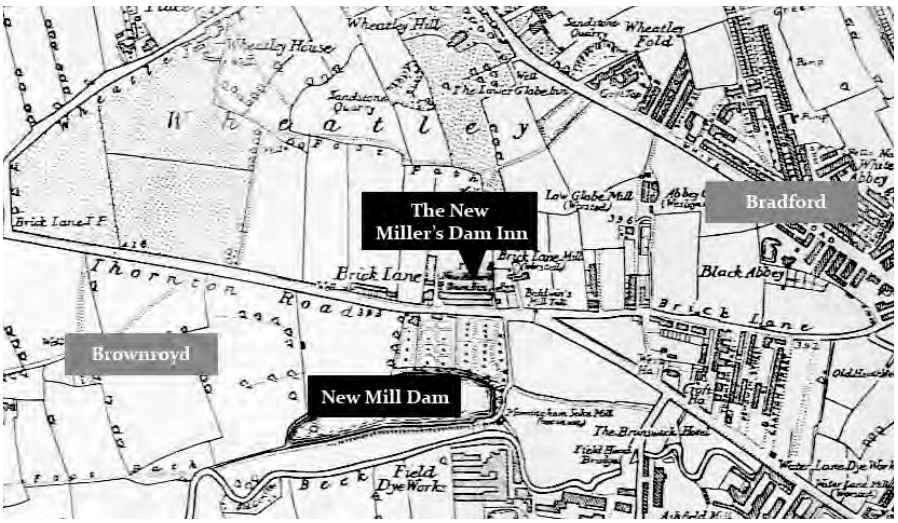
It was at this location at approximately 4.00am that the sergeant found a hat which he recognized as one worn by Charlton floating in the dam. Immediately thereafter, Charlton's body was found in the water standing perpendicularly, four or five yards from the dam side. The body was recovered using a boat hook and conveyed to the nearby New Miller's Dam public house in Thornton Road.

The inquest on Hannah Holroyd was held on 13 May 1857 at the Second West Inn at Lidget Green before the

Halifax coroner Mr. George Dyson and a jury. Evidence of identification of the deceased was provided by Martha Holroyd, the deceased's eldest daughter. She provided evidence concerning her mother's association with both Luke Normington and Samuel Charlton, and perhaps most compelling of all was her testimony of retiring to bed, leaving her mother alone with Charlton and subsequently finding her mother's body a few hours later.

Evidence was heard from Ellen Dyson, daughter of Samuel Charlton, who spoke candidly about her father's relationship with Hannah Holroyd. Concerning the night in question she said that her father had gone out in the evening to attend a teetotal meeting and had returned home at around one in the early hours of the morning. She said "he appeared in great trouble", and came to her bedside bidding her and the rest of the family farewell, adding that they would never see him again.

The landlord of the Second West Inn, David Naylor, also gave evidence concerning the movements of Luke Normington, who had been drinking in the premises and in respect of whom, notwithstanding his meetings with the deceased, was clearly innocent of any wrongdoing. Surprisingly, Luke Normington himself seems not to have been called to give evidence, thus leaving unanswered the question of whether Charlton had made any threat of violence towards him or the deceased.



Map showing Brownroyd, Bradford, New Mill Dam and the New Miller's Dam Inn

Of course evidence was heard from the Police Officers concerning their attendance at the scene, the seizing of a bloodstained "cut throat" razor from the cellar of Charlton's home, and the ensuing search leading to the recovery of the latter's body from New Miller's Dam.

In summarizing the facts adduced in evidence, the coroner directed the jury's attention to the fact that their task was simple and clear and one which, in the normal course of events, would be sufficient to send a person to trial leading to a conviction and death by hanging.

There was no doubt that Charlton, had he been living, would have been sent for trial on a count of murder.

The jury immediately returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against Charlton.

On that same day an inquest was held on Samuel Charlton at the New Miller's Dam Inn, again before Mr. Dyson but with a different jury. The coroner read the evidence which had been taken at the former inquest and explained to the jury the verdict which had been determined, adding that it was for them to decide whether Samuel Charlton had fallen by accident into the dam or whether he had died *felo de se*.

After hearing the evidence of Police Sergeant Knowles and PC Jowett, and following a brief deliberation, the jury returned a verdict of *felo de se*. The coroner indicated that this was the first instance of *felo de se* in more than 3,000 inquests in his district over twenty years, and that he would have to give the sergeant a warrant ordering the body to be interred between the hours of nine and twelve the same night.

Felo de se, Latin for "felon of himself", is an archaic legal term meaning suicide. In early English common law, an adult who committed

The Second West public house

The former New Miller's inn

suicide was literally a felon, and the crime was punishable by forfeiture of property to the King and what was considered a shameful burial (typically burial at a crossroads with a stake through the heart). A mentally incompetent person, however, who killed him or herself was not considered a *felo de se*, and was not punished post-mortem for his or her actions. In 1823 a new law was passed which made it illegal for coroners to issue a warrant for burial of a *felo de se* in a public highway. However, within twenty-four hours of the inquest the suicide was to be interred in a churchyard or public burial place. The new law also included other punitive clauses, namely that the burial should be without Christian rites and at night between the hours of nine and midnight, and his or her goods and chattels must still be surrendered to the Crown. It was not until the 1880s that suicides could not be buried in consecrated ground.

Murder might satisfy the Victorian sense of justice, since murderers could be caught and imprisoned or in turn be killed for their crimes, as in "an eye for an eye", but self-murder was a personal challenge to the will of God in which human justice could never really intervene. Thus, if, as in the case in question, murder caused sensation among the Victorians, suicide was more often a source of anxiety and disgrace.

As indicated earlier, at the conclusion of the inquest into the death of Samuel Charlton the coroner issued the police with a warrant and arrangements were immediately put in hand to inter his remains at an appropriate site. It seems that the wife and other relatives of the deceased were interred at the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Great Horton, and for this reason a grave was ordered to be dug in the burial ground attached to the chapel. At approximately 11 o'clock on the night of Wednesday, 13 May 1857 the body was conveyed to Great Horton, where a crowd of approximately 2,000 people had congregated in the road outside the chapel yard. By all accounts there was considerable disturbance and uproar as the mob voiced their objection to the interment, a view also shared by the chapel authorities. Concerted efforts were made to prevent the burial, with shouts of "Throw it over the wall" and "Burn it" mingling in the uproar. It was only with the intervention of the police that the coffin was at last manoeuvred to the graveside, at which point objection was raised that the grave was not deep enough, and also to it's being an old one. In the event the sextons dug a fresh grave in an adjoining plot of soil and the interment was completed without the usual Christian rites.

Great Horton Primitive Methodist Chapel originally built in 1825 at Town End, comprising a chapel and small burial ground, alongside which stood a row of cottages known as Sellars Fold. Nothing remains of the chapel, burial ground or cottages, the whole area now being grassed over.

The accommodation provided for Sergeant Knowles, situated as it was next to the police station, would have meant that he was constantly at everyone's 'beck and call'. Reflecting on my own days as a young constable, the sergeant where I was originally posted lived above the station and often worked split shifts to maintain overall supervision. More than likely, 12 hour shifts would have been the norm. In my own case the unforgivable sin was failure to stoke the open fire in the police office, as the fire back boiler provided hot water for the sergeant's living quarters!

Sergeant Knowles' wife bore him eight children, four boys and four girls. Save for the youngest daughter who became a milliner/dressmaker, the remaining members of the family obtained employment in the wool textile trade.

It cannot have been easy for Mrs. Knowles to bring up a large family within the confines of a small cottage. In addition to her domestic duties, I have little doubt that from time-to-time she would have been called upon to act as matron when females were in detention and to supply prisoners' meals as and when required. It is worth noting that prior to the early 20th century, policewomen were unheard of.

In June 1878, in a letter published in the *Leeds Times*, a correspondent poured scorn on Bradford Council

for its failure to build a new Police Station for Great Horton. In highlighting the wholly inadequate facilities at the existing station, the writer commented that were all 15 constables to parade for duty in a room measuring 13 feet by 10 feet, it would become a "veritable Black Hole of Calcutta" The likelihood is that rooms of a similar dimension featured in the private living quarters.

Sadly, on 3 May 1868 Mrs. Knowles passed away aged 52 years.

In December that year Sergeant Knowles married Hannah Wilson (née Ackroyd), a widow, and the family continued to live adjacent to the Police Station.

The following entry dated 13 September 1872 is taken from the Bradford Police Watch Committee Book:

> *"Upon the motion of his worship the mayor, seconded by Alderman Storey, that it being proved to the satisfaction of the Committee that Sergeants Joseph Jennings, John Knowles and John Walsh are worn out and disabled from infirmity of body, they be, and are hereby subject of the approval of the General Committee and the approbation of the Council, superannuated with the following allowances payable out of the Superannuation Fund, namely: fourteen shillings per week, each being one half of their pay."*

In his retirement Mr Knowles vacated his police house and and took up residence at 8, Alexander Street, Great Horton. His replacement was Sergeant Isaac Burnett. 8, Alexander Street was sold at auction on 21 September 1874 and for the ensuing four years Mr. and Mrs. Knowles lived at an address in Southfield Lane.

The next we hear of the family is in 1881, when they feature in the UK Census living at "Ferncliffe", West Lodge, Calverley. Whilst describing himself as a retired Police Officer, it would appear that Knowles had found employment as the estate lodge keeper, dealing with aspects of security.

"Ferncliffe" Lodge, Clara Drive

Samuel Laycock Tee, who developed the Ferncliffe estate, had sold the principal house, "Ferncliffe", in 1870 to a Mr. Briggs Priestley, a Bradford cloth manufacturer who became the first Member of Parliament for the Pudsey constituency.

In the 1960s a BBC television drama about the fictional character Joe Champion was filmed at "Ferncliffe", and gave rise to the property being referred to locally as "Champion House". Situated in Clara Drive, Calverley, the house is currently owned by the Leonard Cheshire Disability Charity and specializes in looking after the nursing requirements of adults with physical disability.

John Steed Knowles died on 18 June 1896 at Ferncliffe Lodge aged 79 years. The cause of death was given as cardiac failure/gout. His wife Hannah died on 13 May 1899 at an address in Dundas Street, Bradford, where it is thought she may have been living with her sister.

It might be argued that John Knowles was an unremarkable man. That said, all too often these days we read endless accounts of individuals who have reached the pinnacle of their careers but little of the many unsung heroes who work tirelessly for Queen and country, as he clearly did. The Victorian period in which Knowles served saw rapid changes in employment, housing and social welfare which impacted on people's lives.

As well as disease, the Victorian poor suffered starvation and destitution. In many cases their only choice was to resort to crime, and as a consequence recurring problems for the Police. Notwithstanding the pressures he must have encountered daily, the sergeant and his wife brought up a large family, each one being gainfully employed.

Sources

Bradford's Police by Gordon Smith (1974).

Acknowledgments

Bradford Observer; *Leeds Times*. Thanks to staff at the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford.

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PAUL DIXON Paul Dixon was formerly a sergeant with the West Yorkshire Police, retiring in 1995 with 32 years service, much of which was in the role of an investigator in Drugs Squad, CID and Discipline & Complaints. He originally joined the West Riding Constabulary subsequently transferring to the City of Bradford Police. The Force was amalgamated into what is now the West Yorkshire Police on 1 April 1974.

"A Somewhat Serious Accident"

By JOHN THORNCROFT

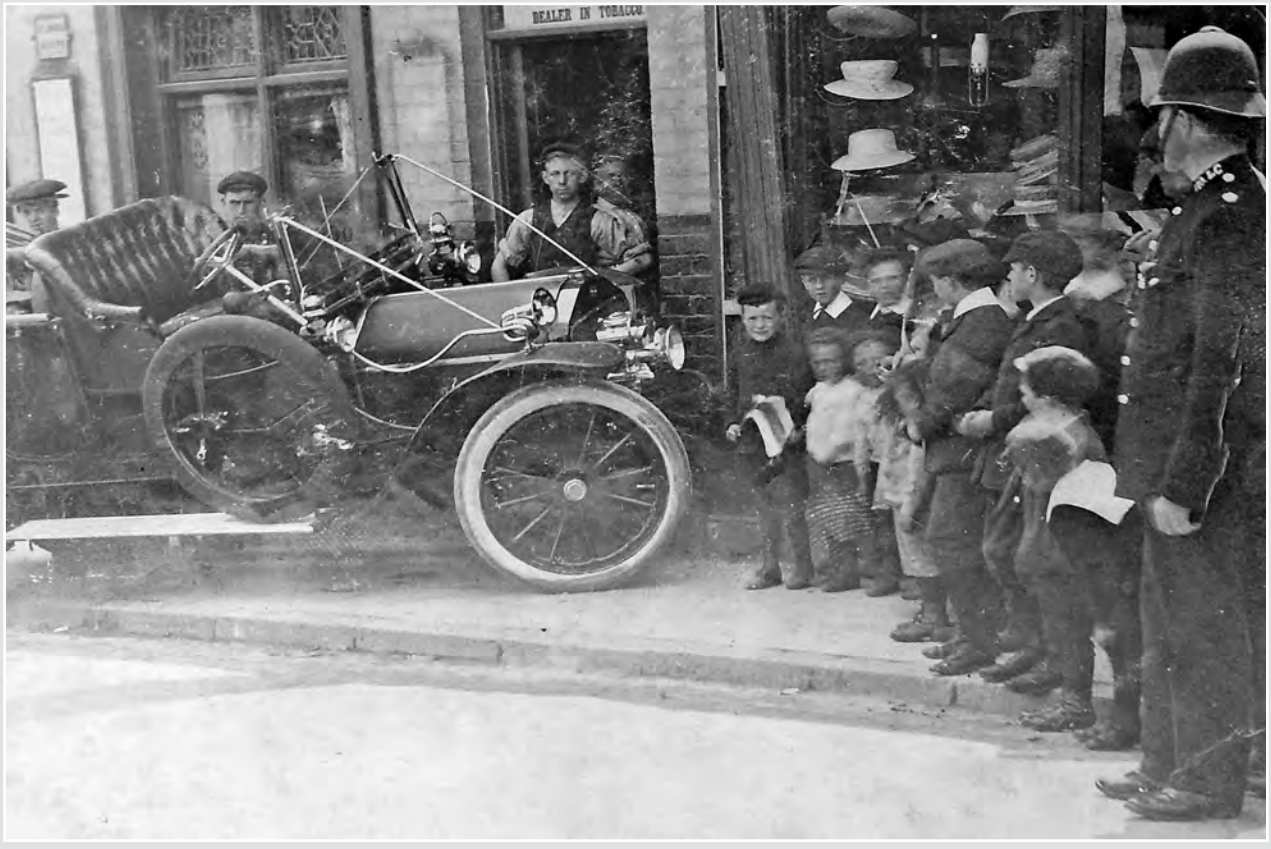
In 2016 I found the photograph opposite of my Grandfather Thomas Herbert Thornton, Constable 110 of the Leicestershire Constabulary, attending the scene of an early car crash in Quorn. After it appeared in the *Leicester Mercury*, readers came forward to reveal that the accident had occurred in February 1917, and the *Loughborough Advertiser* of the 8th reported the story under the headline "Motor Accident":

"A somewhat seriuos accident occurred about mid-day on Monday at the cross roads in the centre of the village. A motor van belonging to the Loughborough branch of Messrs Olivers, Ltd, was being driven along the Station Road by a young man named Harold Widdowson, of South Street, Loughborough, towards Meeting Street, Woodhouse. A five-seater Overland car, driven by Mr Hugh Jones, of Barkby Road, Syston, travellers for Messrs A and W Evans, of Soar Mills, Leicester, was proceeding towards Loughborough, and the vehicles collided in the centre of the road, the force of the impact being such that both vehicles were turned completely round, and forced into the wall of the Royal Oak public house.

The car was badly damaged, the footboard and mud guards were torn off, and the rear off wheel collapsed. Mr Jones was badly injured. He was assisted out of the wreckage and taken to the house of Mr Waddington, and Dr Unitt sent for, who attended to his injuries, and another car was then forthcoming from his employers, in which he was conveyed to his home.

The driver of the van escaped uninjured, but his assistant, Frank Hutt, of Hartington Street, Loughborough, was badly cut by being thrown against the wind screen. His injuries were also attended to and he was conveyed home. The van was damaged around the fore-carriage."

The photograph is shown in full on the back cover.



The Race Course Police

By JEFF COWDELL and PETER KENNISON

Horseracing is the second largest spectator sport, and has been a very popular pastime with many horse racing courses originating since 1750, when the Jockey Club was formed.

Gatwick Racecourse in Surrey opened in October 1891 as part of the National Hunt season, and shut down in 1940 at the start of the Second World War. The course, which was established beside the London to Brighton railway line, boasted a dedicated station with its own sidings for horses. The course now forms part of Gatwick airport.

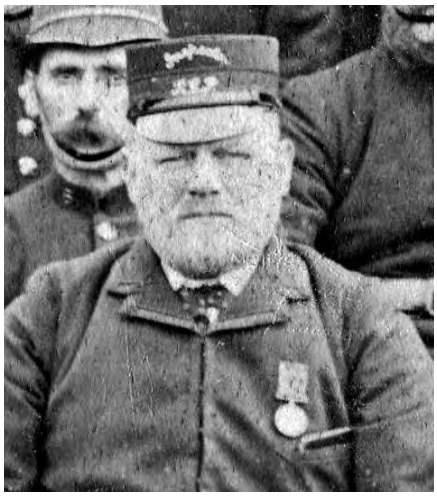
On race days, large numbers of people flocked to Gatwick on one of the 26 trains that stopped there travelling from London.

There has perennially been a problem with the policing of fairs and racecourses all around the country. Many of the spectators were honest racegoers, however their number also included thieves, pickpockets and fraudsters. When gambling, alcohol and large numbers of people gather in one place there is potential for disorder. The Metropolitan Police were traditionally in attendance at many of the racecourses, including Epsom, Ascot, Brighton, Sandown Park etc, even though it was inside the Surrey Constabulary area and well beyond its London border. The Metropolitan Police were present at those races attended by Royalty, especially Edward VII. They also policed the Lingfield racecourse as well, situated ten miles from the Gatwick course.

The Metropolitan Police officers present were always on the lookout for those intent on criminal enterprise, picking out known villains for special attention. When the Metropolitan Police declined to send any officers for the October 1893 meeting at Lingfield the race organisers feared problems. The Met were sending police officers on special duties; numbers were depleted because of strike duty, and they could not honour their previous commitments. The coal strikes were not over by the time the Gatwick meetings came to be decided so the Race organisers took matters into their own hands, and set about establishing a Race Course Police of their own.

A private Special Police Force was formed consisting of pensioners from the Metropolitan and City Police Pensioners Employment Association (MCPPEA).

The Association was based at the Queen's Hall, James Street, and had been formed in 1888 with the object of finding employment, temporary or permanent, for Metropolitan and City Police pensioners. Their patrons were the Home Secretary, Police Commissioners for London, Members of Parliament and Justices of the Peace.



Race Course Police officers
Top: An Inspector
Bottom: A Sergeant

In 1893, 780 had paid subscriptions to what in effect was an employment

agency where potential employers could find a reliable, honest hard-working man for a position of trust. Retiring police officers under 55 years of age from London and the City of London with a good character could apply to join the association via a small quarterly subscription, and were retained on the books until employment was found.

That year, 350 men had been found work as vergers, watchmen, hall porters, caretakers, messengers, turnstile men,[1] gardeners, grooms, attendants and timekeepers.[2] These men formed part of a reserve of officers who, when pensioned, were allowed to retain their uniforms in case they were needed for special occasions.

The object of the MCPPA went beyond just finding work for the pensioners who retired relatively early. It was about finding the right sort of responsible work not onerous, but employing the skills that had been learnt over the years as a policeman.

Each policeman received 7 shillings a day when they were in attendance at race events, although some had other responsibilities such as gatekeepers or work in the stable yard, which earned them more, at £1 7s 6d a day.[3]

In fact, both the Gatwick Race Course Company and the Lingfield equivalent employed police pensioners from this organisation. The Race Course Police were available for any duty at any racecourse.[4]

In the 1895 season, there was trouble at Lingfield when some of the Race Course Police were assaulted.

When groups of drunken men caused serious disturbances at race meetings, the Race Course Police needed to be on hand to intervene and protect the innocent law-abiding race goer.

Under the instructions of Col. Brewster, who was Lingfield Staff Manager and Jockey Club Representative, one such officer was Austin Porter (who had retired from the Metropolitan Police in 1886). He gave evidence of violence and damage by one Thomas Smith, who he knew, and others towards himself and Walter Coborn, Thomas Reid and other private constables.

Smith had been arrested when a group of men started throwing glass bottles and tumblers at the officers, but later on, by the station, a group of over 100 so-called roughs created a disturbance with further damage, where Smith was again involved, along with a man called Gartell.

Hewitt, another constable, was badly injured with a 4-inch scalp wound inflicted by another man. At Surrey Assizes, Smith was acquitted and Gartnell convicted.

There was evidence that plain clothes detectives, probably from the MCPPEA, were organised by Col. Brewster at Lingfield[5] and Folkestone racecourses. Other courses such as Bath and Salisbury wished to employ the police after disturbances which had occurred at their race events.

Col. Brewster could dismiss any of his police for misconduct and also any of the gatekeepers.[6]

At Lingfield in 1898, anticipating trouble the Gatwick Race Course Company decided to employ a particularly large contingent of police, where Scotland Yard detectives patrolled the London end and all the stations on the London to Brighton line in order to ward off objectionable people.[7] Inside the racecourses at Lewes, Gatwick, Lingfield and Brighton, the Race Course Police performed their duty.

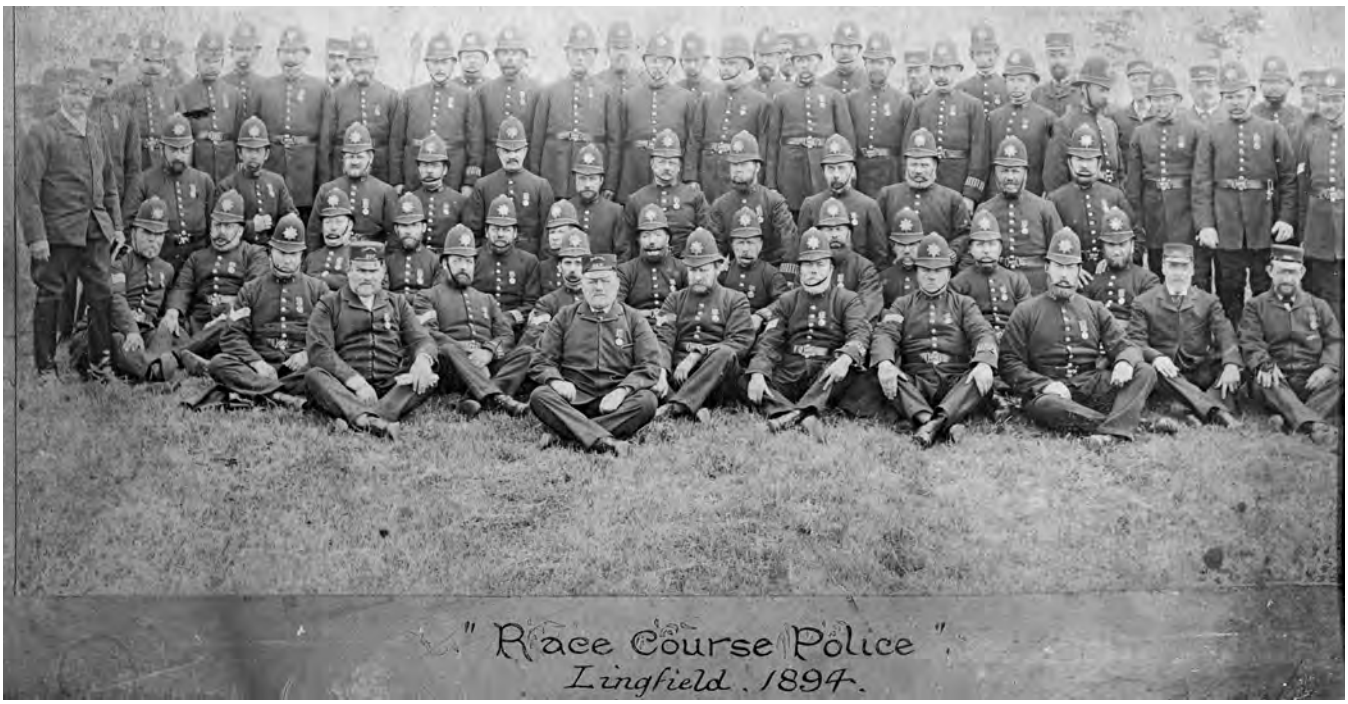
Whilst the new police groups were being formed they could not allow the same buttons, numerals, helmet and cap badges to be worn, as this group did not represent the Metropolitan or City of London Police. They were semi-official, with the equivalent powers of a constable that were needed to police a gathering of race-goers.

Yet these men were engaged simply to observe and look out for trouble; to recognise and deal with known pickpockets and villains.

Race Course Police helmet plate and button

The badge chosen to be used on their helmets for sergeants and constables was a Metropolitan Police style eight-pointed star with separate circle centre bearing the title Race Course Police, and within the centre a collar number; in the example shown below '179'. The blackened metal[8] badge did not have the crown or garter inner circle, as Royal permission would have been required.

A rare original photograph captioned "Race Course Police, Lingfield, 1894", shown on the opposite page, presents over seventy police officers, most of them wearing



helmets but some wearing kepis. They are wearing Metropolitan Police style uniforms with the eight-pointed star pattern helmet plate. Those wearing kepis have the letters R.C.P in script, two with the letters Inspector above.

All of the men are mature in age and most are wearing the 1887 Jubilee Medal, only awarded to members of the Metropolitan Police and City of London forces for duty at the Royal event. Except for the inspectors, all the remainder are identifiable by a collar number each side of their uniform as well. The police officers were also equipped with their truncheons, which they had used on a number of occasions.[9]

The photograph shows the constables and sergeants wearing a duty armlet as was the norm, however none have been issued with a whistle and chain. The sergeants' stripes do not conform to the normal pattern issue for Metropolitan or City of London Police, and were unusually only worn of one sleeve of the tunic.

Newspaper archives reveal that these police were employed by Each Race Course Company up and down the country, and were presumably sworn in as special constables. The Employment Association, and indeed the Race Course Police, ceased to exist after 1907 and both fell into obscurity.

1 *The Police Review and Parade Gossip*, 10th April 1893, p170

2 *Uxbridge & W. Drayton Gazette*, 10th March 1888

3 *Surrey Mirror*, 5th October 1906

4 *The Police Review and Parade Gossip*, 11th December 1893, p591

5 *Surrey Mirror*, 4th August 1899

6 *Sporting Life*, 4th October 1906

7 *Morning Post*, 13th September 1898

8 This badge is shown with the kind permission of Graham Stevens of the Police Insignia Collectors Association (PICA), its current owner.

9 *Croydon Chronicle and East Surrey Advertiser*, 29th July 1899

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JEFF COWDELL is a retired Staffordshire Police officer and long-standing member of the Police Insignia Collectors Association of Great Britain. He joined Staffordshire County Police in 1963, being posted to the Brierley Hill district. Since then he has served at Tamworth, Lichfield, Cannock and Rugeley as a Rural Beat officer and later Motor Traffic Patrol officer. He retired after 35 years in 1998. Through his interest in police history and police badges of office Jeff has collected police cap and helmet plate badges since 1964. The knowledge gained through collecting has enabled him to offer advice to other enthusiasts and also to co-write *Policing the Potteries* and *Special Constabulary Insignia of England and Wales*.

PETER KENNISON joined the Metropolitan Police in 1970 and after initial training was posted to Islington Police Station. He transferred to Hackney Police station on promotion to sergeant in 1977 and in 1981 became an instructor at the Metropolitan Police Training School. On promotion to Inspector in 1984 he transferred to Limehouse Division, also later serving at Complaints Investigation Branch as Staff Officer to Commanders Three Area. He saw service at Edmonton and Barkingside before he retired in 1996. Peter has a keen interest in Police History and Criminology, having obtained an OU degree in Social Sciences, MA Criminology (1995) and a PHd (2001) at Middlesex University. He became a university lecturer at Middlesex University where he has co-written three books of London Police Station History between 1998 and 2014. He has also co-written two further publications entitled *Child Abuse* (2008) and *Shooting to Kill* (2010). His latest research has focussed on policing before the Metropolitan Police (1749 -1839), and a resulting book *Policing from Bow Street: Principal Officers, Runners and The Patrole* is forthcoming.

The Murder of Huddersfield's Head Constable

By COLIN JACKSON

With a cat-like bound, the man leapt out from the back of his cell with a clasp-knife in his hand, such as gardeners used for pruning. The three policemen, who had been standing in the cell door, turned and ran in different directions, one towards the house and the other two around the police station yard, until they heard their comrade cry out "Oh, Lord!" and turned to see him with his back against the wall of the house, and the prisoner cutting at him somewhere about the thighs with the knife. They rushed at him and tried to pull him away, and they all went down together.

In the struggle a second policeman received three very severe wounds in the thigh, side and back. The third officer finally wrested the knife from the attacker by striking him across the hands with his stick. "I told you I would show you what it was to meddle with a Scotchman. I've done for two of them. I'll do for 50 more, and then England will be free," said the prisoner to the remaining policeman as he called for assistance to secure him in one of the cells. By this time the second policeman, whose name was John Danson, was very faint and sick from his wounds, and the first, William Duke, the Head Constable of the Huddersfield Force, was lying on the ground unable to speak, bleeding profusely from a wound in the thigh.

Duke was removed into the house but died within a few minutes. He had received no fewer than five dreadful gashes. There was a wound in the left groin nearly six inches long and two deep, another across the right hip backwards, about nine inches in length. One wound divided the muscles of the right arm. Another wound outside the right thigh was about eight inches long, and one divided the femoral artery on the inside of the right thigh, the bleeding from which had caused his death.

Danson's wounds also were very severe, and he was to spend a month in the local infirmary.

The time was about 6 o'clock on Tuesday evening, April 28th 1840.

The incident had started innocently enough, shortly after 3 o'clock that same afternoon, when Alexander M'Gaichan Smith, a gardener-cum-labourer of Elland had visited the market at Huddersfield with a man named Tait.

A market gardener named William Lennard had some plants on a stall in Cloth Hall Street. A man named Thomas Shepherd had just bargained for one of the plants, when Smith came up and asked the price of the whole lot upon the stall. Mr. Shepherd begged Lennard to remember that one of the plants was purchased and paid for. "Very well," said Smith, "you can put it aside, and I'll try and buy the remainder, if we can agree about the price." It would appear, however, they had not been able to agree on this point and an altercation ensued.

John Danson was on duty in nearby New Street, and hearing the commotion came up to enquire what the problem was. Lennard made a complaint that Smith was refusing to pay the price asked for one of his plants, had taken possession of it and would not return it. The policeman advised him to go before the magistrates who were then sitting in petty sessions, and that they should decide the matter.

The three went off down the street in the direction of the lockups, where Head Constable Duke then resided, the cells being in a small enclosure, part of which was formed by the rear of Duke's house. Danson directed Lennard to go forward and see if the magistrates were still sitting. He found that they were not, and on his return to the lockups found that the prisoner had been searched in the

yard, and there was lying near him a snuff box, a pocket-book, two pencils, and a clasp-knife. It would seem that he managed to conceal a second knife from the officers.

He was very violent, and still refused to give up the plant of which he had taken possession. The policemen were endeavouring to wrest it from him, and Duke struck him over the knuckles with his constable's staff. Smith kicked at Duke repeatedly, saying he would let him see what it was to meddle with a Scotchman, but a chain was procured and attached to Smith's left arm and left leg and he was locked up. It is difficult to see what the purpose of the chain was, as it was not secured to anything in the cell. To fasten it to an arm and a leg, instead of both legs or both arms even, appears to have served no useful purpose whatsoever, only perhaps to further antagonise Smith.

This occurred between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. About six o'clock Duke and Danson, with another constable named Francis Burton Dalton, were in Duke's house when they heard a knocking at the door of the cell where the prisoner was confined. They went out and crossed the yard. In the meantime the noise ceased. Duke opened the door and flung it back, saying, "You blackguard, what are you making this noise about?" The prisoner was sitting on the wooden bed at the back of the cell, with his hand behind his back. To Duke's question he replied, "I'll let you see," and it was then that he launched the fatal attack upon the officers.

Smith did not seem to display the slightest remorse for what had occurred. While the constable Dalton was removing him in the evening to another cell he said, "D---m you - you with the red stick; I'll do for you too."

Dr. Wrigley, who also attended the two wounded policemen immediately after the attack, saw Smith that evening in the cell, and asked him if he did not regret what he had done? He replied, "Not a bit," saying that he only regretted he had not done more, and done for the fellow with the red stick. During the evening he was quiet in his cell, except when he saw the Dalton, at which point he became very violent.

The Coroner's inquest was held at The George Hotel the following day. Smith was taken there in a carriage, escorted by Dalton and an additional constable named Clough. The crowd outside shouted and jeered as he arrived. Throughout the hearing he was chained to a settle and was comparatively tranquil, and listened with much indifference to the proceedings before the coroner. The jury was described as the most distinguished ever seen in Huddersfield. Their verdict - Wilful Murder.

Smith declined saying anything on the subject of the charge against him, and on being informed that he would be committed to take his trial, he asked the coroner, Thomas Dyson, if he was satisfied. The latter replied "Yes." Then, said Smith, "Be doing."

Following the inquest he was removed to York to await his trial, taking the two o'clock coach from Huddersfield with his escort of two constables, Dalton and Clough. On the way to Leeds he seemed cheerful and indifferent, talking about gardening and speaking of the various gentlemen's houses which they passed on the way.

At Leeds he was put in the lockup until it was time for the departure of the train for York. This was about six o'clock, and when an officer went to check on him in the cell he was found sitting sullenly with his head bowed down and refusing to speak. He was lifted up by the neck and taken into the yard. But once there he kicked violently, so the officers finally threw him down and tied his hands behind his back; they had been handcuffed before. He had shackles on his feet and they now proceeded to tie them together.

In this way he was conveyed to York. Though repeatedly spoken to, he continued his silence throughout the journey until his arrival at the York station, when he said in reply to being asked whether he wanted anything to eat, "I see nothing."

On being taken to the Castle prison he had some conversation with Mr. Buxter Barker, the Deputy Governor, and Mr. John Noble, the Governor, and told them he had bought a plant in the market, and the gardener would not let him have it, but gave him into custody. He was told he should not have taken away the life of the constable who was only doing his duty. He had, he said, "been ill-used."

On Tuesday, July 23rd Alexander M'Giachan Smith appeared before Mr. Baron Rolfe at York Assizes, charged with the wilful murder of William Duke, a police officer, at Huddersfield, on the 28th day of April 1840, by stabbing him with a knife.

The prosecution was conducted by Mr. Baines and Mr. Lister; the prisoner was defended by Mr. Wortley.

Mr. Wrigley, the surgeon who first saw him after the occurrence took place, and who attended at the inquest, stated that in his opinion on the evening of this occurrence and at the inquest the prisoner was perfectly sane.

Mr. Baines said, if his Lordship thought proper, he would call witnesses to the state of the prisoner's mind as it appeared insanity, caused by epilepsy, was to be set up as a defence. He would either do so at this stage of the case or give much evidence in reply.

His Lordship thought the former the most proper course. It was for

Scene of the inquest

the prosecution to make out the prisoner's guilt, and his sanity at the time was necessary to constitute the crime.

Mr Greenwood, surgeon from Huddersfield, and Mr. Champney and Mr. Anderson, surgeons to the gaol, gave it as their opinion that the prisoner was perfectly sane so far as they could see. It appeared, however, that he had had several epileptic attacks in the gaol. Epileptic mania is a form of insanity well known to medical men. The patients are usually violent with tranquil intervals. The regime and discipline of the gaol would tend to prolong these.

The other witnesses were Constables Danson and Dalton; William Lennard and Thomas Shepherd, who had been present at the market stall; Mr Noble and Mr Barker, together with turnkey John Abbey from York Castle Prison. Godfrey Whitehead Mann from Elland had employed Smith as a gardener prior to his arrest.

They all expressed a similar opinion that Smith was not insane. Mr. Wortley addressed the jury for the defence, and contended that at all events the arrest was illegal, and that the crime, being committed in heat of blood, would amount not to murder, but manslaughter. He would show, however, that the prisoner was not a responsible being, that he was afflicted, and had been for a long time, with the dreadful disease of epilepsy, which had induced paroxysms of frenzy, in which he was incapable of distinguishing right from wrong.

Thomas Noble from Elland, with whom the prisoner had lodged, was called as a witness and described the attacks of epilepsy as having been very frequent. After their recurrence Smith was for several days unable to go to work, and was very violent. He was at all times subject to fits of ungovernable passion, in which he seemed to have no control over his actions. On one occasion he got up and walked about his room naked, talking very loudly. He was at that time put under the care of the parish surgeon, Dr William Brook of Stainland, by whom he was bled, and a blister applied to the back of his neck. He was returned to the guardians as "temporarily insane."

John Worth, in whose house he lodged last - from the Saturday up to the Tuesday when this occurrence took place - said that during all that time he looked very wild, and talked violently.

A chemist and druggist at Elland named Walter Smith and another medical gentleman, Doctor William Maude, who had prescribed for him, gave similar testimony. They

perceived that he had been frequently bled, and there was the mark of a seton at the back of his neck.

Caleb Williams, who had the general management of the Quakers' Retreat near York, stated that he examined the prisoner in the gaol, and thought that his intellect was impaired and his moral sense weakened by the disease to which he was subject. He seemed to be labouring under delusions as to alleged communications from Jesus Christ.

The Judge's summing up took an hour and a half, in which he directed the jury that they should convict the prisoner of murder or of no offence at all.

The jury, after a consultation of upwards of an hour and a half, acquitted the prisoner on the grounds of insanity, whereupon the Judge ordered that he be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure.

One writer described Smith thus:

The prisoner is about thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, with sandy hair; he stands about five feet seven inches high, is strongly built, and very broad in the chest; he has a peculiarly savage aspect. He is a native of Scotland (Dunkeld, Perthshire), and has a wife and two children at Stirling, in indifferent circumstances, from whom he has long been absent. During the whole of this tragic exhibition he manifested the utmost callousness and indifference, even approaching to scorn. Not even the bloody knife or the bloody soaked clothes, when produced in court, had any apparent effect on him; and to all appearances the probability of a violent death has no terrors to him. From first to last he remained unmoved! On his road to York he was the same, and unreservedly stated, that he thought no more of killing men that acted to him as the police had done than of killing bullocks.

The wretched man during his confinement in York Castle exhibited such symptoms as could leave no doubt of his insanity, and the necessary precautions against his doing any further mischief were taken.

His victim, William Duke, was 48-years-old, married with no children of his own but one dependant niece. He had been a constable at Huddersfield for about three years.

Sources

Wakefield Journal & West Riding Herald, 1 May 1840 and 24 July 1840; *The Times*, 23 July 1840; The Newgate Calendar, 1891.

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COLIN JACKSON retired from West Yorkshire Police in 1986 after 36 years service - Cadet to Chief Inspector,

Bagnigge Wells Police Station and the "Fantastic PC Fox"

By FRED FEATHER

I suppose that it was my good friend and fellow Rotarian, the late Major Idwal Evans of the Salvation Army, who set off this chain of events. He asked me if I would go to Abney Park Cemetery in Stoke Newington, East London, to photograph the gravestones of William Booth and other celebrities of "The Salvation Army." My father had often told me that, as a child of about 6, he had watched the funeral procession of General Booth passing Dalston. He added that, in the cemetery, one of the seven famous Victorian burial grounds in London, was "A Quaker buried in a four poster bed." I soon located the former, but not the latter.

Whilst wandering around what is now an overgrown, heavily forested park, I came upon a Metropolitan Police monument of great interest to me. Below a Masonic symbol it read as follows:

> *Joseph Joyce aged 42 years, late Sergeant of the Criminal investigation Department, "J" Division, who lost his life whilst arresting a thief at Charing Cross Road on 20th June 1892 and although mortally wounded by two revolver shots he gallantly struggled with his prisoner until assistance arrived. Erected by his comrades.*

Below that was the details of his wife's death. I took a photograph and included it in a Family History lecture, extolling it as a prime example of the information that graves can often give, including his Masonic

The unveiling of the memorial to Sir Richard Mayne

hobby. Then I received a message from Matthew Pridham, an excellent speaker and member of the Friends of the Kensal Green Cemetery. He told me that the prominent obelisk to Sir Richard Mayne (the first Joint Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police) in that famous cemetery was in need of some attention. I passed this on to the Friends of the Metropolitan Police, but thought "I must go there someday!" Under pressure from the person in charge of this marriage I agreed that we would visit all of London's "Magnificent Seven".

Abney Park was the first call, and we joined the crowds of people wandering round the beautiful afforested place, with babies in prams, children on little bicycles and families relaxing. In the middle of this vast area we came upon a noisy group of men with two Metropolitan policemen apparently keeping order. In my ninth decade my instinct was to "black my nose", as I thought "I might be a useful witness." But it was not trouble, for they were all laughing and joking. We waited until things died down, then I asked the apparently senior of the officers, "Could you direct me to a particular police grave?" "Certainly," he said, and led us through a maze to an imposing memorial featuring a helmet. It was not the one I wanted, but I had heard the story (at a Police History Society Conference at Aldermaston) of the Tottenham Outrage of 1909.

I explained it was another stone that I was seeking and he asked my interest. I explained my hobby of family history and that I was the Treasurer of the Essex Police Memorial Trust, a charity which looks after graves of that county's losses from violence. The officer, whose name was Clifford, had a strong Dublin accent and told me that he was Constable Fox of Stoke Newington Police.

A few days later I had a call from him. He told me that, according to the cemetery authority, there were six such graves in Abney Park and he had located five of them. He was putting together a project to find the sixth. His next call told us that, with the aid of local youth and advice from Keith Foster of the National Police Memorial group, he had found the grave of Constable Richard Lillicrap, who had died in 1862 whilst chasing a thief. We

thought to help him with research on the life of that officer and soon came up with his marriage in 1855 as well as the following newspaper cutting from the *Halesworth Times and East Suffolk Advertiser.*

PUBLIC FUNERAL OF A POLICE OFFICER.—Yesterday afternoon the funeral of Richard Lillicrap, No. 409 of the A reserve, and lately one of the superintendants of the G division, who recently died suddenly on duty, while in pursuit of a thief in Petticoat-lane took place at half-past two o'clock, accompanied by some rather unusual demonstrations of sympathy on the part of the police force. The funeral procession was formed in Merlin's-place, Wilmington-square, Clerkenwell, where the deceased resided and consisted of a hearse and one carriage containing his widow and relatives, followed, in marching order, by upwards of 200 of the G and H divisions, and accompanied by no fewer than six superintendents. The police band of the district marched in front, playing the "Dead march" in *Saul*. At Islington and Kingsland the procession was joined by some hundreds more belonging to the police corps of the district, and, on arriving at the Abney Park Cemetery, the remains were interred with the usual solemnities. The deceased had been fourteen years in the force, and the demonstration of yesterday was a true test of the appreciation in which he was held.

We were astonished when we found that Lillicrap, at the time of his marriage, was living at Bagnigge Wells Police Station. This is pronounced Bag-Nidge. A census confirmed that in 1861 there were some 20 constables stationed there, including a Matthew Fox from Dublin. Apparently the chalybeate water at that place, circa 1750, was considered very healthy (Sadlers Wells is not far away) and society went there to drink it for their health. According to the internet it rivalled Vauxhall as a recreational spot. Apparently, from about the mid-19th century the name disappeared and the police station was renamed Kings Cross Road Police Station.

We then arranged to meet Clifford and Keith at the cemetery and there located the Lillicrap grave, which perhaps had never had a headstone. Constable Fox met many people in the cemetery who acknowledged him, and a number of junior school aged children called to him.

Next we went for coffee and he was just as well known in Stoke Newington High Street. "It is my name," he said, "they know 'The Fantastic Mr Fox'" from television, so I sometimes get called The Fantastic PC Fox." I later heard that Constable Fox and his Borough Commander were seeking to mark the grave with a headstone.

Right! A job done! It was a pleasure for me to see a beat being worked in the traditional way and the public seemed to approve.

Another visit to Kensal Green was on the cards. But, on that same day we walked along Kings Cross Road and, opposite the Police Station, on the wall of Number 61, we found this plaque. Apparently Bagnigge House was once the home of Charles II's mistress Nell Gwyn. The Pindar of Wakefield thereon referred to an 1680 public house, and not to the CID Training School "Bishopsgarth" at Wakefield that some of us attended. Result!

In Kensal Green, with a Matthew Pridham map, we soon located the memorial to the Met Commissioner. If I lived in London and had got a pair of garden croppers with me I could have cut down some intrusive saplings around it and smartened it up. But, make a journey 50 miles each way to do so?

We also learned that in a nearby catacomb was the resting place of the other Joint Commissioner, Sir Charles Rowan (1782-1852). We finally went for a celebratory meal and the nice restaurant, in a good mood, gave us a free bottle of splendid red wine. Altogether a good day!

"...for there is good news to be heard and fine things to be seen, before we go to Paradise, by way of Kensal Green" – G. K. Chesterton.

We were then informed that the Stoke Newington officers had obtained a headstone for Constable Lillicrap and on Monday 18th December 2017 this was consecrated.

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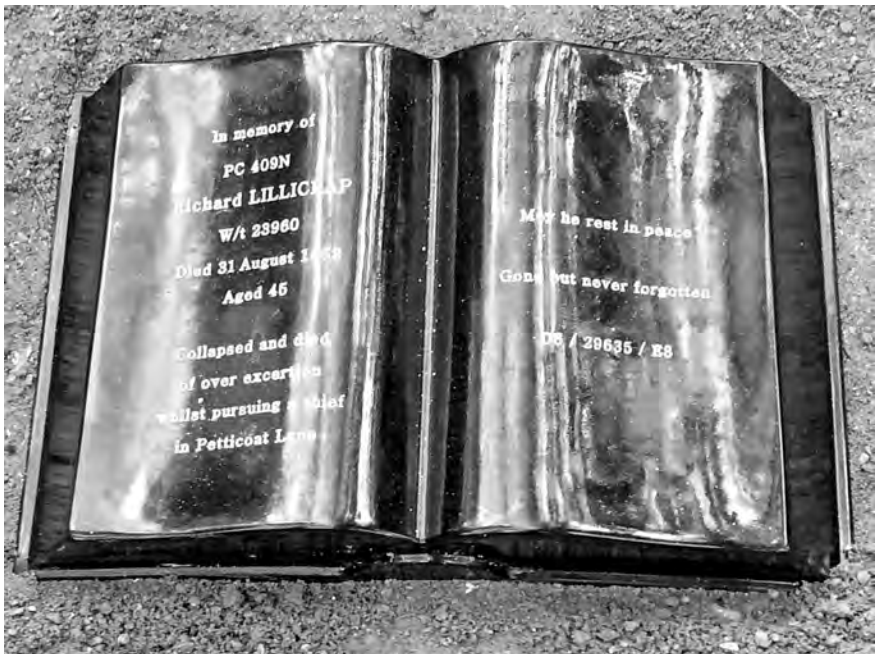
FRED FEATHER served with Saint Albans City, Southend-on-Sea Constabulary and Essex Police between 1957 and 1988. He was Force Public Relations Officer for Essex Police (1990-1998) and founding Curator of the Essex Police Museum. Fred was Editor of the family history magazine the *Essex Family Historian* from 2002 to 2016, acting as Chairman of the Essex Society for Family History and is now a Vice President.



The new headstone for Constable Richard Lilicrap

Gladys Irene Howard (1916-2017)

A Portsmouth Police Pioneer

By CLIFFORD WILLIAMS

Gladys Howard was a remarkable lady, who lived a full life devoted to public service. Gladys was the first woman Sergeant and Inspector in the Portsmouth City Police. She later became Lord Mayor of Portsmouth. She lived all her life, including the war years, in Portsmouth.

After leaving school in 1933 at 16 with her school certificate and credits for art, arithmetic and geography, Gladys went to work for Timothy White's, first as a clerk and then as a comptometer operator. Around 1936 the firm was taken over by Taylors of Leeds, and expansion followed. A comptometer was a small calculating machine used for all accounts and stock books.

During World War Two the offices were bombed and Gladys lost her job, so she went to the Labour Exchange. She was told, "Either you work in the dockyard or join the Services." She wanted to join the Services, but because she was looking after her parents she could not leave them. Phyllis, Gladys's younger sister, was away working in munitions. So Gladys went to work in the Dockyard; in accounts, as a temporary non-industrial civil service.

The work in the Dockyard went on despite bombing raids. Gladys was based in an office next to HMS *Victory*. When raids were on, the staff went to the basement and knitted and chatted, with the noise of the raid and ack-ack guns all around them.

When not at work, Gladys also helped provide refreshments at a club for Service personnel in St Vincent Street, which ran alongside the Southdown bus station just south of the Guildhall. On the night of one big German raid (January 10th 1941), Gladys and others were nearly cooked alive inside the burning Services Club and had to run for their lives through flying shrapnel and fire.

Gladys passed the Civil Service Exam (coming 28th in the whole country), but she did not enjoy the work. Gladys was a little bored after six years working in the Civil Service so decided to apply for the police service when she saw an advertisement for policewomen. Portsmouth had a Women Auxiliary Police Corps during WW2, but no regular women constables until 1947.

After a written examination and an interview with the Chief Constable, Arthur West, Gladys became the first post-war woman to be accepted.

However, as she had to give one month's notice on her civil service employment, Mabel Futcher (later Warren) and Betty Chatfield (later Milton) went before her to the police training centre at Ryton, near Coventry. Gladys followed and describes her days at Ryton as some of the happiest of her life. One of her course colleagues was the only policewoman in Rutland, Nora Mowbray. In April 1948, having finished at Ryton, Gladys reported for duty as WPC 4 Howard at Portsmouth Police Headquarters, Byculla House.

Gladys's first posting was to 'A' Division, Central Police Station in St. Michael's Road, in the old vicarage next to the derelict St. Michael's Church. In 1948 she attended a detective training course in Wakefield.

Gladys kept all her notes from the courses she attended, as well as her pocket books and reports on Women Police.

After about a year in the police service she brought a girl into the station for care and protection. This was previously unheard of to the City Police, so Gladys introduced the practice to them. She often worked with the NSPCC. If they wanted to remove a child for care and protection they got Gladys to do it. Once she went to a house to remove a girl and the mother would not let her go. Gladys said she would stay there until

Gladys at Ryton 1947

she did; she sat there all Saturday afternoon and evening before the mother relented.

Gladys often took children who did not have much money to the Police Christmas parties. They were held at Kimbells. Child welfare was always at the forefront of Gladys's public service.

Gladys kept her own little notebook of known women criminals frequenting the city. One of the entries is marked 'Deceased victim of Christie'; Kathleen Maloney, a prostitute operating in Hampshire and a victim of the killer John Christie in 1953.

Gladys was promoted to Sergeant in December 1952 and to Inspector in September 1963, becoming the first woman in those two ranks in the City force.

In a newspaper feature in *The Portsmouth Evening News* of 12th September 1963 Gladys said, 'When I decided to join I hoped that I had chosen an interesting and unusual career and I certainly have not been disappointed.' She added that the qualities she felt essential for a young woman hoping to make a career as a policewoman were a good memory, initiative, tact, and the ability to cope with all sorts of situations.

Gladys took children in need to the Police Christmas parties

Gladys was an active member of the Portsmouth Women's Business and Professional Club, and also the Soroptimists.

In 1970 she was sent over to the Isle of Wight to police the massive music Festival there. On one occasion she went to get some refreshments in the restaurant where the police had been given a room upstairs to themselves. She noticed a large group of scruffy hippies in the police area and went to complain to the management. However, just before she did so she recognised one of the hippies as a police officer! These were the undercover hippies.

Retirement (compulsory because of age) from the police came in 1976. Gladys, then in Hampshire Constabulary, was very sad to leave and cried when she went to hand in her uniform. But immediately she got into serving the public as a City

Gladys as Sergeant in a publicity shot circa 1962

councillor, winning a by-election in Kingston (later called Milton) Ward.

Gladys remarked, 'Had I known how demanding this job would be, I would never have agreed to it'. But she did, and went on to serve as a Councillor for 13 years. She was Lady Mayoress in 1986-87, and in 1989 Lord Mayor of Portsmouth. In 1990 Gladys was appointed an Honorary Alderman of the City.

Gladys attended NARPO (National Association of Retired Police Officers) meetings right to the end. In December 2016 she was guest of honour at their Christmas Lunch. The day before she had celebrated her 100th birthday and received a card from the Queen.

An American friend, Ellen Smith, helped Gladys record her memoirs when she was in her early 80s. Whilst researching my book on women's police history (*A History of Women Policing Hampshire and the Isle of Wight 1915-2016*, ISBN 9780956850812) I got to meet Gladys on a number of occasions and discovered the rich archive of material she had kept.

After her death I was given the job of sorting through several boxes of old files, notebooks, newspaper cutting and photographs.

I was pleased when Adam Wood of Mango Books agreed to publish the memoirs Gladys had written. Her book, *Never a Dull Moment*, will be published this autumn. I can guarantee you will enjoy it.

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CLIFFORD WILLIAMS is a retired police officer and now a volunteer historian for Hampshire Constabulary. Clifford studied History and Anthropology at the University of London, Criminology at the University of Cambridge and has a PhD from the University of Bradford. He is author of numerous articles and books. He is still researching pre-WW2 women police, as well as a number of other topics, including policing of homosexuality post war. He has been a member of the PHS for nearly 30 years.

Light Duties *or* Ebenezer Scrooge and the Cheshire Hoard

By ELVYN OAKES

In the early 1960s Beatlemania spread quickly from Merseyside, hitting Cheshire and the rest of the UK like a huge tsunami. As a young detective constable in the Cheshire Constabulary stationed at Altrincham, I soon became aware of the Fab Four fame.

There were wholesale thefts of Beatle memorabilia in the town, particularly at the local branch of Woolworths. I ended up reporting an entire class of the local grammar school for theft; they were all duly cautioned. Shortly afterwards I was taken ill with mumps; whether it was connected with the youngsters or not I shall never know. Many people in the area, both young and old (including our young daughter, my mother and some friends) contracted the disease, which was a particularly strong strain.

Along with three police colleagues I then caught orchitis which was very worrying and painful; I lost 21lbs in three days and was quite poorly. After a couple of weeks my sergeant and chief inspector came to see me. They said they were short staffed and appealed to me to return to work, promising to put me on light duties.

I returned to duty after three weeks against the advice of everyone, including my doctor and my wife. We were living in a police house, and that Monday morning a firm were arriving to decorate the house throughout. That may have influenced my rash decision; one which I have regretted all my life.

I arrived for duty at 9.00am and was detailed to drive to Nottingham, where three youths had been arrested after absconding from our local Probation Hostel. It was about 80 miles away and I drove there in my new black Morris 1000 CID car, registered number 1617TU. It was icy cold with a light covering of snow; there was a problem! Cheshire Constabulary green Rover motor patrol cars were fitted with heaters; CID cars were not. The only way to clear the windscreen was by using anti-freeze from the radiator, rubbing it with a raw potato or putting a piece of wood under the edge of the bonnet to allow hot air to it. My companion was a brand new CID aide.

After an uneventful journey we found the police station where the three teenagers were held. The chastened absconders were obviously Beatle fans. They were all dressed in white satin shirts with lace at the collar and wrists, velvet jackets and trousers. They looked fantastic, just like three of the Fab Four; straight off the record sleeves selling in our local shops. It had cost a fortune to dress them. Their purchase of such expensive clothing had brought them to the attention of the police.

At first they were a little reluctant to talk about their escapades, but once we started the journey home they began to unwind. They had been working on farms in our area and admitted breaking into a number of premises to steal. Their main source of income had been a large hoard of cash they found in a secret cave on a farm. I was rather sceptical; our part of Cheshire was rather short of caves. They talked in great detail about their escapades, promising to show us all the scenes of their crimes.

On return to Altrincham (after refreshments), the youths directed us on an evening tour of the premises they had burgled and stolen from. Their working knowledge of the area was very good. This became very evident as they pointed out the various scenes of crime. It was midnight when we finally arrived at a farm way out in the countryside, where they claimed they had discovered the hidden hoard of cash. It was freezing, with snow on the ground and we were all tiring. As we entered the farmyard dogs began to bark and all Hell broke loose; fortunately the dogs were chained. I banged loudly on the farm door, working on the premise that if

I was up, so should everyone else be. Eventually a very low light came on and the back door slowly opened. I was confronted by a very large man dressed in a long white nightgown, complete with a nightcap and tassel. He looked just like Ebenezer Scrooge in Dickens's *Christmas Carol*. I would have laughed out loud but for the fact he was pointing a massive blunderbuss at my chest. In the dim light of the oil lamps it took a little time to persuade him that we actually were the police.

I explained the reason for the visit; the farmer and his sister, the sole occupants of the farm, denied any knowledge of a hidden cave. They reluctantly agreed we could search and the boys led us into an orchard at the rear of the house where I saw a great mound surrounded by trees and bushes. They took us into the bushes and inside they showed us a hole in the side of the mound. After a great deal of thought, I carefully climbed through the hole and found myself inside a large cavern.

As my eyes became used to the torch light, I realised I was standing inside a large Nissen hut, similar to our billets in the Royal Air Force. The structure had obviously been covered over with soil many years before to disguise its presence. I saw that there were shelves fitted all round the room; the shelves contained packets of soap flakes, brushes, donkey stones, bars of soap, nylon stockings and all manner of similar stores. It was obviously a 'Black Market' hoard left over from the Second World War. Down one side were a number of seed potato trays partly full of coins, some silver; mainly shillings, sixpences and three penny 'joeys'. The vast bulk consisted of pennies, half pennies and farthings. It was still a sizeable amount of money.

I saw no point in disturbing the large amount of property, which appeared to be very old and in poor condition. We collected the cash into old sacks and returned to the farmhouse. In those days we always took written statements at the time; it took quite a while to persuade the farmer's sister to make a statement regarding the theft of a nominal amount of money from the farm building.

We returned to the police station to complete the paperwork, charge the prisoners and get them to the cells. We were using the recently-introduced Theft Act 1960 instead of the old Larceny Act 1916. We then drove home to get changed, eat and return to duty. I have no recollection of going to bed or having a rest.

When I took the boys before the court that morning the Prosecuting Chief Inspector remonstrated with me in front of the magistrates; in his opinion I had kept them waiting a few minutes. He was fully aware of all the circumstances. The thought did occur to me that whilst he, and they, had had a good night's sleep followed by a warm breakfast, my partner and I had been working for over 24 hours with very little in the way of creature comforts. The fact that we had arrested three persistent thieves, cleared up a number of burglaries and thefts of property seemed to go unnoticed. I suppose we were young, keen and eager to please.

In due course the youths were given custodial sentences, Borstal I think. There was no publicity in the local press.

At the end of the case I took the money back to the farmer's sister, who was still denying any knowledge of the hidden hoard. I told her that the property, including the money, must belong to her and her brother. Eventually she reluctantly agreed to sign a receipt for the cash; before doing so she said, "Were there any banknotes? "

My answer is written on this piece of paper your Worships!

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ELVYN OAKES served with Cheshire Constabulary and Greater Manchester Police, mainly in the CID, from Detective Constable to Detective Superintendent. He was Deputy Commander of Salford Division, GMP at retirement. For 20 years he was the representative for Stockport Branch and later Chair of Manchester East Branch of the International Police Association. For the past 17 years he has been a volunteer with the National Trust.

WRITING POLICE HISTORY

The joys and sorrows of writing a book on the British Police during the First World War

Dr Mary Fraser, Honorary Secretary at the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, has started writing a blog to record progress on a book she is currently writing about the British Police during the Great War.

Entries to the blog so far have included food shortages in 1917 and police involvement, the struggles of the policeman's wife as she attempted to feed her family, as well as related topics such as Mary's experiences of researching and obtaining copyright permissions.

Follow Mary's progress at writingpolicehistory.blogspot.co.uk

Thomas Bottomley

Probably Bradford's Longest-serving Victorian Police Constable

By GAYNOR HALIDAY

Thomas Bottomley, my great great grandfather, first came to my attention through a book, *Street Characters of a Victorian City*, published in 1993 by Bradford Arts, Museums and Libraries. The book contained a selection of late-nineteenth century portraits by Bradford watercolour artist John Sowden which had been previously exhibited at various times in Bolling Hall Museum, Bradford.

Thomas featured in the book, and author Gary Firth's short description of him (from Sowden's scant diary notes) told of Thomas's quiet, sensitive form of policing, claiming he would whisper to the drunken man in the street: 'If tha' don't go home to thi wife and bairns ah s'al 'av to run thee in'. It stated he'd never had a case reach the courts in 30 years.

From the white hair, visible under his helmet, and full white beard, it's obvious Thomas was not a young man at the time of his portrait. In full uniform, slightly stern-looking, upright and smart, he looked the epitome of a Victorian policeman – albeit somewhat rotund. In contrast, Sowden's other subjects – Salt Jim, Fish David, Pot Mary and so on – were the stooped, ill-clad hawkers, pedlars, beggars and street musicians, well-known in the grimy streets of

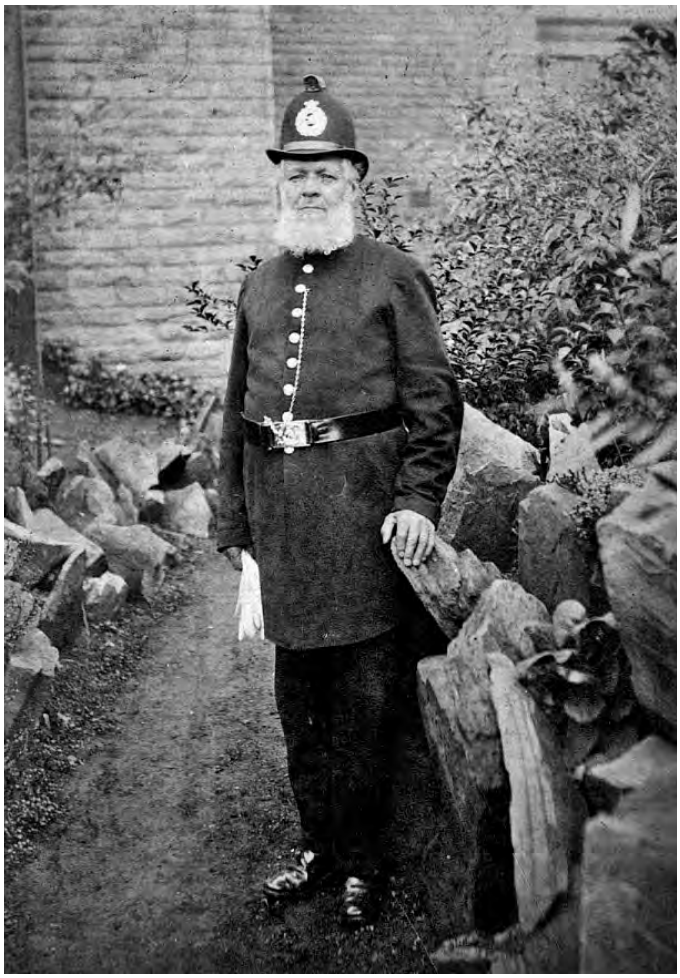
Author with portrait of PC 50 Thomas Bottomley

industrial Bradford.

So why, of all the policeman in Bradford, had he been chosen to sit (or rather, stand for a portrait? And what induced him to become a police constable?

Who was Thomas Bottomley?

Thomas was born in Bingley in the West Riding of Yorkshire on 15th May 1822. His father was a cordwainer or shoemaker. By 1841, the family had moved to Manningham in Bradford and Thomas was a woolcomber, an occupation that employed around 15,000 men working either singly or in small teams in combing rooms – often the upper room of a house. The woolcombing process consisted of forcibly pulling oily fleeces through metal combs which were attached to wooden masts and set five or six deep, until the wool became a soft mass of filament, to be then drawn into long slivers for further processing. With wool combs needing to be kept at high temperature by heating them in a central fire-pot, burning coke, coal or charcoal and giving off noxious fumes, the work was hot, dirty and dangerous. Life expectancy was low, and although woolcombers had earlier been able to earn reasonable money, employers gradually reduced wages to half what they had been.



Thomas Bottomley, photograph possibly taken at retirement
Courtesy of the Bradford Police Museum

In 1843, Samuel Lister of Bradford designed a woolcombing machine and by 1847, the hand woolcombers' trade was in serious decline, with no hope of revival. A meeting to discuss the woolcombers' deplorable condition and how to resolve it was held in Bradford's Exchange Buildings in December 1847. Woolcombers, anxious to hear what was to become of them, thronged to the meeting. The various dignitaries of Bradford, recognising that the number of men laid off was likely to be increased, shared their grand plan.

Dividing the woolcombers into three categories - the young, the middle-aged, and the old - they decided it would be cruel to remove the old from their present locality, so commended them to the Board of Guardians (who administered the Workhouse and distributed money to paupers). They banned the young from entering the trade, and suggested juveniles already working as woolcombers could be taken from the trade and trained as weavers and so on. However, nothing could be done for the older able-bodied woolcombers except send them to the colonies – not as convicts, but to find new work. How this economic migration was to be funded they hadn't yet worked out.

With newspaper reports stating that only five out of every twenty migrants ever arrived at their destination, and those who did were so debilitated that they could not work for their living and soon died on a foreign shore, emigration was never going to be a popular choice. Now in his mid-twenties and with few options, Thomas hung on as a woolcomber until at least April 1851. But with a reduction in income and the prospect of unemployment, the opportunity to work in a secure job, where it was unlikely there'd be any downturn in trade, must have been attractive. Thomas enrolled as a supernumerary constable on 7th February 1852, and unlike many others, settled into his new career. He was almost thirty.

Supernumeraries were those appointed to be on standby at 6d a night for constables who didn't turn up; therefore vital to keep strength of numbers on the dark streets. Any supernumerary who subsequently worked the shift was paid by the man whose shift he'd covered. Eventually, if he behaved (and many didn't), the supernumerary would be given a permanent position as a 3rd Class Constable, paid 17 shillings a week.

As staff turnover was high – ninety per cent left the police force with less than a year's service (either sacked for

misdemeanours such as drunkenness or resigning because the work was tough) – Thomas didn't have had to wait long for a permanent position to become available.

And so his long police career began.

Thomas's progress

Although set to attract literate semi-skilled workers, the 17s a week entry-level 3rd Class Constable's pay was probably little more than Thomas's woolcomber earnings. However, clothing (coat, trousers, cape, hat, gloves, belt, armlets and stock, as a protection from being garrotted), and a boots allowance, were provided.

Bradford's constables remained some of the lowest paid in the country and had no pay increases between 1848 and 1861, when they petitioned the watch committee. Although its response was that 'A man coming into the force raw to police duties is not worth more than 17 shillings a week for the first year's service', the committee did agree to a shilling a week increase for length of service, meaning a constable serving four years or more earned 20 shillings weekly. As further incentive, a Merit Class, paying 21 shillings a week, was created, to which men could be appointed at the watch committee's discretion.

Thomas was finally admitted to the Merit Class on 21st March 1872, after 20 years on his beat. Perhaps the chance to display the required diligence or exertion never materialised until a dramatic murder took place close to Manningham police station on 16th February that year. His attentiveness led to the discovery in a nearby brickyard of the tatty trousers discarded by the perpetrator. Conspicuously wearing new trousers, stolen from his victim, the murderer was swiftly apprehended.

Thomas in the press

This wasn't the only time that PC Thomas Bottomley's police duties caught the attention of newspaper reporters.

The first account of his police work was in October 1852, when at 4.30am one Sunday, on discovering a fire at one of Bradford's huge dyeworks, his swiftness in raising the alarm prevented the blaze spreading further.

Other reports revealed that far from never having had a case reach the courts in 30 years, PC Bottomley, on his Manningham beat, had made many arrests, and often been violently assaulted or knocked to the ground in the process. He'd worked diligently to uncover and apprehend petty thieves and housebreakers, been bitten and kicked as he removed drunk and disorderly women from the streets, and had discovered several sudden deaths and suicides.

His tough life as a policeman was not all work and no play though. *The Leeds Times* of 21st July 1877 reported that the 'Bobbies' had enjoyed a day out in Ilkley. Preceding the lavish dinner that all had enjoyed had been a sports day, in which PC Bottomley had won 5s for coming second – in a race for fat men. Clearly the portly figure depicted in his portrait had been a defining feature for some time!

Retirement

When the Police Act 1890 came into force on 1st April 1891, allowing constables and sergeants over the age of 55 to retire without need for a medical certificate, Thomas must have immediately submitted his required month's notice. He was superannuated on 30th April 1891, at 20s 8d a week – exactly two-thirds of his merit constable's salary of 31 shillings.

On 13th May his colleagues hosted a presentation evening for him at Manningham Police Station. The newspaper reported:

> *A very pleasant evening took place in Manningham Police Station, Bradford Borough when ex-police constable Bottomley was the recipient of a handsome black ebony walking stick with an ivory handle and a silver mount, upon his retirement from the force after 39 years' service. The stick was beautifully inscribed as follows: 'presented to ex-PC Bottomley by the officers and constables at the Manningham section, Bradford police force on his retirement May 1891.*
>
> *Inspector Jackman, who had been asked to make the presentation, said it was indeed a very pleasing duty to him to have the pleasure of being present for the purpose of presenting one of his old comrades with such a handsome present on his retirement. He said it had been his lot some 30 years ago to work along with Bottomley and he was quite sure that none present would refute his words when he said that he had always been an honest and truthful officer and he thought that after doing 39 years' police duty as he had, without a single report against him, none would say but this truly spoke out the character of their old comrade. Inspector Jackman, in making the presentation, said it gave him great pleasure in asking ex-PC Bottomley for his acceptance of the small present which had been unanimously subscribed for by his comrades, some of whom had known him a great number of years. It was a pleasure because he felt sure it would remind Bottomley of the good feeling and esteem in which he had been held by his comrades. He trusted that the event would not only remind him of the present but also in future be a token of pleasant memories to him. And also that he would long live to enjoy the use of the stick which he then had the pleasure of handing him.*
>
> *Sub-inspector Bentley, in suitable words endorsed what had been said by Inspector Jackson and hoped that he and his wife would long live to enjoy a walk with the stick together, which*

would not fail to remind him of the respect in he was held by himself and the men of the Manningham section.

Ex-PC Bottomley said he could scarcely find words to express his deep thanks for the very handsome present which they had given him. It was a very pleasant surprise and he should ever remember the kindness and respect they had shown him, and he hoped that many of them would live to enjoy a pension like himself and also be the recipient of such a handsome present and kind remarks from old comrades.

Photograph of Thomas with the presentation stick

Thomas Bottomley.
"Old Bott". Police Force.
Bradford 1889

Thomas was fortunate to enjoy a retirement of 14 years, with a comfortable pension, although sadly his wife Mary only lived for a year after Thomas retired. Measured against the high turnover of constables, who saw the position as only temporary until something better came along, his service of 39 years was extraordinary.

His obituary, after his death in May 1905, shows he was also held in some esteem by the local community he looked after for all those years:

Many Bradfordians will cherish a kindly recollection of old Tom Bottomley, an ex-Bradford police constable. He passed away yesterday at the ripe age of 83. Bottomley who was former hand woolcomber joined the Bradford Force in 1852. At that time Mr Leveratt was chief constable and had 69 officers and constables under his command. These comprised one inspector, 6 sergeants, 2 detective officers and 60 constables on the beat and doing clerical duty. The police offices were in Swaine Street and there were no district police stations [...]

In 1856, Bottomley was detailed for day duty in the Manningham townships including White Abbey, Manningham Lane, Lilycroft, Daisy Hill, Lady Royd and Four Lane Ends etc. How many times he went round this in the course of a day is uncertain as he had no sergeant to meet. The Manningham folks of those days were all familiar with Bottomley and it was said he knew nearly every resident in his wide district ...

And what of the portrait?

Eventually tracking down the original painting, held in archives at Bradford's Cartwright Hall art gallery, I was astounded by the detail, which emphasised my great great grandfather's facial features – warts and all.

On the reverse, Sowden had noted:

It appears Thomas had a nickname, "Old Bott", possibly bestowed on him by the local criminal fraternity who viewed him with grudging affection.

With Sowden's home in Manningham on Thomas's regular beat it's likely that Sowden observed him as he walked his regular route year upon year. Greatly differing from Sowden's other sitters, it must have been Thomas's visible longevity in his occupation that marked him out as one of Bradford's Victorian street characters.

Thomas Bottomley is certainly our family hero, with different descendants speaking of pride about the ancestor whose portrait hung in Bolling Hall. And I am pleased to relate that an estranged cousin got in touch, having read my book on Victorian Policing, to tell me that she was the custodian of the presentation stick – which I had believed lost – and had a photograph of Thomas with the stick.

I wish I could have met him!

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GAYNOR HALIDAY works as a freelance copywriter from her home in Holmfirth, West Yorkshire, and is a keen amateur genealogist with many fascinating ancestors. It was researching and learning about Thomas's life that inspired her to write a book on *Victorian Policing* (Pen & Sword, November 2017).

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The Murder of Constable John Long of the New Police in 1830

By MARTIN BAGGOLEY

The debate surrounding the need or otherwise for a professional police force in London was settled, and under the guidance of Home Secretary Robert Peel, the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 led to the 'Bobbies' taking to the capital's streets in the autumn of that year.

The Death of Constable Joseph Grantham

At the time, it was thought the killing of Constable Joseph Grantham on the night of 2 June 1830 at Somers Town would prove to be the first murder of an officer of the new force. He came across a drunken Michael Galvin, who also went by the name of Duggan, but rather than arrest him, he advised him to go home. The constable continued on his beat for a few more minutes before hearing the sounds of a scuffle, and making his way to the scene, found Galvin fighting with a man and woman. He now attempted to arrest him, but Galvin resisted and knocked the officer to the ground, kicking him repeatedly to the head and body. Constable William Bennet was made aware of what was happening and was soon at the spot, and despite also suffering serious injuries at Galvin's hands he managed to detain him. Sadly, he could not save his colleague.

Constable Grantham died where he fell, and Galvin was charged with his murder. Two days later an inquest was held at the Boot Inn, where earlier, the police surgeon had performed a post-mortem and concluded that death was not due to the beating but to "Apoplexy brought on by the exertion and excitement of the moment". Galvin was therefore adjudged to have merely assaulted the two officers and not to have been responsible for Constable Grantham's death.

The accused man next appeared at the Marylebone Police Court, where an outraged Chief Magistrate, Mr Griffith, expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction with the finding of the coroner's court and insisted on committing the prisoner to stand trial for wilful murder. Nevertheless, the murder charge was dropped prior to the hearing and at the Middlesex Sessions in July, Galvin was convicted of assaulting Constable Grantham, for which he was sentenced to six months imprisonment with an additional six weeks for his attack on Constable Bennet. However, it would not be long before the first trial of someone accused of murdering a member of the New Police took place.

The Murder of Constable John Long

It was seven weeks later, at 11.30 on the night of 16 August and 32-year-old Constable John Long, No.43 of G Division, was on duty in the vicinity of Gray's Inn Lane when he approached three men he believed were acting suspiciously. Despite the lateness of the hour, a number of people were nearby and witnessed the events which unfolded over the next few minutes.

Constable Long is attacked by three men

One of them was Peter Millican, who saw the three suspicious men approach the gates of St Andrew's Burial Ground, followed by Constable Long, who asked them "What have you been after?" The men did not answer, and instead surrounded the officer and began striking him repeatedly. In common with the other witnesses, Millican did not see a weapon being used, but looked on as the officer fell to the ground, crying out "Good God, I am a dead man," after which Peter watched the men run from the scene. Two other witnesses would prove to be extremely important, as they had

a clear view of the face of one of the men.

Mary Ann Griffiths was a prostitute who had spoken briefly to Constable Long an hour earlier, when after she complained that business was not very good he gave her a penny before wishing her goodnight. A short time later, she met a client who took her for a glass of rum, before the couple began to make their way to the Burial Ground. As they were doing so, she saw the three men attacking the officer and could see one of their faces, a man who was wearing a brown overcoat which he discarded as he fled. Mary Ann was distraught, as she regarded Constable Long almost as a friend and ran to him, hoping to offer what help she could.

The third witness was Amos Denis, who was walking towards Battle Bridge and passed within ten yards of the attack, which provided him too with an excellent view of the man in the brown overcoat. Amos took Constable Long's rattle from his hand and gave chase, crying out "Murder, murder". This alerted Thomas Prindwill, a night watchman, who detained that individual and with the help of another passer-by was able to hold him until the police arrived, at which point Mary Ann and Amos told them that he was the one who had played the leading role in the attack.

A search of the area revealed a number of items of interest, including the brown overcoat, which Mary Ann and Amos confirmed was worn by the man in custody. Also found was the handle of a knife, which would later be shown to have been used to stab the constable, and a number of tools clearly intended for use in housebreaking, among which were a bradawl, crowbar and three files.

The corpse was carried to the vault of the Church of St John, Clerkenwell, where surgeon James Holmes of Guilford Street, St Pancras, performed a post-mortem. He confirmed that the constable had been stabbed and the blade had passed between the fifth and sixth ribs before penetrating the heart. He recovered the blade of the murder weapon, a razor-sharp shoemaker's knife, which had lodged in the victim's body, because his killer had used such force that when attempting to extract the knife, the handle had broken off.

The Inquest and an Unseemly Dispute regarding its Cost

The inquest was held two days later in the Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell Green, before Thomas Stirling, coroner for the County of Middlesex. A jury was sworn and Mr Gregory was appointed foreman. He also happened to be an overseer in the parish of Clerkenwell, and before the first witness was called he rose to his feet to address the coroner, as he wished to make a complaint. He pointed out that the murder was committed in the parish of St Pancras and contrary to all precedent, the constable's body was brought into the parish of Clerkenwell, the residents of which therefore became responsible for the cost of the inquest, whereas it should have fallen on those of St Pancras. He asked Mr Stirling to make an order that Clerkenwell should be relieved of this financial burden.

Inspector John Brusdin, speaking on behalf of the Metropolitan Police, explained that the irregularity came about because the murder took place late at night, so that by the time it came to move the body no suitable premises were open in St Pancras. This had made it necessary to take it to the church in Clerkenwell.

A clearly irate coroner said that given the enormity of the crime to be enquired into, and the very small cost to the parish of Clerkenwell, he believed the matter unworthy of further consideration. The inquest began, and after all the evidence had been heard a chastened Mr Gregory announced that the jury found Constable Long had been murdered by the detained suspect and he was committed to stand trial.

Before the Magistrates

When first questioned, the arrested man gave the name John Smith, but he was soon identified as 36-year-old William Sapwell, a married man with six children. He was known to the police, as in October 1820, together with 16-year-old James Long and Henry Erratt, who was seventeen, he broke into the home of his aunt, Dinah Shepard. The three culprits were soon captured, but Sapwell turned King's evidence, thus avoiding prosecution. When his accomplices appeared at the Old Bailey they were convicted largely on Sapwell's testimony and sentenced to death. However, in view of their youth they were spared the rope and instead received lengthy prison sentences, which were served mainly in the hulks on the Thames.

The two youths behaved well and showed what was seen as genuine remorse, which persuaded the Home Secretary to order their release after eight years. Having regained his freedom, James Long renewed his friendship with the man who betrayed him and began to cohabit with a young woman believed to be Sapwell's niece. The couple lived well despite having no obvious income, and the police suspected he may have been one of the other two men who attacked their dead colleague. He was held for questioning and his rooms searched, but no evidence linking him to the crime was found and he was released without charge. However, this was not before he had agreed to formally confirm Sapwell's true identity at an appearance before the bench at Hatton Garden Police

Mr Justice Bayley and the Old Bailey

Court, when he added that he was known as 'Billy the Baker'.

The Trial

Sapwell's trial took place at the Old Bailey on 16 September before Mr Justice Bayley, and he entered a plea of Not guilty. He insisted he was returning home after visiting Bedford Tea Gardens in Camden Town, and on hearing the cry of "Murder" had given chase to the three attackers; he was not running away from the scene, nor was he the man wearing the brown overcoat. Furthermore, he suggested that the area where the stabbing took place was badly lit, so Mary Ann Griffiths and Amos Denis could not possibly have seen the faces of any of the attackers and had wrongly identified him. However, both insisted the scene was well lit by three gas lamps and they therefore had a clear view.

Attention was then drawn to the fact that there were no traces of blood on the prisoner's hands or clothes, and it was argued a large quantity would have been present if he had stabbed the officer. However, Mr Holmes testified that this was not necessarily so, as the flow of blood would have been less than normal because of the blade remaining in the wound, and also due to a great deal having soaked into the constable's clothing.

The jury found Sapwell guilty and the death penalty was imposed; in addition he was to be dissected in public following the execution.

During his brief stay in Newgate's condemned cell, Sapwell continued to insist he was innocent. It was feared he might commit suicide, so a watch was kept on him, and on the morning of his execution, 20 September, he told the governor that to avoid the shame of a public hanging he would indeed have attempted to kill himself had the opportunity arisen.

The Execution

As he was being pinioned the Sheriff asked the condemned man if he had anything to say, and he replied "When I make my appearance in the presence of my Maker and he asks me what have you done or who has sent you here, what shall I say?" The Sheriff answered by saying "You have been tried by a jury of your country and convicted of a very serious and atrocious offence. It is for that you are condemned to die". To this, Sapwell said "Very well, then when I appear before my Maker, he will say you have been wrongfully accused and you ought not to be here, however, walk in".

Minutes later, he stood on the gallows and died in a brave and dignified manner. The hanging was witnessed by the largest crowd gathered outside Newgate Gaol for many years, but no police officers were present. The Joint Commissioners, Sir Charles Rowan and Sir Richard Mayne, had issued an order that no officers should attend the execution, as they feared that if recognised, their presence might provoke a serious disturbance, given that the force still did not have the public's full support. Two constables from each division were placed at the approaches to Newgate, with instructions to report any of their colleagues who disobeyed the order.

A Confession

Despite his repeated claims of innocence at the trial and in the days following his conviction, Sapwell wrote a letter to his brother on the eve of his execution, which was handed to a turnkey, who in turn passed

PARTICULARS OF THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF

John Smith, alias Wm. Sapwell,

For the Murder of JOHN LONG the Police-Man, in Gray's Inn-Road,

Who was Executed this MORNING at the OLD BAILEY;

With the Copy of a Letter written to his Brother the Night before his Execution

JOHN SMITH, alias WILLIAM SAPWELL, was indicted at the Old Bailey, on Friday last, for the Wilful Murder of John Long, one of the New Police-Men, on the 16th of August last, in Gray's Inn-lane.—Much was the interest excited upon this occasion, that at an early hour every avenue leading to the court was crowded, and when the prisoner was placed at the bar every place was filled. He was dressed in blue clothes, and seemed perfectly composed and gave his plea of "Not Guilty" in a firm tone.

Top: A broadsheet sold at Sapwell's execution. Bottom: Newgate Prison

it to the intended recipient. In it, Sapwell acknowledged culpability and recognises the justness of his sentence;:

Newgate, Sunday,
Sept 19, 1830.

My Dear Brother, in a few hours I shall be no more, but before I leave this world I have employed a short time in writing to you for the purpose of telling you that my mind is prepared for that dreadful fate I undergo tomorrow morning, bad company first led me to crime and the way of life I was leading hardened my mind and made me indifferent what I did. The horrid crime for which I die was not thought of nor was it the intention to commit Murder, but irritated by the watchfulness of the Police, it was my thought of the moment. The blood of a fellow creature calls for vengeance and Oh that my death may pardon my crime before Almighty God, before whom I am shortly to appear. I acknowledge my guilt and fervently hope that the example I am to make will operate as a caution upon the minds of many who will witness my untimely end. Let your prayers be offered for the salvation of my soul and may my penitence be accepted at the Throne of Mercy. Offer every consolation to my dear wife and in making my last remembrance to my afflicted family, may they soon forget one who has brought such disgrace upon them. I have found much consolation in the advice of the worthy Chaplain and have been taught to believe that God will pardon the most hardened sinner, if he will repent and put their trust in him. Let me therefore beg of you to put your trust in his mercy and when it shall please him to call you hence, you may inherit a place in Heaven where my soul, I fervently pray, take its flight in a short time. Farewell my dear brother and let your prayers be offered up for your wretched brother
WILLIAM SAPWELL.

The issue of Financial Support for Constable Long's Family

On the day after Sapwell's hanging Mr Clarkson, a barrister, was instructed by the Metropolitan Police to make an application at the Old Bailey on behalf of Constable Long's pregnant widow and their five children. Within days of the murder the government announced that Mrs Long would be awarded a pension of ten shillings weekly, and initially a number of donations to help the family were received from members of the public, but these quickly stopped. It was thought that the reason for this was because of a widespread belief that she would automatically receive a further large amount of money from official funds, given the circumstances surrounding her husband's death. However, this was not the case and Mr Clarkson was there to make a formal request that the Court make an order that such a payment should be made to her, knowing full well that this would be refused.

And indeed, that was the decision reached by Mr Justice Bayley who, after consulting with fellow judges, stated that no payment could be made as it had not been demonstrated that at the time of his murder the late constable was about to arrest an individual in the act of committing one of a number of specified offences, namely;

Murder, feloniously shooting, stabbing, cutting and maiming, poisoning, administering drugs to procure a miscarriage, rape, burglary, arson, horse and sheep stealing and other divers crimes,

Mr Clarkson thanked the judge, and explained this was the conclusion he had anticipated, but the sole aim of the application had been to remove the erroneous impression that Mrs Long would receive a considerable sum of money. It was hoped that the public would now support the fund set up for her in greater numbers.

The Dissection of William Sapwell

Sapwell's body had been left hanging for one hour before it was cut down. Initially, it was handed to William Clift of the Hunterian Museum, who performed a preliminary dissection, before being sent to St George's Hospital, where Dr Lane completed the process. The findings of the dissection survive in the following letter, dated 30 September 1830, sent to Robert Keate, Master of the College of Surgeons:

Particular attention was paid to the examination of the basis of the brain and upper part of the spinal marrow and also to the bones and ligaments corresponding in situation to these parts, but no traces of the slightest injury could be discovered. On the Wednesday, two days after his death, on cutting across the abdominal aorta, fluid blood of a venous colour flowed spontaneously from the divided vessel. No other unusual appearance presented itself excepting perhaps the rapidity with which putrefaction proceeded. No coagulum of any description was seen in this body during the dissection nor did the blood, removed from the body and kept in an open vessel for several days, shew any disposition to coagulate. This was another instance in which the heart was beating when the body was received and William Clift makes the following additional note on the findings; There was no crepitus felt in the os hyoides, which as usual appeared to have sustained no injury. About four hours after the body had been cut down the surface of the conjunctiva of both eyes exhibited the following appearance – from the inner to the outer canthus a linear space of about 2 lines in width, appeared as tho' denuded of the membrane – and presented a surface less smooth and glossy that the rest – as if a transverse rupture had divided it – whether this appearance, which was not in the slightest degree evident when the body was first received and while the eyes retained their lustre – might have been the product of the pressure of the tarsal cartilage against the protruded globes which would follow the state of congestion of the vessels of the head and brain, or whether it was really a division of the membrane conjunctiva itself was not to be easily distinguished at the time I observed it.

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MARTIN BAGGOLEY is a retired probation officer, who has written extensively on the history of crime and punishment for magazines in the UK and USA. He is also the author of several books on historical murders and his latest, on the murder of police officers during the Victorian era, is due to be published in the near future. He and his wife Claire live in Ramsbottom.

The Cousins who Became Chief Constables

By TONY MOORE

Mayne is a famous name in policing circles, it being the name of the first Joint Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Along with his younger brother Captain Dawson Mayne, who was the first chief constable of Staffordshire, Richard, or Sir Richard as he later became known, came from the Irish branch of the name, Sedborough Mayne.[1]

But what is not so well known is that two other chief officers of police in England with the same family name were cousins who came from the Scottish branch of the name, Mayne. They were Major Otway Mayne, who was chief constable of Buckinghamshire from 1896 to 1928, and Captain Jasper Mayne, who was chief constable of East Suffolk from 1899 to 1933.

Otway and Jasper were descendants of William Mayne (1671-1756), their great-great grandfather, who owned a substantial estate, Powis and Logie, which nestled in the foothills of the Ochil Hills in Scotland. Their fathers were brothers, sons of Charles Otway Mayne (1780-1857) and Emma Taylor (1796-1869).

Henry Otway Mayne (1819-1861), the father of Otway Mayne, was the second of the ten children born to Charles and Emma. He joined the 6th Madras Cavalry at the age of 19 years and rose to the rank of Major. At some time between 1848 and 1856, he was ADC to the Viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, who was a friend and former army colleague of Colonel Sir Charles Rowan, joint Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police with Sir Richard Mayne. In 1857, Major Henry Mayne founded an irregular cavalry regiment better known by the name of Mayne's Horse, which later became the 1st Regiment of Central India Horse.

Henry had married Mary Ewer Turner (1836-1906) at Agra in India on 18 June 1850. Born on 29 August 1855, Otway Mayne was the third of the couple's five children. Although Henry Mayne left the army in September 1860 he stayed in India, but unfortunately died less than fourteen months later at the age of 42 years, when Otway was a mere 6-years-old.

Meanwhile, Henry's younger brother Charles Thomas Otway Mayne (1835-1878), the last of the ten children born to Charles and Emma, became an officer in the Bengal Staff Corps, and married Augusta Mary Perry at Cheltenham, Gloucestershire on 7 August 1857. Returning to India, her second child, Jasper Graham Mayne, who eventually became Chief Constable of the East Suffolk Constabulary, was born on 9 April 1859. Unfortunately, Augusta died less than three weeks later, on 28 April.[2]

Education and Military Careers

The two cousins were educated in England; Otway at Wellington College and Jasper at Cheltenham College, following which they both joined the army. Otway served with distinction in the Norfolk Regiment - known as the 9th Regiment of Foot until 1881 - in the Jowaki Afridi Expedition on the North-West Frontier, in 1877, the Afghan war of 1879-80, and the Chi-Lushi Expedition, which was an attempt to pacify local tribes by creating a series of military posts on the borders of India and Burma, in 1889. He was severely wounded during this engagement whilst he was attempting to recover the body of Lieutenant Michel, who had been killed in an ambush.[3] He commanded the Regimental Depot at Norwich in 1895 and 1896.[4]

Meanwhile, Jasper was commissioned into the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers in 1879, known as the 27th Regiment of Foot until 1779. He was promoted Lieutenant two years later. In 1886, at the age of 27 years, he was appointed ADC to the Governor of the Strait Settlements, Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld.



L-R: Joint Commissioners Richard Mayne and Charles Rowan, and Commissioner Edward Bradford

Lieutenant Jasper Mayne briefly re-joined his regiment in 1887 and was promoted Captain before taking up an appointment as Acting Military Secretary and ADC to Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa.

In 1891 he returned to England to take up an appointment as an instructor at the School of Musketry in Hythe. A superb marksman, in 1894 he became secretary of the Army Rifle Association, a role he retained until 1924. He was appointed Inspector of Musketry of the Home District in 1896, retiring from the army three years later.[5]

Marriage

Jasper was the first to marry. On 2 August 1886, he married Cecily Mary Agnes Weld (1861-1939), the daughter of his employer, Sir Frederick Weld, at the Cathedral Church of the Good Shepherd in Singapore.[6] By the time Jasper became Chief Constable of East Suffolk in 1899, Cecily had given birth to seven children - four girls and three boys. The couple had three more children, two girls and a boy, after Jasper became chief constable, making ten in total.

Six years after Jasper's marriage, Otway married Helena Emily Nevill, third daughter of Archdeacon Harry Ralph Nevill, on 24 February 1894 at St Luke's Chapel in Norwich Cathedral. The couple had three children, twin daughters in 1897 and another daughter born in 1902.[7]

Becoming Chief Constables

Otway was the first to seek the post of chief constable. Whilst still in the army, he was one of 112 applicants for the Chief Constableship of Kent when the position fell vacant in 1895. Although on the shortlist of six[8] he was not selected, the police authority preferring Lieutenant Colonel Henry Warde.[9]

The following year he was one of 62 applicants who applied for the Chief Constableship of Buckinghamshire, which had been advertised in *The Times* and the *Bucks Herald*, at £300 per annum, with £150 expenses and free accommodation. The Standing Joint Committee reduced the original applicants to a shortlist of five: four army majors, including Otway, and a naval commander. After the five had been interviewed, Otway received the largest number of votes and was duly appointed, taking up his new post on 5 August 1896. Otway's application was supported by, amongst others, the then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Colonel Sir Edward Bradford.[10] It is not clear whether Bradford personally knew Otway Mayne, but he certainly knew Jasper's father. Bradford had served in India for many years and was, at one time, second-in-command of Mayne's Horse, the irregular cavalry regiment founded by Jasper's father Major Henry Otway Mayne. He had been the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police since 1890.

1. tr.scribd.com/doc/75988391/Sedborough-Mayne-of-Ireland accessed 24.06.2017.
2. tr.scribed.com/doc/8164022244/MAYNE-families-of-SCOTLAND accessed 24.06.2017.
3. *Bucks Herald*, 23 January 1915, p.5.
4. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.
5. *Gloucester Citizen*, 9 January 1936, p. 4; *Western Times*, 10 January 1936, p.7.
6. *Bridport News*, 10 September 1886, p. 5.
7. MAYNE-families-of-Scotland, op. cit. 2.
8. All were ex-military – a lieutenant-colonel, 4 majors, and a lieutenant; see *Maidstone Journal and Kent Advertiser*, 23 May 1895, p.5.
9. Stallion, Martin, & Wall, David (1999). *The British Police: Police Forces and Chief Officers 1829-2000*. Police History Society, p. 109.
10. Wilson, John (1987). *Choosing the Chief Constable of Buckinghamshire, 1896*. Journal of the Police History Society. Number 2, pp.40-42.

Just under three years later Jasper sought the post in East Suffolk, which had first formed a police force in 1840 with West Suffolk following six years later, but in June 1869 the two forces virtually became one when the chief constable of East Suffolk, John Hatton, resigned on being made bankrupt.[11] Almost simultaneously, the chief constable for West Suffolk, Captain Edward Syer, announced his retirement. Major Clement Higham was appointed to run both forces, which he did for almost thirty years. However, by 1898 there was dissatisfaction with this arrangement and on Higham's death the West Suffolk Standing Joint Committee decided to revert to a separate force, with its own chief constable.[12] Thus, on 3 March 1899 the East Suffolk Constabulary re-emerged as a separate force, with Captain Jasper Graham Mayne as its chief officer. His salary was reported to be 400 pounds per annum, plus 150 pounds expenses and free rail travel.[13]

For the next twenty-nine years, until Otway's resignation in 1928, the cousins remained in charge of their respective forces. It was a period of huge change and, indeed, progress, brought about by the introduction of the telephone and the motor car. They were also in command of their respective forces during the First World War and its aftermath which saw the 1926 general strike.

Otway Mayne

In his first message to his new force on 5 August 1896, Mayne expressed his hope that he would receive the support of the officers and men. At the same time, he pointed out that he was a strict disciplinarian but would always 'have the interests and comfort of the men under him in mind.' He quickly encouraged superintendents to 'allow the men to come into administrative offices to see how

Otway Mayne

pay-sheets were made up and filing systems operated.'[14] Five years after his appointment divisional stations in Buckinghamshire were connected by telephone, but it was not until 1928 that all police stations and out stations were connected.[15]

A keen horseman, Mayne regularly rode with Lord Rothschild's staghounds[16] and formed a police mounted branch in Buckinghamshire in 1909.[17] He inaugurated the County Police Sports Day in 1903, which quickly became a significant event in Buckinghamshire's social and sporting calendar, the financial proceeds of which went to a variety of charities.[18] The highlight of this annual event during Mayne's time as chief constable was in July 1928, when Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria, sister of King George V, joined 7,000 spectators at what was by then the 20th Bucks Constabulary Sports Day. On this occasion, in addition to watching athletics and tug-of-war, the crowd and guests were entertained by the Band of the 10th (Prince of Wales Own) Royal Hussars.[19]

Royalty visited the county on other occasions whilst Otway was chief constable. Shortly after his appointment he was responsible for the arrangements for the Queen Victoria's State Visit to Buckinghamshire during her Diamond Jubilee Celebrations.[20] In January 1903, he was in attendance when King Edward and the Prince of Wales travelled down from Windsor Castle by car for a day's shooting on the estate of Sir Edward Lawson near Beaconsfield.[21] In July 1907, when King Edward paid a private visit to Halton Manor as guest of Lord Alfred de Rothschild, it was reported that when the King alighted from the Royal Train at Halton he walked towards the chief constable and shook his hand before departing to the Manor in a car provided by Rothschild.[22] Otway was also heavily involved in the arrangements when Princess Mary, only daughter of King George V and Queen Mary, visited Aylesbury in May 1926.[23]

In August 1914, the people of Buckinghamshire quickly realised the country was at war. Military formations passed through the county and many of the restrictions imposed by the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) and the various Aliens Restrictions Orders, issued in August and September, were enforced by the local police. The regulations included the requirement of enemy aliens to register with the police and the designation of certain areas from which aliens were prohibited to reside or visit.

Almost immediately Chief Constable Otway Mayne issued an instruction to superintendents directing constables to be on the lookout 'for aliens travelling at night... for the purpose of committing outrages'. Constables assisted in the guarding of 'vulnerable points' in case they should be attacked by German saboteurs.[24]

In September Mayne ordered one

of his superintendents 'to look into reports of "arms and ammunition secreted at Holmer Green, about 3 miles south of Great Missenden",' where a German firm was alleged to have bored for coal before the war.[25] Nothing was found. In a further memorandum to his superintendents, on 8 October, Mayne passed on an instruction from the Home Office which required police 'at any place within a radius of 60 miles of London' to 'telephone reports of any aircraft seen in their district direct to the War Office.'[26] This included most of Buckinghamshire. In an appointment which, no doubt, was indirectly connected to the war, Mayne was made Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Buckinghamshire on 12 January 1915.[27]

In 1919, based on his long experience – he had, by this time, been a chief constable for 23 years - Otway Mayne gave valuable advice to the Desborough Committee appointed to enquire into pay and conditions in the police service following the unrest that occurred the previous year.

For a number of years he was also Chairman of the Committee of Chief Constables.[28]

Jasper Mayne

During his first year in office Jasper saw the first telephone link introduced, connecting Force Headquarters which were then in County Hall, Ipswich, with Lowestoft. The same year he introduced the police whistle to the force following successful trials in the Metropolitan Police. Helmet badges followed shortly after.[29]

Two years into his appointment, Mayne had cause to complain to the East Suffolk Standing Joint Committee that 'the best material was going to other forces', and pressed for an increase in pay and allowances for all ranks up to and

Jasper Mayne

including superintendent. As a result, the Committee approved increased rates of pay.[30] Four years into his appointment it would appear Jasper saw an opportunity to increase his salary for, in September 1903, he was one of 120 applicants for the post of Chief Constable of Lincolnshire which was being advertised at a salary of £600 per annum, plus £150 expenses. Although he was on the shortlist of 12. he was not selected.[31] Captain Cecil Mitchell-Innes was the successful candidate. After 10 years' service his salary was increased from £400 to £480 per annum.[32]

Like his cousin in Buckinghamshire, Jasper Mayne was keen for members of the East Suffolk Constabulary to be engaged in various sporting activities. In 1905 an annual inter-divisional tug-of-war competition was won by Lowestoft Division, the presentation of the shield being made by Mayne himself.[33] In 1914 Halesworth won the trophy and went on to represent East Suffolk against West Suffolk.[34] The Captain Mayne Shield for the inter-divisional bowls competition was still being played for in 1948.[35] As for himself, Jasper won the Army Rifle Championship, the Middlesex Rifle Championship and the Suffolk Rifle Championship during his time as chief constable.[36]

Unlike Buckinghamshire, where members of the Royal Family were occasional visitors to the county, the same could not be said of East Suffolk. The only time Jasper Mayne was indirectly involved in a royal

11. Stallion & Wall, op. cit. 9, p.83.

12. Jacobs, Leslie C (1992). *Constables of Suffolk: A Brief History of Policing in The County.* Ipswich, Suffolk Constabulary, p.51.

13. *Eastern Evening News*, 1 February 1899, p.2.

14. Hailstone, Alfred G (1957). *Bucks Constabulary Centenary: One Hundred Years Of Law Enforcement In Buckinghamshire: An Historical Survey*. Richmond, Surrey: Dimbleby & Sons, p.30.

15. Ibid, p.30.

16. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.

17. Wilson, op. cit. 10, p.41.

18. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.

19. Ibid, 13 July 1928, p.16.

20. Ibid, 19 June 1897, p. 7.

21. Ibid, 13 July 1928, p.16.

22. Ibid, 27 July 1907, p.6.

23. Ibid, 22 May 1926, p.8.

24. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS), BC/1/5 Buckinghamshire Constabulary Memoranda Book, dated 6 and 8 August, quoted in Holman, Brett (2017). *Constructing the Enemy Within: Rumours of Secret Gun Platforms and Zeppelin Bases* in *Britain: In the British Journal of Military History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.37

25. Ibid, dated 31 August, quoted in Holman, Ibid, p.38

26. Ibid, dated 8 October 1914, quoted in Holman, Ibid, p.39

27. *London Gazette*, 19 January 1915, issue 29044, p.614; see also *Bucks Herald*, 23 January 1915, p.5.

28. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.

29. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, p.69.

30. *Diss Express*, 16 August 1901, p.8.

31. *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 29 September 1903, p.2.

32. *Diss Express*, 14 November 1913, p.8.

33. *Lowestoft Journal*, 2 September 1905, p.7.

34. *Yarmouth Independent*, 11 July 1914, p.8.

35. *Diss Express*, 6 March 1948, p.2.

36. *Belfast News Letter*, 9 January 1936, p.14.

visit was in August 1911. When King George V visited Norwich, in the adjacent county of Norfolk, Mayne loaned 74 police officers to help out the Norwich City Police.[37]

Jasper Mayne became embroiled in the spy mania that hit Britain on the outbreak of the First World War, particularly after the fall of Belgium. The DORA gave the police wide-ranging powers. At a meeting attended by representatives of the people of East Suffolk which was arranged by the County Council on 7 August, Mayne announced:

> *'All aliens, of whatever nationality, naturalised or not, were required to report at once to the nearest police-officer, who would direct them to the registration office of his district. All householders having any aliens residing with them were required to report at once to the nearest police-officer, who would direct such householders to the registration office of his district. All Germans were alien enemies; all other aliens were alien friends for the present.'* [38]

When refugees from Antwerp started arriving in East Suffolk, Jasper Mayne's first reaction was to 'get them out of here' because 'there could be spies amongst those refugees'.[39] So when fishing boats carrying 1,900 destitute Belgians arrived in Lowestoft, they were quickly 'classified by local police' and temporarily housed before being 'despatched to London by train.'[40] Accused of being 'rather obsessive about spies',[41] Mayne identified 137 'aliens in the "enemy" category' and ordered them to leave.[42]

One such case had very unfortunate consequences. Reporting on two 'suspects' to the General Officer Commanding the East Anglian Division, Jasper Mayne wrote:

> *'They were suspiciously regarded by the police and general public and, though neither has committed any definite offence, I have arrived at the conclusion that there is justification for their removal from the 'Prohibited Area' which has been extended and now embraces the whole of the County of Suffolk. Both men are undoubtedly pro-German in conversation, behaviour and sympathy, and, in my opinion, should a German landing be effected, they would help the enemy.'* [43]

One of the two was William Smith, the highly-regarded headmaster of Henham and Wangford School. As a consequence, in November a notice signed by Jasper Mayne was served on Smith, ordering him to leave the county. Smith had lived in Suffolk for 30 years but originally came from Devon. Before the war he had visited his son Ted, who was living in Aachen in Germany to study the language. His wife Alma was also a teacher at the school and the couple had had, on occasions, German students staying temporarily at their home on exchange visits.[44] Two days after receiving the notice William Smith committed suicide by cutting his throat. Mayne appeared before the Coroner at the inquest but refused to divulge the reasons why such a notice had been served on Smith, claiming it was against the national interest. In his summing up, the Coroner expressed the view that the police had acted on rumour rather than conducting a proper investigation. In returning a verdict of suicide whilst of unsound mind, the jury added a rider, claiming 'that the police' were 'very much to blame for not obtaining local information before acting on suspected rumour.'[45]

But that was not the end of the tragedy. Just over two months later the body of William's wife Alma was found hanging from the bannister of the Schoolhouse in Henham. She too, had committed suicide.[46]

At the end of 1914, Mayne issued an order 'that all lights visible from the sea shall be effectively obscured and no person shall show a light on the seashore or adjoining land, under liability to instant arrest; while the coast guard patrol have orders to fire on anybody found signalling.'[47]

Early in 1919 the retirement of four superintendents, all with around forty years' service, gave Mayne the opportunity to reduce the number of divisions from six to four; Ipswich, Eye, Halesworth and Lowestoft. Because of the many important duties he had carried out during the war, as a result of which he 'had earned the high praise of the military authorities', his salary was increased by £200 per annum.[48]

The only town affected by the General Strike of 1926 within the East Suffolk geographical area was Ipswich, where the docks made it of some importance. When dock workers attempted to prevent lorries being loaded with food produce and driven away it was necessary for the police to keep order and to escort the food lorries to their destinations. The Borough Force did not have sufficient manpower to undertake this alone and, in addition to the enrolment of thirteen hundred special constables, were assisted by 160 men from other forces. Jasper's contribution was a sergeant and 26 constables, who were accommodated at County Hall and the adjacent county jail. In October, for the miners' strike in Derbyshire, Mayne sent fifty men to Ilkeston under the command of an inspector, where they were billeted in a school.[49]

By 1926 he had gained a reputation of being an expert on the testing of motor vehicle speeds and avoiding legal and procedural pitfalls which might jeopardise convictions. But two years later he still had only one Wolseley car to patrol the whole of the East Suffolk police area and pointed out to the East Suffolk Standing

Committee that:

> *'The British Highway has become the most dangerous track on earth and it is now mere platitude to remark on the appalling number of accidents, personal injuries and death which hourly occur on it.'*

At the same time he told the Committee that, with its present establishment, it was beyond the capability of police to enforce motor legislation, and asked for a second Wolseley patrol car.[50] By 1931, the Constabulary had two Morris Oxford cars, four Borough Superior motor-cycle combinations, and two B.S.A. motor-cycle combinations.[51]

Following a recommendation by His Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, Major-General Sir Llewellyn Atherley, to replace the old Victorian buildings, Mayne oversaw 'an ambitious building programme for new stations at Woodbridge, Felixstowe and Eye, with Beccles to follow a little later.'

Commencing in 1930, the Force also purchased twelve of the new police boxes, each of which was linked by telephone to the nearest police station. Seven were placed around Lowestoft, three around Felixstowe and two at Woodbridge. By 1931, a Criminal Investigation Department had been firmly established.[52]

There were many attempts to introduce women police into the East Suffolk Constabulary, but even as late as 1933 Mayne 'emphasised and reiterated his dislike for women in the service.'[53] Nevertheless, he did recognise the part played by the wives of officers in his final annual report for 1932, the last full year in which he served as Chief Constable. He paid tribute to 'the village constable of today and his family', who 'set a high example of good character and orderly living, thus winning the confidence and respect of the local people generally of the villages comprising the rural beat.' He 'added his warm testimony of the helpfulness of police officers' wives to their husbands in the discharge of their duties.'

Walton Lodge, Aylesbury, the home of Otway Mayne

In the same report, he called for the training of a certain number of officers 'in equitation to enable them to act as mounted police', pointing out that 'in the case of serious disturbance in any populace place police on horses afford the most valuable means of breaking-up and disorganising mobs and countering mob violence.'[54]

Awards

Otway Mayne received the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee Medal in 1897, the King George V Coronation Medal in 1911,[55] and was awarded the King's Police Medal in the New Year's Honours List for 1915.[56]

Jasper was awarded the King's Police Medal for services to the police in the New Years' Honours List of 1916.[57]

Otway was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in the Birthday Honours List for 1918.[58] The citation suggested that in addition to undertaking the strenuous duties of Chief Constable

37. *Norfolk News*, 19 August 1911, p.3.
38. *Diss Express*, 14 August1914, p.8.
39. Russell, Steven (2009). Suffolk's secret spy-mania shame. In *East Anglian Times*, 13 July.
40. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, p.71.
41. Russell, op. cit. 39.
42. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, p.71.
43. Quoted in Boghardt, Thomas (2005). *Spies of the Kaiser: German Covert Operations in Britain During the First World War.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, p.76)
44. Rigby, Jane. *False Rumours. The Surname Society* at www.surname-society.org accessed on 17 May 2018.
45. *Suffolk and Essex Free Press*, 18 November 1914, p.7.
46. *Framlingham Weekly News*, 23 January 1915, p.4.
47. *Birmingham Mail*, 1 January 1915, p.3.
48. *Diss Express*, 28 February 1919, p.5.
49. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, p.75.
50. Ibid, p. 76.
51. *Diss Express*, 13 February 1931, p.7.
52. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, pp. 77-78.
53. Ibid, p.78.
54. *Diss Express*, 15 September 1933, p.2.
55. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.
56. *London Gazette*, 1 January 1915, Issue 29024, p.4.
57. *London Gazette*, 31 December 1915, issue 29423, p.85.
58. *London Gazette*, 7 June 1918, supplement 30730, p.6207.

during the First World War, he had willingly undertaken important work on behalf of the Home Office.[59]

Although there is no record of it, it is possible that Jasper also received the King George V Coronation Medal, simply by virtue of the office he held. In his capacity as Chief Constable of East Suffolk he became an OBE in 1920.[60] However, when he was raised to the rank of CBE in the Birthday Honours List of 1924, it was in his capacity as secretary of the Army Rifle Association.[61]

In retirement

Following his retirement as chief constable of Buckinghamshire on 9 September 1928, Otway and his wife Emily continued to reside at the address where they had lived virtually since arriving in the county, Walton Lodge, Aylesbury. They were regular worshippers at Aylesbury Parish Church. For the first few years, until her death in 1906, Otway's mother Mary lived with them.

Although he had retired from the police, for at least four years after his retirement he continued to take an active part in the administration of justice in Buckinghamshire. On 8 October, only four weeks after his retirement, he was made a Magistrate of the County. He was empanelled as a member of the Grand Jury at the Bucks Winter Assizes in 1929[62] and sat regularly on the bench at the Aylesbury Petty Sessions.[63] Also, in his capacity as Vice President of the Buckinghamshire Branch of Council for the Preservation of Rural England, he campaigned against any threats to the countryside.[64]

During his later years, Otway became interested in the wider Mayne family and communicated with several distant relatives. He was particularly interested in the Otways, his great grandmother's family, and the Byrd family of Virginia in the United States, who were related by marriage to his great grandmother's family.[65]

Following Otway's death his widow continued to reside at Walton Lodge until her own passing on 17 February 1951.[66] Some four months after her mother's death, their eldest daughter Aurea presented 'a magnificent banner of St George and the Dragon' embroidered in 'pure Indian gold and Chinese silk' in memory of her father and mother to Aylesbury Parish Church.[67]

Following his retirement as chief constable of East Suffolk in early May 1933, Jasper Mayne left the county and retired with his wife to Devon, where they lived at Gidleigh Park, Gidleigh, Chagford. But his retirement was relatively short, for less than three years later, on 6 January 1936, he died, at the age of 76 years.[68] His wife Cecily died just over three years later, on 30 September 1939, at the age 78 years.[69]

Conclusion

The two cousins spent a combined total of 66 years as chief constables, but there is no evidence that they were particularly close. Otway Mayne was described as 'a gentleman of fine bearing and presence, and undoubted gift for leadership, he always commanded the respect and esteem.' In a letter of appreciation to *The Times* following his death Lord Lugard, who had served as a young officer in the Norfolk Regiment with Otway, claimed it had been said of Mayne that 'his judgment was always sound because he only saw two sides of a question, right or wrong – whatever the right might cost.'[70] Jasper was described in a similar way as having 'been a most effective leader, much revered by his men and his departure to his native Devon was greeted with great regret.'[71]

59. *Bucks Herald*, 15 June 1918, p.5.

60. *London Gazette*, 26 March 1920, supplement 31840, p.3796.

61. *London Gazette*, 30 May 1924, supplement 32941, p. 4415.

62. *Bucks Herald*, 18 January 1929, p.6.

63. See, for instance, *Bucks Herald*, 21 March 1930, p. 9; 31 October 1930, p. 11; 21 March 1931, p.6, and 19 May 1933, p. 11.

64. *Bucks Herald*, 3 November 1939, p.1.

65. MAYNE-families-of-SCOTLAND, op. cit. 2.

66. *Bucks Herald*, 23 February 1951, p.8.

67. *Bucks Herald*, 20 July 1951, p. 1.

68. *Western Morning News*, 9 January 1936, p.4.

69. MAYNE-families-of-SCOTLAND, op. cit. 2.

70. Reprinted in the *Bucks Herald*, 17 November 1939, p.2.

71. Jacobs, op. cit. 12, p.79.

The author acknowledges the assistance given by Roger Young in supplying some information on Major Otway Mayne.

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TONY MOORE, a member of the Police History Society, was a serving officer with the Metropolitan Police from 1958 to 1986.

The Teapot and Police Constable 107 William Lawrence

By MICK SHAW

'P.C. William Lawrence FROM THE OFFICERS AND CONSTABLES OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION BUCKS CONSTABULARY ON HIS RETIREMENT Oct. 1896'

The above was engraved on a teapot found by Bill and Vivienne Rhodes when they were having a clear-out at their home in Loughborough. Unable to really remember how it came in their possession, possibly purchased at an auction in a job lot some years ago, they contacted me via my website on the Buckinghamshire Constabulary. After several exchanges by email they decided they would like to donate the teapot to the Milton Keynes Police Museum. At this time, October 2017, the museum had just been packed away to allow improvements to Central Milton Keynes Police Station, where the museum was located. The improvements are expected to take two years. As all the exhibits are now in storage I agreed to keep it at my home until such time it could be added to the collection and, while in my care, I decided to do some research - both into the teapot and also the recipient, PC William Lawrence.

The Teapot

At the bottom of the teapot are the markings 'J.D & S', which appears to be the makers. Research on the internet revealed it is one of two makers who had the initials JD & S, one being James Dixon and Sons, the other James Deakins and Sons.

The symbol on the far right of the engraving confirmed it to be the latter; James Dixon had a trumpet as their symbol.

Between the initials and symbol are the letters 'EP', which mean electroplated and the number S7590 4. So I had now discovered that although the teapot first appeared to be pewter, it was now in fact silver plated. I used a small amount of silver polish on the bottom and it confirmed that it was silver under the blackened area. You can also see small amounts of silver on the lid decorations; the

The teapot lid and the engraved retirement tribute to PC William Lawrence

rest of the teapot has possibly been polished over the years, eventually removing most of the silver plate.

I can imagine how proud both William and his wife would have been of this teapot, probably not using it day-to-day but for special occasions only and when they had visitors. When not in use it would have been proudly on display and regularly cleaned.

I will go into what I have been able to find out about PC William Lawrence in detail later, but he served all his service on the Northern Division of the Buckinghamshire Constabulary, so now the teapot has, in a way, arrived home.

When I first joined Thames Valley Police in 1979 I was posted to Newport Pagnell and given the letter 'D' to wear on my shoulder epaulets along with my number. Newport Pagnell, along with Wolverton, Bletchley and Buckingham, is on the North of the Thames Valley Police area. The 'D' stood for 'D' Division. Thames Valley Constabulary (later Thames Valley Police) was formed in 1968 and was made up by amalgamating five police forces, one being Buckinghamshire. These days the 'D' has been removed and the northern area, slightly changed, is now known as 'Milton Keynes', but as I have said the teapot has now arrived home, eventually to be displayed in Milton Keynes Police Station.

◆

William Lawrence was not an easy person to research. I had his full police record of service on my computer (which I had researched sometime in the past)m and this, put together with internet research and ewspaper articles (found by Roger Young), allowed me to piece together some details of his life. In other areas I have used a certain amount of minor but obvious assumptions and interpretations from the researched documents and information to help complete a fuller picture of his life.

Police Constable 107 William Lawrence

William Lawrence was born in Little Hinton, Wiltshire in May 1841 to William and Emma, who had three other children: Elizabeth aged 11, Hannah aged 5 and George aged 3. Their father William worked as a labourer. Also living with the family was William's paternal grandfather, also named William, who was 76-years-old, and John, William senior's son, uncle to the children. William junior was baptised at St. Swithun Church, Little Hinton on 30th May 1841 by the rector John Harington. The family was completed in 1845 with the birth of David.

Six years after William was born his grandfather died. Later, John appears to have moved out, leaving the family of five until 1857, when Hannah married George Gardner, and it would appear that Elizabeth became a housemaid for James and Elizabeth Black at Charlton Cottage, Bishopstone, just a short distance from the family home.

On leaving school William joined his father as an agricultural labourer, eventually becoming a carter, transporting goods around and from the farm, but eventually he decided to move to Battersea, south London where he worked for the South Western Railway Company.

Still not happy with his occupation, at the age of 29 William joined the Buckinghamshire Police. I'm not sure why he picked Buckinghamshire, but he became a 3rd Class Constable on 31st August 1870. On joining he was described as 5 feet 9 inches tall, of stout build, with a fresh complexion and dark brown hair. He was recorded as unmarried with no children.

After his initial training he was posted to the North Western Division of Padbury on the 15th October 1871 and in January the following year was promoted to a 2nd Class Constable. This promotion also included a rise in pay.

It is difficult to say how or when he met his wife Elizabeth, who was around 22-years-old, but they moved in together during his posting to Padbury, which is more than

likely when they married, as being unmarried would not have been tolerated in the police force during this period, unless there were very extenuating circumstances.

Elizabeth was born in Ludgershall, Wiltshire, which is not too far from Williams's birth place, and they possibly met during his visits to his parents' home.

Towards the latter part of 1873 their daughter Elizabeth Emma was born and the new family continued to live in Padbury until William was posted to Sherington on 15th April 1874.

Sherington is a village just outside Newport Pagnell, where the new police station had been completed a year earlier, also including a Magistrates' Court. The police station also housed the local police inspector as well as having four cells, and at the back a stable and hayloft to house the inspector's horse and chaise.

The total cost to build the police station in 1872 was £1,400. It is still in use today, although not open to the public and the inspector no longer lives on the premises; the Magistrates' Court is also no longer used. There is a modern, purpose-built Police Station and a Magistrates' Court in Central Milton Keynes. The picture below shows a photograph of the police station taken around 1908.

On 11th October 1875 William's promotion to 1st Class constable was confirmedm which again included a small but welcome pay rise.

On 29th March 1876, along with Constable 68 Charles Morgan, William found himself up in front of the Chief Constable Captain Tyrwhitt Drake (the 'Captain' being an army rank) for returning home under the influence of drink from the Newport Pagnell Steeple Chase. The general order, written in red ink, stated:

Police Constable 107 William Lawrence for returning home under the influence of drink from the Newport Pagnell Steeple Chases on the 27th instant is severely reprimanded, only on account of this being the first report made against this constable during a period of seven years' service.

Signed J.C. Tyrwhitt-Drake, Chief Constable.

A similar general order was also written with regard to Constable Charles Morgan.

Later that same year William and Elizabeth's second child came along, this time a boy named Frederick William.

On 27th January the following year William received a second disciplinary, but this time he was dealt with more harshly. The General Order read:

Police Constable 107 William Lawrence is reduced to 2nd class constable from the 20th instant for being drunk on that day.

Signed J.C. Tyrwhitt-Drake, Chief Constable.

Also included in this incident was Constable 102 David Merriden, who received a fine of 2/6 for the same offence. The reduction in rank for William also meant a reduction in pay at a time he really needed the money for his growing family.

On 12th February 1877 he was posted to Winslow, still within the Northern Division. This could have been as a result of his disciplines and also to remove him from the influence of the other officers at Newport Pagnell. It was common practice to move officers to other stations after a few years, but it is likely his drinking habits influenced this particular move.

While living at Winslow, their third child, Mary Jane, was born on 20th October 1877. William was still a 2nd Class Constable and, now keeping out of trouble, he was to receive no further disciplines during his service.

This same year saw the death of his father.

4th June 1879 saw another posting, still on the Northern Division, this time to Drayton Parslow. It was during this posting that William was to see his promotion jump two years later from a 2nd Class constable to Merit Class. The General Order read:

Chief Constable's Office, Aylesbury, 22nd January 1881.

The Chief Constable has much pleasure in promoting from this date inclusive Police Constable 107 William

Lawrence from 2nd to Merit Class for the zeal and perseverance displayed by him in apprehending Joseph Keen at Mr Daunceys house Little Horwood at about 1am on the 12th December last.

Signed J.C. Tyrwhitt-Drake, Chief Constable.

Two jumps in rank meant a considerable and welcome pay rise for William and his family.

The newspaper article below give an account of the incident:

Bucks Herald of 18 December 1880:

WINSLOW. Conviction of a Notorious Poacher. —At the Police-court, on Wednesday (before E. W. S.

Lowndes, Esq., and G. R. Greaves, Esq.), Joseph Keen, bricklayer, of Stewkley, was brought up in custody charged with being found on enclosed premises belonging to P. Dauncey, Esq., at Little Horwood, on the inst., for an unlawful purpose; also with assaulting P.C. Lawrence in the execution of his duty, at the same time and place. P.C. Lawrence deposed that he was on duty near Mr. Dauncey's house, and while standing in the carriage drive, near the front of the house, at about a quarter past one in the morning, he saw the prisoner coming towards the gate. Seeing Lawrence he, however, ran away, witness pursuing. When witness got nearly up to him he turned round, saying, "Look out" and immediately witness was struck by a stone in the chest, and was ultimately knocked down by one. He got up and followed the prisoner, who again attacked him with stones, but the witness getting within reach of him knocked him down with his stick and secured him. On visiting the place next morning with Sergt. Bowden, they found a formidable "jemmy" on the ground where the struggle took place, and in the spinney they took up twenty-one snares, seven of which held rabbits. The Magistrates dismissed the charge under the Vagrants' Act; and convicted the prisoner of the assault on the policeman, and being a very old offender, he was sent to gaol for six months' hard labour.

November 23rd was to see another move for the family as William was posted to Lavendon, still on the Northern Division. This was to be his final posting during his service.

William decided to retire in 1896 and applied for his police pension. The General Order read:

Chief Constable's Office Aylesbury, 20th October 1896:

Merit Class Police Constable 71 John Spall and 107 William Lawrence, having this day been granted pensions of £48.10.8 and £45.2.8 respectively by the Standing Joint Committee to take effect on the 26th inst. will be struck off the strength of the force from that date inclusive

sd/ Otway Mayne Major, Chief Constable.

(Notice the signature of the Chief Constable. Captain Tyrwhitt Drake retired this same year (1896), to be replaced by Major Otway Mayne.)

Having spent his entire service of 26 years on the Northern Division he was well known and respected by officers, sergeants and constables on the Division who presented him with the teapot engraved:

'P.C. William Lawrence FROM THE OFFICERS AND CONSTABLES OF THE NORTHERN DIVISION BUCKS CONSTABULARY ON HIS RETIREMENT Oct. 1896'

Unfortunately, in my collection of over 2,000 Bucks Constabulary photographs I do not have a confirmed photograph of PC 107 William Lawrence, but the photograph opposite was taken between January and August 1896 and contains the majority of the Northern Division, so it is almost certain that he is present as he retired in October that year.

You will see from the legend at that I have managed to identify a number of the officers, and the ones marked N/K are the ones I have not managed to name as yet as I cannot see their collar numbers and I do not recognise them from other photographs I have.

I have managed to date the photograph by working out when all the officers I have been able to name, were on the Division together. This date is between January and August 1896, so as William retired in October it is highly likely he is in the photo.

The photograph contains 25 officers. I have named fourteen of them, leaving eleven. Two of the eleven are senior officers, and two are sergeants. Now we are left with seven.

William is described on joining the force as five feet nine and a half inches tall and of stout build. He would have been 55-years-old when this photograph was taken. That would rule out the two unnamed officers in the front row, who appear to be far too young.

The unnamed constables on the back row I have lettered 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D' and 'E'. Constable 'D' looks younger than 55, ruling him out.

PC 59 is Eliab Batchelor, recorded as being five feet ten inches tall, and comparing his height along with constables 'A' and 'B', they look slightly taller, leaving constable 'C', who is slightly shorter, and constable 'E', who looks a lot shorter, so that would suggest that constable 'C' could be William Lawrence. This is all assuming they are standing on level ground, so really pure guess work, and until I can confirm the officer 'C' is PC 107 William Lawrence the officer will continue as being unnamed.

Back to William, who with his family continued to live in Lavendon after his retirement.

He died during the summer of 1927, the event recorded in the District of Newport Pagnell, so he was probably

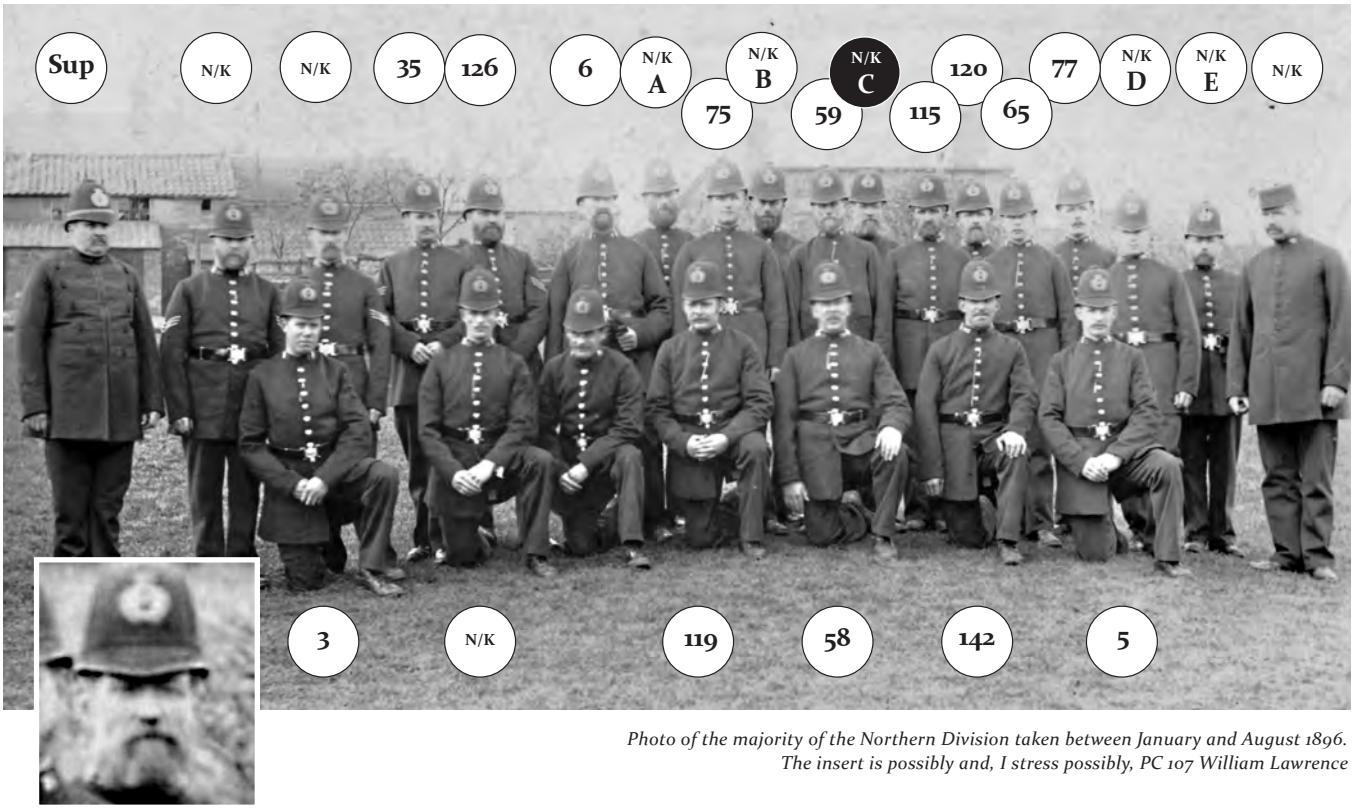


Photo of the majority of the Northern Division taken between January and August 1896. The insert is possibly and, I stress possibly, PC 107 William Lawrence

still living in Lavendon. He is not buried in the grave yard there or at St Peter and Paul cemetery at Olney.

It would have been nice to complete the story, but all my research has been negative on his place of burial.

◆

I have added below a selection of newspaper articles sent to me by Roger Young, showing the type of incidents dealy with by PC Lawrence and other officers at the time:

At Sherington: John Nichols. 16, shoemaker, and John Chaplin, 18, shoemaker, were charged with breaking and entering the dwelling-house of George Hackle, at Sherington, on the 16th February, 1876, and stealing 1 watch and 1 scarf, value 10/-., the property of the said George Huckle. Chaplin pleaded guilty. Mr. O'Malley prosecuted. Ann Huckle, daughter of the prosecutor, deposed that she left her father's house the afternoon, with no one in it, having previously locked the door. When about two hundred yards from the house, on the road to Sherington, she saw the prisoners, with Thomas Hine, get over fence into their garden. She watched them, and saw Hine get over the fence back again. She went to Sherington, where she afterwards saw all three go into the Castle public-house. She then returned home, where she found that the staple had been burst off the door, and was lying in the passage. She then went upstairs, and found a clothes box turned over. She looked in, and was missing a watch, and scarf, which had been on the stairs. She went to Olney next day where she saw him, and afterwards saw them get together. She was subsequently taken by Thomas Chaplin to the public-house, where he gave her the watch and scarf. No one was present at the time. P.C. William Lawrence deposed that he went to Ann Huckle's house, at Sherington, and afterwards to Olney, where he apprehended John Nichols. Another constable arrested Thomas Chaplin. John Nichols said, "I was there but I never touched anything." John Nichols' statement, made before the committing magistrates, was then read, after which his Lordship summed up, and the jury found the prisoners guilty, each of whom was sentenced to six months' hard labour.

Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press, 1 July 1893

◆

James Orpin, who did not appear, was charged with a similar offence, at Lavendon, on June 17. The case was proved police constable Lawrence, who deposed to defendant using profane language in the public street for about twenty minutes, and refusing to desist. There was a long list of about twelve previous convictions against defendant. Fined 2/- and 11/6 costs, or 7 days.

Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press, 9 September 1893

◆

James Harris, who did not appear was charged with using obscene language at Newton Blossomville, on August 27. Police constable Lawrence deposed that at a quarter to eleven at night defendant was making a great noise in the public road, and using disgusting and profane language. Witness asked him to go home quietly, but he still

continued to use the language, and was very abusive. Before he would desist, witness had to threaten to lock him up. There had been several complaints against him. He had had beer, but was hardly drunk. Fined 2/6 and 14/- costs, or 6 days.

Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press, 30 June 1894

◆

Arthur Clayton, who did not appear, was charged with a similar offence at the same time and place.—Police constable Lawrence deposed that he was in company with Sergeant Stevens, and met the defendant with the defendant in the last case searched him and found he carried one rabbit and a net, which was damp as if recently used. The rabbit was warm. Witness asked him his name, which he gave.—There were 17 previous convictions against this defendant.—Fined 11/-, or two months' hard labour.

◆

It is worth a mention that when William joined the Bucks Constabulary in August 1870 the 'Top Hat' police officers initially wore had been replaced by the helmet but not quite the same as the ones in the above photograph. I have added this photograph, which you will note has the Victoria Crown, to show the helmet William would have been issued with during the early days of his career.

◆

MICK SHAW has been retired from Thames Valley Police for the past 6 years, having served 33 years. He served 17 years as the village Constable for Hanslope and became interested in the Bucks Constabulary and police history in general during 1994, when the local school staged a display on the formation of the Hanslope Parish Council in 1894. As Area Beat Officer of Hanslope Mick was asked to assist with a small display on the police from that period and in particular the village constable. He wrote to the Records Office at Aylesbury and was informed that the officer's name was PC 42 Joseph Lorton. Amazed at the information held on Lorton, even the colour of his eyes, Mick decided to research all the village constables since the formation of the Bucks Constabulary back in 1857. He found that he was the 39th constable. From there he became hooked and started his research; at this point in time he has well over 2,000 photographs and around the same number of full or part records of service of police officers who served in the Bucks Constabulary up until the amalgamation in 1968. Visit his website: www.mkheritage.co.uk/bch.

APPEAL FOR INFORMATION: STEVEN SHEPHERD

PHS member Keith Skinner and a friend are preparing a script for a short film exploring the circumstances surrounding a notorious Wigan tragedy which occurred in the winter of 1967. An 11-year-old boy, Steven Shepherd, disappeared from his home in January 1967 after a visit to the local cinema, sparking off a huge national search as the police suspected foul play in the light of the recent Moors Murders.

It was the first time a reconstruction of a missing person was used on television.

The investigation was led by Supt Harold Prescott of the Lancashire County Police. In March 1967 the remains of Steven's body were found in a ditch next to strawberry fields in the West Lancashire village of Newburgh, ten miles away from Steven's home. Abduction and murder were ruled out and it was surmised his death was the end result of bullying he had received at school.

Keith would be grateful if any PHS Members who might have first-hand knowledge around the case could contact him on:

156 Church Road, Teddington, Middlesex, TW11 8QL
07950 303895
keithskinner17@btinternet.com

From Imprisonment to Patrol

The Role of Some Suffragettes in the Development of Women Policing

By DR CLIFFORD WILLIAMS

The early history of policewomen in England is complex, with many different approaches by women involved, and views expressed by the authorities. This is partly a reflection of the involvement, or otherwise, of suffragettes and suffragists in the formation of women's preventative patrols and the Women Police Service. Some of these women had been imprisoned before the First World War but became key figures in the development of police women. At the end of the First World War their suffragette activities still cast a shadow on whether they were accepted by the police establishment.

Mary Sophia Allen (1878-1964) became a suffragette after being inspired by a speech by Miss Annie Kenney. We do not know the exact date but it is believed to have been 1907.[1] By 1909 Mary was fully involved in the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union). The WSPU was the more militant suffragette organisation, and had broken away from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) in 1903. Generally the suffragettes refer to those who took action like members of the WSPU, and suffragists were supporters of reform but not supporters of criminal activities (e.g. the NUWSS).

In 1909 Mary Allen was an active militant and she was imprisoned three times that year.[2] Following her release after being on hunger strike in July 1909 she was presented with the WSPU hunger strike medal. Her third and final arrest, in November 1909, followed an incident where she broke a window at the Inland Revenue Offices in Bristol.[3]

Between the second and third terms of imprisonment she represented the WSPU on an inspection of Holloway Prison led by the Labour M.P. Keir Hardie in August 1909.[4] Mary went on to be a leading proponent of women police.

The outbreak of war led the suffragist and suffragette movement to suspend activities and support the war effort. Some helped to establish the first women police organisations! This unusual step was seen as an appropriate move based upon experience of being handled (literally) by the male police. Many of these women felt that women dealt with by the police should be handled by women. They also felt strong and tough enough to do what many perceived as only work fit for men.

It would be wrong to suggest that the relationship between the suffragettes and the police was always one of conflict. The militant and criminal activity of many did naturally bring women before the courts, but peaceful suffrage activity was often 'policed' by the police in a way that enabled the women's safety. In Portsmouth, for example, in 1914 the suffragette Nina Boyle and supporters who had come under attack from a mob were saved by the Portsmouth police and taken to safety in the police station.[5] In a march to London by non-militants in 1913, Harriet Blessley wrote in her diary;

> *'Police very friendly and prove easy converts. They have us for a day out, push our bicycles and assist with banners.'* [6]

1. Nina Boyd (2013) F*rom Suffragette to Fascist; The many lives of Mary Sophia Allen* (The History Press, Stroud). Page 23.

2. Boyd (2013) *op cit* Chapter 3 'Suffering in the cause of womankind'.

3. Boyd (2013) p 36.

4. Boyd (2013) p 41.

5. *Portsmouth Evening News* 13 June 1914: 'Police shelter suffragettes from angry mob'. Further reported in memoirs of Nina Boyle (*Portsmouth Evening News,* 30 November 1932).

6. Harriet Blessley Diary 13.7-27.7.1913 (Portsmouth History Centre 1155A) The entry refers to 17 Jul 1913 and the police are Hampshire Constabulary.

At the start of the Great War, Nina Boyle of the Women's Freedom League (a breakaway from the WSPU) offered to recruit women as special constables. She was concerned that the Contagious Diseases Act (which forced women to be inspected and treated for venereal disease) would be reintroduced as a wartime measure, and she wanted to ensure women had some influence on how and if it was used. Her offer of recruiting women specials was turned down by the Metropolitan Commissioner of Special Constabulary, Sir Edward Ward. Boyle heard about Margaret Damer Dawson and her progress in establishing the Women Police Volunteers (WPV) and decided to join forces with her.[7]

While Damer Dawson did persuade the government to use her women police for roles at munitions factories, the government and some police forces, including the Metropolitan Police Force, looked more favourably on the voluntary patrols of the National Union Of Women Workers (NUWW). The NUWW Women's Volunteer Patrols (WVP) even received a subsidy in 1917 from the Met Police and their supervisor, Mrs Sofia Stanley, later became the leader of the Met Police Women's Department set up after World War One.

The WPV set up by Dawson included a number of former suffragettes; Olive Watson, Dora Meeson Coates and Isobel Goldingham amongst them, as well as Mary Allen.

Nina Boyle's WFL also included Edith Watson. In 1913 both had been part of a riverside demonstration outside Parliament, where from a pleasure barge Nina addressed members of Parliament taking tea on the terrace. A police launch was summonsed but was too late to catch the suffragettes.[8] In 1914 Boyle and Watson adopted the names Ann Smith and Edyth Smythe (or Edith Smith depending on which account you read), and together with three other women (all Smyth!) chained themselves together in Marlborough Street Police Court. This followed a magistrate, Frederick Mead, refusing to allow women sit in 'his' court as spectators. Boyle and Watson had been concerned about the treatment in court of women and children witnesses and victims. The five chained together were all arrested.[9]

Edith Watson donned the WPV uniform in September 1914 and strolled outside the Old Bailey in full uniform.[10]

Nina Boyle and Damer Dawson soon had different views on how the women should be deployed; Boyle was very much opposed to the strict moral enforcement role with which the Contagious Diseases Act was concerned. She also did not want the women to work under the direction of male police. When put to a vote of the WPV corps, Dawson received the vast majority of those attending. Only three voted for Boyle.[11]

The first actual employment of women in uniform 'on actual police duty' was in November 1914, in Grantham.[12] Here, Mary Allen and Ellen Harburn patrolled in darkness and along muddy streets and lanes. General Hammersley wrote in January 1915 that

> *'The services of the two ladies... have proved of great value. They have removed sources of trouble to the troops in a manner that the military police would not attempt. Moreover, I have no doubt whatever the work of these ladies, in an official capacity, is a great safeguard to the moral welfare of young girls in the town'.*[13]

Harburn and Allan were succeeded by Miss Teed and Mrs Smith. In November 1915, Mrs Edith Smith was sworn in and became the first such appointed police woman in Britain.

Ellen Harburn, a suffragette, had been born Ellen Frances Haarbleicher in 1864 in Chorlton, Lancashire. In 1901 she was living with her 60-year-old widowed mother in Fulham. There are a number of references to her in *The Suffragette*.[14] She changed her surname at the beginning of the war as anti-German feelings were strong. Harburn was later awarded the MBE for her police work in the war.

Isobel Frances Goldingham was a former WSPU hunger striker. She had been born in India in 1874 to an army family.[15] She was known as Toto to her close friends. She also was awarded the MBE for her work during the war.

Dora Meeson Coates had been in the Artists' Suffrage League (ASL), formed in January 1907. She was an Australian designer of stained glass. The ASL created propaganda materials.[16]

Olive Walton had been imprisoned for window-breaking. In 1914 she was photographed when arrested in Dundee, after she tried to throw a petition into the King's carriage during a Royal visit to the city.[17]

None of these former suffragettes were welcomed at the end of the war when some police forces, including the Metropolitan Police, established their first full-time women police sections.

Less militant suffragists of the former NUWSS may well have joined the women police patrols or even the WPS, and because they did not have criminal records and association with the law-breaking activities of the WSPU, they may have gone on to become police women. Papers relating to voluntary patrols by the NUWW (which later was called The National Council of Women (NCW)) are held by the Metropolitan Police Heritage Centre.[18]

Examination of correspondence

WW1 postcard The Converted Suffragette

between the national office and various county groups has been examined by the author. Rarely are the words 'suffrage', 'suffragette' or 'suffragist' mentioned. In one report provided by Edith C Morgan from Winchester, Hampshire to Head Office on 8 November 1914, she mentions that 'the patrol movement is not a suffragist one.'[19] This emphasis suggests a desire to disassociate from any connection to suffrage movements.

It was the connection of some police women to suffrage, and in particular suffragette activity, that caused many Chief Constables to shun women police. When the Metropolitan Police started recruiting for their own Women Police in 1918, it is probable that they vetted candidates against lists like HO 45/24665.

Neville Macready, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police 1918-20, was not going to allow any suffragettes into the new MP Women Police. He preferred to recruit women who had been part of the voluntary patrols of the National Council of Women (NUWW). The WPS was snubbed. In 1924 he told the Bridgeman Committee 'The main point was to eliminate any women of extreme views - the vinegary spinster or blighted middle-aged fanatic.'[20] Macready was also disgusted by homosexuals and women who dressed

7. Boyd (2013) p 49

8. Sophie Jackson (2014) *Women On Duty; A History of The First Female Police Force* (Fonthill Media Ld, U.K.). pp 28-9.

9. Jackson (2014) *op cit* p 30. Jackson states they used the name 'Smith' but in the Home Office archives they are listed as Smyth as well as Smith. HO 45/24665 is an index of suffragettes arrested 1906-1914. The names given under Smith and Smyth include Edith Smith, Lilian Smyth, Louisa Smyth and Enuncita Smyth. All arrested 15 or 16 July 1914. The entry for Ann Smith states 'see Nina Boyle'. The entry for Lilian Smyth states see 'Lilian Ball'. See also *The Globe* 16 July 1914 report of proceedings headed 'The Jolly "Smiths".

10. Jackson (2014) p 45.

11. Joan Lock (2014) *The British Policewomen* (Robert Hale. London) p 29. The name of the WPV was then changed to the Women Police Service, but Boyle continued with a small WPV, mainly in London and Brighton. This eventually fizzled out about 1916. See Derek Oakensen's excellent article (2015) 'Antipathy to ambivalence; Politics and women police in Sussex, 1915-45' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections 153* (2015) 171-89. Also Jackson (2014) pp 143-4.

12. Commandant Mary S Allen (1925) T*he Pioneer Policewoman* (Chatto and Windus, London) p 27.

13. Allan (1925) *op cit* p 37.

14 *The Suffragette*, 5 December 1913 Miss Haarbleicher was thanked for an interesting address to a women's meeting. Harburn died in 1963 aged 99.

15. Boyd (2013) p 53. Goldingham was awarded the MBE. She died in 1957.

16. Boyd (2013) p 52.

17. Boyd (2013) p 52. *The Dundee Courier* (11 July 1914) reported with the headline 'Suffragette makes attempt to throw literature into Royal Carriage' and states that the missile struck the coach and rolled away. The *Dundee Evening Telegraph* (13 July 1914) reported that the rubber ball (containing a message) landed in the carriage on the Queen's lap! Walton is listed in the Home Office Index of arrested suffragettes (HO 45/24665). She was arrested in 1911 and 1912.

18. Metropolitan Police Heritage Centre located in 2018 at Empress Approach, Lille Road, London SW6 1TR, but due to move soon to as yet unidentified premises. It is believed that these papers were originally held by the Police Federation at their offices in Surbiton (before they moved to Leatherhead).

19. Report Woman Patrol Committee Winchester Branch November 8 1914. From organiser Mrs E C Morgan (text reproduced by permission of the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime Heritage Centre)).

20. Jackson (2014) p 167.

The Pioneers, 1914.

FRONT ROW: Left to right
D. MEESON COATES *(Chief Inspector)* M. S. ALLEN *(Chief Superintendent)* MISS C. V. HALL *(Hon. Treasurer)* M. DAMER DAWSON *(Chief Officer)* B. GOLDINGHAM *(Principal of Clerical Staff)*
SECOND ROW: A. ST. JOHN PARTRIDGE *(Staff Officer)* J. M. CAMPBELL K. CANTER E. L. DAWSON F. GRAHAM
THIRD ROW: L. SIMPSON D. PETHICK O. WALTON *(Sergeant)* A. GARDINER

like men. This applied to Mary Allen, and her role as a militant suffragette was not forgotten.

Not much was going right for the WPS in 1920. Their founder Damer Dawson died from heart disease, and the chances of former WPS police finding work in London was low. The only ray of light was when the Metropolitan Police turned down a request from the British Army to send some women police to help in Ireland. The WPS took up the challenge. Their work in Ireland opened up opportunities in the Rhine Provinces. Mary Allen paid a visit to Cologne herself in 1923. She increasingly ventured abroad and liked to appear in full uniform and give the impression of representing the British policewomen. Later her associations with the Nazi movement led her to be *persona non grata*.[21]

Conclusion

A small handful of militant suffragettes were important pioneers of women police. I have identified less than six who were imprisoned for their suffragette activities. During World War One, Mary Allen and Isobel Goldingham were two of those who had been imprisoned who earned respect and praise for their war work in developing the police. Allen was awarded the OBE. Nina Boyle came up against a lot more resistance, mainly because she would not compromise on her view on women's equality and would not help the male authorities impose what she saw as draconian restrictions on women. In 1916 she changed her war work to helping sick and wounded soldiers in Serbia.[22]

At the end of the war, the police forces who continued to employ police women chose to recruit women mainly from the voluntary patrols of the NCW (NUWW) and avoided using those with suffragette or suffragist connections.

However, more work is needed to see if some of those recruited had been involved in the suffrage movement. Involvement in the WPS did not mean the woman had been a suffragist, and involvement in the NCW (NUWW) did not mean the woman had not been a suffragist.

21. Jackson (2014) p 168 and Boyd (2013).
22. Jackson (2014) p 143.

◆

CLIFFORD WILLIAMS is a historian and retired police officer. He has published books and articles on history and criminology. After studying at the Universities of London (SOAS), Cambridge and Bradford (where he did his Ph D), he joined the police service. His recent books are *111 Years Policing Winchester: A History of the Winchester City Force 1832-1943* (Winchester: Hampshire Constabulary History Society, 2012) and *Women Policing Hampshire and the Isle of Wight 1915-2016* (Netley: Hampshire Constabulary History Society, 2016). His current research includes policing gay and bisexual men 1950-2010, as well as continuing research on early policewomen.

Who Killed John Bunker?

A Suspicious Death in Rural Devonshire in 1851

By John Bunker

Introduction

This account of a suspicious death in March, 1851 at Halwell Farm in the parish of Brixton, about four miles east of Plymouth, came to light during family history research. A farm boy, John Bunker, died in circumstances where the farmer's son, William Rowe, was arrested for his murder. The event would clearly have had a devastating impact on two respectable families at different ends of the social scale in rural Devonshire.

The relatively well-to-do yeomen farmers relied on the poor families to provide valuable labour to work their farms, and the poor were only too pleased to have employment, with meals and accommodation provided, for their young sons as soon as they were of an age where they could work. Farmers could employ many workers cheaply as the wages of agricultural labourers were particularly low in Devon. Apart from the limestone quarries in this part of the county, there were few industries competing for labour in the villages and hamlets lying away from the Plym estuary, where the sea provided employment opportunities.

Although the Bunkers did not seem to have the will or initiative to move elsewhere to improve their lot, at least they could rely on the support of the extended family in an area where they had lived for generations.

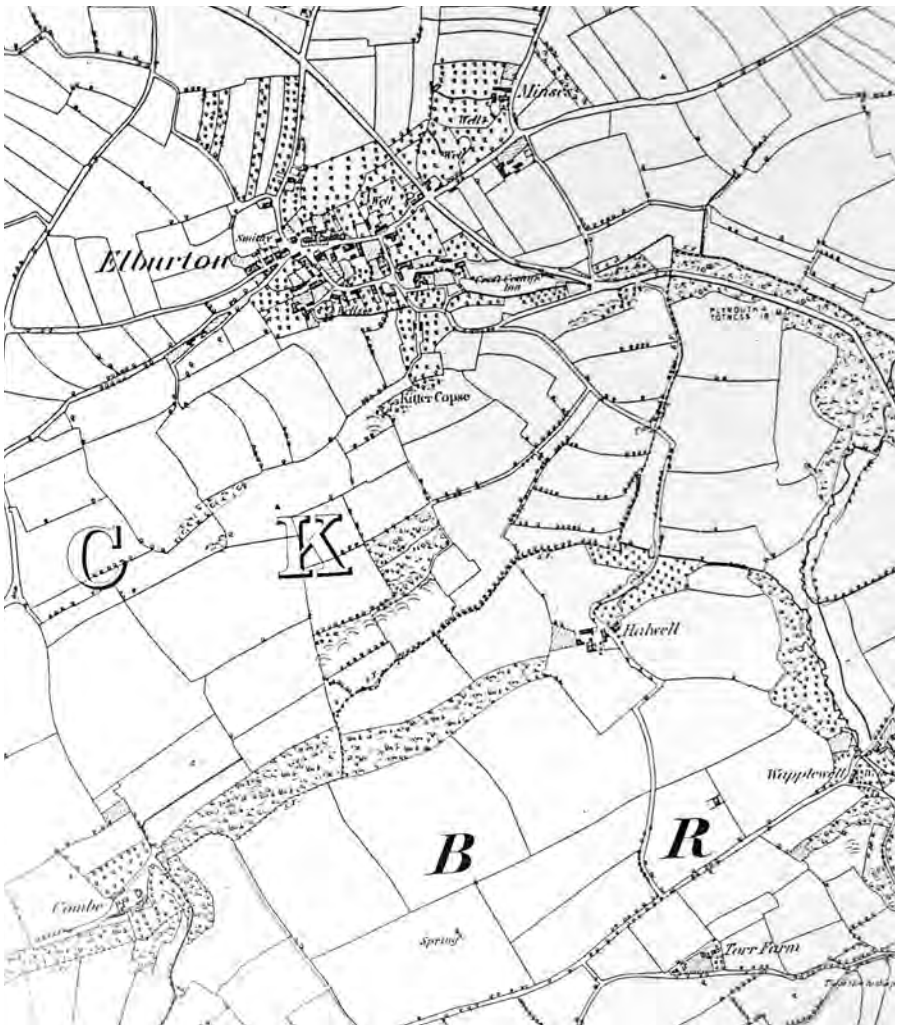
The story provides an insight into the haphazard methods of policing, and gathering and preserving evidence, during the investigation of a major crime in mid- nineteenth century Devonshire prior to the formation of a constabulary force. Whereas the chartered boroughs in England and Wales, like Plymouth, had been required, under the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835 to establish police forces (many took some time to comply with this legislation), the policing of the counties varied considerably throughout the country. The County Police Act, 1839 empowered, but did not obligate, magistrates to establish efficient constabulary forces in each county; no such force was set up in Devonshire as a result of this legislation. A Parish Constables Act, 1842 did, however, move many of those counties that had not implemented county force systems towards a degree of more professional policing. Not until the County and Borough Police Act in 1856 were the counties compelled to establish police forces.

Although Plymouth as a chartered borough had, as a result of the 1835 Act, already established its own police force, administered by a Watch Committee, the surrounding parishes in the county continued with the annual appointment of suitable members of the resident community as unpaid parish constables. These men were 'sworn in' by the justices at the local petty sessions. The 1842 Act also allowed justices, on a resolution being received from the parish authorities, to appoint paid constables to a parish. In such cases there was no obligation to also appoint the unpaid parish constables. Although the paid constable had county-wide authority his duties would usually be restricted to the parish to which he had been appointed. He could also be called upon to deal with crimes occurring in other parishes within the petty sessional area.

The Local Police Force and Court System

In the 1840s the parishes in the area were routinely policed by the parish constables, those unpaid members of the community who had been selected by the overseers of the parish. Samuel Rowse and another named Cawse served as parish constables for Brixton Parish and another, named Brimacombe, for the neighbouring parish of Yealmpton. They were authorised to operate beyond their own parish and both Rowse and Brimacombe were involved in the Rowe case.

On 9th January, 1849 the Earl of



The rural landscape of Halwell in 1856

Morley, a prominent landowner, with property within the parish of Plympton St Mary, placed a written petition before the Plymouth Borough Watch Committee about the problem of night-time breakings into farm buildings and other crimes in Plympton and neighbouring parishes to the east of Plymouth. He inferred that these parishes, bordering on the borough force, had been plundered by criminals over a period of months. In fact, an association consisting of gentleman farmers and other prominent members of the community had been formed at the Ridgway, one of the villages in the parish, to implement measures to protect the inhabitants.

Morley's petition led Plymouth's Watch Committee to direct their Police Superintendent 'to send two active Police Constables to Plympton St Mary, and to appoint their replacements in the borough from an existing supernumerary list. Consequently, Plymouth transferred two of their best constables to this adjoining parish in the county. PC Thomas Froude had spent four years in the borough force and PC John Lavers two years, when on 23rd January, 1849 they were sworn in by the justices of the Plympton and Ermington Petty Sessional Division, at the court in the Ridgway as constables for the county. Their particular responsibility was for Plympton St Mary, although their authority went beyond this parish.

The two constables took up residence at a police station at Ridgway, from where they could also respond to requests for assistance to the parish constables in the other local parishes.

The census of 1851 confirms that both Lavers and Froude lived with their families at the police station; the former with a wife and three children, and the latter with his wife and one child. The station was also a bridewell or lock-up, and at the time of the census a prisoner, William Rowe, was detained there. A watchman, James Andrews, an agricultural labourer, was also at the station at the time.

Very soon the newly-appointed constables were on duty at night on the look-out for thieves who had been stealing turnips. A case of night poaching on the Earl of Morley's land soon came their way during the course of their surveillance.

The inhabitants of Plympton St Mary were so pleased with Lavers and Froude that, in 1851, the association presented the two constables with a reward of five pounds for 'their zeal and activity in protecting the inhabitants of the parish from depredators, and especially for their perseverance in the pursuit of some sheep-stealers whom they apprehended in Cornwall.'

The local courts were not necessarily held in dedicated court buildings. Public houses were often used. The petty sessions were generally held every alternate Tuesday at the George Inn in the Ridgway near to the police station. In the case of complex committal proceedings, the magistrates would convene special courts on other days. This court covered the parishes of Plympton St Mary, Plympton St Maurice, Plymstock, Brixton, Yealmpton and Ermington. The coroner's inquest would also convene with a jury of local men in a suitable public house.

The Locality and Personalities

In 1850 the parish of Brixton was mainly agricultural, with a total of

2,865 acres of fertile land and 822 inhabitants. The 160 acre Halwell Farm, in the parish, had been leased in trust to Henry Rowe from Lady Day 1844 for 14 years by a prominent landowner, the late Edmund Prolexfin Bastard, for £253 per annum; later references, however, show Rowe as the 'owner/occupier', although it probably remained a leasehold property. The Rowes were prominent as farmers in Brixton and surrounding parishes.

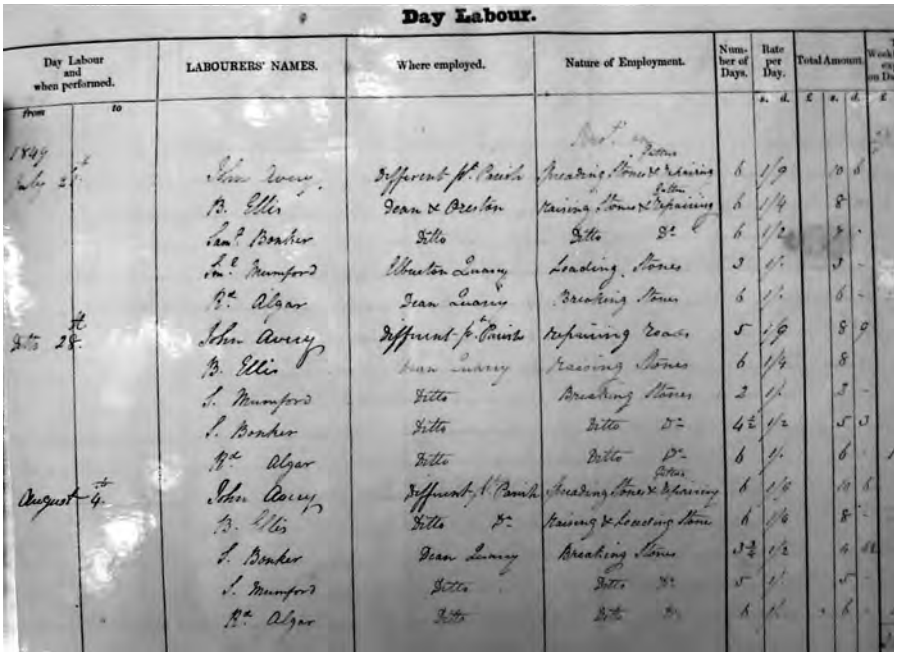
The Rowe family members residing and working at Halwell with their 71-year-old widower father Henry were his sons William and John and daughter Mary. The sons undertook a wide range of farming activities, including attending to the stables, feeding the young bullocks, colts and horses, and ploughing, and were masters, along with their father, over all the farm-hands. There were two other sons, Henry junior and Arthur, who appear to have resided elsewhere but were frequent visitors to Halwell.

William Rowe was a strong, well-built 25-year-old of medium height. He was subsequently described in a newspaper as 'having intelligent features but rather sullen'. There were rumours in the neighbourhood (quoted in a local newspaper, *The Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal*) that in September, 1850 he had put poison in a keg of cider to which an employee of his father had access. It was claimed that as a result of drinking the cider the employee became seriously ill, although the truth appears to have been that he suffered a stroke. The story, whether true or not, does give the impression that William Rowe was not a very popular figure within the farming community. His brother John seemed to be more fair-minded with the servants.

Living in the farm house along with the Rowe family were the young farm-hands John Bunker, Richard Vincent, aged fourteen, John Lavers, thirteen, and John Stevens, ten. The maid, Hannah Couch, aged sixteen, also resided there. Vincent had previously been resident in the Plympton Union workhouse, and had been allocated to the farmer by the union authorities. (Unions of parishes had been set up under the 1834 Poor Law to administer workhouses under Boards of Guardians. Individual parishes had previously been responsible for administering poor relief.) The farm boys all slept together in the same room. In addition there were adult, non-resident, labourers, including Samuel Nicholls and another named Yabsley, who came to the farm daily.

John Bunker, also known as Jack, was born on 3rd April, 1832 at Pomphlett Mills in the neighbouring parish of Plymstock to Samuel and Mary Bunker. The family of five sons lacked any formal education; consequently the father worked as a labourer in the local limestone quarries. For this back-breaking work raising and breaking stones he earned, in 1850, one shilling a day; he did not always get a full week's work. On this meagre wage he had to bring up his family so, understandably, the only way to survive respectably was to arrange for the children to be placed in the live-in service of local farmers as soon as they were old enough to work. Compulsory education for children was many years away. John followed tradition and, at the age of eight years, left home to start residential farm work. On reaching adulthood the sons usually left farming and followed their father into quarrying work where, presumably, the wage was marginally better than remaining on the land.

By the time he was 16 years of age John Bunker had moved in as a resident farm-hand with Henry Rowe at Halwell Farm. By 1851 John, then eighteen (although his father later gave his age during the trial as seventeen), was the oldest and most experienced of Rowe's young resident farm-hands at Halwell. Throughout his time with Mr Rowe John was a hard-working, sharp and active employee. The state of his hands, chapped and hard from handling lime, bore witness as to how hard he had to work in all weathers. Only 5 feet 2 inches in height he was a healthy and sober young lad. Quiet


Day Labour.

Day Labour and when performed. from	to	LABOURERS' NAMES.	Where employed.	Nature of Employment.	Number of Days.	Rate per Day. s. d.	Total Amount £ s. d.	Week ending on Day £
1849 July	27	John Avery	Different parts of Parish	Breaking Stone & Repairing Roads	6	1 9	10 6	
		B. Ellis	Dean & Brixton	Raising Stone & Repairing Roads	6	1 4	8	
		Sam[l] Bonker	Ditto	Ditto Do	6	1 2	7	
		Sam[l] Mumford	Brixton Quarry	Loading Stones	3	1	3	
		P[d] Algar	Dean Quarry	Breaking Stone	6	1	6	
Ditto	28	John Avery	Different parts of Parish	Repairing Roads	5	1 9	8 9	
		B. Ellis	Dean Quarry	Raising Stones	6	1 4	8	
		S. Mumford	Ditto	Breaking Stones	2	1	2	
		S. Bonker	Ditto	Ditto Do	4½	1 2	5 3	
		P[d] Algar	Ditto	Ditto Do	6	1	6	
August	4	John Avery	Different parts of Parish	Breaking Stone & Repairing Roads	6	1 6	10 6	
		B. Ellis	Ditto Do	Raising & Loading Stone	6	1 6	8	
		S. Bonker	Dean Quarry	Breaking Stone	3½	1 2	4 11	
		S. Mumford	Ditto	Ditto Do	5	1	5	
		P[d] Algar	Ditto	Ditto Do	6	1	6	

Extract from Account Book 1849 showing daily wages of quarry workers including Samuel Bunker

by nature, his pleasant and cheerful personality meant that he was popular with others on the farm and in the community.

Scandal on the Farm

At sometime around early March, John Bunker began to broadcast to others in the neighbourhood that his master's son, William Rowe, had committed an unnatural act with a farm animal, namely a mare, although it seems that this alleged incident had actually occurred the previous summer. Clearly, whether true or not, the allegation created anger and indignation from William towards Bunker.

It is not entirely clear whether Bunker witnessed the incident himself or was told about it by John Rogers or his son, Henry, who lived at nearby Brixton Torr. In any event the disgusting allegation, although denied by Rowe, became common knowledge and the subject of much gossip in the tight-knit farming community. It caused much anguish for the respected Rowe family, in particular William, who was engaged to be married to the daughter of another local farmer, Robert Scoble of Efford in the neighbouring parish of Yealmpton. As a result of the rumour Scoble warned William to keep away from his daughter unless he could prove his innocence.

Bunker told his own father about the incident and felt that he should leave Halwell at the next Lady Day, commenting that, 'he had seen plenty there since last hay harvest'.

James Ellis was later to give evidence before the coroner that Bunker had told him he had been offered and refused money to say nothing about what he had apparently seen.

On 3rd March William Rowe disturbed Jane, the wife of John Rogers, at Brixton Torr. She was in bed unwell and he let himself in; he put it to her that her son Henry, a previous employee of the Rowe family who had been discharged the previous August, had been the instigator of the allegation against him. She denied this and informed Rowe that it was in fact Bunker who had told her son about it. Rowe claimed that he had tried, without success, to get Bunker to meet the Rogers face-to-face in an attempt to clarify from where the allegation had emanated. He asked Jane to tell the people at Hareston, where it seems that her husband was employed, that lies had been told against him. Jane was not very sympathetic and told him that 'Poor people must lay under scandal but you have enough to see yourself righted.' Rowe said, 'I would spend my last shilling to get my name cleared but my father says to leave it.' Before he left, Jane took the opportunity to remind William that her son Henry was still owed four shillings and eight pence in wages for work at Halwell.

PC Froude at Plympton St Mary received information about the allegation of bestiality on 4th March but no action was taken at that time.

On the evening of 6th March Rowe threatened Bunker that he intended to take him before the magistrate and have him sent to the lock-up for making the allegation. Clearly this threat would have worried the farm-hand.

John Bunker's Final Day

On Friday 7th March, Bunker was up at 5.30am as usual, and with John Rowe, Lavers and Vincent went about the various tasks on the farm. Vincent went to the stable, which accommodated seven horses, where he assisted Bunker prepare and harness two horses to the cart in readiness for him to go to the lime-kiln. It was then left in the courtyard whilst Bunker returned to the house for breakfast. This consisted of 'tea kettle broth' (bread, water and milk) along with barley bread and cheese. Although cheerful and in good spirits, he did appear to Hannah, the maid, to be a little unwell. Even so he cheerfully offered some of his meal to another young farm-hand, John Stephens, saying jokingly, 'Now boy don't thee say I never gave thee nought'.

It was a fine morning as John Bunker left the farmyard for the last time at about 6.15am, bound for the lime-kiln about a mile away at the village of Elburton to collect lime for the farm. He was wearing his distinctive red 'comforter' around his neck and smoking his pipe as he drove his cart, turning left onto the lane outside Halwell. As he left, Bunker spoke to his fellow farm-hand Lavers, indicating to him that he had to 'make haste' as he had three loads to collect during the morning. He was not seen alive again.

For about half an hour after Bunker left the farm, William Rowe's whereabouts could not be established by anyone at the farm. Lavers saw him go from the stable to the granary as Bunker was leaving, but did not see him again until about three-quarters of an hour later.

John Rowe's movements were, however, fully accounted for after Bunker left. He went off to Fordbrook Farm with two fat bullocks after undertaking his initial work at Halwell, and was seen there by Samuel Nicholls. The movements of others on the farm were also not in doubt.

At about 6.30am James Scoble, the farmer of the neighbouring Chittleburn Farm, along with his brother Richard, a butcher, and William Gould of Brixton Torr, a quarryman on his way to work, heard the screams of a man, apparently in distress, lasting for about half a minute. The screams were coming

Front of Halwell Farm, taken in 1988

from the direction of an orchard known as Pond Orchard, less than 200 yards from Halwell Farm, and were described by Gould as sounding like a person 'under ill-usage'. This was the direction in which Bunker would have been travelling. James Scoble, on horseback, with his brother running after him, headed towards the orchard located about two meadows away; once the screaming stopped they turned back and went about their business.

Some hours later, at 10.30am, William Chaffe, a miller residing at Cofflete Mills, was on his way by horse and cart from Spriddlestone to Elburton to collect lime. Where the lane passed Pond Orchard he was obstructed by Bunker's abandoned cart with the fore horse tied to the Higher gate. He did not see anything else untoward and, after moving the cart and horses to a better position so he could pass by, went on his way.

Shortly after Chaffe had passed, Thomas Barker, a deaf labourer and mole catcher who lived in the village of Brixton, left the nearby meadow where he had been working, and noticed the abandoned cart. Three or four yards inside the gate to Pond Orchard he saw John Bunker's body hanging by the neck from the centre limb of an apple tree. Before realising the seriousness Barker shouted, 'Hello, what be sleep.' The stiff and cold condition of the body soon indicated to him that it had been there for some hours. The legs were bent with one knee on the ground; his hands were touching the ground. The crown of the youth's head was one foot from a fork in the tree. The eye of the knot on the rope pressed against his windpipe. There was road dirt on the knees of his trousers and on one hand. The body had not dropped from any height but Barker assumed that the youth had committed suicide. He unfastened the rope from the tree, placed the body on the ground and slackened the rope around the deceased's neck; he then went to call for assistance.

Fordbrook Farm, taken in 1988

John Rowe attended the scene and, in due course, the body was put in the cart on straw and taken back to the farm, by labourer Samuel Nicholls and Thomas Carne, a mason working at Halwell. The deceased was placed on his bed in the upstairs farm-hands' bedroom. The rope, which had fallen from the deceased's neck, was left in the room. This important exhibit seems to have been handled by many people prior to the court hearings, thereby diminishing considerably its evidential value.

Eventually, on Henry Rowe's instruction, Carne informed the coroner who gave him a note to pass to Rowse, the parish constable. The surgeon from Plymstock, William Mould, who knew the Rowe family, was also informed by John Rowe and attended at 10.00pm. He examined the body in the presence of William Rowe, and considered that death had been caused by hanging; not any other method of suffocation. Although he did not remove any

clothing at the time, he could find nothing to suggest that there had been any resistance or violence prior to death, apart from a slight injury above the left eye. This was not on the side of his head that had been against the tree, so was unlikely to have been caused by the head striking the trunk. At this time no police had attended either the scene or the house.

William Rowe's activities during the course of the day on which Bunker had died were relevant, as they may have been undertaken merely to shift suspicion away from him. At around 7.00am, after his apparent absence and long before anyone was aware of Bunker's death, William was seen again around the farm, and when Samuel Nicholls arrived for work he saw him in the kitchen speaking to his father. Shortly afterwards witnesses saw William leaving the farm on horseback going towards Brixton - the opposite direction to Pond Orchard. Before leaving he spoke to Nicholls about the allegation that Bunker had made, and said he was on his way to confront John Rogers, and his son, to get it 'righted'. He told Nicholls that he had strictly cautioned Bunker the night before about making the allegation and threatened to take him before the magistrate and have him sent to the bridewell.

At 8.15am Rowe arrived at Robert Scoble's farm at Efford, and tried again to convince him that he was innocent of the indecency allegation so he could resume his relationship with the farmer's daughter. Scoble again wanted more proof before allowing this. They walked together to the home of a Mr Parsons, who confirmed that he had been told that Bunker had been the instigator of the allegation. Leaving his horse at Scoble's William then went to see John Rogers at Hareston Farm, arriving there at about 10.00am. He suggested to Rogers that it was he who had initially raised the allegation; this was denied by both John and his son Henry.

Road from Elburton to Halwell Farm, taken in 1988 - possible entrance to Pond Orchard

Still giving no hint that he knew anything about Bunker's death, William returned to Scoble's, collected his horse and made his way to Yealmpton to see Thomas Kelly, a solicitor and the Plympton and Ermington Division justices' clerk. He tried to convince Kelly that he should issue a summons against Bunker for making the false allegation. Kelly told him that the court had no jurisdiction to do this, and suggested that he should get Bunker to his office. The clerk was, however, persuaded to give Rowe a letter to hand to Bunker.

On the way back to Halwell William passed Mary Nicholl's house at 1.00pm, where he met Harriet Blatchford, one of his neighbours from Fordbrook Farm, who informed him that Bunker was dead. William appeared to Harriet to be surprised and frightened by this information. Arriving back at Halwell a short while later he met Samuel Nicholls, and commented to him, 'Now he has hanged himself I am clear of it. If they will hang themselves for telling lies I can't help it.'

That evening William Rowe took cider with Carne, who had assisted in removing the body. Rowe gave him a list to pass on to the Parish Constable Cawse, who was known to the family, suggesting persons who should be called for the coroner's jury. In the event Carne gave the information to Parish Constable Rowse, who ignored Rowe's improper request.

At some time prior to the start of the inquest William spoke to the farm-hand Richard Vincent. He threatened to thrash him unless he lied to the court, stating that he had seen Bunker leave the farm with a rope from the cart-house in one hand, and his whip in the other. An account like this would obviously tend to suggest that Bunker had taken the rope for the purpose of hanging himself.

Finally the Police Investigate

Not until 11.00am on Saturday 8th March, the day after the death, did Police Constables John Lavers and Thomas Froude visit Halwell Farm to commence their investigation. William Rowe had already come under suspicion (it is not known who had raised this suspicion with the police), and the constables went

to a nearby field where he and John Stephens were ploughing. Constable Froude immediately took Rowe into custody and charged him with bestiality and suspicion of murdering John Bunker. The two constables and William went back to the house where Lavers had the prisoner remove his boots, establishing that they were those worn the previous day. Froude then went upstairs with the prisoner to view the body and took possession of the rope lying beside it.

Leaving Froude with the prisonerm Constable Lavers went to Pond Orchard with the boots to look for corresponding footmarks at the scene of the crime and to examine the tree. By the time he reached the orchard many other people were already 'treading around' the crime scene, including the solicitor Kelly. Grass around the tree meant that there were no visible footmarks adjacent to it. There were, however, fresh marks at the higher side of the orchard, and in an adjacent field, that matched the soles of the boots. Police Constable Froude, Parish Constable Brimacombe and the prisoner had by then also made their way from the house to the orchard.

Constable Lavers then left the orchard and, with Brimacombe, escorted the prisoner towards Brixton where the inquest was to be held. On the way he questioned him about when he last visited the orchard. Rowe denied having been there recently. However, Froude had remained at the scene looking for more evidence of footmarks, and, having found some by the side of the orchard hedge adjoining the road, caught up with his colleagues and put this to the prisoner. William then remembered that he had been there the previous Wednesday, although the marks actually appeared to have been made even more recently. Rowe claimed to the officers that Richard Vincent's testimony would clear him of any involvement in the crime.

Froude continued on to Brixton with the prisoner and Lavers returned to the scene to gather more information. He paced the distances from the farm to Pond Orchard by different routes. All were under 200 paces and only took two minutes to walk.

Constable Lavers' examination of the tree had revealed marks indicating that the rope had been over the centre limb and tied at the bottom of the tree. In a fork in the tree there were distinct marks indicating that the body may have been hauled up on the rope. There were hairs the same colour as Bunker's on the underside of some knobs protruding from the trunk, thereby supporting the theory that the head had knocked against the tree as it was being hauled up on the rope by an attacker. There were certainly more suitable trees in the vicinity for a suicide attempt.

Leaving his prisoner at Brixton with Brimacombe, Froud returned to the farm and took possession of the clothes Rowe had been wearing the previous day from his sister Mary. There were traces of what appeared to be blood on them. It was explained that these traces were the result of William killing a sheep a week earlier, although there was evidence that he was, in fact, wearing a smock at the time he killed the sheep, on which there was no blood. (Not until the beginning of the twentieth century was it possible to distinguish human blood from that of an animal, so a forensic examination would have proved fruitless).

The evidence against William Rowe was entirely circumstantial. Did he follow Bunker and kill him during the half-hour that could not be accounted for? Were the subsequent visits merely an attempt to provide an alibi of sorts? When did his boot marks appear near the scene of the crime? Why did he force one of the young farm-hands, Richard Vincent, to give false testimony at the inquest by threatening to thrash him if he did not comply? Did he or anyone else, as a James Ellis recounted, offer money to Bunker to withdraw the allegation? (This was hearsay and therefore not permitted as evidence at the trial).

The Inquest and Committal Proceedings

The inquest into the death of John Bunker commenced on Saturday 8th

The stable and cowshed at Halwell Farm, taken in 1988

March before the county coroner, Mr. A.B. Bone, at the Fox Hound Public House in Brixton, with a jury of local people sworn in. The jury and coroner visited the scene of the death, and were present when the body was searched at 4.00pm by the parish constable, Samuel Rowse.

Rowse stripped the body on the directions of the coroner, and took possession of the deceased's trousers, noticing the patches of road dirt on the knees. He found two sixpences, a knife, a chain and bread and cheese in his pockets. Also found were two sound eggs, one in each pocket, and one broken egg. Had Bunker taken them with him to roast at the lime-kiln, or had they been placed in the pockets after death to give the impression that there had been no struggle? The two eggs were given to Bunker's aunt, Fanny Clarke from Pomphlett, who passed them on to his father with the other items.

After the hearing William Rowe was taken to the Ridgway lock-up where he was detained until the resumption of the proceedings on Tuesday 11th March. In the interim, on 9th March Mould carried out his full post mortem on the body, finding nothing untoward internally.

By Tuesday, news of the hanging had spread and the people arriving at the Fox Hound Inn in the hope of gaining a view of the proceedings were far in excess of the numbers that could be accommodated in the premises. *The Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* reported that those who were unable to get in were 'so determined to make a day of it they adjourned to various public houses in and around Brixton the occupants of which must have reaped a rich harvest'.

The Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Herald reported, 'The excitement caused had considerably increased, and the village of Brixton was crowded throughout the day by persons who were anxious to hear the particulars of the enquiry, many of whom had walked many miles to be present.'

7
At half-past 11 a certain man came by
Nam'd Thomas Barber who did something spy
Suspended in Pond-Orchard on a tree,
Whilst he drew near that he the same might see.

8
John Bunker there to his surprise he found:
He slipt the rope and laid him on the ground:
With speed to Hilwell House did then repair,
To publish it and get assistance there.

9
He saw two men Nichols and Carn by name,
Who went with him and witnessed the same:
They put him in a cart and took him home
And laid him in the Farm-house upstair room.

10
His friends were sent for, and they came straightway,
His Father and his Aunts, without delay;
Who when they came and view'd the awful scene,
Suspected much that he had murder'd been.

Extract of a contemporary poem entitled The Brixton Murder by local Sampson Giles, lamenting the murder of John Bunker

William Rowe, who was represented by a 'legal gentleman', did not appear to be particularly concerned about his plight when he entered the court-room. His intimidation of Vincent had been successful, and the farm-hand duly told the coroner the story that he had been told to give, namely that Bunker had a rope in one hand and a whip in the other when he left. This rope was identified as one kept in the linhay to tie up the shafts of a cart. Vincent's testimony was inconsistent with other witnesses, who did not see Bunker with the rope. Vincent added that after Bunker left he went to the higher-stable with William, who then went with hay on his back to feed the colts.

At the conclusion of the inquest the jury reached a verdict of 'murder by some person unknown'. The enquiry finished at 9.15pm when Rowe, the suspect, was returned to custody at Plympton Police Station bridewell to be brought before the magistrates on Friday 14th March, although at a later stage the magistrate did, in fact, allow bail, with three sureties – his father in the sum of £1,000 and two others of £500 each.

The petty sessional proceedings took place at the George Public House, Ridgway, Plymptonduring five special hearings between 14th March and 2nd April before the magistrates, G.W. Soltau Esq, J.I. Templer Esq and Dr Butter. Mr Beer represented the defence. John Edmonds Esq took notes of the proceedings. The hearings attracted large crowds trying to satisfy their 'morbid curiousity' and, on occasions, the crowded court-room was very oppressive, with visitors also filling the stairs and passages. Even on a rainy day crowds assembled in the vicinity of the court long before it opened and 'every available space was occupied by visitants'.

William Rowe had an 'indifferent air' when brought into court, and on the first day was allowed a seat as he felt unwell. At one stage he appeared so unconcerned that he read a newspaper. On subsequent days he was made to stand throughout the proceedings.

The burial of John Bunker took place at Brixton Parish Church on the 12th March. However the magistrate, wishing to have a more experienced and independent post mortem,

applied to the minister, the Reverend Lane, to have the body exhumed. During the early hours of Sunday 16th the body was removed from the grave by the sexton, and subsequently examined on 17th March by John Whipple, a member of the College or Surgeons experienced in these matters. He was of the opinion that Bunker's injury to the temple was likely to have been inflicted by a blow, possibly a fist, that could have stunned him. The cause of death, however, was strangulation. He felt that it was possible that he had committed suicide but not probable. He did not think he would have screamed if he had been taking his own life. His findings were, however, generally consistent with those of Doctor Mould.

Certainly the criminal court proceedings were handled much more professionally than the investigation. A model of the tree had been constructed for the court by a carpenter, Josiah Nelder from Plympton St Mary, and Constable Froude produced a model of a phrenological head on which the witness Barber showed the court how he had found the rope around the deceased's neck. Hair found on the tree and a sample from the deceased's head were produced by the police. The defence solicitor, Mr Beer, indicated that he would wish to have them compared under a microscope by a person experienced in such examination. However, this does not appear to have been pursued.

During the course of his evidence in respect of the freshness of the boot marks found at the scene, Constable Lavers told the magistrates that he had become particularly experienced in the identification of such marks when serving in the Plymouth police. He claimed that he 'once traced a man seven miles by foot-marks.' It is surprising that no plaster cast of a boot-mark was taken for production during the proceedings (even the Bow Street Runners were known to have taken such casts in the early part of the century).

There was some excitement during the magistrates' court hearing on the first day. Richard Vincent admitted telling lies before the coroner, and decided to give a correct recollection of events. He stated that when John Bunker left the farm he was only carrying the whip and not the rope. He did not see William Rowe for some time after Bunker's departure.

On returning to Halwell after the court hearing, Vincent attended to his horse and went for supper in the kitchen at 8.00pm. Arthur Rowe, who was at the house at the time, asked why he had changed his story. Henry then entered the room, caught Vincent by the collar, and set about thrashing him with his walking stick, the unprovoked attack being witnessed. After the beating John Rowe told Vincent to go to bed. Two days later, on the instruction of the magistrate, Constable Froude removed the boy from the farm and returned him to the relative safety of the Union workhouse.

Henry Rowe was subsequently summoned to appear before the petty sessions on 25th March, where he was found guilty of the assault and fined £5 or two months' imprisonment with hard labour in default of payment. Although he pleaded 'not guilty' he did not dispute any of the evidence given during the proceedings, but claimed that the whole situation regarding his son had accounted for his behaviour.

Even the course of Henry Rowe's hearing was not without drama, when it was interrupted by a drunk, Robert Lang, a local hay dealer, who shouted when Vincent gave his evidence of the thrashing, 'That is just what you deserved.' Lang was immediately arrested and removed from the court. He was later returned and, in due course, fined five shillings or six hours in the stocks in default of payment for his unruly drunken behaviour. The case caused considerable amusement for the public in attendance, and Lang seemed delighted 'at making country people laugh.'

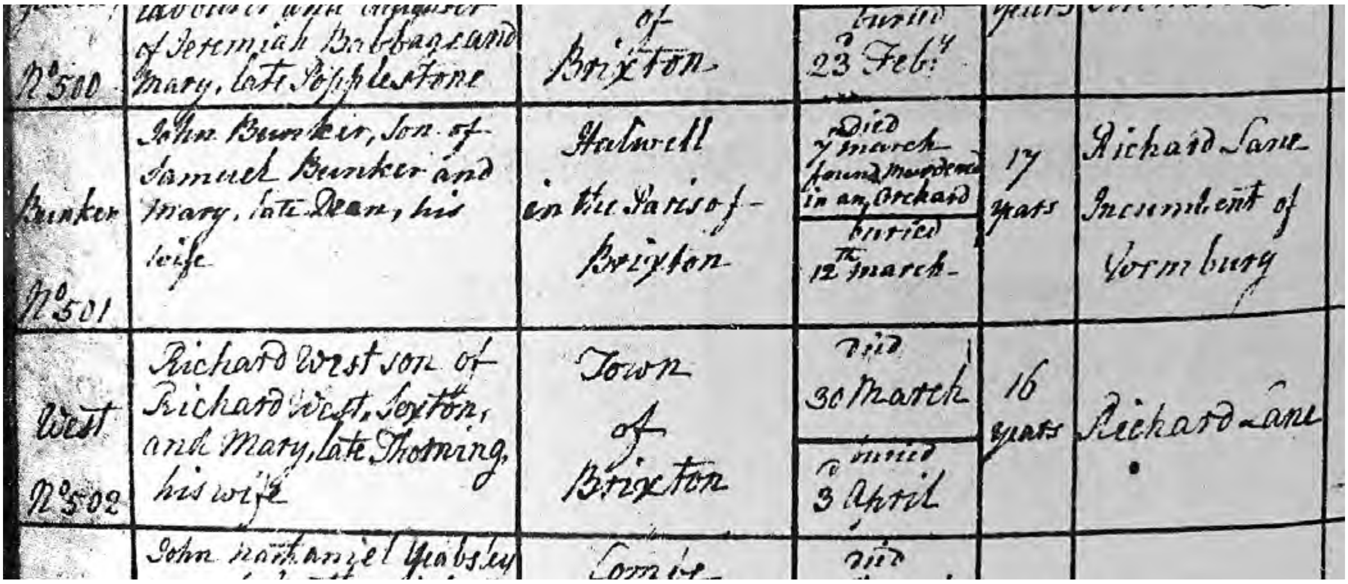
The case against William continued without further interference and, after the hearing on 27th March, the prisoner was handcuffed and taken by the police constables from the court. *The Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* reported, 'He was accompanied along the road to the house of detention by the immense crowd of persons, who had waited outside all day to receive him.' On another occasion the press observed that the public were 'feasting their eyes on one who is suspected of so heinous a crime as murder.'

The Exeter Assizes

On 2nd April William Edwards Rowe was committed for trial at the Exeter Assizes for the murder of John Bunker. Bail was refused and he was transported by rail to Exeter Gaol pending the hearing at the assize. (The South Devon Railway had been extended to Plymouth via Plympton in 1849). The final day of the hearing saw The George public house besieged with people, particularly females, hoping to catch sight of the accused.

Rowe appeared at the Exeter Assizes on 31st July, 1851 before Mr Justice Coleridge, where he pleaded 'not guilty' to murder. Mr Collier and Mr Lopez appeared for the prosecution and Mr Stone, Mr Cox and Mr Kerslake for the defence.

John Andrews, a surveyor of Ridgway, produced a plan of the location and the carpenter, Nelder, produced his full-sized model of the apple tree. It was so large that it presented considerable difficulty to manoeuvre into the court-room.



No 500	of Jeremiah Babbage and Mary, late Popplestone	of Brixton	buried 23 Feby		
Bunker No 501	John Bunker, son of Samuel Bunker and Mary, late Dean, his wife	Halwell in the Parish of Brixton	Died 7 March found murdered in an Orchard / buried 12th March	17 years	Richard Lane Incumbent of Yormbury
West No 502	Richard West son of Richard West, Sexton, and Mary, late Thorning, his wife	Town of Brixton	Died 30 March / buried 3 April	16 years	Richard Lane
	John Nathaniel Yeabsley	Combe	Died		

Burial record for John Bunker

Mr Collier opened for the prosecution by emphasising to the jury that the prisoner's life depended upon their verdict. They had to decide whether Bunker had killed himself by his own hand or, if another had done so, whether it was the prisoner.

Counsel drew attention to the evidence that Bunker had cheerfully left the farm with provisions for a meal in his pocket. This state of mind did not appear to be that of a person about to take his own life. He also drew attention to the fact that the prisoner had not been seen after Bunker left for about half an hour. Also noted were the screams heard by witnesses.

He drew attention to evidence that would be given concerning the position of the rope that appeared to have been pulled upwards; the position of the body and the marks on the head on the opposite side to the tree trunk; hair found on the trunk was below the head; the recent foot-marks; the road dirt on the suspect; the unbroken eggs in his pocket possibly placed there after the event to remove suspicion of violence. The indication from the evidence appeared to show that suicide had not occurred.

Mr Collier notified the jury about the intimidation of the witness Vincent. The prisoner's possible motive for committing the crime was that Bunker's suicide would vindicate Rowe's character. The blood found on the prisoner's clothing did not appear to have been satisfactorily explained.

A total of 23 witnesses were called, and after all the evidence had been given Mr Stone, counsel for the defence, addressed the jury for over an hour. He suggested that as no evidence could be found of bestiality the deceased took his own life fearing the consequences of making the false statement.

In his summing up, Mr Justice Coleridge made it clear that ten minutes would have been sufficient time for the accused to have gone to the scene to commit the murder. Nothing was said by the deceased indicating his intention to commit suicide, although he may well have thrown the rope into the cart before he left.

There was some criticism of the attorney for the prosecution, who went with the committing magistrate on the Saturday prior to the Assize hearing to see the witness Vincent in prison where he had been detained to secure his attendance at the court. The lawyer used a newspaper report to remind Vincent of his testimony at the committal proceedings. On balance the judge did feel that, as the committing magistrate was present, the action was no different to that which is commonly undertaken by an attorney in respect of witnesses about to give evidence, namely to refresh their memory from an earlier statement.

The judge drew attention to the extraordinary coolness shown by the prisoner during the proceedings but commented, 'coolness was consistent with hardness as well as innocence'.

The jury adjourned for only 35 minutes to return a verdict of 'not guilty'.

Postscript

This case shows that police investigations of a serious crime of this nature, prior to the introduction of a county police force, were haphazard and lacking in any urgency or methodical approach. The crime scene was not protected and evidence gathering casual and disorganised. It

is difficult to establish whether the police constables worked on their own initiative or were operating under the directions of the magistrates. It is unclear to what extent the police constables had authority over the local parish constables, who seemed to undertake more routine duties.

There is little doubt that modern methods of policing and forensic science would have determined, with little doubt, whether the death was murder or suicide, and may well have resulted in the conviction of the accused.

Sources

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JOHN BUNKER is a retired Metropolitan Police Superintendent and is the great, great grandson of Samuel Bunker, the deceased father.

The granary at Halwell Farm, taken in 1988

The Policeman and The Sheep Stealers

Police Constable 273 Robert Walker, West Riding Constabulary

By COLIN JACKSON

The West Riding Constabulary dates from November 14th 1856, the day the Magistrates, meeting in adjourned Quarter Session at Wakefield, appointed the first Chief Constable, Colonel Charles Augustus Cobbe.

Immediately Colonel Cobbe set about appointing further members of the Force, equipping them and posting them to their various stations throughout the whole of the West Riding.

One of the early constables to be appointed was Robert Walker, a 31-year-old farmer's son from Swillington near Leeds. Unmarried, a tall and powerful man, he had been born in the village of Newsam Green in 1825, and had worked on the estate of Sir John Lowther of Swillington Hall.

Walker joined the police force on Christmas Eve 1856 and a month later was posted to Staincross (Barnsley) Division for Wombwell. Although there were more coalmines at Wombwell than there had been at Swillington, no doubt Walker still felt quite at home, as much of the area was still given over to farming.

Most of the police work at this time consisted of patrolling at night, "to prevent robberies and other felonies." And so it was on Friday, March 20th 1857, only two months after Walker had arrived in the area, that he set out on his beat at about 11 o'clock. Although the night was dark, and there were no street lights, it was still possible to move about with comparative ease because of the flames from the gas "burn off", and the coke ovens at the collieries which lit up the area for some distance around.

From Wombwell, Walker made his way past Wombwell Main Colliery to a remote district known as Smithley, going through Mr Walton's farmyard and across his fields. The time was by now about 20 minutes after 11, and as he walked along he heard noises coming from a field about 100 yards away. Walker knew at once that all was not well, his farming knowledge told him that these were sheep which were obviously disturbed and distressed. He crept across the field until he came up to a low stone wall and here he crouched. Over the wall was a turnip field on which there was a flock of sheep, and Walker could make out three men moving about amongst the sheep. He was also close enough to pick up their conversation.

"Where must we take them to?" asked one. "Take them down to the corner," answered another. Walker then watched as two of the men lifted a sheep up onto the back of the third man and then, picking up a second sheep between them, made their way to the corner of the field. Walker followed on the other side of the wall. Two of the men then began to bind the legs of the sheep, as though preparing them for slaughter, whilst the third man moved some distance away, presumably to keep watch and ensure that they were not disturbed, as they were only 100 yards from John Walton's farmhouse. They were not to know that these were not Walton's sheep, nor indeed his turnip field.

Walker decided that now was the time for action. He removed his oil lantern from its place on his belt, then took off his belt and overcoat and placed them all on the ground. Grasping his heavy walking stick firmly in his right hand he vaulted over the wall, at the same time calling out, "Hello, what are you about?"

"What the hell dost thou want to know for?" was the reply. Immediately all three men broke off what they had been doing and came towards him. Two of them carried life preservers in one hand and a butchering knife in the other, the third man carried a stick.

Without waiting Walker took the

initiative and struck out at the nearest man, knocking him to the ground, but at the same time breaking his stick into several pieces.

Walker then struck the second man, who promptly dropped his life preserver and the officer quickly snatched it up to use himself. For the next few minutes a fierce struggle ensued, during which the three men fell over the wall into a ditch. Walker followed and slowly got the upper hand, until finally he had two of the men on the ground, holding them down with a knee on each of their chests, and a vice-like grip on the throat of the third.

With his free hand Walker now tried to take out his handcuffs. Whilst trying to get these on the first of his attackers, the man let out a loud yell and almost immediately, as though from nowhere, four or five more men arrived on the scene and immediately fell upon Walker. They took the life preserver from him and beat him about the back with it, at the same time trying to pull him off the two sheep stealers. But Walker held on tight and eventually they had to pull all three men over to get Walker off.

Whilst he was down it seems the eight men systematically beat, stabbed, cut and kicked Walker until he was almost unconscious. They then left him with the comment, "There, we have killed the bugger."

Walker had sustained several deep cuts to his face (one of which was later described as two and half inches long), head and neck. The first two fingers of his left hand had been completely cut off near the second knuckle, and his third finger was only hanging by a small piece of skin. His body was bruised all over. Despite the fact that he had sustained serious injuries and lost a lot of blood, Walker recovered sufficiently to drag himself to the Walton farmhouse, where he had to rouse the occupants from their beds.

The time was now almost midnight. The Waltons did what they could for the policeman, including giving him a drink of watered-down brandy, before harnessing a horse to a light cart and having the policeman conveyed to his home at Wombwell.

John Walton then went to his field adjoining the turnip field and here he found the constable's coat, belt and lantern. In the turnip field he found the broken remains of Walker's stick, his hat, a life preserver and a piece of horse-rug.

The incident was reported to Superintendent Green at Barnsley and he sent Police Surgeon Richard Alderson to Wombwell to treat Walker's injuries. It was to take all the doctor's skill and the help of two colleagues, Dr. Wainwright of Barnsley and Dr. Burman of Wath-upon-Dearne, to pull Walker through his injuries.

In daylight a further search of the scene was made by police officers. A large area of turnips had been trampled and the area was heavily bloodstained. Amongst it all were found Walker's two severed fingers.

By Thursday week, April 2nd, Walker's colleagues had arrested eight men on suspicion of being involved in the attack. But Walker was the only one who could identify them, and he was still confined to his bed. So, under the supervision of Superintendent Green, Inspector Wetherell and a number of constables, the eight men - George French of Worsborough, George Carr, William Cherry and Edwin Fairclough of Barnsley, Samuel Moult alias 'Painter Sam' of Rawmarsh, Charles and John James Addy of Chapeltown and Henry Waller of Thorp Hesley - were escorted to Wombwell to be seen by Walker. But the officer could only identify Henry Waller as the first of the sheep stealers he had encountered in the turnip field. He was absolutely sure about Waller because he had seen him clearly in the light from the gas flare from Wombwell Main Colliery, which was only about 200 yards away from the scene of the attack.

The eight men were taken back to Barnsley and the seven who had not been identified were taken before a Magistrate. No evidence was offered, and they were discharged.

By Monday, April 20th, Walker had recovered sufficiently to give evidence in Court, although he was unfit to return to normal police duty and was still receiving treatment from Dr. Alderson. On that day the Barnsley Magistrates, after hearing Walker's account of the incident, John Walton's part in the affair, Dr. Alderson's description of the policeman's injuries and John Bashforth, who said that the sheep in the turnip field belonged to him and that the following day he had found two of them to have cords around their necks, committed Waller for trial at the next York Assizes on a charge of cutting and wounding Walker with intent to resist arrest. The Magistrates had also heard from Inspector Caygill that he had searched the turnip field and found Walker's two severed fingers, and from Inspector Wetherell who had arrested Waller.

Before the case was to come to trial two things were to happen with regard to Walker. First, because of the severe injuries which he had received it would seem that he was entitled to a payment from the police superannuation fund, although the amount is not given. His colleagues in the Force made a special collection which raised £36, of which Walker asked that £6 be spent on a silver watch, and this was inscribed, "Presented with the sum of £30 to P.C. Walker by Colonel Cobbe and the members of the West Riding Constabulary, as a mark of their

appreciation of his courage on the night of 20th of March 1857, at Wombwell."

Local farmers also presented Walker with £33 and magistrates and gentlemen in the Doncaster area made a further presentation. In all, Walker was to receive a total of £109, more than twice his annual salary at that time. (Third class constable's pay was 2s 7d per day; £47 0s 4d per year).

The Chief Constable immediately advanced him to First Class constable and awarded him his 'Merit' badge, both of which represented an increase in pay - First class constable, 3s per day; Merit badge, 2d per day. An advance of almost 23%.

Secondly, on June 3rd 1857 Walker was transferred from Wombwell to Harrogate, in the Claro Division of the Force.

The York Summer Assizes took place in early July, and on Friday 10th Henry Waller, a 25-year-old coal miner, appeared before Mr. Baron Channell. Waller pleaded not guilty, his defence being that Walker had been mistaken as to his identity. He called witnesses to say that he did not wear clothes as described by the policeman and that his lameness had been caused in a fight shortly before this incident, and therefore that alone would have prevented him from being involved. The jury, however, did not accept his story and found him guilty. A previous conviction for felony was then proved, but for what is not given, and the judge deferred passing sentence that day.

The following day his Lordship said that the prisoner had been convicted of a very grave offence, and he did not want people to get the idea that it was an offence which could be committed with impunity. The prisoner had been found guilty of a most ferocious and brutal attack upon the prosecutor, whose valour had been seldom equalled and never excelled. He had, by his gallantry, subdued the three men who were engaged in an awful transaction, but on the other five coming up, the constable was overcome, and the prisoner and his companions then proceeded to extremities. He should give him such a punishment that, he trusted, if the prisoner ever came again to this court he would be taught that he must not follow the violent courses he had been following, and that he and all others, when discovered would be severely punished. The sentence of the court was that he undergo penal servitude for fourteen years.

The Judge went on to commend Robert Walker and to recommend that he should be rewarded with a payment of twenty guineas.

It would be interesting to know if the witnesses called by Waller in his defence were any of the men originally arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the attack.

Walker was to spend the remainder of his police service in the northern half of the West Riding, staying at Harrogate and then Ripon for a period of seven years. During this time he was disciplined for a minor indiscretion and reduced to Second Class constable for a year, and presumably lost his Merit badge pay as well. It is possible that it was as a result of this matter that he was moved to Ripon. During this time Walker married and started a family.

In October 1864 he was transferred to Horton-in-Ribblesdale, in the Ewcross Division in the Yorkshire Dales, and here he was to stay until his retirement. But even this idyllic area was not without its difficulties, because in June 1867 Walker tangled with a poacher named Thomas Thistlethwaite at Bentham, and was thrown to the ground, dislocating his right elbow and causing him other injuries.

In March 1872, after 15 years' service, Walker was once again advanced to the Good Conduct and Merit class, which he was to enjoy for the next five years until his retirement on April 3rd 1877. His pension was to be 2s 9d per day (£50 3s 9d per year)

Walker was to remain at Horton-in-Ribblesdale in retirement and became the manager of a very successful fish hatchery on behalf of the Manchester Anglers' Association.

Police Constable 273 Robert Walker was one of the first members of the West Riding Constabulary and was the very first officer of that Force to be seriously injured on duty. A distinction, I am sure, he would have gladly foregone. Fortunately Walker survived, although there were times immediately following the Wombwell incident when even this was in doubt. But Walker was to achieve his three score years and ten; he died in September 1899.

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COLIN JACKSON retired from West Yorkshire Police in 1986 after 36 years service - Cadet to Chief Inspector,

The Llangibby Massacre

By DR JAN BONDESON

In 1878, Llangibby was a sleepy little village in South Wales, situated on the main road from Newport to Usk, and remarkable only for its 14th century church of St Cybi, and the 16th century White Hart inn.

The farmer William Watkins occupied a small cottage in Llangibby, situated just by the turnpike road, together with his wife Elizabeth and their three youngest children. There were also four older children, all of them out in service. William Watkins was a native of Herefordshire, but he had moved to South Wales at an early age, to work as a farm labourer.

In 1860, when in service with Mr Crump at Estavarney, he became acquainted with the local girl Elizabeth Ann Jaspar, and they got married at Caerleon. William Watkins continued to work as a farm labourer, although he was able to settle as a smallholder in Llangibby, moving to his present cottage after a few years.

Yusaf Garcia was a young Spanish sailor, who was stranded in Cardiff after the company of a Spanish ship had been paid off. Although he could hardly speak a word of English, he decided to stay in South Wales for a while, ending up in Newport. Soon, he had spent all his money in the seedy bars and pubs in the Pill area. On September 25 1877, Garcia tried to burgle a cottage in St Bride outside Newport, but he was overpowered and caught by some sturdy locals and handed over to the police. Although a slow-witted fellow with near negligible linguistic skills, and illiterate at that, he was considered *compos mentis* and fit to stand trial for his crime, and was sentenced to nine months in prison, with hard labour.

After he had served his time in Usk Prison, the intention was to put Garcia on a train with a single ticket to Newport in order to get rid of him, but the Spaniard managed to evade the prison warders and strayed out into the unfamiliar countryside. He had not been given the discharge money doled out to every prisoner on their release, so his pockets contained only seven pence and a halfpenny, apart from some foreign coins.

Yusaf Garcia was quite a young man, born in 1857 in Puebla in the province of Valencia; presumably there were schools in that part of Spain, but the masters had been quite unable to teach young Garcia how to read or write. It would appear that he joined the army as a young man and fought on the republican side in the civil war against the troops of Don Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish throne. He then became a merchant seaman, before being stranded in Cardiff.

Garcia was a short, thin man, just five feet five inches tall, with a swarthy complexion, coarse black hair and beard, and an unprepossessing countenance. After leaving Usk Prison he went on the tramp, and a woman saw him sleeping in a field.

Mrs Ann Gwatkin of Llangibby was quite startled when a villainous-looking foreign tramp came knocking at the door of her cottage at seven in the evening, asking, in very broken English, for some water and directions for Newport. She gave him some water, and described how he should proceed southwards to reach his destination; she later described her relief when this evil-looking individual walked off, on a route that would take him past the cottage of the Watkins family not far away.

On the following morning, July 17 1878, the 11-year-old lad Frank James left his home and walked half a mile to the Watkins cottage, where the plan was that he would join William

Watkins and go to a farm to do some work. But when he opened the front gate, he saw Elizabeth Watkins lying on the garden path in a large pool of congealed blood. The terrified lad ran home to alert his mother. Not long after, the young man John Evans came riding past the Watkins cottage. Being on horseback, he could see both William and Elizabeth Watkins lying dead on their backs in the front garden; they had clearly been murdered, and some person, presumably the murderer, had taken the trouble to sprinkle some Sweet William flowers over the face of the murdered man. Evans made haste to alert the farmer John Morgan who lived nearby, and they returned to examine the cottage, only to find that it was on fire: thick smoke bellowed out when the front door was opened, and it took further assistance to put out the flames. The floorboards of the children's bedroom were burnt through, and the men could see through to the lounge below. All three children were found dead, having been murdered by repeated stab wounds by a frenzied intruder, who had then set the house on fire in an attempt to hide the magnitude of his crime.

A postcard showing the Llangibby murder cottage.

The police sergeants in Usk and Caerleon were soon communicated with, and they both came to inspect the Llangibby murder house. In the meantime, the Usk prison authorities had an idea. They could well remember the convicted burglar Yusaf Garcia, and for some unspecified reason they thought him a prime suspect for the Llangibby Massacre. It may well be that Garcia had impressed the prison warders as a man capable of any atrocity; his villainous looks cannot have helped; then there was the powerful factor of xenophobia, since in rural Wales at that time foreigners were viewed with much suspicion. At any rate, the description of Garcia was circulated to the Newport and Cardiff police forces, who both put their constables on high alert. And indeed, late in the evening, a scruffy-looking foreign tramp made his way into Newport. In very broken English, he asked for

Vignettes from the Llangibby Massacre, from the Illustrated Police News, August 3 1878.

directions to the railway station, but there he was informed that the next train to Cardiff was not due until 2.30 am. He was spotted by a local police constable named Tooze, who alerted Sergeant McGrath who had seen Garcia when he was arrested for the burglary back in 1877. McGrath immediately recognized the fugitive, and Garcia was promptly handcuffed and locked up in the Newport police cell.

Already on July 18, both the Cardiff *Western Mail* and the London newspapers had been alerted that a family of five had been murdered at Llangibby, and that the sailor Joseph (as he was called in the press) Garcia had been taken into custody in Newport. A Press Association telegram said that Garcia's face and arms were found to be much scratched, as if he had been involved in a prolonged struggle. His shirt-sleeves had been washed, but the remainder of the shirt was stained with blood. He was wearing two pairs of trousers, one outside the other. The bundle he had been carrying at the time of his arrest was found to contain a large clasp-knife, several items of female clothing, the mechanism for a clock, and a loaf of bread. Garcia had been wearing canvas shoes when leaving the prison, but now he wore a pair of heavy boots, similar to those worn by the murdered William Watkins.

On July 19, the *Western Mail* had a further article on the Llangibby outrage, and the newspaper leader pointed out that since mass murder was wholly alien to the Welsh mind, a foreigner must obviously be the guilty man. When Garcia was taken to Caerleon to be charged with murder before the magistrate, he was hissed and booed by an angry mob.

The coroner's inquest on the murdered Watkins family opened at the White Hart, Llangibby, on July 19, before the coroner Mr W.H. Brewer. The twelve jurors made their way to the murder cottage to see the mangled bodies, which had been left lying in their original positions after the post-mortem examination.

A portrait of Garcia, from the Illustrated Police News, November 9 1878.

When the shaken jurors returned from their grisly duty, the local doctor was ready to give details of the injuries: the throats of William Watkins and his wife had been cut with a formidable knife, and the same instrument had then been used to massacre the three children in a murderous frenzy. A clasp-knife had been found in Garcia's bundle when he had been searched by the police, but it seemed too small and blunt to be the murder weapon; instead, it was speculated that after stunning William Watkins the murderer had seized one of the kitchen knives to decimate the family.

The inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder against Joseph Garcia, and he was committed to stand trial; due to the massive local prejudice against him, the trial would not be held in Monmouthshire, but at the Gloucester Assizes in late October. In the meantime, Garcia was incarcerated in Usk Prison.

There was great public interest in the grisly Llangibby Massacre, and much enthusiasm all over South Wales to come and see the murder house. As a local newspaper expressed it,

> *"On Saturday a great number of persons visited Llangibby, but the great concourse of persons took place on Sunday, when some thousands thronged to the village during the day in vehicles of every description, whilst it is stated that many pedestrians from the Hills commenced their journey at break of day to pay a visit at the spot. Stalls for the sale of ginger-beer, fruit, buns, &c, were erected on the road sides; the two inns of the village were filled during the whole day. Towards nightfall some drunken brawls ensued, and amidst vociferous exclamations, vile language and oaths resounded through the hitherto quiet and well-ordered village. At the cottage any portion of the gate, door, stone, or piece of wood, which bore any trace of blood, was eagerly seized by the sensation and mystery-mongers as souvenirs, and it is proverbial that, whilst men flock to the spot from curiosity to see the locality, the women have a hankering desire to see the slaughtered remains of the ill-fated family, and some have expressed themselves that they did 'not care a pin to go there if they could not see the bodies.' It is rumoured that it is the intention of Mr G.W. Nicholl, to whom the cottage belongs, to raze it to the ground, and throw the site and the garden into an adjoining field."*

This disgraceful 'murder tourism' continued for some weeks to come: well-laden vehicles descended on Llangibby, from all parts of South Wales, and the public houses were full to capacity.

The trial of Joseph Garcia began on October 30 1878 at the Gloucester Assizes. Baron Bramwell presided, Mr Bosanquet and Mr Lawrence prosecuted, and Garcia was defended by Mr Gough and Mr Maddy. The case for the prosecution was expertly put forward: Garcia was a known burglar; he had been spotted near the murder cottage, his face was scratched and his shirt stained with blood, and he

The White Hart, Llangibby, where the inquest was held.

had worn the boots and trousers of William Watkins and carried a bag of objects stolen from the household. Garcia had carried a knife when arrested, but this was unlikely to be the murder weapon. On October 11, a dog had found a bloodstained butcher's knife in a hedge near Llangibby, and there was newspaper optimism that it matched a leather sheath found at the crime scene, but nothing was made of this discovery in court.

The defence had to think of an explanation why so many of the Watkins household items had ended up in the bundle carried by Garcia, and Mr Gough suggested that the family had been murdered by tramps and that the Spaniard had discovered the murdered people, and decided to steal some property from the house. He may well have got his clothes stained with blood in the process, it was optimistically added. Much was made of Garcia's lack of motive, and his tardiness in tramping from Llangibby to Newport.

In his summing-up, Baron Bramwell declared that there was no doubt that the murderer of the Watkins family was the same person who had stolen effects from the house. The jury never left the box, but arrived at a verdict of Guilty after just a few minutes of discussion.

Baron Bramwell put on the black cap and sentenced Garcia to death. He was executed at Usk Prison on November 18 1878, amidst much public uproar: the executioner Marwood was toasted by the mob at the Crown Inn and the Three Salmons, and three rousing cheers were given as his train steamed out of Usk Station.

Over the years, doubts have remained concerning Garcia's guilt. There is no doubt that there was immense prejudice against him, and Thomas Ensor, the solicitor employed by the Spanish Consul to conduct Garcia's defence, was not at all impressed by Mr Gough's feeble efforts in court. There was no eyewitness testimony, and Garcia had no motive to commit murder.

A mystification was added in May 1994 when a certain William Watkins spoke up in a newspaper interview, claiming that Garcia had been the boyfriend of Mary Ann Watkins, the eldest daughter of the murdered family, and that they had an illegitimate child, his grandfather. Garcia had come to the cottage to meet Mary Ann, but he had murdered every person on the premises after her father William Watkins had attempted to throw him out. Mary Ann was just 15-years-old at the time, however, and the ugly, monoglot Garcia was hardly the kind of person that a young girl was likely to fall in love with.

The manuscript diary of a certain Henry Jones mentions a sailor arrested in Newport on suspicion of being the Llangibby murderer, but this is likely to represent one of the men briefly taken into custody before Garcia was caught, and has little significance with regard to the question of his guilt.

The *Western Mail* reproduced some anonymous letters, to the effect that Garcia was innocent; one of them was supposed to be from the real murderers, some French sailors, and had the wording "me and mi mates killed the ole foks at Langley ... We throed the close and clok away, we lay in the dich an see Gracia find them, the we shipped two days afterward an now get back an see you have hung por Gracia, you can's kitch us now so long after – for we ship again – but you british be dam fools." The newspaper classified this badly-spelt missive as an impudent hoax, however.

As for the hypothesis that the Watkinses were murdered by tramps, it has little to recommend itself, since the Welsh tramps of those days were hardly capable of a wholesale massacre, for no profit at all. The Watkinses do not appear to have had any enemies, and violent crime was practically unknown in Llangibby and its vicinity.

Personally, I remain convinced that Garcia was the guilty man, but was justice the ultimate result of the flawed process of trying him? A rather difficult question to answer is whether Garcia was really sane and fit

Horrible Tragedy Near Newport.

One of the most cruel murders ever recorded took place at Llangibby, near Newport, on Wednesday, July 17th, when a whole family, Father, Mother and three children were found murdered, and the house ransacked and set on fire.

A Spaniard named Garcia, is committed for the crime.

Tune—Poor Little Joe.

In a beautiful village, so quiet and serene,
Eight miles from Newport between Usk and Caerleon,
A poor farmer's labourer and his family did dwell,
What has befell them is shocking to hear ;
Murdered in cold blood the family has been,
Father and mother and three children were seen
Brutally killed and lying in their gore,
Victims of a crime never heard of before.

Poor little children, weltering in gore,
Their parents lie dead near their own cottage door ;
All of them murdered so cruelly had been,
At the village of Llangibby, not far from Caerleon.

The father of the family, William Watkins by name,
Was sober and honest, his wife was the same ;
The troubles of life they've had to endure,
But they were respected altho' they were poor.
They have fallen victims to this cruel deed,
Their untimely fate almost makes the heart bleed,
The whole of them murdered, parents, children and all,
Their terrible fate is sad to recall.

Poor Watkins was missed at his work on that day,
The farmer, his master, a boy sent away,
The boy saw his body lying dead near the door,
While the flowers were covered with the poor victim's gore ;
The boy ran to his mother, the alarm soon was given,
But the family was murdered, 'twas too late to save,
The cottage in flames a terrible scene,
Blood show'd the tracks where the murderers had been.

The dear little children crept under the bed,
Their bodies were found there, poor souls they were dead,
They thought to get there out of harm's way,
From their cruel murderers who were waiting to slay ;
The poor eldest child had tried to fly,
Stabbed in the back she was doom'd to die.
Inside the house, and outside the door,
That once peaceful cottage was surrounded with gore.

The cottage was burning, it had been robb'd as well,
There had been a struggle ere the poor inmates fell,
Forced by the murderers at last to give way,
'Midst the flowers in the garden the poor parents lay ;
Their throats had been cut, 'twas a barbarous crime,
Struck down by murderers while yet in their prime,
The song birds at sunshine as they caroll'd along,
Were singing the murder'd Farm Labourer's death song.

May the murderers to justice quickly be brought,
And suffer the penalty they surely have sought,
Lynch law in some countries they would very soon find,
And their bodies be swinging on the trees to the wind.
Heaven be kind to those who are dead,
Flowers will bloom over each weary head,
The villagers' children when years pass by,
Will point to the grave where the poor victim's lie.

H. P. Such, Machine Printer, 177, Union Street, Borough, London. S. E.

A 'murder broadside' on the Llangibby Massacre.

to plead. As we know, he was illiterate and incapable of learning proper English, and his crime was that of a lunatic, butchering a family for hardly any gain at all. His utterances, at various stages of his criminal career, were entirely stupid and confused, even when a Spanish interpreter was present. There is nothing to suggest that he was ever seen by a competent psychiatrist, with an interpreter present, so the unpleasant possibility remains that a half-wit was hanged at Usk Prison, for the Llangibby Massacre of 1878.

When I went to see the Usk Rural Life Museum back in 2001 an old photograph of the Llangibby murder house was on display, along with a brief account of the crime. Another vintage photograph of the murder cottage was made into a picture postcard in Edwardian times, and a copy is reproduced in this article. The Llangibby murder house was razed to the ground a year or two after the massacre, since no person would live there, but the knowledgeable locals are aware of where it once stood.

Of the four surviving Watkins children, at least two had issue, and there may well be descendants alive today.

In 2005, former Detective Chief Superintendent Gerald Thoms discussed the Llangibby Massacre in the *Crime Solver* show on BBC Wales, arriving at the conclusion that Garcia was guilty. The 80-year-old Mr Keith Watkins, a former merchant seaman whose grandfather was the brother of the murdered man, and who had taken care to study the case, agreed in a newspaper interview.

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This is an extra-illustrated extract from Jan Bondeson's book *Victorian Murders* (Amberley Publishing, Stroud 2017).

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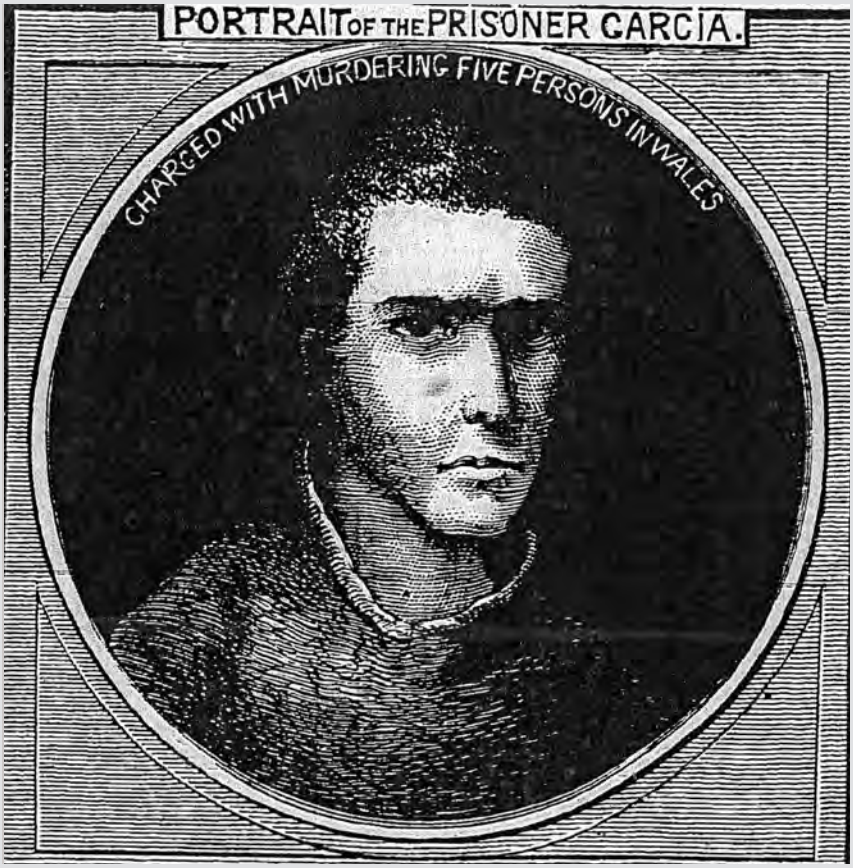
JAN BONDESON MD PhD is the author of many critically acclaimed true crime books, including *The London Monster*, *Blood on the Snow*, *Queen Victoria's Stalker*, *Murder Houses of London* and *Rivals of the Ripper*. This is an edited extract from his most recent book *Victorian Murders*. He lives at the Priory, Dunbar.

The gravestone of the murdered Watkinses, in Llangibby Cemetery.



Vignettes of the Llangibby Massacre from the Illustrated Police News

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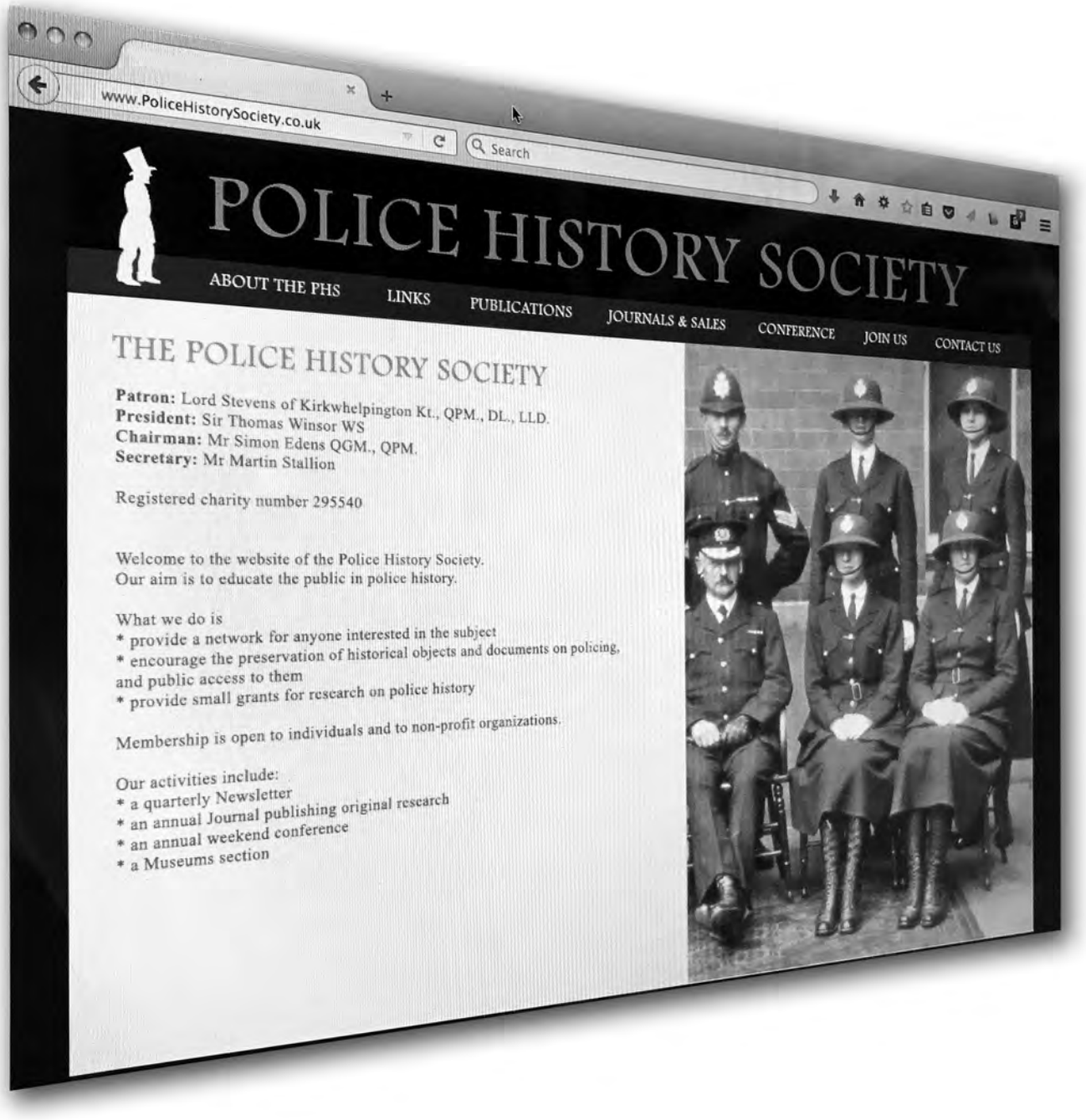

www.PoliceHistorySociety.co.uk

"A somewhat serious accident"

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