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Manchester's Black Market, 1939 – 1945

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the Open University

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Abstract

This study is an examination of the local black market in the City of Manchester during the period of the Second World War. The dissertation questions the extent to which the war affected the city's black market, how Manchester's citizens used it and to what degree the traditional local industries shaped this. It further questions how the black market in Manchester was influenced by ongoing changes to government legislation during the war, and the extent to which the local market was controlled by organised criminals.

The study will address two of the debates surrounding black market activity during the war: those of the historians Edward Smithies and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska. These debates will be considered in a local context. Smithies argument is that existing studies of British black markets during the Second World War and the subsequent period of austerity are largely of a national nature and, aside from specific examples used to illustrate an argument, lack particular detail regarding local markets. This work seeks to redress the balance by demonstrating the extent of the local black market in a regional industrial city. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that

the extent of the black market during the war challenges the conventional narrative of a nation unified during the war and that black market activity can effectively act as a barometer of public acceptance of government legislation.

Primary sources will be used to create data to illustrate the arguments. These will include calendars of prisoners from the Manchester City Assizes and Quarter sessions, and the Manchester Police Chief Constable's reports to create statistical data to illustrate the extent of Manchester's black market. These will be supplemented by newspaper reports which will provide context and opinion. Finally, the archives of the Mass Observation project will be used to illustrate public opinion.

The study will conclude that the principal stimulus of black market activity in wartime Manchester was the circumvention of government regulation, whether for profit or subsistence. It will furthermore support Zweiniger-Bargielowska's argument regarding the notion of shared sacrifice by demonstrating how all classes and genders were involved in black market activity, and demonstrate how Manchester's traditional industries created opportunities for the involvement of organised crime.

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List of Abbreviations

AC	Assize Courts
CCAR	Chief Constable's Annual Report
CP	Calendar of Prisoners
GMCRO	Greater Manchester County Record Office
GMPM	Greater Manchester Police Museum
HL	House of Lords
MG	Manchester Guardian
MP	Manchester Police
QS	Quarter Sessions

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Personal Statement

No part of this dissertation has previously been submitted for a degree or other qualification of the Open University or any other university or institution.

This entire dissertation has been prepared solely by the author.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This dissertation will examine the black market economy in the City of Manchester between 1939 and 1945, concentrating on the effects of World War Two on the city's illicit trade. This will be achieved by using court records from the Manchester City Quarter Sessions and Assize Courts calendars of prisoners, as well as the Manchester Police Chief Constable's Annual reports to examine the prevalent trends in black market activity during throughout the war years. These will be compared with contemporary news reports to assess the extent of public and establishment reaction to the black market. The Manchester Guardian will offer the bulk of contextual analysis and this will be further supplemented by editorial content and reports from The Times, which will present an establishment perspective.

The main research question of the dissertation is:

Q. To what extent did the outbreak of World War Two affect the black market in the City of Manchester?

The main research question will be answered by examining the nature of Manchester's economy at the outbreak of conflict and how this shaped the city's black market activity. It will furthermore assess the role of government legislation and rules on rationing and how these affected trends of black market activity in the city of Manchester. Finally, it will investigate the extent to which Manchester's black market was controlled by organised crime.

The historians Edward Smithies and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska present two arguments regarding the black markets of Britain during the Second World War. Smithies argument is centred on the concept that local black markets are somewhat neglected in the national narrative. He offers that accounts of England's black markets are largely dominated by London, which is a reflection of the available evidence. The reasons for this are numerous. The reports of the Metropolitan Police were much more extensive than those found in provincial towns and cities, and London's status as the crime capital of the country naturally drew more attention. Furthermore, the press in regional localities had, somewhat understandably, turned their attentions to matters of war and therefore local crime coverage was neglected to some extent. These factors, Smithies argues, have left a gap in the understanding of local crime in provincial cities, even those as large as Manchester.¹ Furthermore, Smithies offers that the value of property stolen in Manchester alone increased from £25,375 to £256,675 between 1938 and 1945 respectively, and continued rise

¹ Edward Smithies, *Crime in Wartime: a Social History of Crime in World War II*, (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1982), p.5.

following the end of the war.² Such a dramatic, localised increase in criminal behaviour may not necessarily be exclusive to the City of Manchester, but it does support an argument for further research on localised black markets.

Zweiniger-Bargielowska's argument is centred on challenging the concept of shared sacrifice during the war. The black market is, in her opinion, an indicator of the boundaries of popular consent in the regulation of consumption.³ The conventional image of wartime Britain is one of a population drawn together by a shared sense of fairness fostered by national unity. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that this popularised image is something of a myth. The black market was in fact extensive throughout the war and showed an abundance of evidence to suggest that it was not limited to large-scale rackets. Emergency legislation had in fact introduced many normally law-abiding citizens to the prospect of criminal behaviour for the first time by exposing them to the temptation of circumventing regulations to obtain extra consumer goods.⁴ Zweiniger-Bargielowska's argument is further supported by the historians Angus Calder and Juliet Gardiner, both of whom argue the case that the sharp increase in crime cited by Smithies was attributable largely to ordinary citizens rather than organised crime. Calder notes that black market offences recorded during the war years were largely theft of personal property and minor infractions of rationing laws, likely perpetrated from opportunity rather than forethought. Furthermore, offences against the Defence Regulations accounted for a considerable amount of cases brought before the courts.⁵ Gardiner further supports Calder's assessment, asserting that crime in Britain rose steeply during the war

² Smithies, *Crime in Wartime*, p. 55.

³ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls and Consumption, 1939 – 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.59.

⁴ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.151.

⁵ Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939 - 1945*, 2 edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.406-408.

years, again largely due to minor infractions of new laws set out by the Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill, including black market profiteering and rationing offences.⁶

This work will support a balanced assessment of both arguments and assess the possibility that the increase in Manchester's black market activity during the war years was a combination of industrial, organised crime and small scale, petty offences against new and constantly changing regulations. This will be achieved by assessing the extent to which Manchester's traditional economy came to be exploited by criminal enterprise, exploring the demographic of those involved in the black market along lines of gender, class, age and occupation, and popular attitudes toward the black market throughout the war. Using court records, calendars of prisoners and the Manchester Police Chief Constable's Reports, we will examine the volume and type of black market crime and if sentencing practices changed during the emergency. The role of organised crime in comparison to more casual or opportunistic racketeering shall be assessed. We shall also evaluate the types of goods typically traded on the black market; fuel, food, clothing and coupons, linking these back to Manchester's industrial heritage to determine if the city's economy was reflected in its black market activity. Official data will be supplemented by newspaper archives and the archives of the Mass Observation project, which will allow us to gauge public and establishment opinion on the black market, as well as providing further commentary on court proceedings and government legislation.

⁶ Juliet Gardiner, *Wartime Britain, 1935 – 1945*, (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2004), p.588-609.

Chapter 2 - Manchester's Economy, Infrastructure and Wartime Legislation

This chapter examines Manchester's industries, the city's transport infrastructure and geographical location to assess whether there was any direct correlation between these factors and the goods typically encountered on the city's black market. Furthermore, we will assess the role played by wartime legislation on the black market. This will be achieved by using secondary sources to summarize the development of Manchester's economy and infrastructure from the mid nineteenth century until the outbreak of war, paying particular attention to the city's traditional textile industries and its rapidly developing rail network. We will also give an overview of the key pieces of government legislation which were pertinent to the black market, which will be examined in detail later in the essay.

Manchester is of course famous for the cotton manufacturing industry which developed in the late eighteenth century, spurred on by the Industrial Revolution. As a major exporter of cotton goods to the British Empire, the city's peak trading years in the late nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century saw the export of approximately 7 million linear yards during the apogee of 1913.⁷ The First World War however marked the rapid acceleration of a decline in Manchester's textile industry. By the last years of the nineteenth century, exporting cotton had become increasingly difficult as foreign markets developed the infrastructure to supply their own demands due to the disruption caused by the conflict. Furthermore, boycotts of imported goods and the promotion of domestic production in India, a major export market, had decimated Manchester's cotton industry by the outbreak of war in 1939.⁸ The impact of the declining cotton industry was somewhat diminished by the emergence of increasingly diverse manufacturing industries in the city and its surrounding districts. In particular, the industrialisation of Trafford Park in the early years of the twentieth century provided Manchester with footholds in both food processing and engineering sectors with the introduction of Kellogg's and Metropolitan-Vickers. The manufacture of clothing remained strong in Manchester and the wider region: workshops and factories were built to augment the cottage industry in ready-made clothes and make use of the city's large pool of cheap, unskilled labour, not least the Macintosh Works in Little Ireland.⁹

Furthermore, Manchester had become an established major transport hub: both the Bridgewater and Manchester Ship canals enabled the Port of Manchester to become

⁷ Terry Wyke, 'Rise and Decline of Cottonopolis', in *Manchester: Making the Modern City*, ed. by Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p.104.

⁸ Wyke, p.101.

⁹ Wyke, pp.104-105.

a major import dock and a centre of regional and national distribution, bypassing neighbouring Liverpool to cut costs involved in supply chains and appealing to business investors. In Manchester the development of a combination of rail and inland waterways played a particularly important role in the halt of industrial decline as the city's textile industries contracted. The rapid development of the rail network augmented Manchester's waterways in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century¹⁰, a great deal of the investment coming from the Manchester Ship Canal Company, who were to develop the largest private rail system in the country to ensure onward passage of freight from the docks at Salford and Manchester and the many wharfs along the canal.¹¹ The development of the rail network is regarded to have contributed significantly to social and economic development on a regional level by speeding up the transport of freight and passengers significantly compared to inland waterways alone, or traditional road transport, as well as offering substantial cost savings. On a national level, freight transport alone increased by around two thirds in the first decade of the twentieth century to a maximum of 500,000,000 tons and passenger journeys showing similar, albeit less dramatic increases.¹² Such widespread adoption of rail mass transit was perfectly illustrated in Trafford Park. In addition to the network of railways worked by the Estates Company to ferry goods between the docks and the many industrial units in the Park, the 1905 creation of a junction linking the Park to Manchester and Salford's electric tram network provided a connection between residential and

¹⁰ Wyke, pp.95-98.

¹¹ Charles Hulme, *RAILS OF MANCHESTER: A Short History of the City's Rail Network* (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1991), p.47.

¹² Dan Bogart, Leigh Shaw-Taylor and Xuesheng You, *The Development of the Railway Network in Britain 1825-1911* (2019) <<https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/transport/onlineatlas/>> [accessed 18 August 2019].

industrial districts of the city, allowing for fast transit of the many thousands of workers and, potentially, pilfered goods.¹³

Given the diversity of Manchester's industries and its impressive transport infrastructure at the outbreak of war, we might reasonably expect the city to play a major role in servicing black markets locally, regionally and even nationally. The city's innumerable factories and warehouses might provide a plentiful supply of goods for organised criminals to fence, with a constant supply of imported goods moving through the docks at Salford and Pomona, and an extensive road and rail network with which to move them quickly out of the city to regional and national networks. Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect the goods to be found on Manchester's black market to be representative of the city's dominant industries: textiles, processed foods, clothes and engineering products would be found for sale to those in the know. Research demonstrates that this was to some extent the case. The connection between Manchester's infrastructure and its black market will be examined more thoroughly in the next chapter.

The influence of government legislation on the black market cannot be underestimated when we consider the motivations of both suppliers and consumers, as well as the demand for particular goods. Smithies argues that government attempts to control domestic markets had, in effect, shaped black market activity. In particular, organised crime adapted to consumer demands, shifting focus away from the theft of valuable property to the theft and obtaining of goods which were in short supply, such as food, clothing and clothing coupons, petrol and cigarettes.

Furthermore, the regulation and control of goods had introduced a new demographic

¹³ Hulme, p.50.

to criminality. Middle classes had become enthusiastic participants in the black market and shopkeepers and tradesmen were only too keen to meet their demands, under or over the counter.¹⁴

Food was regulated under the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939. Regulation 55 of this act covered, amongst other items, the distribution of food and milk, and confers to the government the authority to acquire and oversee the distribution of food and "articles of any description essential to the wellbeing of the community or to national defence, being a shortage such as to threaten that wellbeing or defence, has arisen or is expected as the result of measures taken by the government of any country outside the United Kingdom".¹⁵ The use of such a broad definition would allow the wartime government to implement changes to rationing on an ad hoc basis, reacting to supply lines of food which might be influenced by the events of the war, both nationally and internationally. This flexibility also allowed for the gradual expansion of the list of goods which fell under rationing regulations. In November 1939 regulations were announced to cover bacon, ham and butter under a system of consumers registering with specific retailers who were to act as their suppliers. These measures were implemented in January 1940, along with sugar, followed in March by the rationing of meat. Tea, margarine, eggs and cooking fats followed in July and by January 1941 preserves and cheese were included. The consumer-retailer system proved to be difficult to administer and was subsequently replaced by a points based rationing system in December 1941, coinciding with the rationing of canned foods, and chocolate, biscuits and sugar confectionery appeared on the list

¹⁴ Edward Smithies, *Crime in Wartime: a Social History of Crime in World War II*, (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1982), p.4.

¹⁵ 'Regulation 55 of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939' in *Emergency Laws (Repeal) Act 1959*, <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Eliz2/7-8/19/schedule/FIRST/crossheading/regulation-55-of-the-defence-general-regulations-1939/enacted>> [accessed 28/11/2019].

in the summer of 1942, alongside rice and dried fruits.¹⁶ These arrangements remained in place until well after the end of the war.

Clothes rationing, introduced in in the summer of 1941, was controlled by the use of coupons issued on the basis of a flat rate allocation. Exceptions were made for children and manual workers, for whom an extra allocation of 10 coupons each per year was added. The total number of coupons issued annually to each citizen fluctuated considerably throughout the war, from 66 coupons in 1941 to 48 coupons in 1943 during the height of austerity. The clothing coupon scheme was further supplemented by two initiatives; the utility clothing scheme, introduced in 1941, and austerity regulations, which came into force in 1942. Utility clothing, introduced by the Board of Trade to ensure supplies of clothing, were based on long production runs to meet economies of scale, strict price controls and were exempt from purchase tax, which was running at a rate of 33.3% at the time. Austerity regulations applied to ready-made clothing and were designed to save on raw materials by placing restrictions on the amount of textiles used in manufacture. Both schemes were extended throughout the war to include hosiery, knitwear, bedding and household textiles.¹⁷ These regulations, applied in a locality which specialised in the production and processing of textiles and garments, potentially meant Manchester was a fertile environment for black markets, however strictly controlled the industry was. These links will be fully explored in Chapter 3.

A notable exception to the regulation of consumable goods was that of tobacco.

Although schemes were proposed to add tobacco to the list of rationed goods, it was

¹⁶ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls and Consumption, 1939 – 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.18-21.

¹⁷ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, pp.48-51.

ultimately decided that it would remain unregulated for two reasons; that restrictions would be bad for morale and that the revenue raising function of tobacco in the form of taxation was too valuable to lose.¹⁸ Nevertheless, cigarettes were an extremely popular black market item in Manchester, as shall be illustrated in later chapters. The primary exporting country for UK purchases of tobacco was, and remains, the USA. Pre-war figures indicate imports of 230,000,000lb per year in the years leading up to the war and 322,000,000lb in 1946 alone to re-stock supplies following the end of the war. British manufacturers had aimed at keeping a 24 month supply at their disposal to meet demand. Disruption to merchant shipping supply lines caused by blockades in the Atlantic had decimated stocks.¹⁹ This had made tobacco a scarce commodity, despite the lack of regulation, and therefore a high value product to the black market.

To conclude, Manchester offers a unique set of circumstances which make the city an interesting case study in the wartime black market. An abundance of warehousing, large planned industrial zones and the location of the Port of Manchester provided rich pickings, particularly for organised criminal gangs. Furthermore, the city's extensive transport infrastructure simplified the task of moving goods throughout the city, the North West region and nationally, meaning the city was able to act as an important hub for organised criminals to work from. In addition to the city's logistical assets, government legislation had effectively offered Manchester's black market an opportunity to thrive. While black markets in food and other commodities were present in other towns and cities nationwide, the regulation of clothing and textiles from 1941 onwards had a significant impact on how

¹⁸ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.19.

¹⁹ 'The Sources and Nature of Statistical Information in Special Fields of Statistics: U.K. Tobacco Statistics', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (General)*, vol.113, no.4, (1950), 487-508 (p. 489), in <www.jstor.org/stable/2980868> [accessed 1 December 2019].

Manchester's local and regional markets were to operate. As later chapters will demonstrate, clothing coupons, tailored clothes and raw textiles were available illicitly, either due to simple theft or large scale, organised pilfering. It is the latter circumstance in which Manchester is distinctive; without the regional tradition of textile manufacture, it is likely that such vast quantities of goods would not have been available and therefore, this aspect of the city's black market would not have been able to thrive.

Chapter 3 - Statistical Analysis

This chapter will explore criminal statistics from Manchester. Using archival evidence from the city's court sessions, it will establish the volume and types of black market activity typically found in the City of Manchester, and explore any trends with links to changes in legislation. It will use these trends to assess popular attitudes to the black market and investigate how these may have changed over the course of the war, examining the influence of government control over trade and consumption, and how these may have affected public opinion of Manchester's black market.

Lord Woolton, the wartime Minister of Food, defined the black market as 'offences involving illegal transactions in food obtained otherwise than through the authorised

channels'.²⁰ This was a narrow explanation though, as it only takes into account transactions involving food. In practice many more consumable items were subject to price controls and rationing, and therefore were vulnerable to exploitation on the black market. Along with food, restrictions placed on the sale of fuel and clothing made these items vulnerable to illicit trade. Furthermore, Lord Woolton's distinction suggests that the black market, in food or otherwise, is restricted to the deliberate trade in controlled goods through calculated criminal enterprise. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that the use of such narrow definitions give a distorted account of the realities of wartime black markets and as a consequence, the role of organised crime. Popular understanding of the black market was in fact far broader than Lord Woolton was perhaps aware or willing to acknowledge. It included not only the theft and receiving of stolen goods, but also relatively minor transgressions against regulations: the shopkeeper offering to sell goods without the surrender of coupons to a preferred customer would be included here as much as a crime syndicate selling stolen petrol. Zweiniger-Bargielowska further argues the importance of avoiding just such an emphasis on the trade in stolen goods when creating a narrative of the wartime black market. Changing legislation exposed usually law abiding citizens to criminal enterprise, perhaps for the first time, by creating opportunities to circumvent regulations for personal gain. It was precisely this kind of behaviour, she argues, which calls into question the conventional image of common sacrifice amongst the population during wartime.²¹ Moreover, this line of reasoning might stretch to include those offences which, while technically illegal, were considered to be morally

²⁰ Lord Woolton, *The Memoirs of The RT Hon the Earl of Woolton* (London, 1959) p.231, in Mark Roodhouse, *Black Market Britain, 1939 - 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.15.

²¹ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls and Consumption, 1939 – 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.151.

acceptable.²² Roodhouse suggests that the so-called 'grey market' was a profitable side-line for legitimate businesses and had the biggest economic impact during the war. Career criminals on the other hand represented a relatively minor section of illicit markets, albeit one which attracted the most attention and consequently the ire of popular and establishment opinion. Furthermore, the characteristics of both black and grey markets were highly localised, shaped by immediate supply chains and local infrastructure.²³ For the sake of thoroughness and the avoidance of biased data, this study will include both black and grey markets under the umbrella term of black markets. Both terms represent deliberate contraventions of law and legislation designed to ensure the equitable distribution of resources, irrespective of the principles of morality. It can therefore be argued that the distinction between the two terms is of little consequence, other than to illustrate the difference between organised crime and individual opportunists.

The difficulty with creating a statistical study of the black market is that, by definition, the market operates in a clandestine manner and is therefore absent from official statistics. Zweiniger-Bargielowska notes that, despite the lack of detailed data, it was possible to gauge the extent of illegal transactions to a limit degree by consulting a range of sources. Wartime disruption and the limited supply of consumer goods, she argues, had eroded traditional British values and respect for the law to the extent that the black market had extended beyond its traditional social boundaries and into "respectable" society.²⁴ Given the reach of the black market beyond the more secretive criminal fraternity, we can use oral accounts from wider society to add context to what statistical data we can obtain in order to provide context to the

²² Mark Roodhouse, *Black Market Britain, 1939 - 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.15-16.

²³ Roodhouse, p.79.

²⁴ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.153.

figures. Nevertheless, and despite an overall increase in crime nationwide during the war years, Zweiniger-Bargielowska warns that black market convictions represented a relatively low percentage of prosecutions due to the difficulties of assembling evidence.²⁵

Prosecutions under Regulation 55 of the Defence (General) Regulations (1939) offer perhaps the most obvious insight into the scale of black market transactions in food. This regulation was designed to enforce the observance of rationing orders through a system of publication, inspections, the investigation of evasion and prosecution where contravention was proven.²⁶ We can therefore use prosecutions against Regulation 55 as a yardstick by which to measure deliberate participation in the black market; this regulation served no other purpose than to enforce food control during and after the war. Table 1 illustrates the total number of reports, apprehensions and prosecutions under Regulation 55 of the Defence (General) Regulations (1939) as reported in the Manchester Police Chief Constable's Reports between 1939 and 1945.

Table 1. Prosecutions against Reg. 55 in Manchester 1939 – 1945.²⁷

	Reported	Apprehended	Prosecuted
1939	0	0	0
1940	73	73	71
1941	243	237	231
1942	451	451	414
1943	483	483	409
1944	390	390	355
1945	327	327	288
Total	1967	1961	1768

²⁵ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.154.

²⁶ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.153.

²⁷ Greater Manchester County Record Office, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *Manchester Police Chief Constable's Annual Reports, 1939 – 1945*.

Wartime austerity reached a peak during 1943, as further rationing measures were put in place and food imports were restricted by Japanese advances in the Pacific Theatre, limiting supplies of staple consumables such as rice, sugar and tea.

Rationing was extended to cover other foods in a series of incremental measures throughout 1942, including canned meat, fish and vegetables, dried and canned fruit, condensed milk, cereals, biscuits and oats. Soap was also rationed in February and private use of petrol continued to fall to almost half that at the start of the war.

Further control of food at least was a popular measure: previously unrationed foods which had been monopolised by wealthy consumers willing to pay high prices were now accessible to all, in particular tinned meats and fish.²⁸ The large-scale regulation of food during this period was reflected in prosecutions under Regulation 55 of the Defence Regulations, which reached their greatest number in 1943. The Manchester Courts prosecuted some 409 people out of a total of 483 apprehensions under Regulation 55²⁹, an increase of 576% on the number of prosecutions for the offences under the same regulation three years earlier when the order came into effect.³⁰

Moreover, 409 prosecutions in 1943 is over twice that of prosecutions for shop and warehouse breaking in the same year³¹, an offence which is more likely to suggest the involvement of organised crime. If we consider that prosecutions under Regulation 55 rose steadily throughout the period 1940 to 1943, and that they were rising in direct proportion to the extent of control over food supplies brought to force by the government, we can argue that these prosecutions are illustrative of the effect

²⁸ Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939 - 1945*, 2 edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.276.

²⁹ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *MP CCAR, 1943*.

³⁰ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *MP CCAR, 1940*.

³¹ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *MP CCAR, 1943*.

of government regulation on the black market. Furthermore, the nature of offences under Regulation 55 support Zweiniger-Bargielowska's assertions that the extent of black market was indicative of the myth of shared sacrifice: these offences are far more likely to be committed by ordinary citizens circumventing regulations as opposed to hardened professional criminals and as such, support the argument that the black market can be a measure of public acceptance of government austerity policy.

We can find an example of Manchester's black market illustrating the lack of public acceptance of wartime legislation by observing the effect of wartime regulations on Manchester's traditional industries. At the outset of war, incidents of crime involving the theft or receiving of raw textiles or clothing were fairly insignificant. Furthermore, when we compare Manchester to other localities, we see that the city was not particularly unique in the type of goods traded on the black market at this time. The goods to be found on Manchester's black market were fairly typical of those found in cities with similar populations, industries and transport infrastructure. In 1939, of 444 prosecutions seen between the Quarter Sessions and Assize courts, 72 defendants stood accused of black market offences. Of those 72 defendants, only 20 were accused of committing offences with even a tenuous link to Manchester's traditional industries such as the theft or receiving of large quantities of clothing. There were no examples of unprocessed textiles being illicitly traded. The overwhelming majority of black market offences at this time involved the theft and receiving of cigarettes, alcohol and personal property obtained through burglary³², which were more typical of the peacetime black market.

³² Greater Manchester Police Museum, Manchester Assizes and Quarter Sessions Records, Calendar of Prisoners, 22/02/1939-19/12/1939.

By 1943 and with austerity at its fullest extent during the war, the situation in Manchester's black market had changed considerably. The introduction of clothing rationing in June 1941 was not well received by the public. As with food rationing, clothing, footwear and textiles were rationed on a points based system in the form of coupons, with some exceptions for items of work clothing such as overalls and boiler suits. Initially in 1941 there were 66 points for clothing per year, however this limit was quickly reduced in 1942 to 48 points and in 1943 to 36 points. By the end of the war, each citizen was left with just 24 points per year.³³ Such austere measure would leave citizens short of new clothing: at these rates a person would only be able to purchase an outfit of clothes every two years or so and a new coat around once every seven years. Furthermore, austerity measures and the introduction of Utility clothing designed to make the most economical use of dwindling textile supplies introduced restrictions on the style of clothing available. Button holes and pleats on dresses were limited, shirt tails and trouser turn ups prohibited, and pockets were limited.³⁴ Given the severe extent of policy it is perhaps not surprising then that a black market for clothes, textiles and coupons would open up in the wake of regulation.

The evidence suggests that, in Manchester, public patience for austerity measures was tested to the limit and further supports Zweiniger-Bargielowska's argument refuting the idea of shared sacrifice. Of the 1109 prosecutions for offences related to black market activity at the city's Assize Courts and Quarter Sessions in 1943, 179 related to the theft or receiving of clothes and shoes, and 14 to the theft or receiving

³³ Robert Daoust, *Fashion or ration: Hartnell, Amies and dressing for the Blitz* (2010) <<https://media.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php/fashion-or-ration-hartnell-amies-and-dressing-for-the-blitz/>> [accessed 19 October 2019].

³⁴ Calder, pp.297-280.

of raw textiles³⁵, representing an increase from 4.5% of black market prosecutions in 1939 to 17.4% in 1943, shown in Table 2. We can draw a distinct linkage between austerity legislation and black market activity with this example. The rationing of clothing had significantly increased its value on the illicit market, along with the raw materials required for manufacture.

Table 2. Increase in Black Market Offences Involving Clothes or Textiles, 1939

– 1943. ³⁶

Year	Black Market Offences	Offences Involving Clothes or Textiles
1939	444	20
1943	1109	193

The increased value of clothes and textile goods is apparent by the presence of merchants prosecuted for their involvement in the black market, particularly those prosecuted for receiving offences. This suggests that the rewards were worth the risk for some professionals. The February Quarter Sessions saw a shopkeeper, Millie Rosenberg, charged with seven counts of receiving stolen freight and luggage from the London Midland and Scottish Railway. Amongst the haul were a carton of shoes, twenty nine pillow cases, a roll of carpet and thirty one shirts. She received twelve months hard labour for her involvement in what was clearly an organised criminal enterprise.³⁷ The March Assizes a week later saw Harry Cohen, a tailor, accused of similar receiving offences. Cohen's case was discharged only because he had died in custody the previous January.³⁸ 1943 saw a total of 96 cases brought before the

³⁵ GMPM, Manchester AC and QS Records, CP, 24/02/1943-29/12/1943.

³⁶ GMPM, Manchester AC and QS Records, CP, 22/02/1939-29/12/1943.

³⁷ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 24/02/1943.

³⁸ GMPM, Manchester AC Records, CP, 01/03/1943.

courts involving the theft or receiving of clothes and textiles in quantity³⁹, with the increasing number of cases not lost on the Recorder, Mr. Noel B. Goldie KC. Mr. Goldie warned that the black market trade would be 'most severely dealt with' by himself.⁴⁰ His words were certainly not empty: the December Quarter Sessions saw two men, Edward Kelly and James O'Brien accused in two separate cases of warehouse breaking to steal between them, four suits, twenty three shirts and thirty two dresses. Both men were habitual thieves with long records of court appearances and were handed down sentences of five years penal servitude and eight months hard labour respectively.⁴¹

To assess the extent to which Manchester black market was unique in its use of local industry, it is useful to make a case study of a different locality and see how the two compare. By comparison, the West Midlands experienced a similar period of industrial growth to Manchester during the nineteenth century, with much the same expansion in transport infrastructure in the form of road, canal and rail networks, and a comparable growth in population density. The key distinctions between the industries of the West Midlands and Manchester was Manchester's reliance on large investment in technological innovation and, although numerous small workshops existed, the widely adopted system of factories to drive forward industrial expansion. In contrast, the West Midlands remained ensconced in a tradition of skilled labour and relatively small workshops to propel its traditional metal and leather work industries.⁴² In further contrast to Manchester's black market growth in clothing and textiles, industries representative of the Birmingham region are conspicuously absent

³⁹ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 24/02/1943-29/12/1943.

⁴⁰ 'STEALING FOR THE BLACK MARKET: Recorder's Warning', *Manchester Guardian*, 12 October 1943, p.2.

⁴¹ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 29/12/1943.

⁴² Eric Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town: Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1998), p.34-35.

from the local black markets. Smithies notes that in Walsall, where the prevailing industries were small scale leather and metal workshops, there were only three cases of black market dealings relating to local trades during the war years. By comparison, the local food committee initiated 114 prosecutions in 1943 alone.⁴³ Roodhouse further cites a sergeant of the Birmingham City Police as rarely chancing on black market activity due to its furtive nature. Between March 1941 and April 1942, the sergeant recorded seventy eight incidents, of which only five related to theft: two of petty theft from the workplace and three of stealing money from gas meters.⁴⁴ The contrast between Manchester and Birmingham during this period is notable. Considering both city's similar size and population, Birmingham experienced virtually no examples of local engineering products reaching the black market. In contrast, Manchester's courts regularly saw defendants appearing for shop and warehouse breaking and the receiving of clothes and textiles. We might argue that the traditional industries in Birmingham were focussed more towards the war effort and as such, that citizens of Birmingham were less likely to indulge in the black market for locally produced goods for reasons of patriotic duty. The vast increase in production in workshops producing components for Spitfires and Hurricanes was down in no small measure to the dedication of their workforce, with many workers vastly exceeding their allotted hours until they collapsed from exhaustion.⁴⁵ It would no doubt have been akin to treason to pilfer from such a production line, particularly as there would be no market to sell such items other than as an act of military espionage. It appears that even known organised criminals were avoiding the illicit trade of Birmingham's engineering commodities. An exception was a gang of metal

⁴³ Edward Smithies, *The Black Economy in England since 1914* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1984) p.72.

⁴⁴ Roodhouse, p.163.

⁴⁵ Calder, p.117.

thieves who had diversified their range of interests and had become involved in a vast conspiracy to pilfer and trade government-issue sandbags; eight men were jailed for up to twelve months each for their roles in the theft.⁴⁶ In general though, Birmingham's wartime crime was of a petty or opportunist nature and lacked the organisation typical of black market enterprise. Theft of cash and small quantities of food and confectionary were common, suggesting that organised crime was of less a concern to the city's criminal statistics.⁴⁷ The evidence available suggests that a combination of government regulation of goods and the local industry in Manchester provided an opportunity for the development and sustain of a localised black market, either by organised criminals or opportunists.

We can see evidence of the influence of legislation on Manchester's black market if we consider the restrictions placed on gambling, which by the outbreak of the war was a substantial industry throughout the country. It is argued that horse racing, dog racing and football pools offered a relatively cheap and exhilarating pastime, enjoyed by all classes and genders and providing a brief respite from austere wartime life.⁴⁸ Gambling was not however without its critics. Aside from practical safety fears about large gatherings of people while the threat of air raids loomed over the nation, concerns existed that race meets represented an irresponsible waste of resources and a distraction from the war effort.⁴⁹ In an attempt to placate anti-betting lobbyists, the defence regulations had banned the placing of bets anywhere but at a racecourse. This measure had effectively criminalised betting for all but the very

⁴⁶ Julie Phillips, *Birmingham at War: 1939-45* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Limited, 2018), p.116.

⁴⁷ Phillips, p.117.

⁴⁸ Mike Huggins, 'Sports Gambling during the Second World War: A British Entertainment for Critical Times or a National Evil?', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32.5, (2015), 667-683 (pp.669-670), in <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2015.1030736>> [accessed 9 September 2019].

⁴⁹ Huggins, p.670.

wealthy by virtue of restricting the working classes access to gambling: a day off work to attend a race meet meant the loss of a day's pay, thus diminishing the appeal of betting by removing the potential to profit.⁵⁰ Smithies argues that such measures caused the gambling community to turn to organised crime to continue their activities. Working people were just as determined to bet as the wealthy and bookmakers were keen to maintain their businesses. The combination of a popular pastime and the potential to make considerable sums of money from it left the gambling world especially vulnerable to organised criminals.⁵¹ Furthermore, gambling restrictions led to Manchester's organised criminal fraternity diversifying their trade during the early stages of the war. The summer of 1940 saw a case brought before the city's Quarter Sessions in which a criminal gang stood accused of the theft of half a million cigarettes from three warehouses across Manchester. Sentencing the men to between 12 months and 3 years penal servitude with hard labour, the Recorder Noel B. Goldie linked the crimes to 'undesirable elements of the racing fraternity' and the cessation of horse racing during the war.⁵² Furthermore, the thefts were part of a plot to distribute the cigarettes nationwide, to receivers in London as well as Manchester and the North West.⁵³

Evidence such as prosecutions under Regulation 55 suggests that Manchester's black market continued to flourish throughout the war, and with an increasing use roughly in line with official austerity measures. Government response to the expanding black market was to exponentially increase penalties, particularly for those involved in the wholesale breaking of regulations. By its own admission, the

⁵⁰ Smithies, (1982), pp.110-111.

⁵¹ Smithies, (1982), p.111.

⁵² 'WAVE OF CRIME "Following Cessation of Racing"', *MG*, 3 August 1940, p.6.

⁵³ 'ALLEGED THEFT OF 500,000 CIGARETTES', *MG*, 2 July 1940, p.9.

establishment had failed to use the full extent of its powers to enforce rationing legislation, blaming market forces as a driver of illicit trade. Major Lloyd George, acting in his role as Secretary to Lord Woolton's Ministry of Food announced far-reaching plans in the summer of 1941 to tackle legislative evasion by issuing trading licenses under threat of withdrawal in the event of offences against rationing or price control.⁵⁴ Lord Woolton further expanded on these plans, aiming specifically at those who 'deliberately set out to drive a coach-and-four through [regulations on controlled goods]', by applying additional fines of up to three times the value of the goods sold. This was in addition to previously applicable fines and imprisonment.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Lord Woolton acknowledged that the Board of Trade had rolled out extensive policy on the control of goods and in particular the regulation of clothing. Believing that both businesses and the general public would be keen to support the introduction of widespread penalties against infractions due to a sense of patriotic duty, Woolton appealed to the judiciary to practice more severe sentencing as a deterrent against involvement in the black market.⁵⁶

Despite the pleas of the government, use of the black market continued to flourish in Manchester. If we consider two particularly common black market offences, those of shop and warehouse breaking and the receiving of stolen goods, we can use the Manchester Police Chief Constable's Reports to illustrate this. Table 3 shows instances of shop and warehouse breaking and the receiving of stolen goods prosecuted in the Quarter Sessions and Assizes Courts of Manchester between 1939 and 1945.

⁵⁴ 'POWERS TO STOP "BLACK MARKETS"', *MG*, 7 August 1941, p.6.

⁵⁵ 'Enemies of the Public.' *Times*, 18 Dec. 1941, p. 5. *The Times Digital Archive*.

⁵⁶ *Hansard*, HL Deb. Vol.121 cols.313-6, 17 December 1941.

Table 3. Indictable Offences, Manchester 1939 – 1945.⁵⁷

1939				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	382	265	196	73.96%
Receiving stolen goods	66	77	63	81.82%
1940				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	808	483	355	73.50%
Receiving stolen goods	96	96	96	100.00%
1941				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	901	354	256	72.32%
Receiving stolen goods	115	136	113	83.09%
1942				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	752	316	237	75.00%
Receiving stolen goods	152	170	123	72.35%
1943				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	891	295	200	67.80%
Receiving stolen goods	161	156	114	73.08%
1944				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	1577	429	260	60.61%
Receiving stolen goods	130	135	100	74.07%
1945				
Offence	Reported	Apprehended	Guilty	Conviction Rate
Breaking into shops, warehouses etc	2584	527	346	65.65%
Receiving stolen goods	155	156	114	73.08%

These statistics demonstrate how, despite the threat of increasingly heavy penalties, the trade in stolen goods continued to grow in Manchester. Furthermore, reports of shop and warehouse breaking grew rapidly in the last two years of the war whilst

⁵⁷ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, MP CCAR, 1939-1945.

reports of receiving remained relatively constant. If we consider Zweiniger-Bargielowska's argument that the black market acts as a measure of public acceptance of regulations, we can argue that the dramatic difference between reports of goods stolen and goods received indicates that the public were, by this stage of the war, deeply involved in the trade of stolen goods. Interestingly, the rates of convictions, measured here by the percentage of apprehensions found guilty, remain relatively constant and even begin to diminish as the reported cases increase. This could be indicative of the difficulties faced by the police as the war progressed: over the course of the war the rate of apprehensions from reports had fallen from approximately two thirds to around a fifth. The causes of this reduction in the rate of apprehensions could be attributed the National Service Acts of 1939 and 1941, which had placed spectacular demands of human resources. Conscription had expanded to include women and graduates, and the age of call up had been reduced for men to eighteen and a half.⁵⁸ Furthermore, conscription had rapidly reduced the number of police officers available to tackle crime.⁵⁹ These factors combined illustrate the difficulties the penal system encountered in effectively tackling the growing black market. The establishment was nevertheless keen to dispense severe sentences as a deterrent: in October 1943 a soldier, Leslie Higgins, received a sentence of 20 months imprisonment for the theft of three suits during a burglary.⁶⁰ Higgins had a small but notable record of previous offences involving the theft of clothes⁶¹, so we can argue that the judiciary was eager to make an example in this case. A year later, three men, this time with no previous record, were sentenced to

⁵⁸ Juliet Gardiner, *Wartime Britain: 1935 – 1945*, (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2004), pp.504-505.

⁵⁹ Clive Emsley, *The Great British Bobby* (London: Quercus, 2009), pp.231-232.

⁶⁰ 'STEALING FOR THE BLACK MARKET: Recorder's Warning', *MG*, 12 October 1943, p.2.

⁶¹ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 11/10/1943.

four months each with hard labour for the theft of three raincoats.⁶² Even following the end of the war, sentencing remained heavy. At the August Quarter sessions in 1945, a young labourer received three year's borstal detention for the theft of a quantity of nightdresses, noted by the Recorder to be destined for the black market.⁶³ It is clear that, wherever possible, the penal system applied sentencing in line with governmental appeals. Ultimately, resources may have been stretched too far to fully carry out Lord Woolton's wishes and the market was nevertheless able to grow with a degree of autonomy.

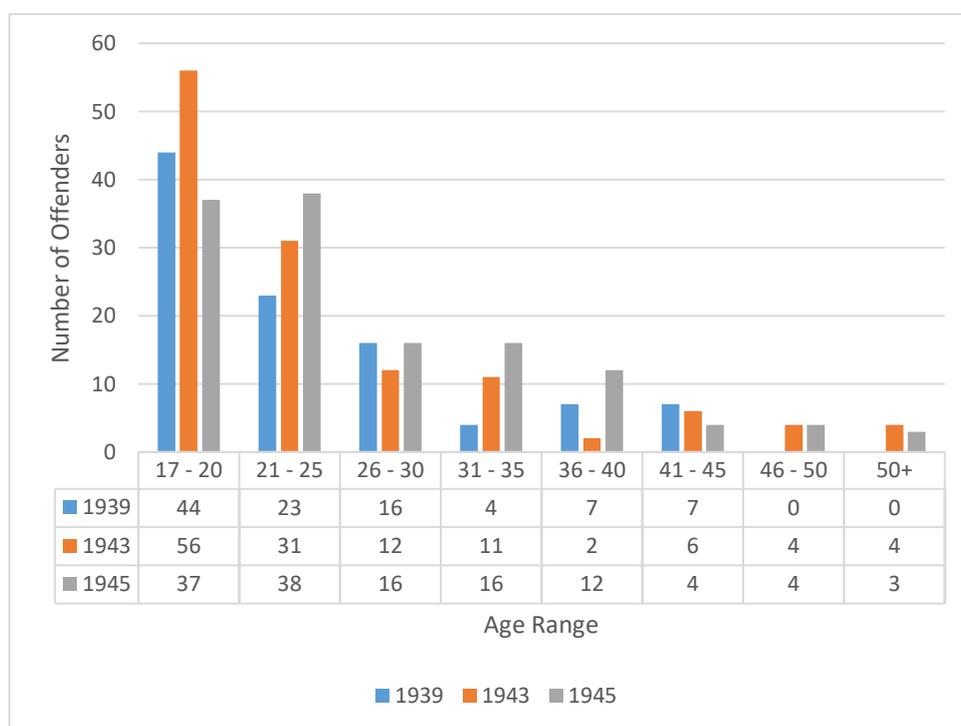
If we consider the age range of offenders, Smithies offers that the war had eroded the traditional family unit. Between conscription, evacuation and full adult employment, there was a sense that younger people's lifestyles were unsupervised. Subsequently young men without parental control were particularly vulnerable to the lure of crime, with a hardened minority finding themselves acting as assistants to older black marketeers.⁶⁴ Figure 1 shows the age ranges of offenders presenting at the Manchester City Quarter Sessions accused of shop and warehouse breaking and receiving in the years 1939, 1943 and 1945.

⁶² GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 29/12/1939.

⁶³ 'MANCHESTER'S "BLACK MARKET CURSE": Destination of Stolen Goods', *MG*, 10 August 1945, p.3.

⁶⁴ Smithies, (1982), pp.176-180.

Figure 1. Manchester City Quarter Sessions Shop and Warehouse Breaking and Receiving, 1939, 1943 and 1945.⁶⁵



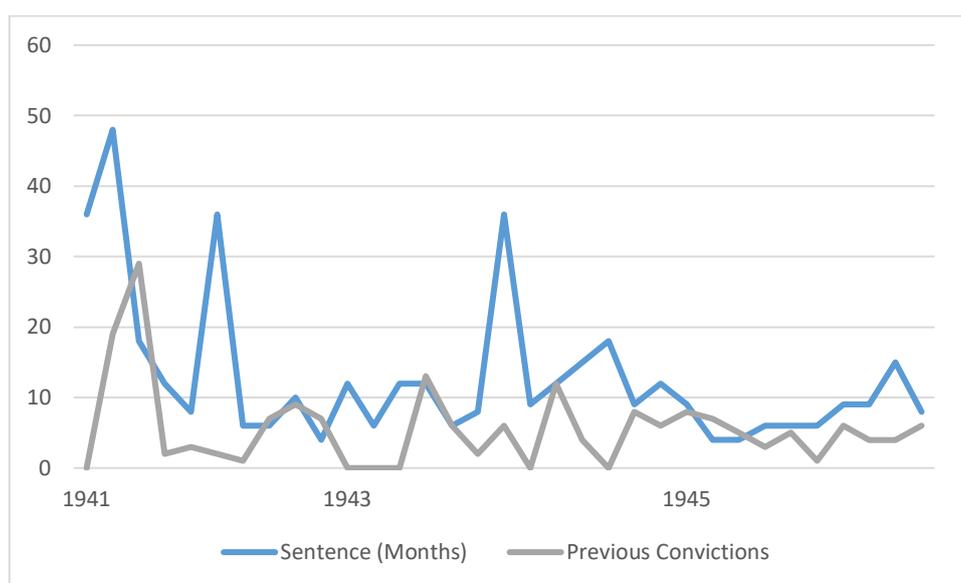
The available statistics largely support Smithies' argument, demonstrating that young people, particularly below the age of 26, were most likely to be involved in the black market. The statistics do however demonstrate that, towards the end of the war, less young people were taking part in black market activity. Smithies speculates the cause of this to be older returning and demobilized soldiers, some of whom may have honed their skills whilst fighting on the continent. These men, he argues, may have found their return to civilian life to be arduous, either finding employment difficult or obtaining positions of trust such as ARP wardens or auxiliary firemen, allowing them to operate without suspicion.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ GMPPM, Manchester QS, CP, 22/02/1939-09/10/1945.

⁶⁶ Smithies, (1982), pp.48-49.

We can observe the increasing severity of sentencing practice by analysing the prosecution statistics for the theft of raw textiles. Over the course of the war, the sentences meted out by the courts vary considerably, although they are somewhat proportional to the number of previous convictions held by an offender, as demonstrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Custodial sentencing practice for cases of theft or receiving involving raw textile products in 1941, 1943 and 1945.⁶⁷



The exception to the rule is the sentencing of younger offenders, as demonstrated here by the spikes in sentencing observed in mid-1941 and mid-1943. In these cases, where an offender is sentenced to borstal detention, it appears to attract a mandatory sentence of 36 months.

In 1943 and with rationing at its peak, Bernard McDermott received twice as severe a sentence for the theft of only 54 yards of cloth.⁶⁸ However in 1945, Frederick Hough received a sentence of only six months hard labour for the theft of a

⁶⁷ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 24/04/1941-08/08/1945.

⁶⁸ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 24/05/1943.

substantial haul of textiles, including nearly 2000 yards of gabardine.⁶⁹ McDermott had a substantial criminal history, having appeared in court 29 times in his life.⁷⁰ Hough however had made just one previous appearance for the theft of tyres.⁷¹ The disparity in sentencing practice for similar theft over the course of the war is notable for several reasons. If the sentences handed down by the courts are indicative of the economic value of the goods stolen in a theft, we can use these sentences to gauge the black market value of controlled goods throughout the war: at the peak of austerity, McDermott's relatively small haul will have been much more valuable than Hough's. We can also argue that this example provides further evidence that Lord Woolton's plans for increasingly severe sentencing were not necessarily put into practice. Furthermore, the appearance of cases involving raw textiles lends credence to the argument that Manchester's traditional industries played a key role in the city's black market. While finished goods such as clothes would be relatively easy to quickly dispose of through illicit channels, the raw materials used to manufacture them would be much harder for a thief to move on, particularly in the quantities seen here; an established supply line would be required, in this case a manufacturing intermediary willing to receive stolen materials to process into goods for sale. Ultimately, the statistics show that there is an argument to suggest that organised crime played a role in Manchester's black market.

In summary, statistical analysis of Manchester's black market reveals much about the nature of the city's illicit trade during the Second World War. Gauging social attitudes to the black market presents us with a number of problems. When assessing attitudes of the general public, the difference between what people were

⁶⁹ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 31/05/1945.

⁷⁰ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 24/05/1943.

⁷¹ GMPM, Manchester QS, CP, 31/05/1945.

generally willing to admit as a matter of record was somewhat contradictory to the evidence available. Furthermore, the establishment appears to offer conflicting opinions of the extent of which the black market operated. By considering the differences in statistics between the number of reports of warehouse and shop breaking and the number of apprehensions and successful prosecutions, we are able to demonstrate that the black market in Manchester was continually expanding in accordance to demand, and we can argue that these demands are dictated by the legislation of goods.

In particular we can see the influence of legislation on the types of goods typically found for sale. Nowhere is this more in evidence than our study of prosecutions under Regulation 55 of the Defence Regulations (1939). By comparing the number of prosecutions year on year with the extent of legislation, we can use Regulation 55 as a yardstick to measure the magnitude of the black market. Such indicators are also evidential when we consider the amount of theft relating to clothing and textiles. Furthermore, the sheer volume of articles stolen, in particular raw materials, points to a conspiratorial element in Manchester's criminal community and therefore the involvement of organised crime. It would have been very difficult, for example, for Frederick Hough to argue in court that his haul of 1991 yards of gabardine were intended for personal use, or even that he plotted the logistics and carried out his theft without assistance.

The statistics on the black market in clothing and textiles also offer an insight into the role played by Manchester's traditional industries. Theft and receiving of both tailored and unprocessed fabric products feature heavily in the court records. This is to be expected given the legislative controls placed on clothes during wartime, for the same reasons that prosecutions under Regulation 55 increased with the extent of

control. However when we compare Manchester and Birmingham, we see that Birmingham's black market does not reach to anywhere near the extent of Manchester's, and furthermore Birmingham's traditional manufacturing products such as metal, engineering and leather products are conspicuously absent from official accounts. This suggests that Manchester may have held a unique position in that the city's traditional industry created a very fertile environment in which the black market could flourish. Despite the demographical and infrastructural similarities between Birmingham and Manchester, the black market in Birmingham appeared not to have caught on in such an industrialised way as it had in Manchester. We could argue that Birmingham's citizen either had a greater sense of patriotic duty than to involve themselves in the black market, or even that the average consumer had no use for fighter plane engine parts in the way that clothing was in universal demand. Either way, the two cities stand in marked contrast to each other, so much so that in depth analysis of further localities would be necessary to reach a firm conclusion.

Chapter 4 - The Markets

This chapter intends to examine the illicit markets available to criminals and consumers during the war. This will be achieved by examining those who used the black market, both at the supply and consumption ends of the market, by consulting the calendars of prisoners for the assizes courts, the quarter sessions and the petty sessions for the City of Manchester. These can then be cross referenced with contemporary newspaper reports, as well as diaries and personal accounts to provide further detail and context. We will further examine the types of goods illicitly traded to determine whether Manchester's local industries left the city particularly vulnerable to black market activity, whilst assessing the degree to which the city's black markets were influenced by regional or national supply lines. Ultimately, we will use this data to assess the extent to which the black market in Manchester was operated by organised, 'professional' criminals, as opposed to of normally law abiding citizens acting opportunistically or people driven to the use of illicit supplies by the ongoing emergency.

By its very nature, the black market is difficult to quantify, and we are therefore somewhat reliant on anecdotal evidence to assess the extent to which the public relied on it. Calder states that official statistics contain little information to gauge the scale of illicit transactions, which intrinsically suggests that the black market may have been successfully operating as intended, carefully protected from official interference by suppliers and consumers alike.⁷² Furthermore, Smithies asserts that a certain amount of tolerance was employed by authorities, whether by ignoring offences or handing down lenient penalties in the courts, in order to act as a 'safety valve' of sorts.⁷³ The distinction between minor infractions and wholesale profiteering was important: Lord Woolton was to recognise the importance of ensuring punishment for technical mistakes and minor infractions was low, whilst organised examples of profiteering carried fines and sentences large enough to be an effective deterrent.⁷⁴ As such, we might expect that most infractions would be of a relatively mundane nature such as 'off-coupon' transactions between traders and consumers, or under-the-counter extras for favoured customers. This was however not necessarily the case. Manchester experienced a great deal of black market theft and trade which we could consider to be organised and professional, participated in by citizens of all classes and professions.

To better understand who was using the black market and they were using it, we can consider how the markets were used by people of different social classes. A Home Intelligence Report of March 1942 suggested that, during the war, inequality of sacrifice was a cause of resentment among different classes, with a general feeling

⁷² Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939 - 1945*, 2 edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.407.

⁷³ Edward Smithies, *Crime in Wartime: A Social History of Crime in World War II*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 59.

⁷⁴ 'BLACK MARKET IN FOOD: HEAVIER PENALTIES', *The Times*, 18 December 1941, p.8.

that wealthy people were suffered less hardship than those of lower classes due to their ability to pay for extra goods and services. In particular, the rich were able to avoid the problems associated with rationing by making use of expensive restaurants, placing large orders in shops and spending more on clothes and petrol.⁷⁵ We might expect then that working and middle class households made the most use of illicit markets to obtain extra goods. This however was not necessarily the case. While both middle and working class households were certainly affected by austerity measures, they could be affected in different ways.

Zweiniger-Bargielowska notes that the relationship between the classes and austerity policy was complicated. While standards of consumption between the middle and working classes never truly equalised, the diet of the poorest sections of society improved dramatically as a result of food rationing. Meanwhile their access to unrationed but limited stocks of clothing and household goods, as well as black market goods at inflated prices, was curtailed by their limited income. The middle classes were perhaps affected mostly by food rationing and their standards of diet fell considerably. It was perhaps only the wealthy with resources to eat expensive unrationed restaurant meals and pay inflated prices for black market petrol and clothing who were unaffected.⁷⁶ Roodhouse similarly argues that the middle classes felt the effects of austerity far greater than their working class counterparts. Official austerity policy was designed to ensure an equitable rather than an equal sacrifice from all citizens and as such, those with middle incomes were required to make

⁷⁵ Home Intelligence, *Inequality of Sacrifice*, INF 1/292 (London: PRO, 25 March 1942), [cited in Harold L Smith, *Britain in the Second World War: A Social History*, ed. by Harold L Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.47-48.]

⁷⁶ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls and Consumption, 1939 – 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.260.

greater sacrifices to ensure essential goods were available to all.⁷⁷ Indeed, wartime studies show that that working class households throughout the nation were used to getting by: the Mass Observation project reveals diaries in which a working class housewife describes conversations with a woman whose husband was conscripted and had two young children. Despite the hardships she faced she explained that she manages on her official allowance and is no worse off. On the contrary, their middle class contemporaries show concerns about the costs of eggs, meat and toiletries.⁷⁸ We might expect that, due to their ability to pay for goods legitimately, middle classes would have avoided using the black market altogether: there simply was no reason to use it. Additionally, Roodhouse suggests that a middle class sense of morality also played a role and that the stigmatisation of evasion and the fear of public disgrace had an impact on those able to afford extras beyond their allowance.⁷⁹ In reality though, the temptation to maintain higher standards of living was too great for some people: their private behaviour could be very different to how they presented publicly. The diaries of a retired nurse from Sussex reveals that her neighbour's husband had acquired two army issue blankets via nefarious means, noting that the gravity of such an offence appeared lost on her friends.⁸⁰ The theft of supplies intended for the armed forces must have appeared particularly heinous during the emergency. At the Manchester Assizes of July 1940, one Maurice Caplan was sentenced to four years penal servitude for his role in the theft of 4000 army issue blankets he had been entrusted to deliver to an army ordinance depot in

⁷⁷ Mark Roodhouse, *Black Market Britain, 1939 - 1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.5.

⁷⁸ Mass Observation, *Women in Wartime*, 290, (Sussex: Mass Observation, 1940), p.7, <
<http://www.massobservation.amdigital.co.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/Documents/SearchDetails/FileReport-290?thumbnailIndex=1>> [Accessed 06/07/19].

⁷⁹ Roodhouse, p.196.

⁸⁰ Mass Observation Archives, War Diaries, September 1941, 'Adelaide Poole diary', 17th September 1941, in Roodhouse, p. 199.

Yorkshire.⁸¹ Summing up, the Judge Mr. Justice Oliver noted Caplan's long criminal history and explained that "People who steal Government stores... at this hour of the country's need can look for no mercy to me."⁸² We of course have little evidence to suggest the eventual end users of Caplan's haul, or indeed their class status, other than his own admission that he attempted to sell a quantity of the blankets to a Manchester textile merchant, an admission he later claimed to have been made under duress.⁸³ We can however see that, by the sheer size of the consignment, Caplan considered the risk to be worth the reward. Whether the sheets were sold on to another dealer or directly to the public, there was certainly a market for them. Furthermore, the Sussex case suggests that even 'respectable' sectors of society were willing to indulge in illicit markets to obtain some small comfort during the emergency.

Middle class desire for the pre-war comforts they were accustomed to had extended to the food market, and in particular meat. The Ministry of Food concluded in 1944 that, with the exception of a "widespread" trade in home produced eggs, poultry and rabbits, there was little evidence to suggest a significant black market in meat.⁸⁴

Such a market did in fact exist: the 1942 case of Tom Tweed illustrates this. Tweed, a 52 year old butcher who owned a Welsh farm as well as a number of butcher's shops in Manchester, stood at the Manchester Assizes on 7th May accused of having possession of 190 eggs which he claimed were for personal use and possession of meat beyond his allowance in accordance of the Slaughtering Order of the Defence Regulations.⁸⁵ Tweed's sentence of three years penal servitude and a £2000 fine

⁸¹ GMPM, Manchester Assize Courts Records, Calendar of Prisoners, 01/07/1940.

⁸² 'THEFT OF ARMY STORES Four Year Sentence', *MG*, 5 July 1940, p.10.

⁸³ 'ALLEGED THEFT OF ARMY SHEETS Man Said to Have Forged Delivery Notes', *MG*, 23 March 1940, p.5.

⁸⁴ Roodhouse, pp.20-21.

⁸⁵ GMPM, Manchester AC, CP, 27/04/1942.

was substantial and perhaps reflective of his attitude towards his infractions: he was caught with a lorry load of undocumented meat from his farm near Carmarthen and upon arrest allegedly expressed a keenness to pay a fine rather than serve a custodial sentence as he was concerned about participating in the Christmas black markets.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Tweed was no stranger to the justice system, having been in court a number of times over the previous year for offences against food regulations: he had been fined in July 1941 for supplying undocumented meat to a mill canteen in Oldham.⁸⁷ He was fined £100 and sentenced to three months imprisonment in January 1942 for slaughtering animals without the authority of the Ministry of Food⁸⁸, a sentence which he was bailed from just four weeks prior his May sentencing, and had had his trading licence revoked by the Ministry in March 1942.⁸⁹ It is clear that Tweed was heavily involved in Manchester's black market for meat. His actions suggest he was running two businesses: one legitimate and one specifically designed to target the black market. Furthermore, his repeated offences and his offer to pay substantial fines over a prison sentence for fear of missing out on a lucrative seasonal market suggest that his illegitimate business was very successful and financially rewarding to the point that Tweed has substantial resources at his disposal. We can therefore argue that, contrary to the Ministry of Food's report, Manchester was home to a considerable black market in meat and one which extended beyond the city's boundaries into the wider region. Cases of regional supply lines in black market food pepper the court records during the war, perhaps more so than those of other illicitly traded items, and in increasing numbers as the war progressed and the extent of regulations increased. It was widely

⁸⁶ 'THREE YEARS AND £2,000 FINE Charges Against Tom Tweed', *MG*, 8 May 1942, p.6.

⁸⁷ 'HEAVY FINES FOR MEAT OFFENCES', *MG*, 22 July 1941, p.6.

⁸⁸ 'GAOL SENTENCE AND £100 FINE A Manchester Butcher', *MG*, 9 January 1942, p.8.

⁸⁹ 'BUTCHER'S LICENCES Revoked by Ministry', *MG*, 26 March 1942, p.6.

considered that consumers would usually shop locally for food. Shortages caused by the war however forced people to seek supplies further afield, into new neighbourhoods and different regions. This was true for both legal and illegal markets. Holidaymakers and day-trippers from large cities found themselves in contact with rural farmers, willing to sell goods 'at the gate' to outsiders and in some cases, open entirely new supply lines.⁹⁰ Manchester was no different in this respect. We have already seen how Tom Tweed supplied local markets with undocumented meat from his Welsh farm; Roodhouse suggests that the Ministry of Food was in something of a state of denial over the scale of unrecorded food trade. In particular, the black market trade of dairy, poultry and eggs was remarkable, accounting for 38% of national production by the end of the war.⁹¹ The Ministry appeared keen to crack down on such trade, occasionally resulting in heavy-handed enforcement of the regulations. In May 1942 Lytham magistrates dismissed a summons against a Lancashire farmer who had mistakenly delivered 360 eggs to the Grand Hotel in Manchester. Although the eggs were returned once the mistake had been discovered, the hotel manager still received a £50 fine for obtaining the eggs, along with a consignment of poultry, from a retailer with whom he was not registered.⁹² The following month two Cheshire farm labourers were fined in Manchester for their roles in the theft of milk from their employers. The milk had been brought into Manchester and sold to a dairyman in Levenshulme, who was also fined for receiving. It transpired that the arrangement had been in place for a year before the men were caught.⁹³ Two months later at the August Quarter Sessions, two men were sentenced. Furthermore, the uncontrolled nature of the trade in poultry for laying and

⁹⁰ Roodhouse, pp.96-98.

⁹¹ Roodhouse, p.21.

⁹² 'POULTRY PRICES', *MG*, 19 May 1942, p.3.

⁹³ 'BLACK MARKET IN MILK', *MG*, 4 June 1942, p.3.

breeding presented additional issues as stock inevitably ended up at the kitchen table.⁹⁴ In spite of the Ministry's attempts to introduce points systems to quash the black market in meat⁹⁵, it continued to be a concern well past the end of the war. The Ministry of Food worked alongside the police in the run up to Christmas 1945 to uncover consignments of poultry marked at prices exceeding the controlled prices entering the Manchester area from outlying districts as far afield as the West Riding.⁹⁶ Given Manchester's status as an urban centre with a large population, it is perhaps not surprising that regional supply lines of food were so significant to the city, particularly when compared to more rural communities.

The middle classes were of course not unique in their use of black markets, working classes also indulged as their incomes changed. Where the middle classes had seen their standards of living drop during the war, rationing and price controls had worked in the favour of those on low incomes, allowing them access to resources they would otherwise have been unable to afford and freeing up some income to spend elsewhere. Despite food having risen 22% in the cost of living index between 1939 and 1941, the war had accelerated a trend of expenditure on non-essential items such as alcohol and tobacco amongst the working classes.⁹⁷ These changes are reflected in the Manchester's City Court records, which saw a significant number of shop and warehouse breaking cases throughout the war, with cigarettes being a popular bounty. Although not rationed, at times of particular shortage, retailers would implement self-imposed restrictions on the sale of cigarettes to extend existing supplies. Furthermore, as a high value and very portable item, their appeal to

⁹⁴ Roodhouse, p.21.

⁹⁵ 'POULTRY ON POINTS? Ministry Trying to Kill "a Dark Grey Market"', *MG*, 11 Mar 1944, p.6.

⁹⁶ 'WATCH ON BLACK MARKET: Search in Lancashire', *MG*, 22 Dec 1945, p.5.

⁹⁷ Penny Summerfield, 'The 'Levelling of Class'', in *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War*, ed. by Harold L Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 191

criminals was inflated considerably.⁹⁸ Table 5 shows the percentage of the total cases seen at the City of Manchester Quarter Sessions throughout 1940 which involved the theft or receiving of cigarettes.

Table 4. City of Manchester Quarter Sessions 1940 - Theft & Receiving Involving Cigarettes. ⁹⁹

Date	Total cases	Theft / Receiving of Cigarettes	% Theft / Receiving of Cigarettes
7th May 1940	75	12	16%
31st July 1940	32	13	41%
8th October 1940	51	11	22%
18th / 31st December 1940	66	22	33%
Total	224	58	26%

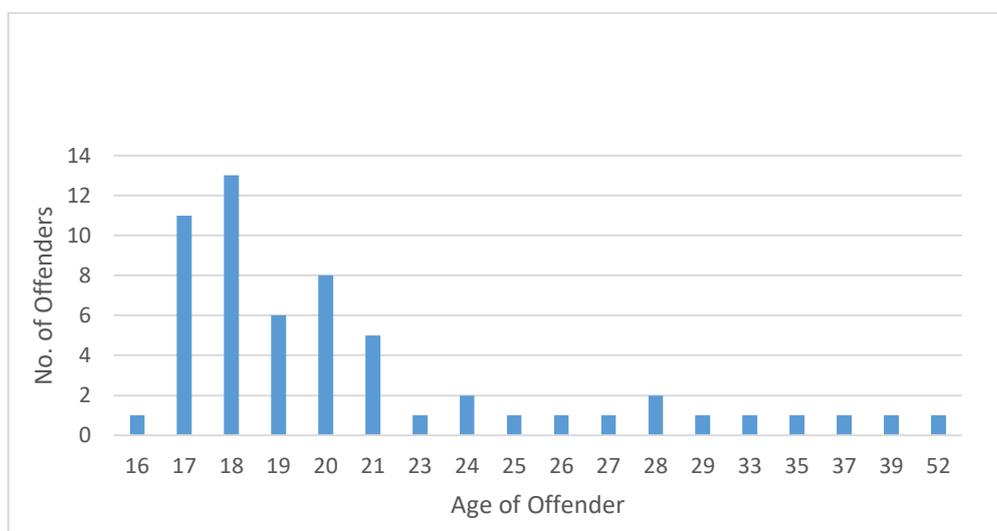
In total, cases of theft and receiving accounted for a quarter of all cases brought before the Quarter Sessions during 1940 and demonstrated a steady increase throughout the year. The July sessions did however see a sharp increase in cases seen, due in no small part to the conviction of the gang responsible for the theft and receiving of approximately half a million cigarettes. The comments of Mr Goldie, the Recorder of the Court, as well as the regional and national distribution of the cigarettes suggest that these particular crimes were carried out by an organised criminal element, rather than opportunist thieves, and this is reflected in the more severe sentencing which the gang received.

⁹⁸ Donald Thomas, *An Underworld at War: Spivs, Deserters, Racketeers and Civilians in the Second World War* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2003), p. 64.

⁹⁹ GMPM, Manchester Quarter Sessions Records, CP, 07/05/1940-31/12/1940.

This was however the exception rather than the rule: most cases of theft involving quantities of cigarettes during 1940 were committed by young, working class men, involved much smaller, although still significant quantities of cigarettes and were subject to more lenient sentencing. Figure 3 shows the ages of those who appeared at the Quarter Sessions throughout 1940 charged with theft or receiving cigarettes.

Figure 3. Number of People Appearing and the City of Manchester Quarter Sessions (1940) Charged with Theft or Receiving of Cigarettes.¹⁰⁰



The ages of those appearing at the courts charged with theft fall overwhelmingly into the 17 to 21 bracket. Of those charged with receiving, the youngest was a 27 year old hairdresser, Bernard Grehan. Receivers were generally older and attracted much harsher custodial sentencing in contrast to the younger offenders, who were usually bound over with a few exceptions. Significantly though, all offenders accused of theft and receiving of cigarettes in the 1940 courts were from working class backgrounds. Their professions were largely manual and skilled labour such as joinery, plumbing

¹⁰⁰ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 07/05/1940-31/12/1940.

and mechanics, or apprentices. A notable exception was the appearance of John Grime and Charles Haynes, two police constables who drunkenly raided a Levenshulme shop late one night whilst off duty.¹⁰¹ Although Grime and Haynes were subsequently suspended, that they were merely bound over rather than given custodial sentences is indicative of the falling police numbers. In particular, experienced officers such as Grime and Haynes were scarce due to conscriptions, an issue which was particularly pronounced as 1940 progressed when war reserves and special constables were brought in to bolster numbers.¹⁰² Roodhouse suggests that the appeal of illicit cigarette trading to the working classes was not just limited to their high value: the ease with which they could be sold on through local networks of neighbours, pubs and cafes, as well as the speed with which they could be consumed, made them very hard for authorities to trace.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the communities which indulged the black market in cigarettes were more likely to have the opinion that it was merely a 'grey market', and thus morally defensible if not legally acceptable.¹⁰⁴

We can assess the role of gender in the black market by considering typical gender roles of the time. Women of course entered the labour force to play vastly increased roles in wartime production; however the majority remained in traditional roles as housewives and mothers, albeit adapting their daily routines to account for the ongoing emergency.¹⁰⁵ It was in these traditional domestic roles that women were likely to come in contact with the black market. It has been argued that, in their roles

¹⁰¹ 'EX CONSTABLES ON THEFT CHARGE "Disgustingly Drunk"', *MG*, 1 August 1940, p.10.

¹⁰² Emsley, pp.231-232.

¹⁰³ Roodhouse, pp.83-85.

¹⁰⁴ Roodhouse, pp. 213-214.

¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey G. Field, *Blood, Sweat, and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 131.

as mothers and housewives, women were more affected by austerity policy than men, bearing the brunt of shortages and changing legislation. Moreover, although the state recognised the crucial role of women's domestic responsibilities, women's attitudes to rationing and austerity remained divided, with support for food rationing policies and disdain for policy on clothing.¹⁰⁶ With families to feed and clothe, we might expect women to be more likely to be involved in black markets for food and clothing; however women represent a relatively low proportion of those appearing in court records. Table 5 demonstrates the proportion of people by gender who were apprehended between 1940 and 1945 under Regulation 55 of the Defence Regulations, which controlled food rationing.

Table 5. People Apprehended Under Regulation 55 of Defence Regulations.¹⁰⁷

Year	Male	Female	% Female
1940	61	12	20%
1941	199	44	22%
1942	379	72	19%
1943	437	46	11%
1944	319	71	22%
1945	251	76	30%

Using the example of apprehensions under Regulation 55, we can see that, with the exception of a post-war increase in cases, women accounted for around a fifth of apprehensions. This is slightly below the overall total for non-indictable offences in Manchester for the same period, as illustrated by Table 6.

¹⁰⁶ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.261.

¹⁰⁷ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *Manchester Police Chief Constable's Reports, 1940 – 1945*.

Table 6. Non-Indictable Offences Apprehended.¹⁰⁸

Year	Male	Female	% Female
1940	13816	3784	27%
1941	14586	3553	24%
1942	13984	3808	27%
1943	9413	3279	35%
1944	7172	2854	40%
1945	7074	2502	35%

The total number of offences remains shows a small but steady increase throughout the war, with a drop of a few percent for the period of 1945. Notably, the instances of offences against regulations, for example those against lighting regulations, remained fairly constant and evenly split between men and women throughout the war. If we also consider that Regulation 55 offences committed by men in the same period showed only a minor increase, these figures suggest that women became significantly more likely to become involved in the black market in food in the immediate aftermath of the war.

The post-war increase is most likely due to discontent over increasing rationing measures immediately following the end of the war, culminating in the highly controversial decision to ration bread towards the end of 1946. It is difficult to tell if the increase in Regulation 55 infractions was solely down to women mistakenly finding themselves on the wrong side of constantly shifting regulations or deliberate action in protest against government policy. However Conservative backbenchers were quick to seize the opportunity to undermine Labour's food policies, in particular bread rationing, supported by the right-leaning sections of the national press. Ultimately, protest against what was perceived as mismanagement of resources by

¹⁰⁸ GMCRO, Ref. GB125.352.2 M1, *MP CCAR, 1940 – 1945*.

the government led to an erosion of support for the Labour Party in the immediate aftermath of the war.¹⁰⁹

In contrast to the illicit trade in food, Manchester's trade in black market clothes and clothing coupons was largely represented in the courts by men. Although not as popular as the trade in stolen cigarettes, as a similarly valuable and easily disposed of necessity, Manchester's courts saw regular appearances for coupon fraud. Prior to the introduction of clothes rationing, pilfering by textile workers was commonplace and considered a 'perk' of the job: it wasn't unusual for workers to take home scraps and offcuts for personal use. Taking full advantage of their employer's inability to discipline such behaviour due to labour shortages, textile workers would often smuggle goods out of the factory under their own clothes, from raw textiles to fully formed garments.¹¹⁰

It could be argued that clothes rationing and the use of coupons presented an opportunity to those willing to exploit new opportunities presented by the policies. Perhaps most notably, the Assize Court of April 1942 saw nineteen men handed sentences between three months and four years for their roles in a coupon forgery scheme.¹¹¹ The men had printed between 50,000 and 70,000 forged coupons as part of a large scale conspiracy with connections to organised crime in London.¹¹² The following year seven men and three women were sentenced to between six months and five years penal servitude for their roles in a similar scheme.¹¹³ This time the defendants were accused of the supply of fabrics to the value of £28,000 without

¹⁰⁹ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, pp.216-218.

¹¹⁰ Roodhouse, pp.56-57.

¹¹¹ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 07/05/1940-31/12/1940.

¹¹² 'CLOTHING COUPONS CASE RESULT Four Acquittals: 10 Sentences, Heaviest 4 Years', *MG*, 10 May 1942, p.3.

¹¹³ GMPM, Manchester AC Records, CP, 23/11/1943.

coupons in a plan which stretched across Manchester and Salford to Hull. An inspection by the Board of Trade revealed a secret set of accounting books kept by the ringleaders, Charles Goldshlager and Tamir Kahale. Goldshlager and Kahale had created a complex conspiracy involving off-coupon trade in textiles between the two men, which existed alongside their legitimate businesses.¹¹⁴ Goldshlager had subsequently supplied a number of merchants and dealers across Manchester, Salford, Cheshire and East Yorkshire.¹¹⁵

To see women in the dock on black market charges was however unusual. Although thefts of clothes were often opportunistic and included items of menswear, many cases brought before the courts were of men involved in the organised theft of women and children's clothing which would be easy to sell on the black market, in particular less utilitarian items which were difficult to come by during the war. The February Quarter Sessions of 1940 saw a gang accused of warehouse breaking and making off with a quantity of women's pyjamas and overcoats.¹¹⁶ The May Quarter Sessions of the same year saw a local tailor charged alongside several other men for receiving vast quantities of clothing, amongst them forty eight pairs of trousers, ten raincoats, five fur collars, nine dozen pairs of silk underwear and over thirty yards of cloth.¹¹⁷ In May of 1942 a gang stood at the Quarter Sessions accused of the theft of a consignment of boy's formal wear. A separate gang were at the same sessions accused of the theft and receiving of over 350 yards of cloth and received sentences of between ten and fifteen month's hard labour.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ 'COUPONS CASE Goldshlager's Alleged £28,000 Deals', *MG*, 5 November 1943, p.3.

¹¹⁵ 'BLACK-MARKETING CHARGES: Letters in Arabic', *MG*, 27 October 1943, p.3.

¹¹⁶ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 21/02/1940.

¹¹⁷ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 07/05/1940.

¹¹⁸ GMPM, Manchester QS Records, CP, 18/05/1942.

Although perhaps underrepresented in court statistics, it is clear from the continuing examples brought before the courts that a market aimed at mitigating the difficulties women faced in their roles as mothers and housewives was thriving in Manchester. Cross party consensus recognized that women bore the brunt of restrictions, with both the Labour Party and Conservatives using the plight of the ordinary housewife to drive their respective messages about austerity home. Atlee himself admitting that “many of these restrictions fell heavily on the housewife...We have been greatly helped in the past year by the understanding and loyalty of... women.”¹¹⁹ It is therefore arguable that these restrictions created the black market in food and clothing. This was acknowledged by the establishment, to the point that the authorities were more likely to turn a blind eye to ordinary members of the public buying occasional extras beyond their allowance or conveniently forgetting to exchange coupons on a purchase, even if the practice was widespread. Smithies notes that the hardest sentencing was reserved for clandestine exchanges which took place out of view of the general public and created a secondary economy based on exploitation.¹²⁰ This certainly appears to be the case in Manchester, particularly in the case of clothing infractions.

On a national scale, women's attitudes towards dealing in the black market are revealing, demonstrating a mixture of opinion between shame and anger. Feelings of guilt were common: one Mass Observation panellist divulged that she felt ashamed when a shop assistant refused her coupons upon purchasing handkerchiefs for her children because she had plenty of coupons at her disposal as such action might have deprived those on genuine need.¹²¹ This indicates that there was a general

¹¹⁹ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p.217.

¹²⁰ Smithies, *Crime in Wartime*, p.81.

¹²¹ M-OA, DR55, in Roodhouse, p.198.

feeling of sympathy for those driven to use the black market from necessity rather choice. Elsewhere feelings of anger towards the restrictions prevailed: another panellist protested that, as a normally law abiding citizen, she was angry that such “*stupid regulations*” had forced her to test her morals and use the black market.¹²² Either way, there was a distinct awareness that interacting with illicit markets was legally, if not morally wrong and Manchester was no exception to this. One Manchester diarist noted she found it “amazing the number of one’s acquaintances who don’t give a second thought to dealing in the black market – especially where clothes are concerned... It never seems to enter their heads that the goods they buy may be stolen.”¹²³

In summary, we can see that Manchester’s wartime black market was used in different capacities by consumers and suppliers from many different backgrounds. Our study of the theft of cigarettes demonstrates that even those tasked with upholding the law or defending the nation were lured by the temptation of short term gains: the list of offenders seen through the Quarter Sessions in 1940 included six servicemen and two policemen. Furthermore, by comparing the black markets in cigarettes and food, we can see how different markets were used by people of different class and helped illustrate the urban and rural divide. Young working-class men were more likely to be involved in warehouse and shop breaking to obtain cigarettes which were easy to dispose of quickly in an urban environment, whereas wealthier classes with the resources to make use of hotels and restaurants may have been indirectly using the regional black market supply routes in food, whether

¹²² M-OA, DR118, in Roodhouse, p.198.

¹²³ The Diary of M.J. Brierley, Manchester, 19 Feb 1945, in *Mass Observation Online* <<http://www.massobservation.amdigital.co.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/>> [18/07/2019].

intentionally or not, or even simply find themselves in favour with a local shopkeeper willing to indulge in 'off coupon' transactions.

The relationship between women and the black market is slightly more difficult to gauge and as such, we cannot rely as heavily on court statistics. We can however see a clear trend, illustrated by the case of Goldshlager and Kahale's textiles and coupons racket, of organised criminals being involved in the large scale dealing of items which would typically be consumed by women. This suggests that women were perfectly willing to indulge in illicit consumption, either for reasons of want or need. Anecdotal accounts of fairly widespread use of black markets by women for clothing, food and coupons, compared with their relative absence from court statistics, furthermore support Smithie's theory that the authorities were willing to turn a blind eye to minor offences in order to concentrate limited resources on organised criminal elements. The balance was not easy to maintain however, and some friction continued to exist between those who used and those who abstained from using the black market, as illustrated by the differing views of our case studies.

A notable aspect of Manchester's black markets is how they integrate with regional and national markets, particularly in the case of organised crime. The 1942 coupons case and the case of Tom Tweed illustrate how local criminals relied on national networks to operate. Furthermore, supply chains for the city's black market in food demonstrate Manchester's reliance on regional networks to cater for its citizen's consumption needs. It is not necessarily the case that Manchester offered any radically different markets than any other large city, but its status as logistical transport hub and its many warehouses would certainly have made it easier for criminals to move their merchandise as required.

The question of organised crime's role in Manchester's black market is less easy to answer. The courts perhaps saw a disproportionate amount of 'professional' criminality, with more cases of theft and receiving than of regulation infractions by consumers. Anecdotal evidence suggests this was due to the penal system concentrating its limited resources on the most serious of crimes and showing leniency to less serious cases: our case study of the trade in cigarettes during 1940 illustrates how the heaviest sentences were reserved for large scale racketeering, while low level offenders were bound over. Furthermore, the cases we have observed looking at the trade in food and coupons demonstrate that a black market for these items was thriving, even if cases of coupon fraud and infractions of regulations by consumers rarely made the courts.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

In conclusion, Manchester presents a case of a city with a thriving black market during the Second World War. We can argue that such a market was enabled by a number of factors. Manchester's traditional economy of textile trades and logistical infrastructure provided a fertile environment for the black market trade in clothes and textile goods to flourish, enabled by government control of such merchandise.

Furthermore, Manchester's location and transport connections allowed for the easy movement of foodstuffs into the city from the wider region, circumventing government regulations. Both of these factors provided opportunities for organised criminals to profit, although the evidence available suggests that ordinary civilians were culpable for a great deal of black market activity, either intentional or accidental.

As a large industrial city with an extensive transport network, Manchester offered an ideal environment in which the black market could operate. The city was, at the outbreak of war, an important centre for the import of goods, both nationally and internationally. Moreover, Manchester's manufacturing heritage ensured an

abundant supply of unprocessed and processed goods were available in the many local and regional workshops, factories and warehouses, as well as a dense population of potential consumers. The city's black market was undoubtedly active prior to the war, as we have seen by the court records of 1939. It did however represent a relatively small section of the total prosecutions seen in Manchester's Quarter Sessions and Assize Courts and was restricted mainly to the trade of pilfered consumer goods such as alcohol and personal valuables obtained through small scale theft. The exponential growth in cases seen in the period between 1939 and 1945 is directly attributable to the outbreak of war and subsequent regulation and control of goods through rationing, in particular Regulation 55 of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939. Regulation and rationing of consumer goods, explicitly clothing and food, left these goods vulnerable to exploitation by people willing to profit in scarce commodities and opened up new revenue streams for organised criminals. We therefore argue that government legislation was the biggest single factor in the growth of Manchester's wartime black market. It is however important to recognise that the control of goods particular to Manchester's local industry, and the universal need for these goods, provided the incentive. For this reason we can say that Manchester was a unique environment. Our assessment of Birmingham's wartime black market reveals a much smaller illicit trade, which to some extent we can attribute to the particular nature of the local industry; there was simply no market demand for type of engineering products produced locally. Subsequently, Birmingham's black market developed differently in comparison to Manchester's.

Statistical analysis of Manchester's wartime black market has revealed much about its nature. From our study of court statistics, backed with contextual evidence from newspaper reports, we have been able to ascertain how the black market was used

by the different sectors of society. Our study of the shop and warehouse breaking throughout the war has indicated that those involved in the black market were predominantly young, working class men under the age of 25. This trend was further illustrated by the cases of theft and receiving of cigarettes. Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence provided by the Mass Observation project suggests that Manchester's women were as enthusiastic as the city's men when using the black market, albeit in different ways. Men were far more likely to be involved in wholesale theft or receiving for profit, whereas women were more likely to be involved as consumers in their traditional roles as house keepers. Our Manchester diarist's surprise at the amount of people making black market purchases reveals that, contrary to establishment opinion, Manchester's black market was thriving in spite of regulations. Our statistics indicate that her opinion is valid: the exponential growth in cases of shop and warehouse breaking as the war progressed further demonstrate this.

Organised crime undoubtedly played a role in Manchester's black market, however the balance between organised crime and small-scale regulation infractions is slightly harder to assess from court statistics. It is likely that cases involving organised crime were more likely to be seen in court as authorities cracked down on large scale profiteering, a fact illustrated by our study of the illegal trade in cigarettes: heavier penalties were allocated to those involved in higher value offences. The case of Tom Tweed and his offer to pay a large fine over a prison sentence, as well as the coupons case of Goldshlager and Kahale further illustrate the value of the black market to organised criminals.

Ultimately, the Second World War played a significant role in shaping Manchester's black market, and the evidence suggests that both Smithies and Zweiniger-Bargielowska's arguments are valid. The sheer scale of black market activity in

Manchester demonstrates that the concept of shared sacrifice was stretched to the limit in Manchester, as illustrated by the involvement of people of all genders and class. There is also an argument for further research on the wartime black markets of other towns and cities across Britain. The extent of Manchester's black market was unlikely to be unique and doubtlessly was repeated in industrial cities nationwide.

Appendices

Appendix 1.

Table demonstrating custodial sentencing practice for cases of theft or receiving involving raw textile products in 1941, 1943 and 1945.

Sentences for Theft and Receiving of Raw Textiles, 1941, 1943 and 1945			
Date	Sentence (Months) <i>Italics Denotes Borstal Detention</i>	Goods	Previous Convictions
24/04/1941	36	3 blankets & other articles	0
	48	1 roll of canvas & other articles	19
	18	40 yds of silk	29
26/06/1941	12	22 pieces of poplin	2
	8	As above	3
	36	27 yds cloth	2
19/08/1941	6	270 yds cloth	1
	6	20 rolls of cloth & other articles	7
	10	91lb art silk remnants & other articles	9
	4	2.5 yds of cloth	7
24/02/1943	12	1 roll of canvas & other articles	0
24/05/1943	6	78 lengths of cloth	0
	12	80 yards of lining	0
	12	54 yds of cloth	13
	6	8 blankets	6
09/08/1943	8	66 yds of cloth	2

	36	900 hessian sacks	6
	9	46 yds of silk	0
	12	As above	12
11/10/1943	15	135 yds cloth	4
	18	As above & other offences	0
	9	16.5 yds suiting cloth & 20 suitlengths	8
29/12/1943	12	14 suitlengths	6
22/02/1945	9	500 yds duster cloth	8
	4	3.5 yds of suiting cloth	7
	4	As above (receiving)	5
	6	520 yds of wyncyette	3
	6	2 rolls of cloth (receiving)	5
31/05/1945	6	10 rolls of cloth & 1991 yds of gaberdine	1
	9	4 rolls of cloth	6
	9	944 yds of cloth	4
08/08/1945	15	1538 yds of dress material	4
	8	12.5 yds of fabric	6

Appendix 2.

Table demonstrating the age, occupation and sentences of all defendants appearing before the City of Manchester Quarter Sessions in 1940 on charges of theft or receiving relating to the black market trade in cigarettes.

City of Manchester Quarter Sessions 1940						
Theft & Receiving Involving Cigarettes						
Session	Name	Age	Occupation	Theft / Receiving	Qty of Cigarettes	Sentence
7th May (75 cases)	Ronald Bowker	19	Moulder	Theft	1250	Bound over
	Alfred Lea	24	Warehouse man	Theft		Bound over
	Geoffrey Burrows	17	Fitter	Theft		Bound over
	Robert Lee	18	Apprentice engineer	Theft	Unspecified	3 years borstal
	Walter Graham	17	Packer	Theft		3 years borstal
	Thomas Hart	18	Labourer	Theft	3000	Bound over
	James Carr	52	Shopkeeper	Receiving	400	6 months hard labour
	James Kennedy	19	Labourer	Theft	7850	Bound over

	Frank Crawford	18	Motor mechanic	Theft		Bound over	
	Bernard Grehan	27	Hairdresser	Receiving	350	6 months hard labour	
	Harold Graham	17	Joiner	Theft		Bound over	
	Joseph Wilson	19	Driver's mate	Theft	1080	Bound over	
31st July (32 cases)	Alfred Lea	24	Warehouse man	Theft	1250	Bound over	
	Fredrick Spencer	21	Cafeteria attendant	Theft	Unspecified	Bound over	
	Raymond Stephenson	19	Piecer	Theft	4000	3 years borstal	
	Bernard Byatt	20	Joiner	Theft		Bound over	
	Abraham Tobias	28	Dealer	Theft		18 months hard labour	
	Samuel Thomas Ingram	33	Hawker	Theft		12 months hard labour	
	Jack Robert	26	Showman	Theft	115000	18 months hard labour	
	Benjamin Lipner	28	Tobacco dealer	Receiving		15 months hard labour	
	Samuel Rosen	25	Motor driver	Receiving	88000	Discharged	
	Joe Herman	35	Salesman	Receiving	50000	Discharged	
	John Grime	29	Police constable	Theft		Bound over	
	Charles Henry Haynes	39	Police constable	Theft	3000	Bound over	
	8th October (51 cases)	James Kennedy	20	Soldier	Theft		Bound over
		Frank Crawford	19	Motor mechanic	Theft	As above	Bound over
		Harold Graham	18	Joiner	Theft		Sent to forces
Joseph Wilson		20	Driver's mate	Theft	As above	Bound over	
John Joseph O'Bryan		21	Labourer	Theft	100	3 years borstal	
Richard Percival		18	Water proofer	Theft		3 years borstal	
John Carter		18	Under manager	Theft		Bound over	
Fredrick Brentwood Haselden		17	Finisher	Theft	3440	Bound over	
William Joseph Jackson		23	Soldier	Theft		Bound over	
John Joseph Meecham		21	Soldier	Theft		8 months hard labour	
William Joseph Ravenscroft		21	French polisher	Theft	6200	15 months hard labour	
18th / 31st December (66 cases)	John James Donaghain	17	French polisher	Theft	Unspecified	3 years borstal	
	Fredrick Spencer	21	Labourer	Theft		12 months hard labour	
	John Booth	20	Machinist	Theft	Unspecified	12 months hard labour	
	Thomas Webster	18	Seaman	Theft		3 years borstal	
	Thomas Youngman	19	Apprentice turner	Theft		Bound over	
	John Christopher Askew	17	Apprentice miliner	Theft	8500	Bound over	

Charles Herber Higgs	17	Apprentice moulder	Theft		Bound over
Albert Edwin Hewitt	18	Apprentice plater	Theft	1620	Bound over
John Ramsden	18	Mechanic	Theft	1000	Bound over
Fredrick Brentwood Haselden	17	Plumber	Theft		3 years borstal
Richie Desmond Dickinson	18	Apprentice fitter	Theft	1180	Bound over
Bernard Blakeley	16	Apprentice painter	Theft		Bound over
Arthur Henry Greaves	18	Moulder	Theft		Bound over
Herbert Owen Goodwin	17	Apprentice fitter	Theft	4000	Bound over
Cyril Buckley	20	Labourer	Theft		Bound over
Thomas William Barrow	20	Soldier	Theft	1200	10 months hard labour
John Joseph Calderbank	18	Labourer	Theft	Unspecified	Discharged
Frederick Hector Booth	18	Presser	Theft		3 years borstal
George William Farrell	17	Van boy	Theft		Bound over
Martin Edward Power	20	Labourer	Theft	1500	3 years borstal
Albert Lesley Holloway	20	Soldier	Theft	840	3 years borstal
Bernard Tobias	17	Labourer	Theft	4170	Bound over

Research Supervision Diary

Date of contact with tutor	Type of contact and topic discussed	Dates: TMA's submitted and received
13/05/2019	Phone tutorial: discussed feedback from A825 EMA. Discussed A826 TMA01 and revisions needed to Dissertation Proposal.	
26/05/2019	Email: TMA01 1st draft submitted for feedback.	
30/05/2019	Email: feedback from TMA01 received, revisions agreed.	
03/06/2019	Email: advice received on TMA01 referencing.	
03/06/2019	Email: TMA01 2nd draft submitted for feedback.	
04/06/2019	Email: TMA01 2nd draft feedback received.	
		06/06/2019 : TMA01 submitted.
		24/06/2019 : TMA01 collected.
27/06/2019	Email: Research Timetable submitted, additional secondary literature discussed.	
01/07/2019	Email: Confirmation of chapter structure discussed.	

		25/07/2019 : TMA02 submitted.
		11/08/2019 : TMA02 collected.
21/08/2019	Phone tutorial: feedback from TMA02, revisions to bibliography and primary research discussed.	
14/09/2019	Email: Chapter 1 draft submitted for feedback.	
11/10/2019	Email: Chapter 1 feedback received. Revisions of chapter structure and bibliography discussed.	
		07/11/2019 : TMA03 submitted.
		05/12/2019 : TMA03 collected.
07/12/2019	Phone tutorial: Discussion of revisions required to TMA03 chapter, including more detailed overview of data and further revisions to bibliography. Submission of draft for feedback agreed.	
24/12/2019	Email: Feedback received following submission of final draft of Chapter 3. Further data added to Chapter 3 to bolster arguments regarding sentencing practice.	

You may expand the table above if necessary, but do not submit more than two pages (including signatures).

Name of student: Adam Tucker Name of tutor: Dr. Linda Walker

Personal identifier:  Staff number: 

Signed:  Signed: 

Date: 17/12/2019 Date: 24/12/2019

Complete this form electronically and email it to your tutor for informal agreement. Once agreement is received, print out the form and sign the hard copy. Include a separate hard copy with each copy of your dissertation when you submit your work.

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