5 The later years of the WRCC: consolidation and careers, c.1870-1900

UNDER COL. COBBE'S successors, McNeill and Russell, the WRCC grew substantially, becoming more complex and bureaucratic but also more stable and experienced. As the police remit, both formal and informal, expanded a recognisably policed society developed in the West Riding. The force more than doubled in size, matching the growth in the county's population in the 1870s and 1880s but exceeding it in the 1890s. Given the large number of men (over 3500) who served in the WRCC between 1870 and 1899, this chapter is centred on three decadal snapshots of the cohorts recruited in 1871, 1881 and 1891 and an in-depth study of the force in 1900.

Table 5:1 WRCC, 1872 -1902*

	1872	1882	1892	1902
West Riding				
Authorised strength	759	938	1050	1232
Police/population ratio	1:1293	1:1172	1:1168	1:1005
Police/population ratio 1862 =100	87	79	79	68

*Years chosen to incorporate most up-to-date census information

Source: Annual Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary

During these years, the police hierarchy remained fundamentally unchanged.* The numbers in the senior ranks (chief constable, superintendents and inspectors) increased in absolute terms but consistently accounted for around six per cent of the establishment. The appointments of a chief clerk and, later,

* See Appendix 1

a deputy chief constable were important managerial developments So too the growth in absolute and relative terms in the number of sergeants. In 1861 they accounted for 10 percent of the establishment, rising to 14 per cent by 1881, at which level it remained over the next two decades.

The division remained the critical unit of policing but the initial structure was modified over time. The growth of population in the south of the county led to the creation in 1869 of two divisions – Sheffield and Rotherham – out of the original Upper Strafforth and Tickhill. County boundary changes (the loss of part of Saddleworth to Lancashire in 1888 and the acquisition of Todmorden) led to reductions and redeployment. Similarly, the extension of borough boundaries within the county led to change. The Upper Agbrigg divisional strength was reduced by eleven in 1869 as a consequence of the redrawing of the boundaries of the borough of Huddersfield. Bradford's boundary changes in 1899 had a similar impact. So too the merging into the WRCC of the borough forces of Pontefract (1889) and Ripon (1887) and the creation of borough forces in Dewsbury (1863), Rotherham (1882) and Barnsley (1896). By the turn of the twentieth century the WRCC policed a population of 1.129 million people, including ten municipal boards with populations of over 10,000 including Batley, Keighley and Todmorden.[1] The extent of the evolution of the force can be seen in the official snapshot of the force in 1895.** Perhaps the most striking feature is the wide discrepancies in divisional police strengths. At one extreme were Dewsbury, East Morley and Staincross with over 100 men and, at the other Ainsty & Wetherby, Barkstonash and Todmorden with numbers in the 20s, and the much-reduced Saddleworth with only fourteen men.

As the force grew over time, its structure became more finely graded. With the growing number of longer serving men, it became necessary to differentiate between them, not least in terms of experience. The pay structure of the force, relatively simple in the late 1850s, became increasingly complex as new classes were created (merit, good conduct and later long service). The force had been praised for its progressive and 'very comprehensive' pay scales in 1860, which incorporated as an incentive a merit class, but change was needed. Responding to the problems of recruitment and retention in the 1870s, pay scales were revised in 1873, to match rates in Lancashire[2] (and a second merit class was

** See Appendix 2

created) and again in 1878 but remained unchanged thereafter until 1891. Senior police figures were well aware of the difficulties, as were the county magistrates. In the early 1870s, Col. Pollard openly admitted that 'he could not get satisfactory men [because of] the large increase in the amount of wage that had been given throughout the country.' Supporting the proposed increase, fellow magistrate, Col. Compton drew attention to the fact that 'carpenters and masons were better paid than policemen, who were expected to be intelligent, men of discretion, and to be on duty every day.[3] The situation eased in the following decades as wage levels in local industries stagnated. Nonetheless, the underlying problem of attracting and retaining good men never went away.

The ongoing challenge of recruitment and retention

The challenge for the WRCC was to recruit and retain sufficient men with the range of qualities required to be a Victorian policeman. Much depended upon the state of the local and regional economy and changing perceptions of the rewards and conditions of service of policing. A buoyant regional labour market posed major problems into the 1870s.[4] Wage levels were high, and the situation was compounded by the fact that in 'other avocations for employment' in which 'well trained and intelligent police officers' were particularly suited held out 'strong inducements' in a manner that the police did not.[5] Thereafter problems facing the staple, export industries took some of the heat out of the regional labour market, to the benefit of the WRCC. Nonetheless, basic pay levels remained central, particularly at recruitment and during early years. By the early 1870s the basic three-class structure for constables, dating from 1857, remained but now within the first-class category there were three different pay levels (22s 9d, 23s 4d and 23s 11d per week)) as well as a merit class (24s 6d). There were three ordinary classes and a merit class for sergeants (25s 8d, 26s 10d, 28s and 29s 2d), compared with the one class in 1857. In addition, there was an acting sergeant class. By the turn of the century there were six classes for constables (the first encompassing three wage levels) and five for sergeants (the first encompassing two wage levels). In broad terms, a first-class constable c.1871 would earn 23s 11d per week and his counterpart c.1901 31s 6d, an increase of approximately 30 per cent. For

sergeants, the corresponding figures are 28s and 37s 4d, a similar percentage rise. In real terms the increase would have been larger as prices, especially of foodstuffs, fell in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and regularity of employment remained a bonus.[6]

Promotion opportunities, which impacted more on retention varied over time and were dependant on 'accidental' factors, waiting for retired or dead men's shoes. Only a small percentage of men achieved more than one promotion, and many never that. Consequently, the creation of new classes – merit, good conduct and long service – for constables and sergeants was seen as a means of rewarding, and thereby retaining, longer-serving men whose upward career paths had stalled. There was also the possibility of a discretionary pension but the right to a pension (subject to certain criteria) was not won until 1890. HMIC Woodford, for whom policing should be 'a profession for life,' urged the authorities to adopt 'all reasonable means … to induce well conducted, effective and intelligent men' to stay. One such means was the establishment of a superannuation scheme and he praised the WRCC for introducing one from the outset. However, he overstated its importance and it was not until the 1890s that the prospect of a pension appeared to impact on both recruitment and retention.

Although there were more dangerous jobs, policemen still faced the triple occupational threats of assaults, accidents and illness, as well as constraints on behaviour, the disruption caused by transfers and the continuing social isolation – living in a community but not being truly part of it – which also impacted on family members. To some extent this was offset by a growing sense of camaraderie, created in part by the provision of rest rooms and leisure facilities and partly by the growth of informal, social organisations, from sport to religion.

The difficulties of the 1870s led to a continuation of a recruitment policy that (necessarily) prioritised quantity over quality. In most years, the force was never more than 5 per cent short of its authorised strength at inspection but retention rates were problematic. Indeed, Woodford's successor as Her Majesty's inspector of constabulary (HMIC) for the northern district, W P Elgee, argued on more than one occasion for an initial contract of six months or a year to staunch the flow of early leavers, though the proposal was never implemented for fear of exacerbating existing recruitment difficulties. However, there were clear signs of improvement, starting in the mid- to late-1870s. The extent of churn that characterised the early force

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diminished significantly. Total variations fell, dropping below 10 per cent of establishment from the mid-1880s. The most significant element was the dramatic reduction in the number of dismissals. A number of factors contributed to this. Changing economic circumstances may have made policing more attractive for more than agricultural labourers than it had been in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Applicants themselves may have been better qualified for and/or more aware of the demands of the job and the WRCC may have become better at vetting out unsuitable men. Or, at times, disciplinary practice may have changed and men were retained who previously would have been dismissed. A more stubborn problem was that of voluntary resignations, which accounted for some 60 per cent of total variation throughout the period. More positive, was the increase in the number of men receiving a pension in the 1890s, reflecting the legislative change at the beginning of the decade. Taken together, the force at the turn of the twentieth century was significantly different from its predecessor a generation earlier. It was not only larger, more complex and more bureaucratic, it was also more stable and less ill-disciplined.

Table 5.2 WRCC annual variations, 1875/9 – 1900/4

	1875-9	1880-4	1885-9	1890-4	1895-9	1900-4
Total variations annual average	172	120	84	72	88	121
Total variations as % of WRCC establishment	20%	13%	9%	7%	7%	9%
Dismissals - annual average	30	14	7	6	7	5
Dismissals - % of total variations	17%	12%	8%	8%	8%	4%
Resignations – annual average	116	74	52	42	51	78
Resignations as % of total variations	67%	62%	62%	58%	58%	64%
Pensioned – annual average	17	23	8	15	20	33
Pensioned - % of total variations	10%	19%	10%	21%	23%	27%
Others* – annual average	9	9	17	9	10	5
Others - % of total variations	5%	8%	20%	13%	11%	4%

*includes discharge with gratuity, death and absconding

Source: HMIC annual reports

As ever, the broad brush of averages spread over several decades obscures both short-term variations and individual experiences. To translate these general trends into more immediate and human terms and to provide a complementary perspective, it is valuable to look at the experiences of the cohorts recruited at ten-year intervals from 1871 to 1891 before looking at the state of the force at the turn of the twentieth century.

The overall changes in career outcomes for these three cohorts are summarised in the following tables. There was a significant and sustained increase in the percentage of men pensioned (or in the case of the 1891 cohort, still in service in 1914 but eligible for a pension). There was also a persistent problem of ill-disciplined men who were either dismissed or required to resign. Indeed, the record of the 1881 cohort was worse than its predecessor, reflecting a more stringent approach to early-career performance, which led to an increase in the number of men being resigned compulsorily for lack of ability. And resignation levels, though diminishing over time, still ran at c.30 per cent overall for the 1891 cohort.

Table 5.3 Career outcomes (as %) for three WRCC cohorts, 1871, 1881 & 1891

	1871	1881	1891
Pension	17	27	5
In service 1914*	0	0	34
Pension & in service	17	27	39
Dismissed	11	9	9
Resigned compulsorily	6	20	14
Dismissed & compulsory resignation	17	29	23
Resign	58	38	30
Resign ill-health	6	1	6
Died in service	1	4	1

Source: WRCC Examination Books

On a more positive note, there was a significant increase in long-serving, career policemen, especially late in the century. Using the pessimistic/optimistic parameters noted above, the percentage of 'properly trained' constables rose from 26% - 34% in the 1870s, to 40% - 48% in the 1880s and 56% to 61% in the 1890s. But, if this is evidence of training time better spent, the problem of early-years wastage was far from solved. There was improvement over time

but even for the cohort of 1891 almost two in five recruits left in their first two years in the force. Further, the increasing number of men serving for twenty years or more meant that the force contained an increasing percentage of men well past their peak of physical (and probably mental) ability.

Table 5.4 Length of service (as %) for three WRCC cohorts, 1871, 1881 & 1891

Length of service	Less than 1 year	1 to 2 years	3 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 19 years	20 years and over
1871	36	31	8	5	3	17
1881	32	22	8	8	6	26
1891	13	25	5	4	11	41

Source: WRCC Examination Books

With more men becoming long-serving officers the prospect of promotion took on greater significance. The percentage of long-serving men who remained as constables (albeit in some cases with promotion to merit, good conduct or long service class) more than trebled between 1861 and 1891. At the same time the already small percentage of men promoted to the higher ranks of superintendent and inspector declined further. As the careers of the first superintendents and inspectors came to an end, there were opportunities for promotion for promising men recruited in the 1860s and 1870s. However, as career policemen, serving for twenty or more years in many cases, the opportunities for later cohorts, especially that of 1881, diminished.

Table 5.5 Promotions (as %) for career policemen for three WRCC cohorts, 1871, 1881 & 1891

	Pensioned but no promotion beyond PC	Sergeant	Inspector	Superintendent
1871	9	11	4	1
1881	27	7	2	0
1891	31	18	1	0

Source: WRCC Examination Books

The cohort of 1871

In the early 1870s HMIC Elgee was concerned with 'the large proportion of inexperienced men' which in turn stemmed from problems of recruitment and basic initial training. The high wages resulting from an economic upturn and the subsequent high demand for labour across the region, including the West Riding, resulted in 'much difficulty … in obtaining men of intelligence' to join the force. By 1871 the authorised strength of the WRCC was 736 men. There had been a significant augmentation between 1869 and 1870 and overall numbers were to continue to grow steadily throughout the decade. As in other forces, large-scale short-term increases were associated with higher levels of turnover. In total 127 men became members of the force in 1871. A majority were born and living in the West Riding but over a third were born in Scotland, reflecting a decision to recruit from poorer but more distant parts of the country, notably Aberdeenshire. Two-thirds of these men had worked on the land (as farm servant, farm labourer, ploughman etc). More local recruits were likelier to have been working in the various branches of the textile trade, though many gave their occupation simply as labourer.

Looking at biographical information relating to these men, there is no obvious occupational or age pattern but, as in previous years, the recruitment of men with previous police experience proved a mixed blessing. Forty-three men (just over a third of the annual intake) had previous police experience but only nine of them (21 per cent) served long enough to be pensioned. Twenty resigned, most commonly within twelve to eighteen months, while twelve (almost 30 per cent) were either dismissed or resigned compulsorily. Even promising men disappointed. James Peacock had an impressive record: six years' service in the Durham city force, four years in the Richmond borough force before becoming its head constable, a post he held from 1868 to 1871. Appointed in October 1871, aged twenty-nine, he was compulsorily resigned two years later. Nor was the faith in the qualities of the agricultural labourer well placed. Of forty-five such men, half left within the first year (overwhelmingly resignations) with only five serving until they were pensioned. It was small consolation that farm workers were less likely to be dismissed or compulsorily resigned. The continuing number of men resigning within days or weeks of appointment suggests a lack of awareness of the demands of police work. Unfortunately, the examination books do not

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record consistently reasons for resigning. Overall, it remained the case that the police authorities continued to struggle to identify promising candidates before appointment. Rather they appeared willing to give the benefit of the doubt (even in the case of men who presented themselves a second time after a short stay in the WRCC) and to weed out only the most inefficient and inappropriate men in their first months as policemen. But this still left them struggling to stem the flow of voluntary resignations.

Of the forty-one men who served for more than three years, twenty-one went on to serve for twenty years or more. During this time, they could expect to serve in two or three divisions. John Dickie was transferred once, serving thirteen years in Upper Osgoldcross and eighteen in Keighley, while William Plowright served six years in West Staincliffe, eleven years in Lower Strafforth & Tickhill and a final seven years in Staincross. Very few (three to be precise) served in more than five divisions. More surprising, eight men served in only one division throughout their police career, in five cases for more than twenty years. Although there were cases of men serving for only a few years (or even months) in a division, taken as a whole, postings lasted on average for some five years or more. The examination books do not include reasons for transfers, though many were linked to promotions and, more so, demotions. Movement between divisions was undoubtedly important but so were transfers within divisions. Unfortunately, again the examination books are silent.

The promotion prospects of this cohort were different from those of their predecessors, who had benefitted from the opportunities created in the foundation years. Nonetheless, there was sufficient churn for fourteen men (11 per cent of the cohort) to become sergeants but there was a two-track pattern of promotion. Promising men were promoted rapidly, Thomas Spencer in just over three years, Alexander Adams and Adam Sutherland after four. In contrast, Frederick Plowright and Isaac Pritchard received their promotions as reward for long service after eleven and twelve years, respectively. Not all promotions were successful. Henry Younger resigned after six years in post, Thomas Marshal was reduced to the rank of first-class constable after six years and William Burnell stood down at his own request after three years. Despite the recognised importance of sergeants, finding good men to fill the post remained problematic. Nor were further promotion prospects in the force good. Only five were subsequently promoted

to inspector, one after three years, two after seven and two after thirteen and fourteen years, respectively. James Gordon's rise was the fastest but his promise was never fulfilled. After two years as an inspector, he was demoted to first-class constable. Three years later he was promoted sergeant for the second time. Nine years later he received a pension after twenty-seven years' service. Only one man from this cohort, William Bielby, went on to become a superintendent in the WRCC.

It was the long-serving police constables who bore the brunt of beat work over the years. Eleven men from this cohort fell into this category. After reaching the rank of first-class constable (usually after two or three years) and entry into the good conduct class (some six years later), they stayed at the same pay grade for almost twenty years. Three men resigned, one because of ill-health, but all had a good personal conduct record. Of the nine constables who received a pension after twenty-five years' service, a clear majority, somewhat surprisingly, had no blemishes on their record but for a few their career pathway was more chequered. John Clarkson was twice a first-class constable and a member of the good conduct class; twice he was demoted. His career ended badly. Some three months before he was to retire on a pension, he was demoted from the first to the third class. Henry Brook's career followed a similar trajectory but he managed to regain his first-class and good conduct status for a third time just before his retirement.

Standing back from the detail, the characteristics and experience of the cohort of 1871 still had much in common with the men of the early force. Worryingly large numbers of recruits were dismissed or resigned in their first or second year in the force. Effectively, two out of three recruits failed to become an 'efficient,' serving constable. For those who stayed, promotion opportunities within the force, especially beyond the rank of sergeant, were very limited. Nonetheless, with the passing of time, the incremental effect was to increase the number of more experienced men at all levels in the force. To that extent the long-term process of slow but steady consolidation continued.

The cohort of 1881

This process of consolidation continued and was reflected in the experiences of the 1881 cohort. By this time, the force numbered 934 men. Recruits

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were again drawn overwhelmingly from the West Riding with a significant minority from the eastern counties of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. The latter accounted for most of the twenty-seven recruits who identified themselves as farm servants, farm labourers, grooms etc. The problems of arable farming, which was to intensify in the following years, was already creating a new source of labour.[7] There were a similar number of ordinary labourers. Taken together, unskilled men accounted for almost half of the year's recruits. Not surprisingly the textile trades were still well represented but there was also a smattering of skilled men – joiners, cabinet makers, stone masons, blacksmiths and the like – but even fewer clerks, notwithstanding the force's need for administrative skills. But in contrast to a decade earlier, there was a quiet confidence that there were sufficient 'eligible candidates' coming forward to join the force and that, in the words of HMIC Legge, 'great care [was] exercised in the selection of those most eligible.'[8] Closer examination of the police records paint a less optimistic picture.

Of the 120 men enlisted in that year, sixty-four (54 per cent of the cohort) left in the first two years but this was lower than the 66 per cent of a decade earlier. Fifty-six men served for three years or more, over half of whom served over twenty years. The resignation rate had been cut by a third, with a small number of resignees comprising men with five or more years' experience, some of whom sought promotion elsewhere. The dismissal rate was largely unchanged but, reflecting a more stringent approach to work performance, there was a marked increase in the number of men compulsorily resigned for inefficiency. The bulk of these losses were incurred in the first two years, but a small number of established men (more than in the previous cohort) were required to resign later. William Smith and Edwin Cryer, for example, had served for ten and fifteen years respectively, albeit with repeat cycles of promotion and demotion, when their careers were ended. Had these standards prevailed a decade earlier, several long-serving men would have seen their police careers truncated. Smith was one of five men who did not receive a pension despite serving for over ten years. Twenty-five men, a majority of long-serving men, were pensioned. Also, a reflection of the growing number of longer serving men, there was an increase in the relatively small number of men who died in service.

As in previous years, these men could expect to serve in two or three divisions and were spread across the county. However, the percentage serving

in one division was twice as high as in the 1871 cohort. Fortuitously, five men were sent to Staincross and their experiences reflect wider characteristics of the police experience. Frank Moore, an ex-miner, was one of the workhorses of the force. In just over a years, he had worked his way up to first-class constable. A brief lapse led to a demotion but by the end of the year he had regained his former status. For the next six years his conduct was exemplary and he was promoted to the good conduct class. Two years later, an experienced constable, he was promoted sergeant but, like several others, he failed to make the grade and was demoted to first-class constable after three years. In May 1906, after twenty-five years' service, he received a pension of just over £1 a week. Richard Gaythorpe's career appeared to be following a similar trajectory. By 1888 he was also a first-class constable in the good conduct class. Probably frustrated by the limited rewards, he resigned two years later to work for Barnsley county court. After a brief spell, which saw him, and three county court bailiffs, seriously assaulted, he rejoined the force in 1891, returning to the Staincross division. Within months he was transferred to Dewsbury, the first of four transfers in one year, before ending up in Lower Agbrigg, where he served for a further sixteen years. William Smith appeared even more promising but, having reached the good conduct class by December 1884, his ill-discipline saw the loss of his good conduct class (twice), demotion to third-class constable and compulsory resignation a year later in 1891. The other two men served for only four years. James Delaney had previously served in the WRCC for six years when he was re-appointed and posted to Staincross. Ill-health forced his resignation aged thirty. Alfred Austwich, had also served briefly in the WRCC. His second career ended tragically when he was shot by a notorious local poacher and criminal, James Murphy, who was subsequently executed for the crime. Austwich's fate was exceptional but it evoked considerable local sympathy, including a public subscription that raised over £500 for his widow and children.

There were a growing number of career policemen in this cohort but their promotion prospects were worse than for previous cohorts. Only ten men achieved a first promotion, usually after ten years or more years in service. The unfortunate, Charles Dove served twenty-one years in five different divisions, eventually became a sergeant after fifteen years, but died in service at the age of forty-three. There was still a problem finding capable sergeants. A third were subsequently demoted, though one was re-promoted and served

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four years until pensioned, Further promotions within the WRCC were even scarcer. Only two were promoted to inspector but neither became a superintendent. Francis Hyde, one of the two, was unusual in that he had had a very brief stint in the WRCC (in 1879) before being reappointed. For the majority, the only hope of advancement was to the good conduct class with the hope of a pension at the end. Twenty-five men, most having served twenty years or more, were still constables when they received their pensions. Six served out their time with an unblemished record but not deemed worthy of promotion. A further five men served over ten years without promotion and left without a pension. These were the harsh realities for this cohort. However, not least in the reduced wastage rate, there was an acceleration of changes, which suggest, if not a clear break with the past, at least the beginning of a new phase in the development of the WRCC.

The cohort of 1891

As in the early 1880s, recruitment was not seen as a major quantitative problem. There was 'no scarcity of candidates' across the northern district. The WRCC by the early 1890s had topped 1000 men and the experience of the cohort of 1891 illustrates the extent to which the force had changed since its inception in 1856. The number of recruits (seventy-seven) was significantly lower than in previous years and was itself an indication of less churn in the system.[9] These were also among the first men to join since the passing of the 1890 Police Act. Overall variations were lower, the dismissal rate had been cut by a third, the number of long-serving men (ten years and more) had doubled and with it a similar change in the percentage of pensioned men. Almost half the intake served for ten years or more, while two in five received a pension. There was a dramatic fall in short-lived service, ending within a year. These were positive signs but the concentration of resignations among men with two years' service showed that the problem identified by Elgee a decade earlier had not been fully resolved.

Again, these men could expect to serve in two or three districts. William Thorpe, for one, was first stationed in West Staincliffe before transfers to Keighley and Todmorden, serving two stints of six years and one of ten. He was never promoted beyond constable but his long service was eventually

recognised by the two long-service classes introduced in 1909 and 1912. Roughly a quarter had a single posting, all but one remaining as a constable, including five men who each served over twenty years. There were increased opportunities for promotion but only to the rank of sergeant, as men appointed in the late 1870s and early 1880s retired. Fourteen men, almost 20 per cent of the intake, were promoted to the rank of sergeant, a process which took on average ten years. High-fliers like Joseph Bell and Firth Lees was promoted after two and six years respectively, but at the other end of the scale, for men like Owen Flannery and Edward Pearson promotion came as a reward for 'long and faithful service,' close to retirement. For the remainder, there was a period of ten years before promotion and then little chance of further progress. The post was important and the job secure but the only increases in pay came from the introduction of new pay scales and the later creation of two new good-conduct classes for men serving fourteen and twenty-one years, respectively. Further, from the turn of the century the cost of living began to increase, eroding the purchasing power of men on fixed incomes. However, only one man resigned and this group of experienced sergeants played a key role in the creation of a more professional force in the early twentieth century. However, there was a continuing problem of men, seemingly of promise, failing to make the grade. George Bell, for example, was promoted to sergeant after two years. His career stalled and after eight years he was demoted. Although he regained his good conduct class two years later, he was never again considered for promotion. The only recognition he gained was for long service, being moved to both the good conduct classes in April 1912 when they were first introduced. Even more dramatic was Tom Carver's fall from grace, ending as it did in the county lunatic asylum. Claiming, somewhat implausibly, the 'excitement of promotion' to the rank of sergeant and subsequent depression, he murdered his three children, attempted to murder his wife and tried to commit suicide. At his trial at Leeds assizes the judge instructed the jury to return a verdict of guilty but insane.[10] Further promotion opportunities within the force for sergeants were very limited. Only two men, Frederick Farnside and Firth Lees became an inspector; and neither became a superintendent,

There remained one last group, comprising the twenty-eight men (over a third of the cohort), who served for ten years or more but never moved beyond the rank of constable. These were the men who plodded the long and

often lonely beats across the county. Along with their experienced sergeants, these men were central to the ongoing policing of the West Riding. Contrary to earlier fears, many of these men did not become ill-disciplined or even tempted to resign. Thirteen men were promoted to the first class and never reduced in rank over the course of their long careers. One died in service, one resigned on grounds of ill-health and only one resigned voluntarily. Of the other twelve, two were forced to resigned as the result of repeated infractions and reductions but the remaining ten were either pensioned or still in service, with over twenty years to their names, when war broke out in 1914. Joining the ranks of other long-serving men from the 1880s (and even a few from the 1870s) these men were central to the creation of a more stable and better disciplined force that stood in stark contrast to the force under Col. Cobbe.

The force at the turn of the twentieth century

As the turn of the twentieth century the WRCC was a large force of just over 1200 men.[11] The basic framework was the same as in 1868 but the structure had become more refined and more complex and the organisation itself, while still hierarchical, was more bureaucratic. Unlike the high level of churn in the late-1850s, by the late-1890s overall variations were 8 per cent of the establishment. Voluntary resignations still accounted for about half of the overall turnover but for every five men resigning, three were pensioned and two dismissed or compulsorily resigned.[12]The WRCC examination books contain (not always complete) details of 928 men of all ranks who had served for three years or more in the force, that is about 75 per cent of the total establishment. The corresponding figure for 1868 was 70 per cent. This modest improvement should not overshadow the significant reduction in wastage among recruits in the first two years – fewer men were now needed to be recruited to maintain the authorised strength of the force*** – nor should it obscure the improvements in the quality of the men.

The cumulative effects of the changes analysed above can be seen in the profile of the force at the start of 1900. At the top, the chief constable and his deputy were supported by twenty-two superintendents, the majority

*** See Appendix 3

responsible for the management of the divisions, of whom fifteen were in the first class. Three of these men had been in service from the inception of the force and had benefitted from the unusual opportunities for promotion in the early years. Robert Seymour Ormsby, a man with no declared trade and no previous police experience, joined in December 1856, though he had been a lieutenant in the Sligo Rifles. By January 1857 he had been promoted to inspector and a month later he became a superintendent, serving lengthy stints in Claro and West Morley, where he finished his career in 1902 by which time he was in his early seventies. A month later in 1857 the twenty-three-year-old clerk, William Smith Gill had been appointed as an ordinary constable. Within months he was promoted straight to the rank of inspector as assistant clerk. Six years later he was a superintendent at the Wakefield headquarters. In 1884 he became chief clerk and seven years later he was made deputy chief constable, a post he held until 1907. Gill was the most spectacular beneficiary of the force's need for capable administrators. James Kane, another Irishman, was the third man from the initial intake. With experience in the army and the Lancashire constabulary, he was able to take advantage of the need for leadership in the new force. He was a sergeant within months and an inspector by 1859. In 1866 he was promoted to superintendent and served two long spells, one in Ansty, the other in Staincross until his retirement in 1900. These men were the exceptions. The majority of superintendents in 1900 had still worked their way up the ranks over several years. Most took around twenty years to reach this position, having gained experience as inspectors in various divisions *en route*. Nine men in post in 1900 had between ten- and twenty-years' experience as superintendents and a further five had been in post for five to nine years. These men were the embodiment of the police ethos of promotion from within. They were, unlike some of their predecessors from the early years, successful men who had combined ambition with a mix of administrative and managerial skills.

The forty-one inspectors in post at the end of 1899, the next level in the hierarchy, had a key role in police management. Only six were in the first class compared with twenty-four evenly divided between the fourth and fifth classes These were men who had joined the WRCC in the 1870s and early-mid 1880s. Unlike superintendents, only one, William Booth, joined before 1860. A substantial majority, nonetheless, were men of experience, having served

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at least ten years in the lower ranks. Two proved unsatisfactory and were reduced to the rank of sergeant. This was a significant improvement on earlier experience. Of some 200 men appointed to the rank of inspector between 1857 and 1899, almost 20 per cent were reduced in rank and a further 3 per cent dismissed. There was also a similarly small number for whom promotion appears to have been a consolation prize for men nearing retirement. Overall, at the end of 1899 only five had ten years' experience or more as an inspector whereas fifteen had less than five. Inexperience was not the same as lack of promise and eleven of these men went on to become superintendents as retirements opened up opportunities in the 1900s. In comparison with the early years of the force the superintendents and inspectors in post at the end of the century were more experienced and dependable than their predecessors. They were the end product of a process spread over three decades that had seen the winnowing out of men unsuited or unfit for promotion to more senior ranks. Whereas in the early years it was necessary to promote men with little police experience by the late-nineteenth century promotions were made in light of proven track records in the WRCC. Not every promotion was a success but there were fewer failures.

There were 177 sergeants, of varying degrees of experience but tilted towards the less experienced end. Fifty-four (30 per cent) were in the fifth class, with a further thirty-five (20 per cent) in the fourth class, compared with thirty-three men (20 per cent) in the first class. In contrast, of the 982 constables 43 per cent were in the first class compared with 25 per cent in the lowest two classes. These men had been recruited over three decades. Somewhat surprisingly, 15 per cent of constables and 30 per cent of sergeants had been recruited in the 1870s. Given their length of service (twenty years or more) there are doubts about their physical and mental efficiency given the cumulative toll of police work. As might be expected, the largest percentage of sergeants had been recruited in the 1880s and constables in the 1890s. Only one man recruited in the 1890s had been promoted beyond the rank of sergeant.

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Table 5.6 WRCC, 1 January 1900 - rank and recruitment of men with three or more years' service

	Constables (% all constables)	Sergeants (% all sergeants)	Inspectors & superintendents (% all inspectors & superintendent)	Totals
1870s	105 (15%)	44 (30%)	38 (47%)	187
1880s	265 (38%)	78 (53%)	42 (52%)	385
1890s (1890 – 96)	329 (47%)	26 (18%)	1 (1%)	356
Totals	699 (100%)	148 (101%)	81 (100%)	928

Source: WRCC Examination Books

The known career outcomes for the cohort as a whole are summarised below. Overall, 85 per cent of these men received a pension, rising to more than 90 per cent for men with ten or more years' service.

Table 5.7 WRCC, 1 January 1900 - totals and career outcomes for men with three or more years' service*

Years of service	Total (all ranks)	Pension (or in service 1914)	Dismissed	Resigned	Resigned – ill health	Died	Other
20 years	179	172	1	0	0	5	1
10 -19 years	361	326	14	8	4	9	0
5 -9 years	239	188	16	22	4	9	0
3 – 4 years	109	71	10	24	2	3	0
Totals	888	757	41	54	6	12	1

* The twenty men who joined the army reserve are not included.

Source: WRCC Examination Books

The contrast with 1868 can be seen from the following table. As well as the significant increase in the percentage of men receiving a pension, the decline in the number of voluntary resignations is worthy of note. This was the product of men making more informed judgements about the police, more limited alternatives in the regional economy and (to some extent) better training.

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Table 5.8 Career outcomes for men with three or more years' service, 1868 and 1900

	Total	% Pensioned	% Dismissed	% Resignation
1868	459	65	8	16
1900	888	85	5	6

Source: WRCC Examination Books

Men with ten years' service or more (that is, recruits from the 1870s and 1880s) were overwhelmingly likely to receive a pension. The unsuitable or unwilling had in effective been winnowed out. For the least experienced men attrition rates due to dismissal (including compulsory resignations) and voluntary resignation were appreciably higher.

Table 5.9 Main career outcomes for constables and sergeants with three or more years' service on 1 January 1900

	% Pension (or in service 1914)	% Dismissed	% Resignation	Others
1870 -4	85	8	0	7
1875 – 9	99	0	0	1
1880 -4	94	0	1	5
1885 – 9	94	1	2	3
1890 -4	71	7	11	11
1895 – 6	58	11	22	9

Source: WRCC Examination Books

The bulk of recruits, despite the promise in theory of rising through the ranks, remained constables throughout their careers and this was increasingly the case over time. Thomas Longden was a striking example. Appointed in January 1870, he rose to the rank of first-class constable by July 1878 . A year later he was in the good conduct merit class where he remained until pensioned in August 1901 after an unblemished career. A decade later Eli Elm's early career followed a similar pattern of promotion to first-class constable in eighteen months. Elevation to the good conduct merit class took another six years but, despite never being demoted, he progressed no further, dying in service in 1900. In contrast, George Harris was one of many long-serving constables who yo-yoed between the first and third classes in a

career that lasted twenty-five years. Reduced to the third class for the fourth time in 1900, he remained in post at this level until pensioned in 1905. His continued presence in the force, and that of other similar cases, remains something of a mystery. The recruits of the early and mid-1890s had to wait for the Edwardian years and later for promotion opportunities to open up. Opportunities for a second (or third) promotion within the force were never high and diminished over the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Table 5.10 Rank of men with three or more years' service, 1 January 1900

	Constables (as % all constables appointed in decade)	1 promotion = Sergeant (as % all constables appointed in decade)	2 promotions or more = Inspectors or Superintendents (as % constables in decade)	Totals
1870s	105 (56%)	44 (24%)	38 (20%)	187 (100%)
1880s	265 (69%)	78 (20%)	42 (11%)	385 (100%)
1890s (1890 – 96)	329 (92%)	26 (7%)	1 (1%)	356 (100%)
Totals	699 (75%)	148 (16%)	81 (9%)	928 (100%)

Source: WRCC Examination Books

These figures provide a snapshot in time and, consequently, fails to capture an important dynamic. Over the course of the period from 1870 to 1899 there was movement up and down from the ranks, particularly that of sergeant. It has often been implicitly assumed (not least by the author) that a man promoted to the rank of sergeant either stayed at the level or (for a minority) became an inspector or even a superintendent. Clearly upward movement took place but it was also the case that a minority were reduced in rank or requested such a demotion. Between 1870 and 1899 437 men were promoted to sergeant, of whom 224 were not appointed further. Of the rest 123 (28 per cent) were promoted to inspector but ninety (21 per cent) were reduced in rank, eighty compulsorily and ten at the request of the individual. The percentage of demotions was higher (at 25 per cent) in the 1870s and 1880s. Only in the last decade of the century was there a significant reduction to 14 per cent. The overwhelming majority of men thus reduced were never promoted again. The shortcomings of these sergeants were a particular facet of a more general problem of indiscipline. As noted

above, the statistics relating to indiscipline are partial but reductions in ranks (and often the associated removal from a merit or good conduct class) were recorded throughout the period.

The figures point to improvement over time, notably for men of the 1890s, but only on the assumption that disciplinary standards did not vary significantly over time. There is no direct evidence of greater tolerance in the 1890s compared with the 1870s, though there appears to have been a tightening of procedures in the 1880s, but it remains the case that some of the improvement may have been less real and more a product of changing attitudes towards minor acts of indiscipline. Taken at face value, the figures suggest an improvement in discipline among the 1890s recruits, although there remained a minority (16 per cent) of multiple offenders. The wider problem remains: what impact did indiscipline have on effectiveness? Or were these men effective, and therefore acceptable, policemen in spite of their lapses in discipline? Or did their presence reduce effectiveness and morale? Too little is known of the details of these men's careers to answer these questions with any precision.

Table 5.11 Demotions (as %) among constables and sergeants

	None	1 or 2 reductions	3 or more reductions
1870s	46	29	25
1880s	43	38	18
1890s	65	21	16

Source: WRCC Examination Books

Overall, by the turn of the century the WRCC had at its core a substantial number of experienced and well-disciplined men. This was the culmination of two inter-related long-term trends: one the growing number of career policemen and, the reverse side of the coin, a diminution in the number of unsuitable or unwilling short-stay men. There was an underlying logic which saw both the sifting out of the latter and the steady accumulation of the former. There was a tipping point, somewhere in the late-1870s and early-1880s, from which point a more mature force developed.

The changing roles of the police

In much police rhetoric, not to mention popular imagination, the police were associated with crime fighting, protecting the law-abiding but vulnerable civilians from the depredations of a threatening criminal class. The reality was quite different. Serious crimes against person or property were relatively rare and even with the more common non-violent crimes against property the police depended upon the initiatives and co-operation of the public. The long-term decline in of serious crime meant that the ratio of indictable offences to summary offences rose steadily (from 1:14 to 1:36 between 1861 and 1881) and dramatically by 1891 (1:70). Drunk and disorderly behaviour, common assaults and vagrancy offences accounted for 50 per cent of summary offences throughout but assaults were significantly less important in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, the police had a growing role that made them a presence in many areas of everyday life. Public order was and remained an important concern. There were high-profile incidents, political and economic – elections, reform meetings, demonstrations of the unemployed and strikes – that became more common, or more intense, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But there were newer problems of order, for example, associated with the growth of rugby and football as spectator sports in various parts of the county. Hostility between partisan rugby supporters necessitated police intervention, especially in places like Featherstone. The police were also a visible presence at various large-scale ceremonial events, from the visits of royalty and leading politicians to the weddings and funerals of local dignitaries.

Table 5:12 Selected crime statistics for the West Riding, 1861 – 1891 (3-year averages)

	All indictable offences	All summary offences	Drunk & disorderly behaviour	Common assault	Vagrancy
1861	936	13,268	2787	3034	598
1871	863	18,864	4948	3405	1011
1881	738	26,286	7925	2458	2820
1891	409	28,503	9656	1885	2169

Source: *Judicial Statistics*

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The long-standing problem of vagrancy continued to take up much police time, particularly in the last decades of the century; more so the perennial problems of drunkenness and disorderly behaviour which were not simply associated with beerhouses but also with the emerging music saloons and music halls in more urban areas. Even in a largely rural county, the responsibility for maintaining order and freedom of passage in the streets became more difficult, notably in the urban areas for which the WRCC was responsible. The growth of manufacturing and retailing increase the volume of horse-drawn traffic and in some areas the advent of private tram companies, vying for trade, added to the problem; and that was before the cycling craze of the 1880s and 1890s, let alone the occasional appearance of a petrol-driven vehicle. The 'battle for the roads' that was to achieve prominence in the inter-war period had its roots in late-Victorian, as well as Edwardian, years. It is no coincidence that policemen were expected to be trained in first aid by the end of the century, though the 650 men with 'ambulance' (that is, first aid) certificates was deemed as 'unsatisfactory' by HMIC.

Elsewhere, new laws brought new responsibilities for the police. Food adulteration laws, never that rigorously enforced, added to the burden on the police. So too the legislation pertaining to contagious diseases among animals, an important consideration in a county that still had a substantial number of cattle and sheep, as well as oversight of the storage of petroleum and explosives. And this was on top of responsibility for more mundane matters, such as common lodging houses, street lamps, slaughterhouses, and weights and measures, not to mention acting as assistant relieving officers for the casual poor, impounders of cattle and catchers of unlicensed dogs. Much to the concern of HMIC Woodford, these burdens had increased dramatically over the course of the 1860s and it did not diminish thereafter. In 1870 eight superintendents, one inspector and two sergeants had responsibility for the oversight of common lodging houses; six superintendents, two inspectors, eight sergeants and seven constables spent time overseeing public nuisances; and twelve superintendents and one inspector had responsibility for weights and measures. By 1900 the demand on manpower was striking: the chief constable, all twenty-two superintendents and one inspector shared responsibility as inspectors under both the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act and the Food and Drug Acts. Three superintendents were designated as petroleum inspectors, all twenty-two superintendents, six inspectors and one

sergeant under the Explosive Act and one superintendent and two inspectors as inspectors of common lodging houses. And then there were the informal appearances, ranging from performances by police football, cricket and even tug-of-war teams, often in charity events, not to mention participation by individual policemen in annual local flower and vegetable shows.

Some conclusions

Any judgement on the overall performance of the WRCC has to consider what preceded it as well as how it developed over time. In comparison with the superintending constable system, two major differences stand out. First, the WRCC was more bureaucratic with its rule book, its records of performance and its disciplinary procedures. There was a hierarchy of surveillance and discipline. Sergeants became key figures, checking on, advising and admonishing constables but also subject themselves subject to surveillance from inspectors and superintendents. Individual constables, in particular, were subject to a variety of formal and informal controls and the force as a whole was subject to external scrutiny on an annual basis. Within the force, behind the front-line of the beat, were important figures, notably the chief clerk and his assistant but also the drill sergeant, with responsibilities for the 'efficient' running of the force. Second, constables were now full-time workers unlike some, though not all, of their predecessors. They were part of a hierarchy with clearly defined roles, subject to supervision, both direct and indirect, and subject to discipline when they fell short of expectations. From initial, usually short, training, through learning on the job, they were expected to be models of respectability, internalising values that may have been alien to them in an earlier life.

Although there were some continuities, the WRCC of c.1900 was very different from the force roughly a generation earlier c.1868. The statistics reviewed in this chapter show the extent to which the problems of recruitment and retention had been resolved over time and the extent to which a more stable force had been created. The problems associated with the rapid creation of a large force in the mid- to late-1850s, the relative prosperity of the 1860s and early 1870s that provided attractive alternative employment, and the suspicions that still surrounded policing as a long-

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term occupation help explain the volatility of the early years of the WRCC, when large numbers of men joining, only to resign or be dismissed in a short space of time. Growing experience and expertise within the force, changing economic circumstances that drove men from declining occupations to consider policing as an alternative, and changing perceptions of policing (especially after the 1890 Police Act) help explain the emergence of a more stable and professional force in Victoria's latter years. So too did a growing improvement, albeit from a low base, with police training and education, especially for the older, pre-1890 men who tended to be less well educated than those appointed thereafter.[13]

In hindsight, not least following the publication of the report of the Desborough Committee, the extent and persistence of problems that impacted on efficiency are glaringly obvious but it is also important to evaluate the force in the light of contemporary expectations and experiences. When judgements were made c.1900 the comparisons drawn were commonly with the known past rather than with an unknown future. Similarly, the criteria used to judge the acceptability of an individual officer or the force as a whole were drawn from experience and contemporary concerns. Senior police officers were aware of the shortcomings of the force and sought to remedy them, not least by improving initial and in service training, particularly for those seeking promotion. From senior policemen lecturing their men to chief constables implementing educational classes, there was an awareness of and an attempt to improve police training, not just for new recruits but also for more experienced men.[14] To what extent the police were reactive rather than proactive is a matter of debate but there was a growing recognition of the need for 'a better trained police force … for the prevention and detection of crime [and] … to fully understand the by-laws and general laws of England.'[15] What was once deemed satisfactory, now required improvement. Put differently, the WRCC continued to be a work in progress but there was justifiable satisfaction with the progress that had been made over the past forty years or so.

Finally, the police were an established feature of everyday life. Few, if any, questioned their existence as a part – indeed an important, even necessary part – of society. Fewer doubted that the presence of the uniformed constable was a defining feature of the world in which they lived. Not always efficiently or effectively, not always with whole-hearted support, the West Riding at

the turn of the twentieth century was unquestionably a policed society. The nature of popular responses, the extent of consent is the subject of the next chapter.

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Appendix 1 Structure of WRCC, 1861 -1901

Senior Staff

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Chief Constable	1	1	1	1	1
Deputy Chief Constable			1	1	
Chief Clerk	1	1	1		1
Assistant Chief Clerk		1			
Superintendent 1st class			13	16	11
Superintendent 2nd class		12	4	3	2
Superintendent 3rd class		2	2	4	5
Superintendent 4th class		6			4
All Superintendents	21	20	19	23	22
Inspector 1st class			10	5	4
Inspector 2nd class		8	12	5	8
Inspector 3rd class		3	3	7	6
Inspector 4th class		10		7	14
Inspector 5th class				6	8
Total Inspectors	18	21	25	30	40

Source: HMIC annual reports

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(B) Sergeants and Constables

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Sergeant – Merit		11	18**		
Sergeant – Good Conduct			32		
Sergeant 1st class		26	34	85	33**
Sergeant 2nd class		26	22**	23	13
Sergeant 3rd class		24	9	39	35
Sergeant 4th class					39
Sergeant 5th class					57
Acting Sergeant			16		
Total Sergeants	53	87	131	147	177
Constable – Merit		33			
Constable – Good Conduct			6		
Constable 1st class		357*	532	621*	316***
Constable 2nd class		80	89	72	123
Constable 3rd class		77	41	86	144
Constable 4th class					101
Constable 5th class					100
Constable 6th class					143
Total Constables	457	547	668	779	927

*4 different pay levels reflecting length of service within this category; ** 2 different pay levels; *** 3 different pay levels

Source: Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary annual reports

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Appendix 2: Police divisions, leadership, location and strength, 1895

Division	Superintendent	Inspectors	Police strength
Lower Agbrigg	R Shepley (Wakefield)	J Ackroyd (Normanton)	56
Staincross	J Kane (Barnsley)	J Stewart (Penistone) & T Mellor & J Parker (Barnsley)	104
Rotherham	L Hammond (Rotherham)	J Johnson (Rawmarsh)	58
Lower Strafforth & Tickhill	W Blake (Doncaster)	G Wakefield (Mexborough)	46
Upper Osgoldcross	T Wincup (Pontefract)	J Hanson (Castleford) & T Birkett (Pontefract)	58
Lower Osgoldcross	H Harrison (Goole)	J Punton (Snaith) & J McDonald (Goole)	34
Barkstonash	T Stott (Selby)	A Tidswell (Sherburn)	23
Sheffield	W Bielby (Sheffield)	F Knight (Hillsboro')	46
Ainsty & Wetherby	J Crow (Tadcaster)	R Ambler (Wetherby)	26
Claro etc	R Ormsby (Knaresborough)	W Booth (Ripon) &W Butterworth (Harrogate)	61
Otley	B Gratson (Keighley)	J Birkhead (Bingley) & C Noble (Keighley)	54
East Morley	B Crawshaw (Bradford)	J Turton (Shipley) & C Dalgoutte (Pudsey)	103
West Morley	A Varley (Halifax)	G Ramm (Brighouse & A Quest (Sowerby Bridge)	70
Saddleworth	C Prossey (Dobcross)		14
Upper Agbrigg	J Prichard (Huddersfield)	W Calcraft (Holmfirth)	49
Dewsbury	W Midgely (Dewsbury)	B Gregg (Dewsbury) & J Drake (Morley)	113
Todmorden	J Fearnside (Todmorden)		27
Head Quarters	T Stuart Russell Chief Constable), W Smith Gill (DCC & Chief Clerk), W Hall (Superintendent), R Sykes & J Haynes (Clerks), Drill Instructor – vacant		

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Appendix 3 WRCC Augmentation and recruitment, 1870 -1899

	Authorised Strength	Increase over previous year	Total recruits	Recruit per increase
1870	723	66	160	
1871	736	13	126	
1872	759	23	85	
1873	778	19	207	
1874	797	19	166	
1875	832	35	248	
1876	833	1	168	
1877	878	45	226	
1878	890	12	151	
1879	906	16	159	
1870s cumulative totals		**249**	**1696**	**6.8**
1880	920	14	118	
1881	934	14	118	
1882	938	4	129	
1883	950	12	130	
1884	955	5	109	
1885	960	10	80	
1886	966	6	94	
1887	969	3	120	
1888	989	20	73	
1889	1015	26	89	
1880s cumulative totals		**114**	**1050**	**9.2**
1890	1017	2	73	
1891	1025	8	75	
1892	1050	25	91	
1893	1139	89	156	
1894	1178	37	114	
1895	1197	19	116	
1896	1199	2	87	
1890-6 cumulative totals		**182**	**712**	**3.9**

Source: HMIC Annual reports and WRCC Examination Books

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Endnotes

1 The full list is Batley, Brighouse, Harrogate, Keighley, Morley, Ossett, Pontefract, Pudsey, Ripon and Todmorden. Keighley (c.42,000), Batley (c.30,000) and Harrogate (c.28,000) were the largest by population while Todmorden (c.13,000 acres) was by far the largest by area,

2 *Bradford Observer*, 1 July 1873

3 *York Herald*, 21 October 1871. Similarly, the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 3 July 1873, referred to the recent increase in police pay as being 'necessary in consequence of the increased cost of living.'

4 These problems were more acute in certain years. There were specific references to post being unfilled for a long time (1864), recruitment difficulties (1875) and high levels of resignation among recently appointed men (1865, 1868 and 1873).

5 HMIC Annual Report, 1873

6 Ideally, local price data would be set aside wages and earnings data for major occupations in the West Riding. Given the complexity of the regional economy, not to mention the wider catchment area for recruits, and the absence of any detailed study of regional wages and earnings, it is not possible to provide a detailed comparison to compare with Taylor's study of Middlesbrough, 'The standard of living of career policemen in Victorian England: The evidence of a provincial borough force,' *Criminal Justice History*, 12, 1991, pp.107 - 131.

7 Many men and their families also moved to north Yorkshire where they found work in the ironstone mines of East Cleveland and the iron and steel industry of Middlesbrough.

8 HMIC Annual Report, 1883, p.128

9 The volume of men recruited into the WRCC declined markedly over time, notwithstanding the continued growth of the force. As well as recruiting to meet any augmentation to the force, it was necessary to replace men who had left during the year. Between 1870 and 1871 the authorised strength of the force increased by 13 (from 723 to 726) but 126 men were recruited in 1871. In contrast, between 1890 and 1891 the force was augmented by 8 (from 1017 to 1025) but only 77 men were recruited. Details are given in Appendix 3.

10 *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 8 May 1905 & 28 July 1905

11 The situation is complicated by the outbreak of war in South Africa. Twenty men left the force to join the army reserve.

12 Figures from HMIC annual reports. Outright dismissals were low (5 per cent) but compulsory resignation accounted for 15 per cent.

13 The early Examination Books contain a surprisingly large number of men unable to read or write.

14 First aid classes are a good example of the force attempting to update the skills set of its constable in response and the benefits were appreciated by the wider community. See for example, *Batley Reporter*, 19 November 1892 and *Yorkshire Factory Times*, 16 August 1895.

15 *Hull Daily Mail*, 29 September 1891

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