

'In Times of War, the Law Falls Silent'

The Impact of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939

on the Police and Policing in Norwich During the Second World War

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Abstract

The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 significantly expanded the role of the police during the Second World War intruding into public life and limiting traditional freedoms. The overall aim of this dissertation is to advance the understanding of the changes in the role, responsibilities, organisation and structure of Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945. Chapter one examines the organisation and structure of Norwich City Police and the extent to which this changed during the Second World War. Changes in organisation and structure and the creation and consolidation of reserve forces enabled the police to cope with a broad range of additional duties. Chapter two explores the wartime duties of the police. The role and responsibilities of the police expanded to accommodate Defence Regulations, though their central purpose of protecting life and property, preserving the peace, and preventing and detecting crime remained unchanged. Chapter three reflects on the impact of the Second World War on the police and policing. The war did more to enhance police and community relations than any other event. Official thinking during the Second World War remained unchanged; in that the police must remain independent of politicians, above all, a centralised national police organisation and structure was regarded as detrimental to liberty and democracy.¹ The Defence Regulations were short-lived, though their influence continued, strengthening links between central Government and local police forces at the expense of local Government.

¹ Clive Emsley, 'The Second World War and the Police in England and Wales', in *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, ed. by Cyrille Fijnaut (Leuven University Press, 2004), pp. 151–64. p.160.

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Declaration

No part of this dissertation has previously been submitted for a degree or other qualification to the Open University or any other university or institution. I confirm that this dissertation is entirely my own work. Parts of this dissertation are built on work I submitted for assessment as part of A825.

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Introduction

'In times of war, the law falls silent' is a modern rendition of a phrase from a speech by Marcus Tullius Cicero Roman orator, lawyer, statesman, and philosopher in 52 BCE on behalf of his friend Titus Annius Milo. At the time when Cicero used this phrase, mob violence was common and partisan leaders controlled the streets of Rome. Even so, civic leaders were elected to high office. In modern times it has become a watchword for the erosion of civil liberties during wartime. As currently used, the phrase means civil liberties and freedoms are subservient (for good or ill) to a nation's duty of self-defence.

This dissertation examines the impact of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 on policing in Norwich during the Second World War. The Act significantly expanded the role of the police during the Second World War intruding into public life and limiting traditional freedoms. Censorship was widespread; anti-war propaganda was subversive. Police powers of search and interrogation extended, internment without trial introduced and controls over the daily lives of men and women extensive. The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 allowed the Government to take measures that were deemed necessary to prosecute the war successfully and the Act also enabled Government to amend, suspend or apply with or without modification any part of the Act. Importantly, the Act permitted the implementation of Defence Regulations, and these became a central feature of everyday life for the people of Britain. Defence Regulations came into force automatically and did not need parliamentary approval, subjecting the population of Britain to a higher degree of state-regulation than any other power except the Soviet

Union.² Even though politicians accepted that Government should be entrusted with extraordinary powers, it was also recognised that such measures should not pass without comment.³ The Emergency Powers (Defence) (No. 2) Act 1940, enabled the amendment and extension of legislation contained within the Act of 1939 and also provided for annual extensions by parliamentary resolution.⁴ Responsibility for enforcement of the Defence Regulations fell to the police; it was these Regulations that intruded into public life, limiting traditional freedoms.

In 1939 the police underwent momentous changes virtually overnight. However, there is very little written about the police in the Second World War and even less about Norwich City Police. The Fire Service, Air Raid Precautions (ARP), Home Guard and a host of other Civil Defence agencies feature in publications. The overall aim of this dissertation is to advance the understanding of the impact of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 on the police and policing in Norwich During the Second World War. Chapter one examines the organisation and structure of Norwich City Police and the extent to which this changed during the Second World War. Chapter two explores the wartime duties of the police and chapter three reflects on the effect of war on the police and policing.

This dissertation is a substantive study, furthering understanding of the changes in the role, responsibilities, organisation and structure of Norwich City Police from 1939 to

² Jose Harris, 'War and Social History: Britain and the Home Front During the Second World War', *Contemporary European History*, 1.1 (1992), 17–35 (p.1).

³ Dingle Foot, 'Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939', *Hansard UK Parliament*, 1939<<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1939/oct/31/emergency-powers-defence-act-1939>> [accessed 22 October 2019]

⁴ Ivor Jennings, 'The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1940', *The Modern Law Review*, 4.2 (1940), 132–36 (p.132).

1945. A complete authoritative record of events, episodes and incidents involving Norwich City Police does not exist.⁵ Still, the Chief Constable's annual reports to the Watch Committee of the City and County Borough of Norwich enrich and inform this study forming the bedrock of discussions. These important sources offer a unique perspective and comment on a wide range of topics, for instance, police strength, recruitment, training, sickness and discipline. The reports also inform about the nature and extent of crime and how this changed from 1939 to 1945 in general, but specifically about offences committed under the Defence Regulations. These provide a useful comparison with Home Office historical crime datasets of indictable offences in England and Wales from 1939 to 1945. Local and national categorisation variations make analysis challenging, reinforcing the need for caution with the interpretation of crime statistics. Police General Orders, particularly, Nos. 65, 95 and 247 provide detail on the role and responsibilities of the police. These include the rescue of casualties, fatalities, property and bomb searches, as well as action to be taken in the case of crashed aircraft and escaped prisoners of war. Two further sources, a *Guide to Police Action During an Air Raid* and a *Guide to Aid After Air Raids*, issued by the City of Norwich ARP Emergency Committee provide additional information. Local and national press, as well as transcripts of personal interviews, reveal details about the Defence Regulations and the restrictions these placed on people's day to day lives. Examination of contemporary books, journal articles, newspapers, memoranda and media archives advanced understanding of the police in the Second World War. There are very few sources that mention the roles, responsibilities and structure of Norwich City Police. Therefore, primary sources which

⁵ Maurice Morson, *A Force Remembered. The Illustrated History of Norwich City Police 1836-1967* (Derby: Bredon Books, 2000), p.9.

are specific to the period and Norwich are used to identify the same or similar factors in the secondary sources, albeit they refer to other places. Effectively, the primary sources provide the local detail, while the secondary sources offer a retrospective vantage point, removed from the original events. These offer context, comparative analysis, explanation and interpretation.

Neil Stammers, in his book *Civil Liberties in Britain During the 2nd World War*, raises the question about the effect of crisis Government in wartime on the restriction of traditional freedoms in Britain. Controversially, Stammer concludes that 'Britain can no longer properly be described as a democracy'.⁶ A sentiment that is disputed by historians such as Ken Buckley who argue that there was greater support for the suspension of civil liberties and restricting of freedom in order to prosecute the war more effectively than is suggested.⁷ Clive Emsley writes in *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe* that the Second World War had a significant impact on policing in Britain, but there is little academic research on policing in this period.⁸ This work provides detail on the roles, responsibilities, organisation and structure of the police in England and Wales; Emsley notes that the experience was much the same across all nations of the United Kingdom. In his history, *The Emergency Work of the Police Forces in the Second World War* written in 1963 and declassified in 1967, Sir Arthur Dixon makes use of Home Office files and near-contemporary published sources. The source provides useful insights into the difficulties of recruitment at the outbreak of war, also the training of reserve police recruits. Complete authoritative records of Norwich City Police do not survive. Even so, A

⁶ Neil Stammers, *Civil Liberties in Britain During the 2nd World War* (New York: Croom Helm, 1983), p.1.

⁷ Ken Buckley, 'Civil Liberties in Britain During the 2nd World War', *Labour History*, 46, 1984, 165–66 (p.165)

⁸ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.151.

Force Remembered by Maurice Morson uses official notes, press reports, articles and documents about Norwich City Police, which includes the Second World War in part.⁹ Another popular history publication is *Put that Light Out! Britain's Civil Defence Services at War 1939-45* by Mike Brown.¹⁰ The role of the police is part of this story, although, unlike some publications, this provides insights into policing outside London.

⁹ Morson, *A Force Remembered*, p.9.

¹⁰ Mike Brown, *Put That Light Out!: Britain's Civil Defence Services at War 1939-1945*, 1st edn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 81-87.

Chapter One

Organisation and Structure

This chapter will explore the extent to which the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 changed the organisation and structure of Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945. In 1937 Sir Warren Fisher, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, reported on the need for a comprehensive, country-wide system of civil defence to limit damage to production and services and to save lives. However, as the political situation in Europe worsened there was a lamentable failure on the part of some police authorities to appreciate the burden placed on police and the need to make adequate provision.¹¹ In 1938 during the Munich Crisis, Victor Harrison (later to become Chief Warden of Norwich) remarked that air raid preparations in Norwich were wholly inadequate and the ARP Committee was the 'Cinderella of the council'.¹² Notwithstanding this unfavourable assessment of the council, Norwich City Police continued preparations for war which were described by Chief Constable Henry Dain as having been of inestimable value.¹³ Throughout 1939, the Home Office had advised, warned and ultimately applied pressure on local authorities to prepare for war; this had little effect. Prominent members of police authorities were either against war, believed that war would, in some way pass them by or they simply sought to avoid the added cost to the rates.¹⁴ The severe lack of equipment, apathy and hostility from local authorities created significant difficulties for the police. As one Chief

¹¹ Richard Cowley, Peter Todd, and Louise Ledger, *History of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary*. (HMIC, 20 June 2019), p.54.

¹² Steve Snelling, *Norwich a Shattered City the Story of Hitler's Blitz on Norwich and its People in 1942* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2012), p.11.

¹³ John Henry Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee* (Norwich: City and County of Norwich, 1939), p.22.

¹⁴ Arthur L. Dixon, *The Emergency Work of the Police Forces in the Second World War* (HMSO, 1963), p.39.

Constable commented 'without notice, we have been given responsibility for a machine that does not exist'.¹⁵ The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 significantly expanded the role of Norwich City Police in the Second World War; this gave rise to changes in organisation and structure.

During the inter-war years Norwich City Police experienced significant change. The use of horses declined, motor vehicles and motorcycles increased, communication systems improved as did training. Criminal investigation methods continued to advance, and women were integrated into the regular police force. Despite the many changes, the police continued to fight fires and provide ambulance services. Also, the practice of routine patrolling known as the 'Beat System' established in the nineteenth century remained the cornerstone of community policing. Most of the population did not have access to a telephone. Accordingly, the only way of enlisting the services of a Police Constable was either to run to the nearest police station or to find the Police Constable on his beat. Consequently, routine patrols were central to efficient policing. The highly prescriptive beat book enabled a Police Constable to navigate the city without much thought; it also meant the location of an officer could be pinpointed at any given time. In Norwich, before the arrival of police pillar phones, a Police Constable was summoned by the placement of a block of wood wrapped in white paper pressed against the window of the Guildhall Police Station.¹⁶ In 1938, the introduction of twenty-five police boxes and thirty-five pillar phones improved the beat system, and the traditional beat patrol became more flexible. Constables were required to telephone the police station at a stipulated

¹⁵ Dixon, p.44.

¹⁶ Maurice Morson, *A City's Finest* (Norwich: Redbridge, 1992), p.60.

pillar phone or police box every eighty minutes, also to respond to the so-called 'scintillating' light from any pillar phone or police box.¹⁷ In 1940, the Chief Constable of Norwich reported that pillar phones and police boxes enabled fast dissemination of information and deployment of resources.¹⁸ Although important, technology alone could not address the problems which were caused by the loss of experienced police officers at the outbreak of the Second World War. The authorities were desperate to avoid a repeat of the situation in 1914 when police officers who were reservists were recalled to the armed forces, leaving the police precariously short of personnel. In 1914, the Metropolitan Police lost 1032 police officers from a complement of 22,000. In the provinces, 2728 officers from a total of 33,416 were 'called-up'.¹⁹ In 1927, a committee of County and Borough Chief Constables was formed to review the wartime organisation of the police and the 'ten-year rule' was reaffirmed the following year. For the purposes of planning, this meant that there would be no major war in Europe in that period. The need for secrecy seriously hindered the planning process, particularly concerning the mitigation of air raids. There was an expectation that a future war would begin with air raids causing 'extensive damage...resulting in a widespread failure of [infrastructure], a severe breakdown in morale; also panic and looting would stretch police resources to breaking point'.²⁰ The 'ten-year rule' was dropped in 1933. Furthermore, a standing committee was formed to consider the role of the police during a future war and to provide a direct link to the ARP Department at the Home Office.²¹ At the outbreak of the Second World War, 3000 army reservists left the police and returned to the armed forces. In all, some

¹⁷ Morson, *A City's Finest*, p.60.

¹⁸ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1940*, p.7.

¹⁹ Roy Ingleton, *The Gentlemen at War, Policing Britain 1939-45* (Bournemouth: Pardy and Son, 1994), p.27.

²⁰ Dixon, p.14.

²¹ Dixon, p.9.

16,500 regular police officers served in the armed forces during the war, this is 32.4% of regular police officers serving in England and Wales from 1939 to 1945.²² In 1939, not wishing to repeat the experiences of the First World War, the Home Office issued a directive that police officers were not to be recalled until three months after mobilisation. In England and Wales, 25% of police officers were under twenty-five years old, and were liable to call-up.²³ In 1941, the increasing frequency of air raids caused the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police to reclaim reservists with Government permission.²⁴ During the Second World War local organisation and structure essentially remained intact with a few significant exceptions. Under Defence Regulations, the Home Secretary had the authority to direct Chief Constables without reference to Standing Joint Committees (SJC) or Watch Committees.²⁵ Also, a Regional Civil Commissioner was responsible for supervising the work of civil defence agencies and the coordination with central and local Government. Attached to the headquarters of the Regional Civil Commissioner was a Senior Police Liaison Officer. It was their responsibility to maintain links with Chief Constables in the regions. A fixed quota of not less than 10% of the authorised establishment was available as reinforcements to other forces, under local agreements, one-third of these could be moved. Quotas applied to all police forces in England and Wales with more than fifty officers, including Norwich City Police.²⁶ Likewise, Norwich City Police could call upon other police forces for reinforcements as required. In the event of a 'grave emergency', under local arrangements the Chief Constable of Norwich City

²² Clive Emsley, 'Police during the Second World War', *International Centre for the History of Crime, Policing and Justice*, 2018 <<https://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/history-from-police-archives/PolCit/polww2.html>> [accessed 28 November 2018]

²³ Dixon, p.15.

²⁴ Morson, *A City's Finest*, p.139.

²⁵ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe* p.158.

²⁶ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe* p.158.

Police also had immediate access to one hundred soldiers without further reference to the Regional Civil Commissioner. These measures were significant, but possibly the most important in terms of police independence was the right of the Home Secretary to move police across regions as necessary.²⁷ To a certain extent this small, but important point together with the other changes removed local control, although there were no proposals to reorganise the police along regional or national lines, every police force would retain its identity.²⁸ Official thinking remained centred around a national police structure being contrary to liberty and democracy.²⁹

In 1939 there were 60,000 police officers divided between 182 separate police forces in England and Wales. In London there were two police forces, the largest was the Metropolitan Police with 19,358 police officers. The other was London City Police with 1100 officers.³⁰ Table 1 shows the authorised establishment of Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945, this represents the number of regular police officers of all ranks. As a result of the extra work undertaken with ARP the Home Office approved the engagement of one Inspector and three Police Constables over and above the authorised establishment of 1938.³¹ With the exception of the loss of one Inspector in 1941, and the recruitment of two regular women police officers in 1944, the authorised establishment remained constant in Norwich throughout the Second World War.

²⁷ 'General Order No.95 Instructions Relating to Enemy Attacks and Matter in That Connection' (City of Norwich Police, 1943), p.11.

²⁸ Dixon, p.13.

²⁹ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.160.

³⁰ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.152.

³¹ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.1.

Table 1 Norwich City Police Authorised Establishment (Regular Officers), 1939 to 1945

Source: *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945*

Rank	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Chief Constable	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Deputy Chief Constable	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chief Inspector	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Inspector	6	6	5	6	6	6	6
Sergeant	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
Police Constable	129	129	129	129	129	129	129
Police Women	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Authorised Establishment (Total)	156	156	155	156	156	158	156

Table 2 shows the force strength of Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945, this represents the actual number of regular police officers of all ranks. The number of regular police officers, particularly Police Constables, fluctuated from 1939 to 1945 as army reservists were recalled to the military and others volunteered. From 1942 other officers of military age were called up. The number of Women's Auxiliary Police Corps (WAPC) officers in Norwich City Police was increased to help fill the gap as regular police officers left. In 1944, there were two women police officers in the regular force in Norwich. Although included on the force strength, none appear to be authorised in 1945. There is no apparent reason for this.

Table 2 Norwich City Police Force Strength (Regular Officers), 1939 to 1945

Source: *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945*

Rank	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Chief Constable	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Deputy Chief Constable	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Chief Inspector	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Inspector	6	6	5	6	6	6	6
Sergeant	18	22	15	18	17	18	13
Police Constable	103	122	117	85	75	69	77
Police Women	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Force Strength (Total)	130	153	140	112	101	98	100

Table 3 shows those officers who were authorised 'additional ranks' to be engaged in both police and fire brigade duties. Although the number of authorised fire brigade officers was increased in 1939, the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police saw little likelihood that the positions would be filled. In 1941 police firefighters transferred as full-

time police officers to Norwich City Police or joined the National Fire Service. Concerning weights and measures and gas meter testing, these remained the responsibility of the police throughout the Second World War.

Table 3 Norwich City Police Authorised Additional Ranks, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Additional Ranks	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Fire Brigade	6	4	0	0	0	0	0
Weights and Measures and Gas Meter	2	2	0	2	2	2	0
Additional Ranks (Total)	8	6	0	2	2	2	0

Table 4 shows actual 'additional ranks' engaged in both police and fire brigade duties, in contrast, to those shown in Table 3, which shows those that were authorised.

Table 4 Norwich City Police Force Strength, Additional Ranks, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Additional Ranks	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Fire Brigade	2	4	0	0	0	0	0
Weights and Measures and Gas Meter	2	2	0	2	2	2	0
Additional Ranks (Total)	4	6	0	2	2	2	0

The Metropolitan Police was unique as it was fully funded by central Government and was led by a Police Commissioner who was directly responsible to the Home Secretary. The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police from 1935 to 1945 was Air Vice Marshall Sir Philip Game, however in the main Police Commissioners were senior army officers. Between the two world wars Government began to insist that Chief Constables should have an awareness and experience of policing. In the larger towns and cities (and some counties), the Chief Constable was more likely to be a man who could fit in with the wealthy elite. Invariably he was a man used to commanding others, either in the armed forces or from one of the paramilitary imperial police forces – such as the Royal Irish Constabulary or one of the forces in Imperial India. The other 58 county forces were headed-up by a Chief Constable who was responsible to an SJC of magistrates (appointed by the Lord Chancellor's office) and elected County Councillors. The 122 town and city

police forces including Norwich City Police were responsible to a Watch Committee; these received only half funding from central Government.³² Unlike borough and county Chief Constables, John Henry Dain, Chief Constable of Norwich City Police, was the son of a police Superintendent. Dain, described as one of the 'smartest, most efficient, and best educated young police officers in the country' was promoted through the ranks to what was described as 'one of the plum jobs in the country'.³³ Until the end of the Second World War, most rank-and-file police officers came from the semi-skilled and unskilled working classes. Often, they did not join the force with a career in mind but to tide themselves over during a period of unemployment. Pay had been cut during the inter-war years but was still double that of the average industrial wage, there was also subsidised housing and a pension at the end of service. The biggest drawbacks were the long hours and the 'fierce' intrusive discipline, which affected not only the serving police officers but their families too. A police officer was expected to be a model citizen and an example to his peers. The police force was initially a reserve occupation, but many officers were reservists and responded to the recall to the armed forces. The Chief Constable of Norwich City Police reported in 1939 that there were twenty vacancies caused by the recall of reservists, this added to the workload of the already overstretched police and were unlikely to be filled.³⁴ The loss of regular police officers caused problems, this together with a significant increase in wartime duties led to reliance upon war reserves, auxiliaries and the Special Constabulary.

³² Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.152.

³³ Derek James, 'A Police Chief Who Made Lads Men', *Norwich Evening News*, 18 April 2011.

³⁴ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.4.

First Police Reserve

In 1912, the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police explored the formation of a police reserve. In 1913 the First Police Reserve was formed, initially from eleven police pensioners, rising to thirty-five men. At the outbreak of the First World War, in England and Wales, the First Police Reserve numbered 2800 in County and Borough forces, in addition to 1200 in the Metropolitan Police.³⁵ They replaced men who were army reservists or Police Constables whom had been reassigned to other duties. After the war County and Borough forces halted recruitment, some retained their reserve force as a resource of experienced officers to be called upon as needed. Generally, the organisation was revived in 1935 and reinstated in 1939, by which time there were over 10,000 reserves.³⁶ These were paid a retaining fee in addition to their pension, subject to reasonable deductions. In 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War, Norwich City Police had fifteen First Police Reserves. This gradually reduced from 1942 until the end of the war.³⁷ The Chief Constable of Norwich City Police was also authorised to raise a Police War Reserve of fifty officers; these were enlisted or conscripted men, employed full time as regular police officers. Many First Police Reserve transferred to the Police War Reserve.

Police War Reserve

In 1938, foreshadowing the National Service Act 1939, recruitment for the Metropolitan Police War Reserve commenced, other police forces followed. In 1939, there were seven Police War Reserve officers in Norwich City Police and a further twelve in training; this

³⁵ Dixon, p.19.

³⁶ Dixon, p.18.

³⁷ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.5.

rose to eighty-five in 1942.³⁸ In England and Wales, at the height of the Second World War in 1944, there were 43,026 regular police officers, 17,527 Police War Reserve and Special Constables, and 385 women police in England and Wales.³⁹ In the same period in Norwich there were ninety eight regular police officers, six First Police Reserve, fifty Police War Reserve, 328 Special Constabulary and two women police officers. Figure 1 shows the breakdown of police personnel in England and Wales by type and by year from 1940 to 1945 as a proportion of the total number of officers engaged in wartime duties. In this instance, police reserve includes both the Police War Reserve and Special Constabulary as a breakdown of these categories for England and Wales is not available by year. The figures for 1940 include 2611 full-time Special Constables, all but 242 were based in London.⁴⁰ Numbers fell during the war, generally to be replaced by Police War Reserve officers.

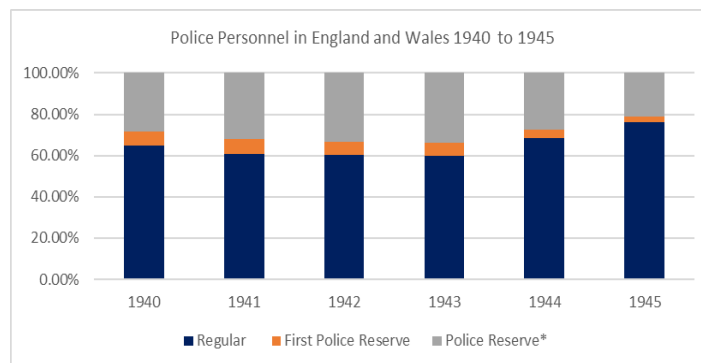


Figure 1 Police Personnel: England and Wales, 1940 to 1945

Source: Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.157

The figures suggest that regular police officers were the mainstay of policing across England and Wales. Similarly, Figure 2 shows the breakdown of police personnel in Norwich City Police by type and by year from 1940 to 1945 as a proportion of the total

³⁸ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.4.

³⁹ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.157.

⁴⁰ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p. 157.

number of officers engaged in wartime duties. Regular women police officers on average account for just under 0.17% of the total number of police officers. Analysis of the data suggests that unlike England and Wales as a whole, Norwich City Police was heavily reliant upon war reserves throughout the Second World War.

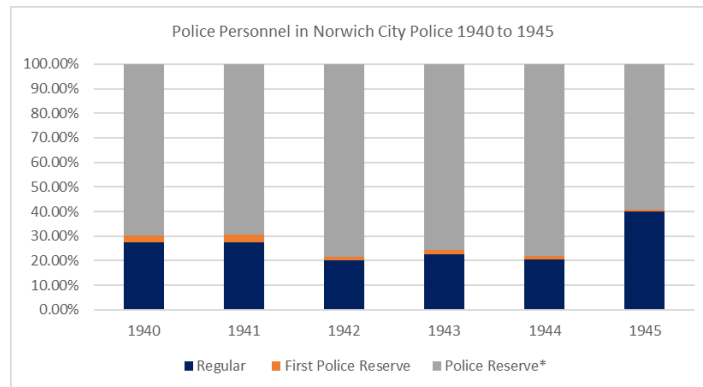


Figure 2 Police Personnel: Norwich City Police, 1940 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Police War Reserve officers were sworn in under the Special Constables Act 1923 and had the full powers of a regular police officer. Unlike the Special Constabulary individuals were paid at the same rates as regular police officers. The scheme applied to the Metropolitan Police as well as County and Borough forces. Generally, recruitment was restricted to British citizens over 30 years of age. The role was full-time, and those in reserved occupations were ineligible unless unemployed and it could be proven that their occupational skills were no longer required.

Special Constabulary

The Special Constables Act 1831 stated that 'justices should appoint Special Constables where any tumult or riot had occurred or was likely to occur'.⁴¹ Initially, the law did not

⁴¹ Dixon, p.21.

allow for a standing force of Special Constables in peacetime. In 1888, signs of public disorder spurred on the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police to seek authorisation from a magistrate to raise a force of two hundred Special Constables. In 1911, there was some doubt concerning the future of the Special Constabulary, though, by 1914, the situation had changed again. In the First World War, the duties of Special Constables centred around guarding bridges and utility works. In 1916, His Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary reviewed 530 Special Constables of Norwich City Police, including four company and twelve platoon commanders. By the end of the year, the number of Special Constables had increased to 760.⁴² Social and political unrest locally, nationally and internationally meant that the authorities were keen to maintain a reserve capability. The Special Constables Act 1923 enabled a permanent Special Constabulary to be made ready in times of war and peace. Significantly, this changed the organisation and structure of the police in England and Wales, including that of Norwich. The Special Constabulary remained an unpaid volunteer force (except for some full-time Special Constables in the Metropolitan Police). Reimbursement of out of pocket expenses was the only exception. Figure 3 shows the breakdown of Norwich City Police personnel from 1939 to 1945 by type and by year as a proportion of the total number of officers engaged in wartime duties. Although numbers of Special Constables in Norwich had declined during the inter-war years, these were to rise again in 1939. On the verge of the Second World War, the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police sought to raise the number of Special Constables to 450, although this only reached a high of 352 in 1943, the reasons for the shortfall are unclear.⁴³ In 1942 the Ministry of Labour tried directing those conscripted to join the

⁴² Morson, *A Force Remembered*, p.105.

⁴³ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1943*, p.4.

Special Constabulary to fill the shortfall, this was generally unsuccessful with varying results as the armed services had first-call on those suitable to serve in the military.⁴⁴ The figures clearly show the extent to which the Special Constabulary boosted police resources in Norwich during the Second World War.

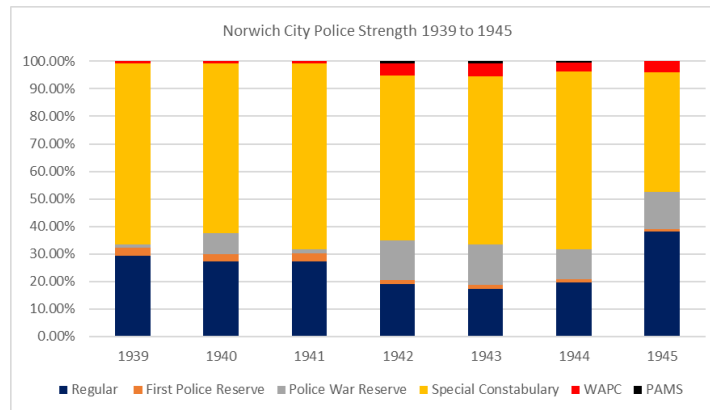


Figure 3 Norwich City Police Personnel, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

The Special Constabulary added significantly to the reserve capability of police forces across England and Wales. In 1939, there were 118,000 Special Constables, a year after the end of the war this figure had halved.⁴⁵ The number of Special Constables in Norwich City Police remained reasonably constant throughout the Second World War. Like other police forces in England and Wales, numbers reduced from 1945 onwards. In 1939, Norwich City Police Special Constabulary was reorganised into four divisions; the divisions were aptly numbered one to three with the fourth being City Division. The Chief Constable noted that the Special Constabulary comprised of 350 well-trained volunteers, all of whom carried out their duties with great efficiency.⁴⁶ The Special Constabulary represented just over 82% of all police reserves and 61% of the total strength of Norwich

⁴⁴ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1942*, p.1.

⁴⁵ 'The History of the Special Constabulary', *The Old Police Cells*, 2019 <[https://www.oldpolicecellsmuseum.org.uk/content/history/police history/police specials](https://www.oldpolicecellsmuseum.org.uk/content/history/police%20history/police%20specials)> [accessed 27 September 2019]

⁴⁶ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.9.

City Police during the war. Special Constables were required to attend lectures on a broad range of topics, including the role of the police and their wartime duties. In 1939, following a review, His Majesty's Inspectorate of Police reported 'entire satisfaction' with the performance of Norwich City Police.⁴⁷ Similar to the Police War Reserve, full-time Special Constables who were over 30 years of age were designated as being in a reserved occupation and as such exempt from call-up.⁴⁸ Unlike those of the First World War, in 1939, fully trained volunteers received police uniforms with identification numbers distinguishing them from regular police officers. As in the First World War, the Special Constabulary guarded sensitive structures but were also trained to replace the regular police in an emergency in a wide range of duties. In 1940, the Chief Constable stated that 'the zeal and efficiency of the Special Constabulary in Norwich is outstanding'.⁴⁹ After the Second World War, the number of Special Constables dropped to 116, leaving 266 vacancies. The changing nature of the role and the removal of the imperative of war might be the cause of the shortfall.

Women Police Officers

In 1914, Edwin Winch, Chief Constable of Norwich City Police stated to the Watch Committee that he was not in favour of policewomen.⁵⁰ There is no reason given for this position. A similar view was widely held across police forces in England and Wales, even though experiences in the First World War had proven the 'great value of women police

⁴⁷ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.9.

⁴⁸ Roy Ingleton, *The Gentlemen at War, Policing Britain 1939-45* (Bournemouth: Parly and Son, 1994), p.36.

⁴⁹ Morson, *A Force Remembered*, p.105.

⁵⁰ Edwin Winch, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1914* (Norwich: Norwich City Police, 1914), p.1.

[officers] under war conditions'.⁵¹ In 1920, Norwich Watch Committee resolved to defer discussion indefinitely concerning policewomen following a request from the Home Office to do so. The recruitment of policewomen was made unequivocal by the Home Office in 1927. In 1931, the Home Office instituted Police (Women) Regulations granted under the Police Act 1919 and in 1933 Norwich City Police appointed Lucy Evans as the first 'official' regular woman police officer in Norwich City Police, followed by Kathleen Holman and Margaret Grant in 1936. Generally, the care and moral welfare of women and children was the responsibility of women police officers. Kathleen Holman and Margaret Grant had left Norwich City Police by the beginning of the Second World War in September 1939 and there is no record of Lucy Evans. At the outbreak of the Second World War, in England and Wales, there were 226 regular women police officers, over 127 were in the Metropolitan Police.⁵² Out of the 181 County and Borough forces, 137 did not employ any women police officers. After much deliberation, in August 1939, the Women's Auxiliary Police Corps (WAPC) was formed. Increasingly, as regular police officers were called-up, the WAPC filled the gaps. Women drove cars, vans and lorries, operated switchboards, marshalled prisoners, sometimes patrolled and much more. In 1939, Norwich City Police had four full-time officers of the WAPC, increasing to twenty-six by 1942, they were primarily responsible for telephone and switchboard.⁵³ The next regular women police officers to be appointed to Norwich City Police were Barbara Allen and Jessie Dewing who transferred from the WAPC in 1944. It was 1944 before women police officers could undertake 'beat' duties, even though an unaccompanied policewoman was permitted to

⁵¹ Dixon, p.24.

⁵² Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.161.

⁵³ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1942*, p.2.

drive a van to deliver coffee to beat constables.⁵⁴ The views of Chief Constables concerning women police officers varied widely. In 1945, Alan Plume, Chief Constable of Norwich City Police stated that 'women police officers continue to do good work and [the usefulness of women] police officers had been proved without a shadow of doubt, and they are [here] to stay'.⁵⁵

Junior Police Force

Reserves were not limited to the First Police Reserve, Police War Reserve and WAPC. In 1928, uniformed members of the 'lad's club' (an initiative of Chief Constable John Henry Dain of Norwich City Police) formed the Junior Police Force which was a local forerunner of the Police Cadet Force, a national youth organisation.⁵⁶ During the Second World War members of the Junior Police Force worked as police messengers in Norwich. Across England and Wales youths were used by the police as messengers indoors and outdoors and proved 'to be very useful in this capacity'.⁵⁷ The Police Auxiliary Messenger Service (PAMS) was formed in 1939, when details of employment, including rates of pay (which were to be in line with those of the ARP organisation), were approved. Central Government fully funded messengers pay.

⁵⁴ Morson, *A Force Remembered*, p.101.

⁵⁵ Alan Frederick Plume, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1945* (Norwich: City and County Borough of Norwich, 1945), p.18.

⁵⁶ 'Police as Friends', *Daily Herald*, 20 September 1943, p.2.

⁵⁷ Dixon, p.26.

Police Fire Service

Until 1935, police firefighters were reliant upon gratuities from the Watch Committee. A Police Inspector, Sergeant and Sub-Engineers formed the Norwich fire brigade, though Chief Constable Dain believed all 'policemen were firemen, designated or not'.⁵⁸ The Chief Constable was also Chief Fire Officer. Arising from the Fire Service Act 1938, the National Fire Service came into being in 1941. The employment of Police Constables as part-time firefighters came to an end on 29 January 1943.⁵⁹ Police firefighters were given the choice of staying as firefighters in the new service or being full-time police officers; in Norwich most joined the police. After the Second World War, the fire service returned to local authority control.

Police Ambulance Service

Ambulances had followed a similar development path as that of the fire service. The Chief Constable of Norwich City Police complained that the ambulance service had an adverse effect on police strength. The police were, to a greater or lesser extent, always short of officers, highlighted when in 1945 the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police noted that he was having 'great difficulty' in operating ambulances.⁶⁰ In 1944, the Chief Constable had been warned by the Home Office that ambulance services were no longer a matter for the police, so he had to tread carefully. Nevertheless, additional resources were forthcoming. In 1948, Norwich local authority took over responsibility for ambulance services.

⁵⁸ Morson, *A Force Remembered*, p.44.

⁵⁹ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.20.

⁶⁰ Morson, p.46.

Chapter Two

Wartime Duties of the Police

The role and responsibilities of the police expanded to accommodate Defence Regulations, though their central purpose of protecting life and property, preserving the peace, and preventing and detecting crime remained unchanged. Colonel G.H.R. Halland of His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary noted that there was a growing tendency to 'dump all sorts of extra duties on the police'.⁶¹ No doubt this was partly due to the efficiency and reliability of the police but also a desire on the part of local authorities to reduce costs. Some of these duties were a natural extension of those before the war; others were entirely new. As the war progressed, the situation worsened for the police.

Protecting Life and Property

Air Raids

The Air Raid Precautions Act 1937 required Chief Constables of County and Borough police forces to act as Chief ARP Officers in their police districts. Government plans for emergency Regional Government were insufficiently advanced, this together with a lack of any command and control structure led to Chief Constables taking charge of the ARP organisation under Emergency Scheme 'Y'.⁶² Although the Chief Constable had no legal authority under the scheme, local authority officials were required to place themselves at the disposal of the Chief Constable. He acted in the name of the Home Secretary and was reliant upon the loyalty and goodwill of the local authority. Under the Act, the police had

⁶¹ Ingleton, P.51.

⁶² Dixon, p.42.

the task of preparing and maintaining the lists of departments, establishments and persons to receive warnings. Air Raid warnings also fell to the police using sirens, whistles or rattles. Unsurprisingly, blowing of whistles and use of rattles was an offence under Defence Regulations, as was the ringing of church bells (intended for invasion only). Unfortunately, this was not always clear, and a curate in Lincolnshire was convicted and received a one-month prison sentence, reduced to twelve days on appeal.⁶³ Air raid shelters were vital to public safety, and there were strict rules about their use. Legislation was enacted to control behaviour in air raid shelters making it an offence to 'wilfully disturb other persons in the proper use of an air raid shelter'.⁶⁴ A persistent offender, fifty-three-year-old George Hall was arrested, found guilty and sentenced to 14 days in prison for disturbing people's sleep by snoring in a shelter. There were 28 similar offences brought by Norwich City Police.⁶⁵ Over-crowded air raid shelters rapidly spread disease, particularly Scabies or shelter rash (a euphemism to avoid embarrassment). During the First World War in the close confines of the trenches, this was a considerable problem. Consequently, it was of significant interest to civilian and military authorities alike. Defence Regulations enabled the treatment of individuals their families and disinfection of their homes. Under the Defence Regulations, it was an offence to fail to meet an acceptable level of hygiene. In 1942, Norwich City Police brought before the courts 98 offences, of which there were 78 convictions for failing to comply with the 'Scabies Order 1941'.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ingleton, p.71.

⁶⁴ Donald Thomas, *The Enemy Within: Hucksters, Racketeers, Deserters, and Civilians During the Second World War* (New York: NYU Press, 2004), p.36.

⁶⁵ *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945.*

⁶⁶ *Dain, Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee, 1942*, p.15.

Police duties extended far beyond the enforcement of air raid shelter rules and regulations. During air raids duties were broad, onerous and often dangerous. On seeing 'flares dropping or hearing gunfire or explosions, officers were required to go to the nearest police telephone to ring Police Headquarters to make an immediate incident report'.⁶⁷ Under no circumstances was a police officer allowed to leave their post without a direct order to do so. Even when there were no air raids police officers were required to be 'on-call', sleeping at the police station on a rota basis. They were expected to report for duty at 10.00 pm in full uniform, with both helmet and greatcoat at the ready. Officers were not allowed to leave the station without express permission to do so from a senior officer.

Regarding air raids, a Police Incident Officer was responsible for taking control of the general situation at or near the scene of an event. Police officers were instructed that if at all practicable they should arrive at any air raid incident before ARP Services. During the day, the police pennant should be placed in a prominent position, if at night a blue light should be displayed. The National Fire Service, Casualty Services, Decontamination Services and others all had their pennants to identify their presence at the scene.⁶⁸ The nature of air raids differed from time to time. Cascade Raids saturated air and ground defences to such an extent that damage to infrastructure and casualties was considerable. Operating practices changed to combat this type of raid; ARP Wardens and police officers remained on duty in affected areas to protect both life and property. Later, there was a reversal in policy; this required the number of police officers and other

⁶⁷ 'General Order No.95 Instructions Relating to Enemy Attacks and Matters in That Connection' (City of Norwich Police, 1943), p. 1.

⁶⁸ John Henry Dain, 'Operation and Training Memorandum No.4' (Norwich City Police, 1943).

emergency services to be deployed to the edge of the affected area and to remain there until the raid ended - this reduced risk to both personnel and equipment.⁶⁹ Traffic control by the police was essential at most times in Norwich, even more so after air raids when diversions were inevitable, particularly for non-essential traffic. Military and Post Office vehicles and food convoys were a priority.⁷⁰ Importantly, casualties had to be moved quickly to hospital along roads damaged by bombs and strewn with debris. Assisting survivors was a priority of the police but protecting the bodies of the dead was also a police responsibility. Victims had to be labelled for purposes of later identification before being taken to the mortuary. Also, to thwart looters, valuables were removed, including 'furs and jewellery'.⁷¹ Animals were also injured during air raids, and it fell to the police to supervise the humane dispatch of such animals by authorised persons. In the early years of the Second World War, the threat of invasion was very real. In the event of invasion, the police had broad responsibilities, including the supervision of twenty-two so-called 'food-dumps'. Though outside Norwich city boundary, they were within the Defence Perimeter.⁷² Reports of parachutists were frequent, and the threat reinforced by speculation in the press.⁷³ This added to the workload of police as each incident had to be investigated. Identification of persons landing by parachute was not always easy. Although instructed to contact police after landing by parachute, English was not the first language of many allied pilots and this presented additional problems. Also, Police were briefed to look for the type of parachute. Those issued to allies had a smaller parachute

⁶⁹ 'A Guide to Aid After Air Raids' (City Police Office, 1941), p.1.

⁷⁰ 'General Order No.95 Instructions Relating to Enemy Attacks and Matter in That Connection', p. 6.

⁷¹ 'General Order No.95 Instructions Relating to Enemy Attacks and Matter in That Connection', p. 10.

⁷² John Henry Dain, 'Memorandum: Notes on Invasion' (Norwich City Police, 1943).

⁷³ 'Let's Speculate on Invasion', *Sunday Post*, 19 January 1941, p.11.

above a larger one. German airmen had only one large parachute.⁷⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that this measure was at all helpful.

Blackout

The war did nothing to stem the tide of fraud; there were always unscrupulous individuals taking advantage of the desperate or naïve. Torches had become an essential part of daily life, and shortages led to ‘spivs’ selling defective batteries to the unwary. The risk of an accident during a blackout was very real, which led to some crooked individuals selling products like ‘luminous’ paint and buttons which were generally useless.⁷⁵ Before the war, the police had a vast workload to deal with preparing for the implementation of the blackout. After hostilities began enforcement of the restrictions became a major preoccupation.⁷⁶ Table 5 shows lighting restriction offences in Norwich by category and by year. Over half of all offences related to lights in premises.

Table 5 Lighting Restriction Order Offences by Type Recorded by Norwich City Police, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable’s Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Lighting Restrictions Order Offences	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
Lights in Premises	192	405	461	329	269	120	1	1777
Private Motor Cars		62		19		33		114
Pedal Cycles		242			13	30	84	369
Handcarts and Barrows		1						1
Other Offences (Torches etc.)		10	19	19	11	3	2	64
Goods Vehicles		10						10
Total	192	730	480	367	293	186	87	2335

The blackout, an anathema for many for the intrusion it caused in their daily lives, was also opposed in many quarters. It was only when the bombing began that attitudes changed.⁷⁷ The blackout was inescapable and intruded into people’s lives. Chris Otter has

⁷⁴ ‘Air Raid Precautions. Police Action During Raids’ (City Police Office, 1941), p.34.

⁷⁵ Ingleton, p.304.

⁷⁶ Dixon, p.57.

⁷⁷ Mark Patrick Wiggam, ‘The Blackout in Britain and Germany in the Second World War’ (unpublished Academic, University of Exeter, 2011), p.224.

shown that the concept of liberty is mostly at odds with the notion of the blackout.⁷⁸

Figure 4 shows the lighting offences by year recorded by Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945. Lighting offences were commonplace in Norwich; reports suggest there were a very high number of cautions, and prosecutions for blackout violations, these rose from 192 in 1939 to a high of 730 in 1940, after which offences steadily dropped.⁷⁹ ‘Phoney War’ is the name given to the period from the invasion of Poland in September 1939 to April 1940, when seemingly nothing happened. This might explain the level of recorded offences by Norwich City Police under Defence Regulations. In 1939, there were few blackout offences recorded. This might suggest there was compliance by the public concerning the Regulations, meaning few offences, or the police dealt with offences unofficially, hence they were not recorded. However, in 1940, there was a sharp increase in recorded blackout offences. This was against a backdrop of the evacuation from Dunkirk in May 1940, the Battle of Britain and concerns about invasion.

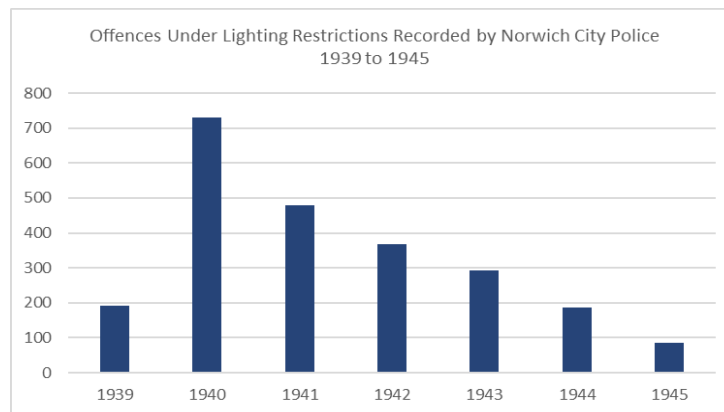


Figure 4 Lighting Restrictions Order Offences by Year Recorded by Norwich City Police, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Intrusion into homes by police became normal for those who ignored the blackout restrictions. The police could use coercive powers to enforce the blackout. Such was the

⁷⁸ James Greenhalgh, 'The Threshold of the State: Civil Defence, the Blackout and the Home in Second World War Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 28.2 (2017), 186–208 (p.198).

⁷⁹ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1940*, p.5.

importance placed on the regulations that enforcement became excessive. The first police casualty of the war was a Metropolitan Police officer who fell while scaling a building to extinguish a light, whilst others taking a less risky option smashed down doors, causing extensive damage.⁸⁰ Negligence was bad enough, but for persistent offenders and anyone who tried to get around the blackout regulations, penalties were severe. In 1942, the RAF carried-out a survey over Norwich and reported that at 'two to three hundred feet window lights made it evident that there was a large city below'.⁸¹ In Norwich, Mr S. H. Isle prosecuting in five cases of blackout violation, said 'it seems that even sterner measures will have to be taken in the future if the blackout is to continue in this appalling state'.⁸² The blackout had a serious effect on public safety; however, an equally important aspect was the incidence of crime.

Preventing and Detecting Crime

The view of Britain as a nation that pulled together in the Second World War is a compelling one. However, criminal elements saw this as an opportunity to be exploited for gain, while others with a previously flawless character found themselves drifting from the straight and narrow. Sir Philip Game, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, reported that there had been very little increase in crime in London, so the increase in crime must be in the provinces. The reason given was the presence of evacuees swelling the criminal population, lack of parental supervision, school closures and the blackout. Police supervision and full employment were the reasons given where there were

⁸⁰ Ingleton, p.83.

⁸¹ 'Black Out Appalling', *Scotsman*, 9 February 1942, p.6.

⁸² 'Black Out Appalling', *The Scotsman*, 9 October 1942, p.6.

decreases.⁸³ Crime nationally had been on the increase since the early 1920s and gathered pace in the 1930s.⁸⁴ Figure 5 shows indictable offences year by year as a percentage of crimes recorded by Norwich City Police from 1934 to 1945 compared with those of England and Wales for the same period.

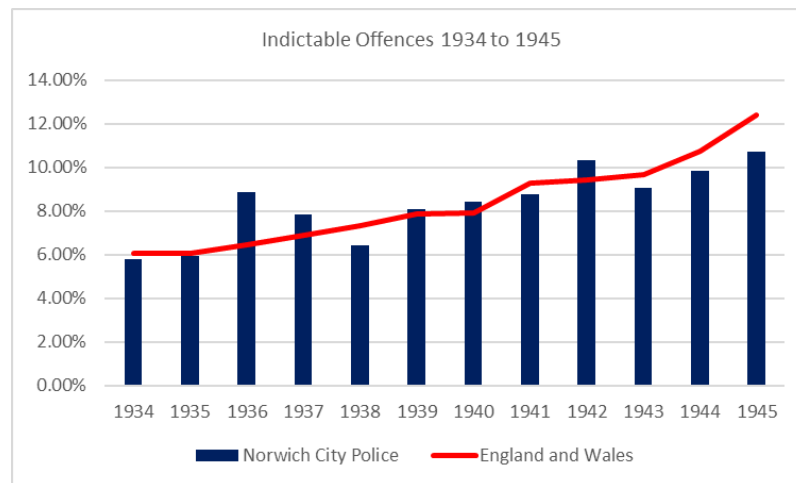


Figure 5 Comparison of Indictable Offences, Norwich City Police and England and Wales, 1934 to 1945

Source: *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee 1939 to 1945* and HO Historical Crime Data

Crime recorded by Norwich City Police increased from 1934 rising sharply in 1936, dropping back, and rising again in 1939. Recorded offences continued to increase peaking at the end of the war in 1945. In five of the years under review from 1934 to 1945, the percentage of crime recorded by Norwich City Police was higher than that of England and Wales. The 1930s were a watershed in criminal policy when it was officially accepted that crime figures would continue to rise.⁸⁵ Figure 6 shows indictable offences year by year as a percentage of crimes recorded by Norwich City Police in the five years before the Second World War compared with those of England and Wales for the same period.

⁸³ Ingleton, p.289.

⁸⁴ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.165.

⁸⁵ Howard Taylor, 'The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales, 1914-1960', *Crime, History & Societies*, 2.1 (1998), 5–28 (p. 22).

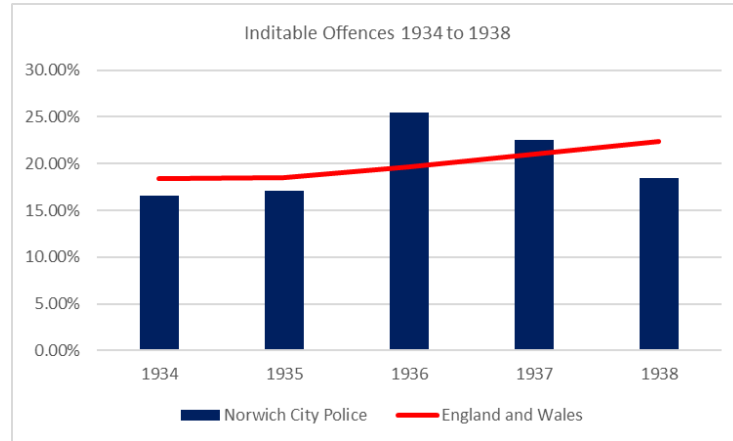


Figure 6 Comparison of Indictable Offences, Norwich City Police and England and Wales, 1934 to 1938

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1934 to 1938 and HO Historical Crime Data

The pattern of indictable offences recorded by Norwich City Police from 1934 to 1938 was similar to that of England and Wales for the same period. There is no obvious explanation for the higher than average recorded crime in 1936 and 1937 in Norwich. Figure 7 shows indictable offences year by year as a percentage of crimes recorded by Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945 compared with those of England and Wales for the same period.

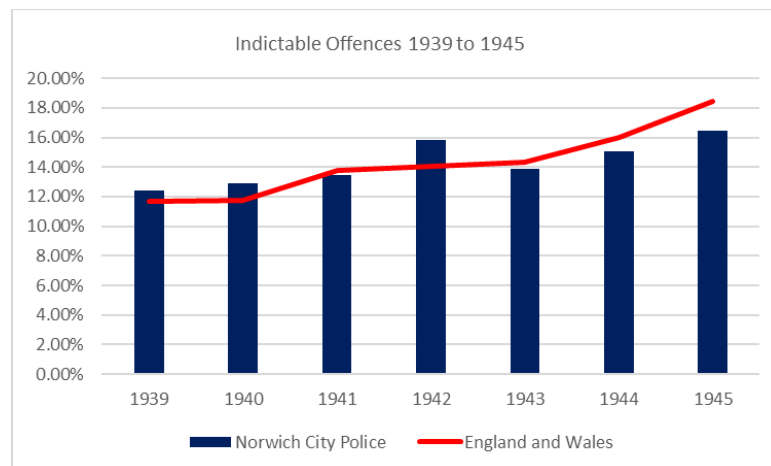


Figure 7 Comparison of Indictable Offences, Norwich City Police and England and Wales, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945 and HO Historical Crime Data

Indictable offences recorded by Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945 rose by just under 33%.⁸⁶ Over the same period crime in England and Wales rose from 303,771 offences in 1939 to 478,394 in 1945, an increase of just over 57%.⁸⁷ Overall the pattern of indictable offences from 1939 to 1945 in Norwich was similar to that of England and Wales. War conditions likely contributed to the rate of increase. In 1946, there was a slight decrease in crime figures nationally, rising again the following year. This was also the case in Norwich. Recorded crime continued to increase thereafter, suggesting other factors. Crime figures are affected by changes in levels of reporting to the police and recording by them, and this should be borne in mind when looking at long-term trends, however, recorded crime data enables useful insights. Importantly, the above figures exclude offences against Defence Regulations, and criminal offences which were dealt with by courts-martial. As such, it is challenging to work out how crime is linked to war conditions. Nevertheless, Clive Emsley notes that in England and Wales, 1754 individuals were convicted of serious offences under Defence Regulations. Just under 1.3 million individuals were convicted for less serious offences.⁸⁸ There were 6804 indictable offences under Defence Regulations in Norwich from 1939 to 1945, none are recorded as serious. Figure 8 shows, in summary, indictable offences recorded by Norwich City Police by category and by year from 1939 to 1945.

⁸⁶ *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee 1939 to 1945.*

⁸⁷ 'Official Statistics Historical Crime Data: A Summary of Recorded Crime Data from 1898 to 2001/02' (Home Office Crime and Policing Analysis, 2016).

⁸⁸ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.165.

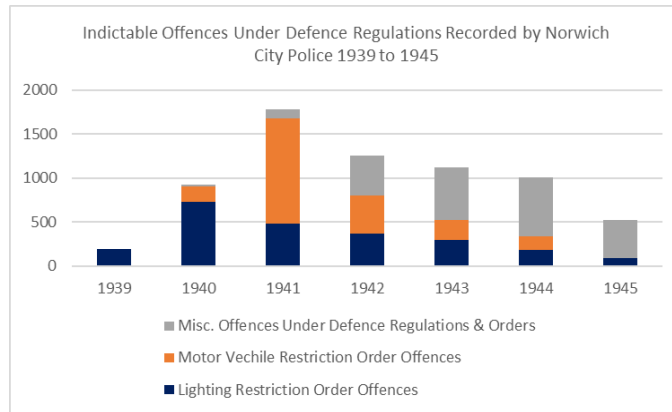


Figure 8 Indictable Offences Under Defence Regulations by Category Recorded by Norwich City Police, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

In Norwich, like England and Wales offences ranged from 'blackout' infringements, failure to immobilise a vehicle, dealing on the 'black market' to looting. In 1941, the heightened concern about invasion and the need to remove anything that might assist the enemy led to a surge in activity by the police and recording of offences relating to motor vehicles under Defence Regulations.

While the blackout was a key element in civil defence, it was also a 'breeding ground of mischief and crooked activity'.⁸⁹ The blackout was a godsend to the burglar, and by 1941 there had been an increase of 26% in England and Wales in convictions for burglary.⁹⁰ An extraordinary numbers of burglaries and other crimes were committed by police officers.⁹¹ In 1939, there were 2302 unsecured or unsafe premises in Norwich. The Chief Constable of Norwich stated, 'owners of commercial premises needed to take more care as the blackout was conducive to breaking and entry offences'.⁹² The number of unsecured premises reported by the police increased throughout the war, as did burglary,

⁸⁹ Penny Legg, *Crime in the Second World War Spivs, Scoundrels, Rogues and Worse* (Sevenoaks: Sabrestorm, 2016), p.52.

⁹⁰ Ingleton, p.298.

⁹¹ Ingleton, p.299.

⁹² Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939*, p.33.

housebreaking and shop breaking offences. The blackout is likely to have played its part in this situation, as with the introduction of the blackout in 1939, robberies increased. Juvenile crime was a significant problem during the war and individuals under the age of seventeen appearing before magistrates increased from 52,000 to 72,000 in the first two years of the war.⁹³ Similarly, juvenile crime in Norwich increased substantially and was attributed to the closure of schools and the blackout. Most offences were larceny or breaking and entry which the Chief Constable of Norwich noted was a 'disturbing feature.'⁹⁴ The number of juveniles convicted of crimes in Norwich and sent to Approved Schools in 1938 was 4.11%, this increased to 24.6% in 1939, rising to a high of 47.9% in 1940.⁹⁵ In 1941 there was a slight reduction of juvenile offences reported in Norwich, though the number of offences committed by those under fourteen years old remained unchanged. In the same year, the Government declared that all Approved Schools were full.⁹⁶ It is possibly no coincidence that in 1942 the number of juveniles sent to Approved Schools halved over the previous year, though juvenile crime remained high. The Chief Constable of Norwich commented that although juvenile crime continued to increase with burglary, housebreaking and shop breaking being the most common offences, he urged the public not to be 'alarmed, considering the increase in this class of crime generally across the country'.⁹⁷ Even so, one fifteen-year-old was told by a magistrate that housebreaking was a 'crime almost as serious, if not as serious, as looting'.⁹⁸

⁹³ Duncan Leatherdale, 'Breaking the Law During World War Two', *BBC News*, 2016 <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-33566789>> [accessed 10 December 2018]

⁹⁴ Plume, p.5.

⁹⁵ Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1940*, p.18.

⁹⁶ John Simkin, 'Juvenile Delinquency and the Second World War', *Spartacus Educational*, 2014 <<https://spartacus-educational.com/2WWjuvenile.htm>> [accessed 9 December 2018]

⁹⁷ Plume, p.13.

⁹⁸ John Simkin, 'Juvenile Delinquency and the Second World War', *Spartacus Educational*, 2014 <<https://spartacus-educational.com/2WWjuvenile.htm>> [accessed 9 December 2018]

Looting

Looting was essentially theft. Under Defence Regulation 38A, the death penalty was applied to acts of larceny and malicious damage in war-damaged areas, although the sentence was never carried out during the Second World War. Looting was rife and records show over 10,000 people were prosecuted nationwide and traders in London claimed they lost more through looting than by bomb damage.⁹⁹ When the Café de Paris restaurant in London was bombed in 1941, rescuers were hindered by looters who were stealing valuables from victims of the bombing.¹⁰⁰ Under 'General Orders', police officers were advised to remove valuables from dead bodies to aid identification, but also to prevent looting.¹⁰¹ On one day in November 1940, there were twenty-six cases of looting offences listed at the Old Bailey. Looting was not confined to the capital; records show that in 1942, there were 209 offences of looting reported to Norwich City Police, proceedings were taken in forty-six of these cases, resulting in forty-two convictions.¹⁰² There were many cases in which looters were firemen, wardens and Civil Defence workers. Reginald Want a salvage worker, after an air raid in Norwich stole goods from a public house to the value of £5 16s 3d, he was sentenced at Norwich Police Courts for looting and was sent to prison for six months.¹⁰³ One attraction for looters were the many pre-payment gas and electricity meters, many of which were found to have been rifled when they were eventually removed from the ruins.¹⁰⁴ Looting was a serious offence with severe penalties. Borderline cases which were in fact looting were likely reported as

⁹⁹ Mark Jewsbury, 'The Blitz: Survivors' Stories', *Independent*, 5 September 2010.

¹⁰⁰ 'Cafe de Paris Bombed', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 5 April 1941, p.8.

¹⁰¹ 'General Order No.95 Instructions Relating to Enemy Attacks and Matter in that Connection', p.1.

¹⁰² Dain, *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1942*, p.5.

¹⁰³ 'Prison for Looting', *Derby Evening Telegraph*, Derby, 9 May 1943, p.6.

¹⁰⁴ Ingleton, p.267.

theft.¹⁰⁵ It is impossible to say precisely how many instances of looting there were during the Second World War, however, in 1941 a judge referred to what he described as a 'perfect outburst of looting' following air raids in Sheffield.¹⁰⁶ While the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in 1940 quoted there were 4584 cases of looting, of which 45% were committed by young persons under eighteen years of age. Michael Stapleton commented in Alan Kendall's book *Their Finest Hour*, 'I think many people would be surprised how much ...looting went on'.¹⁰⁷

Black Market

The Price of Goods Act 1939 was introduced to ensure reasonable stability of retail prices for food and other essential commodities during the war.¹⁰⁸ In essence, the authorities wanted to prevent profiteering, while ensuring equitable treatment of people in the interests of morale. In 1939 a store in Norwich was daubed with the word 'profiteer' and the swastika emblazoned on the wall.¹⁰⁹ Any hint of profiteering could evoke extreme action by individuals. In 1940, rationing of bacon, butter and sugar began. In 1942 this was extended to include meat, milk, cheese, eggs and cooking fat. In addition to their regular duties, the police had to deal with the black market. Supervision of weights and measures was a regular task undertaken by the police, and traders occasionally fell foul of the law, sometimes through dishonesty, other times by a simple mistake. In Norwich short weight flour, sugar and coal were common, and there were cautions and

¹⁰⁵ Ingleton, p.265.

¹⁰⁶ Hermann Mannheim, *Group Problems in Crime and Punishment* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.96.

¹⁰⁷ Alan Kendall, *Their Finest Hour: An Evocative Memoir of the British People in Wartime, 1939-1945* (London: Wayland, 1972), p.48.

¹⁰⁸ J.H Richter-Altschaffer, 'War-Time Price Control in the United Kingdom', *Journal of Farm Economics*, 4, 1940, 680-90, (p.680).

¹⁰⁹ 'Profiteer Swastika', *Daily Mail*, 9 October 1939, p.1.

prosecutions of persistent offenders.¹¹⁰ Rationing fuelled the black market, and in turn, theft. It also made criminals of ordinarily law-abiding people who would accept black market goods if offered. Ministry of Food enforcement officers struggled to deal with the problem and increasingly called upon the police for support; this was insufficient to bring the crime under control. Covert methods were used, which encouraged people to inform on one another and risked alienating the wider public. The authorities took a dim view of those involved in the black market. Parliament passed legislation which enabled the courts to impose fines of up to £500, with or without two years' imprisonment, plus three times the total capital involved in the transaction. One Member of Parliament called the black market 'treason of the very worst kind'. He and others called for more severe punishments including long term penal servitude and the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails.¹¹¹ None of these measures eradicated profiteering or the black market.

Preserving the Peace

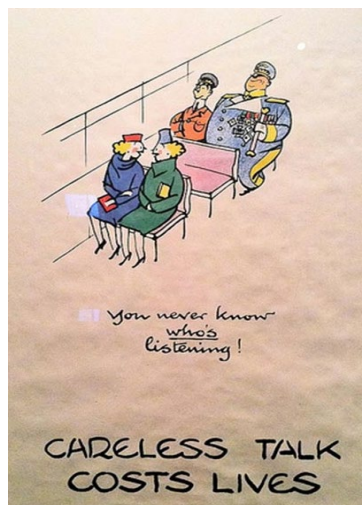
Expression of Opinion

From the outset of the Second World War, the Government decided not to take over the media or suppress editorial freedom, but rather to allow debate and interpretation, striking a balance between press freedom and national security. Even so, there was legislation about the expression of opinion or censorship, specifically Defence Regulations 38B and 39B, enforced by the police. On 11 September 1939, the system was on the brink of meltdown. Police officers raided offices of the Daily Mail, seizing early editions of

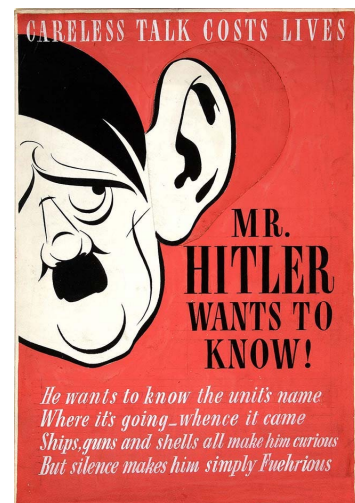
¹¹⁰ *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939 to 1945.*

¹¹¹ John Simkin, 'Black Market', 2014 <<https://spartacus-educational.com/2WWblackmarket.htm>> [accessed 5 December 2019]

newspapers. A roadblock in Fleet Street was set up, trains from London were stopped, and newspapers were confiscated from the public. A similar scenario was repeated at newspaper offices and wholesale newsagents across Britain. This chaotic situation resulted from an official radio broadcast in Paris that wrongly announced that British troops had engaged German forces. This debacle led to fundamental changes, though these were reversed, and the Ministry of Information continued to be responsible for handling official news as well as the production and distribution of propaganda films and radio broadcasts, books, illustrated magazines, pamphlets, leaflets and postcards to maintain morale at home and influence opinion abroad. Posters featured cartoons, jokes, poems or other humorous material. Careless talk propaganda discouraged talking about sensitive material where it might be overheard.



Hitler and Göring depicted as listening behind two women on a train gossiping. Source: The National Archives / Commons.



Caricature of Hitler. Source: The National Archives / Commons.

The best-known images were from a series depicting caricatures of Hitler and Göring. The series was intended to stop morale-sapping rumours from spreading. The crime of sedition was extended by the Defence Regulations to encompass the spreading of alarm and despondency. In June 1940, the *Police Review* reported that the police in Coventry,

Chester and Worcester among other places were reporting cases of the spreading of baseless rumours. In 1942, Victor Millbank was charged by Norwich City Police for saying to a factory worker that 'Germany is going to win the war...one German soldier is worth ten British soldiers...', he was found guilty and sentenced to two months imprisonment.¹¹² These type of offences were generally dealt with under the provision of the Defence Regulations for the spreading of statements relating to war matters likely to cause alarm, although the journal pointed out that, had they not been in existence, there would have been the possibility of prosecution with causing public mischief. The now-famous 'Keep Calm and Carry On' poster, which was never officially sanctioned and withdrawn in 1940, emphasised resilience and determination in the face of widely predicted mass air raids on British cities. The poster was one in a series of three that were issued.¹¹³

IMAGES REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Source: The Story Behind "Keep Calm and Carry On", University of London

In wartime, it is essential to maintain morale. This might involve the suppression of speech, public communication, or other information. It was an offence under Regulation 39A to 'endeavour to cause disaffection amongst persons engaged in His Majesty's services' and 39B, which had a much broader application and made it an offence to

¹¹² 'Alarmist Talk', *Birmingham Mail*, 21 October 1942, p.3.

¹¹³ 'The Story Behind "Keep Calm and Carry On"', *University of London*, 2019 <<https://london.ac.uk/about-us/history-university-london/story-behind-keep-calm-and-carry>> [accessed 11 September 2019]

'endeavour to influence, orally or otherwise public opinion...'.¹¹⁴ A record of Norwich during the Second World War filmed by an American air force pilot Captain Rowsell was likely subject to censorship during the war. His position allowed him access to restricted areas that were denied to civilians at the time. The film shows bomb damage in Norwich after the Baedeker Raids of 27 and 30 April 1942. He also filmed graves of victims in the Farrow Road Cemetery. This clearly shows that the bodies were buried in mass graves, something that the authorities and the local community felt uncomfortable about. This sequence continues to an unused trench, suggesting that the City authorities were expecting more casualties that never came.¹¹⁵ The authorities went to great lengths to 'spin' a story, a case in point are the two photographs below which were taken after an air raid in Newark.



Street in Newark After Air Raid, 1941. This resource is licenced under Creative Commons BY-NC-SA



Damage from Air Raid in Newark 1941. This resource is licenced under Creative Commons BY-NC-SA

The photograph on the left was published, the one on the right is the original, this was not published. The Police Constable provides a reassuring presence in the censored photograph, and in the background, civilian workers can be seen clearing up the debris.

¹¹⁴ A.W. Brian Simpson, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention Without Trial in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.46.

¹¹⁵ Captain Rowsell, *Captain Rowsell's Norwich 1945 Norwich, Norfolk* (The East Anglian Film Archive of the University of East Anglia., 1945), The East Anglian Film Archive <<http://www.eafa.org.uk/catalogue/1292>> [accessed 28 November 2019]

This suggests the local authorities have the situation under control.¹¹⁶ The photographs below were taken in Norwich and published. The photograph on the left was entitled '*Life Goes On. People Head Back to Work after an Air Raid Guttled Parts of the City*' and suggests that daily life continues as usual in what are far from normal circumstances. The other shows firefighters looking calm and jovial taking a well-earned break. They were highly regarded and praised by the public.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Returning to Work Norwich after an Air Raid, 1942. Source: Archant Archives.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fire Fighters Take a Break, 1942. Source: Norfolk Fire Service Archives.

Expression of opinion was limited during the Second World War. Speech or writing that was deemed subversive was censored. Henry Williamson, Norfolk farmer and author best-known for the nature story *Tarka the Otter*, was vilified for his admiration of Hitler's Germany. In 1940, outspoken Williamson was arrested and spent a weekend in a cell but, with no evidence against him, he was released. Not so in the case of Ronald and Rita Creasy, from Eye in Suffolk who were among a group of German sympathisers infiltrated by MI5.¹¹⁷ They were arrested and found guilty of offering to assist Axis powers by providing military intelligence. Police powers of search and interrogation were expanded, and internment without trial was introduced. In 1940, police raided premises in Norfolk seizing documents, arresting and detaining in Norwich Prison without trial under

¹¹⁶ 'Resources from Arts, Cultural and Heritage Organisations', *My Learning*, 2019 <<https://www.mylearning.org/stories/censorship-and-propaganda-in-ww2/resources>> [accessed 11 September 2019]

¹¹⁷ 'MI5 Files Show Farm Couple's Support for Nazis in WW2', *BBC News* (London, 2015) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-34015832>> [accessed 10 September 2019]

Regulation 18b three prominent members of the British Union of Fascists.¹¹⁸ In 1940, Owen Docherty, was arrested and interrogated by Norwich City Police for being in a defence area. In mitigation, Docherty claimed he was on holiday, he was fortunate to be cautioned, and sent home on the first train and told not to return.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ 'More Fifth Column Arrests', *Cornishman and Cornish Telegraph*, 6 June 1940, p.6.

¹¹⁹ 'No Holidays in Defence Area. Man Told to Return Home.', *The Birmingham Mail*, 12 August 1940, p.1.

Chapter Three

Impact of War on Police and Policing

This chapter will focus on the impact of the Second World War on Norwich City Police. British collective memory of the Second World War recalls three main events, Dunkirk, The Battle of Britain and the Blitz. During the Second World War while making 'preparations to repel invasion [dealing with the aftermath of] air raids, flying bombs and rockets with their toll of suffering, death and destruction' the police bolstered civilian morale, saved lives and protected property. The reputation of the British police for service to the community stood higher than ever before.¹²⁰ In the post-war period, Richard Titmuss highlighted that there was next to no panic during the air raids, and that morale was sustained.¹²¹ Similarly, Angus Calder claimed that morale did not collapse and referred to those brave civilians who 'preferred to stay, night by night setting an example of calm and courage'.¹²² Local Government and police authorities generally reported throughout the war that despite brief moments of panic and despondency immediately following an air raid, morale proved remarkably strong. Police reports noted that against expectations morale seemed highest in the more impoverished working-class areas, while middle-class communities were more prone to anxiety and isolation. There was also a general perception and resentment that it was only the 'ordinary people' who were suffering the effects of the war. His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary noted that 'the public appreciation of the police [had] never been greater, the confidence that is placed on the police had never been higher, the relationship between the public and the

¹²⁰ Dixon, p.224.

¹²¹ Richard Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London: HMSO, 1950), p.343.

¹²² Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939 -1945* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.12.

police never better'.¹²³ A sentiment endorsed by Norwich resident, Jean Walker-Bayless, who recalls we were 'brought up to respect the police, even though sometimes they could make life difficult. One night I was getting off the train to pick up my bike to find that the backlight was not working. From the dark, I heard the words, "Miss Walker, [you have] no light, I will walk you home"'.¹²⁴ A thoughtful offer, considering the blackout, but an annoying experience all the same. The war did more to enhance the police and community relations than any other event. For reassurance, elderly residents waited for beat constables before retiring for the night. ARP wardens, fire watchers, air raid shelters and Red Cross canteens became social calls.¹²⁵ Humour and bonding between the police and public was evident among the criminal fraternity. A petty criminal known as Fagin joined the Home Guard, and while on sentry duty, was approached by Inspector Bell of Norwich City Police. Inspector Bell was unable to give the password and Fagin, refused to acknowledge their association, forcing the inspector to retrace his steps.¹²⁶ The contribution made by the police during the Second World War was recognised widely. Home Secretary Herbert Morrison acknowledges the heavy burden placed on the police while echoing the sentiments of General Dwight D. Eisenhower Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force (SCAEF) when he expressed his sincere gratitude for the wholehearted cooperation and assistance of the police throughout various stages of the war which led up to the Allied landings in France.¹²⁷

¹²³ Dixon, p.223.

¹²⁴ Jean Walker-Bayless, 'Memories of Norwich City Police in Second World War', [Facebook], <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/NorwichRemembers/?ref=share>> [accessed 6 November 2019]

¹²⁵ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.139.

¹²⁶ Ingleton, p.140.

¹²⁷ 'H.O. File 818611/31 Circular of 13 July 1944 from Home Secretary Herbert Morrison incorporating Message from General Eisenhower' (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force Office of the Supreme Commander, 1944).

Police Discipline

Not all police officers were angels, and some would abuse their position to take part in actual criminal activity, for instance, two Police Constables were sentenced to ten years' hard labour for looting in 1940.¹²⁸ Some accepted more illicit perks, such as a case of whisky from the bookmakers for closing a blind eye to their best runners, who took bets illegally in places where they worked and socialised. These were criminal offences, maybe not in the same league as 'looting', but extremely serious all the same. Most offences perpetrated by police officers were not criminal but were breaches of police regulations. In 1939 the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police reported that he had 'no fault to find with the discipline of the force', by 1943 however, discipline was described as satisfactory although records show that the situation had improved over the previous year, deteriorating significantly in 1944.¹²⁹ Figure 9 shows recorded disciplinary offences by outcome for regular and reserve officers of all ranks from 1939 to 1945.

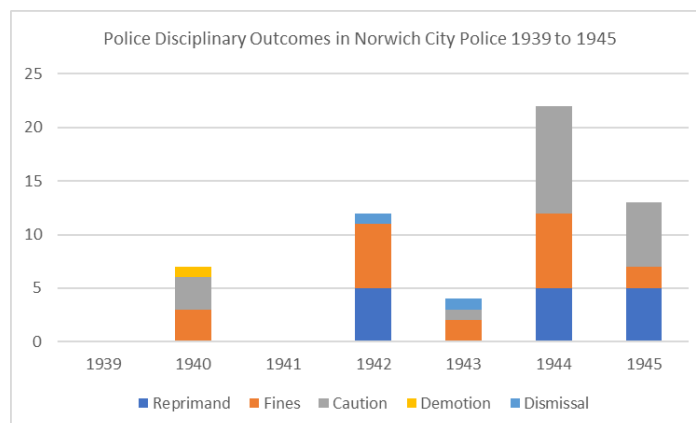


Figure 9 Norwich City Police Disciplinary Offences, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

Regular and reserve police officers were disciplined at different times during the war, although most offences seem to be attributed to the Police War Reserve. Details of

¹²⁸ 'Ten Years for Police Looters', *Daily Mail*, 7 December 1940, p.1.

¹²⁹ *Chief Constable's Annual Report to the Watch Committee 1939-1945*.

offences are not available, although it is worth noting that police regulations were stringent with minor infractions attracting reprimands, cautions and fines and in more serious cases demotion to the ranks or dismissal from the force. In 1940 a sergeant was demoted, and in 1942, after five years' service, PC No.10 William Goddard was dismissed for disciplinary offences. In 1943, War Reserve Constables Joshua Levy and Louis Wickham were discharged by the Secretary of State, for serious disciplinary offences. The following year a Police War Reserve Constable in Norwich resigned to avoid dismissal.¹³⁰

Police Sickness

Equally significant were the number of days lost to sickness during the Second World War. This was a considerable problem to the police, and it is suggested that this was possibly due to the increased workload on an ageing workforce and the hard life of patrolling every day in the open-air, whatever the weather. While young men went into the armed forces, older men stayed on past their retirement date or enlisted in the Police War Reserve or Special Constabulary. At the end of the war, those who had remained in the police force during the war retired. Police duties increased during the war because of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939, and amendments, but also the large number of Defence Regulations and the war conditions in general. In addition to their usual tasks of keeping the peace, pursuing criminals and making sure that the traffic flowed freely, they had new duties, enforcing the wartime blackout, assisting the rescue services during and after bombing raids, checking on enemy aliens in the country and pursuing army deserters. These new burdens potentially contributed to the growing sickness rate

¹³⁰ *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee 1939 to 1945.*

among the police. In 1939, 181,300 days were lost to the Metropolitan Police because of sickness; in 1945, this had risen to 345,600 days, equating to a sickness rate of 2.6% and 7.52% respectively.¹³¹ Over the same period Norwich City Police sickness rate had increased from 1.5% to just over 8%. Figure 10 shows sickness days lost through natural causes and injuries. Natural causes was a 'catch-all' term for a wide range of conditions including pharyngitis which affected many officers in the severe winter of 1942.

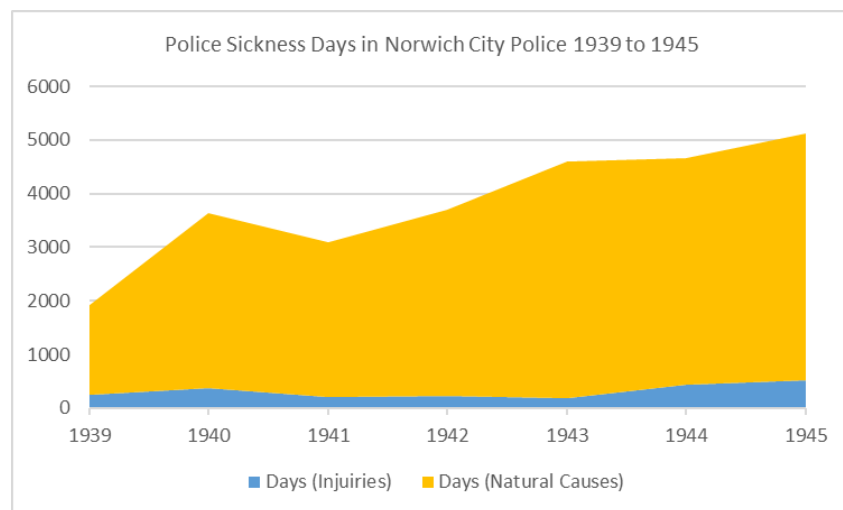


Figure 10 Police Sickness Days in Norwich City Police, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

The majority of those injured were the result of accidents, although in 1945 there was a noticeable increase in the number of police officers assaulted in the line of duty. Many offenders were military personnel. Interestingly, rather than openly criticise offenders, the Chief Constable of Norwich City Police stated that the situation was perhaps inevitable considering what the average soldier had been through during the war.¹³² At the end of the war, the Chief Constable commented that police officers had been exposed to 'physical strain under the blackout and enemy action', but 100% fitness was essential

¹³¹ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.170.

¹³² Plume, p.5.

and passengers in the ranks cannot be carried.¹³³ Consequently, the police surgeon certified twenty police officers medically unfit for duty. During the war, several police officers resigned (although recorded as such, this likely to be termination of employment) due to being classified as medically unfit. Moreover, the Chief Constable noted that the passage of time and the burden on the police in ordinary circumstances had increased exponentially over the years and that a review of the qualification criteria for full pension was overdue.¹³⁴ In addition to those officers who were designated medically unfit for duty and 'resigned', from 1939 to 1945 in Norwich City Police twenty police officers were superannuated, half of these were retired as medically unfit.

Police Deaths

Like other sections of society, the police were not immune to the death of colleagues. Figure 11 shows the number of police officers by category killed in the line of duty in England and Wales from 1939 to 1945, the majority of those killed were officers of the Police War Reserve and Special Constabulary.

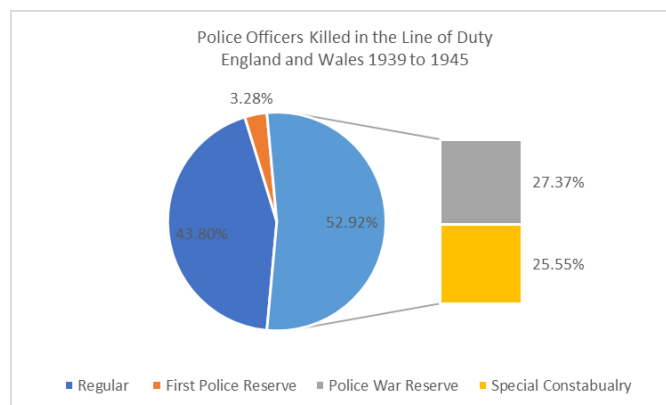


Figure 11 Police Officers Killed in the Line of Duty in England and Wales, 1939 to 1945

Source: Dixon, *The Emergency Work of the Police Forces in the Second World War* (HMSO, 1963)

¹³³ Plume, p.9.

¹³⁴ Plume, p.9.

As with the population in general individuals lost their lives in accidents or by enemy action. In 1940, Police Constable George Raine was killed in action. In 1942, Police Constables Percy Moxey and Alfred Lockhart were killed in flying accidents while serving with the RAF. In 1944, Police Constable William King and Police Cadet Harry Eggbear were killed in flying accidents, whilst Messenger Joseph Clark died from injuries while serving with the Royal Navy. In 1945, several police officers, cadets and PAMS reported as missing earlier in the war were confirmed killed. Serving Norwich City Police officers were also killed. Police Constable Arthur Pennymore died in 1940 when an enemy plane dropped bombs on three cottages and blew out the windows of a public house. Shell splinters hit him from one of the bombs. Police War Reserve Constable Arthur Wilby died in 1942 at the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital after being injured when a bomb fell near St Mark's Church during a raid on the city. Kate Wilby, his wife, was also injured and died on the same day. Police Constable George Smith was killed in 1942 when a single raider dropped several high-explosive bombs on either side of Magdalen Street; also firefighter Sam Bussey died in 1942 while fighting fires in Oak Street following a raid. He had recently transferred from Norwich City Police to the National Fire Service.¹³⁵

Winding-up

The Police and Firemen (War Service) Act Section 10 suspended for the duration of the war the right to retire on a pension without being declared medically unfit; moreover, this had to be endorsed by the Chief Constable. Officers who had applied to retire before 1 September 1939 could do so. From 1939 to 1945 seventy-four officers resigned from

¹³⁵ *Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945.*

Norwich City Police, over 60% are shown as having resigned in 1945. Figure 12 shows the reasons recorded for resignation, however, just under 43% of these were actually discharged as medically unfit, seven with pensions. Revocation relates to Police War Reserve service period ending.

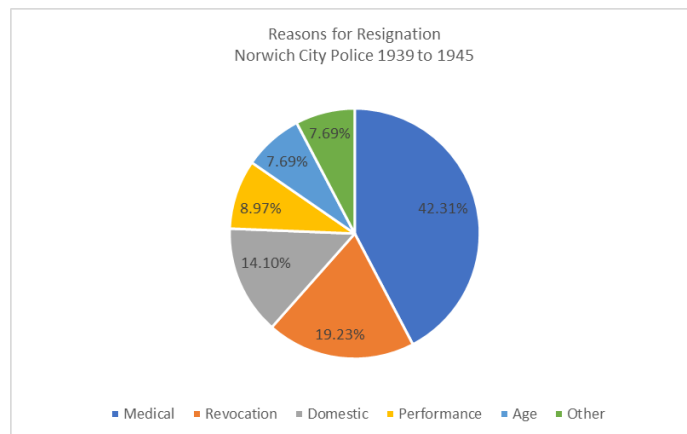


Figure 12 Reasons for Resignation in Norwich City Police, 1939 to 1945

Source: Chief Constable's Annual Reports to the Watch Committee, 1939 to 1945

The decision to disband the Police War Reserve was reached after consultation with Chief Constables concerning the effect this might have on police resources. This was considered in the context of the negative impact that a continuation of Defence Regulations might have. The Police War Reserve was dissolved on 31 December 1948, causing 686 officers to be discharged from service, and the remainder being recruited for service as a Regular or Special Constable. In addition to those leaving Norwich City Police, five officers transferred to the regular police in St. Albans, Chester and Liverpool. A further five officers retired after long service. By 1948, Police War Reserve officers who were most suitable for police duties and wished to remain were absorbed into the regular forces. Shortages of regular police officers remained of concern stimulating debate in Parliament about the future of the WAPC. In 1946, police authorities had been advised that WAPC officers should be dismissed by 31 March of that year or to arrange transfers as regular

women police officers or as civilian assistants to the police. The WAPC was disbanded as planned. Like other police reserves, following the cessation of hostilities in Europe the Special Constabulary were relieved of compulsory duties, and volunteers continued with special duties such as VE Day. By the end of 1945, there remained only 116 Special Constables in Norwich City Police. On 13 July 1945, Norwich PAMS was disbanded. Five messengers were offered and accepted employment as Cadet Clerks on corporation conditions of employment and pay.¹³⁶ The women officers who remained or who joined after the Second World War were limited mainly to looking after women and children until the equality legislation of the 1970s, which made their role legally and practically the same as their male colleagues. Many male officers continued to see them as a potential problem, believing that male officers would be too worried about their female colleagues' ability to do 'a man's job' effectively.

Police Recruitment

At the end of the war, there was a severe shortage of police officers. In 1945 there were about 10,000 fewer police officers in England and Wales than at the beginning of the war. In the short-term the shortage was made up by the First Police Reserve, Police War Reserve and the Special Constabulary. Also, the military arranged for the early release of regular police officers serving in the armed services, also military personnel who wanted to join the police force. Police authorities forecast 16,000 vacancies, with recruitment remaining a significant problem for years to come.

¹³⁶ Plume, p.9.

Training

War experience led to a new system of regular training for recruits at District Training Schools also the formation of a Police College for all forces in England and Wales. Intensive training of serving police officers as instructors was undertaken at Peel House in London; courses were intended to provide instructors for Police District Training Schools and local training centres. Refresher courses introduced during the war for individuals returning to the police from the armed forces continued with Norwich City Police officers being sent to Chelmsford and Luton. In October 1945, the first courses were held in Norwich which emphasised local control, as well assisting with logistics and the cost of training.¹³⁷

Amalgamation

In the nineteenth century, the police were a great source of civic pride and symbolic of a city's independence. Watch Committees had extensive legal powers and resolutely protected the police. In Norwich, police power was a vital component in control and administration; police intervened in the lives of workers, inspected nuisances, enforced by-laws, and exercised discretion over who could legitimately use highways and public places. The first attempt by the state to reduce autonomy of the towns and cities came after the 1853 Select Committee on Police, which recommended extending compulsory police provision to all areas. The Home Office was under no doubt that the most efficient way to run each force would be under central Government. In 1854 and 1856 the Home Office's attempts to pass police bills that limited the rights of boroughs to control their

¹³⁷ Plume, p.11.

police forces were defeated. Under the Police Act 1857, central Government paid a quarter of the costs of efficient forces for towns and cities with a population over 5000 people, on the condition that inspections by His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary were accepted. Inspections were possibly the first successful step towards greater central control. The exchequer grant increased to cover half the wage costs of efficient forces by the Police (Expenses) Act of 1874. During the twentieth century, the First World War brought Government into the day to day business of policing, ending unfettered independence of Watch Committees, leading to the amalgamation of police forces in the interests of efficiency, albeit temporarily. Control of the police was to return to Watch Committees at the end of the war; however, the war had a long-lasting effect on the thinking of the Home Office. In 1918 police went on strike to seek redress for their grievances concerning union recognition and deteriorating wages and conditions. The Desborough Committee, set up in response, recommended that police wages be increased and set centrally for the first time. The strikes also led to the formation of the Police Federation of England and Wales, removing the right of police to belong to a trade union or to strike. Enfranchisement of the working class and the fear of socialism and trade union militancy, reinforced the aim of the Home Office to remove policing from local control, exhibiting a lack of faith in the basic principles of local democracy.¹³⁸ Ultimately the Home Office asserted that Chief Constables were independent of local Government. In 1930 this was reinforced in the contentious decision of 'Fisher vs Oldham' which declared the police were the servant of the crown, not the local authority.¹³⁹ In

¹³⁸ Chris A. Williams, 'Policy Papers Britain's Police Forces: Forever Removed from Democratic Control?', *History & Policy*, 2003 <<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/britains-police-forces-forever-removed-from-democratic-control>> [accessed 7 November 2019]

¹³⁹ 'The Police and the Courts', *The Police and the Law: A Quarterly Record*, 7.2 (1934), 138–46 (p.138).

1940, coastal counties of Britain were at the risk of invasion, and the police were expected to play a significant role in the evacuation of these areas. In response to this situation, again the Home Office proposed the amalgamation of police forces in the belief that fewer police forces with fewer Chief Constables would improve command and control. The proposals made no immediate headway. Nevertheless, central Government continued in its efforts to erode local variations of any kind and to remove local control of the police, using efficiency, economy and national security as reasons to centralise control. However, the merger of some borough forces with those of counties mainly in the south of England did go ahead. The Police Act 1946 affirmed the wartime amalgamations, reducing the pre-war number of borough forces from 180 to 131. Even so, conventional thinking remained firm behind the idea that the police must remain independent of politicians, above all, a centralised national police organisation and structure was regarded as inimical to liberty and democracy.¹⁴⁰ The Defence Regulations were short-lived, though influence continued, strengthening links between central Government and local police forces at the expense of local Government. In 1968 Norwich City Police was amalgamated with Great Yarmouth Borough Police to form the Norfolk Joint Constabulary. In 1974 it was renamed the Norfolk Constabulary and remains so to this day.

¹⁴⁰ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.160.

Conclusion

This dissertation examined the impact of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 on policing in Norwich during the Second World War, furthering understanding of the changes in the role, responsibilities, organisation and structure of Norwich City Police from 1939 to 1945. The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 substantially increased the role of the police during the Second World War. The Act enabled the passing of Defence Regulations, and these became a central feature of everyday life for the people of Britain. Censorship was widespread; anti-war propaganda was considered subversive. Police powers of search and interrogation were expanded, internment without trial was introduced and controls over the daily lives of men and women extensive. Responsibility for enforcement of the Defence Regulations fell to the police; it was these Regulations that intruded into public life limiting traditional freedoms. While far from being universally accepted, historian Neil Stammers controversially contends that while fighting for democracy Britain adopted undemocratic measures. A sentiment that is disputed by historians such as Ken Buckley who argue that there was greater support for the suspension of civil liberties and restricting of freedom in order to prosecute the war more effectively than is suggested.¹⁴¹ Civil liberties and traditional freedoms were indeed restricted during the Second World War, and the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 and the Defence Regulations that followed were contrary to liberal views, while at the same time being lawful and subservient (for good or ill) to a nation's duty of self-defence.

¹⁴¹ Ken Buckley, 'Civil Liberties in Britain During the 2nd World War', *Labour History*, 46, 1984, 165–66 (p.165).

Chapter one examined the organisation and structure of Norwich City Police and the extent to which this changed during the Second World War. The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 significantly expanded the role of Norwich City Police in the Second World War; this gave rise to major changes in organisation and structure involving the creation and consolidation of reserve forces without which the police would have been stretched beyond breaking point. Initially, police authorities failed to understand the extent of these changes and the burden placed on the police. The Home Office attempted to influence local Government, continuing efforts to bring policing under greater centralised control, although there were no formal proposals to reorganise the police along regional or national lines, every police force would retain its identity under local control.

Chapter two explored the wartime duties of the police. The role and responsibilities of the police expanded to accommodate Defence Regulations. Some of duties were a natural extension of those before the war; others were entirely new. Nevertheless, their central purpose to protect life and property, preserve the peace, and prevent and detect crime remained unchanged. The view of Britain as a nation that pulled together in the Second World War is a compelling one. However, criminal elements saw this as an opportunity to be exploited for gain, while others with a previously flawless character found themselves drifting from the straight and narrow. Offences ranged from 'blackout' infringements to dealing on the 'black market' and failure to immobilise a vehicle. Police also undertook surveillance of aliens and political activists. Furthermore, legislation about the expression of opinion, specifically Defence Regulations 38B and 39B was introduced, and police enforced these. Identity cards were introduced, and the police used these to

track down deserters, those trying to avoid call-up and criminals. Protecting life and property involved the police in air raid warning and air raid shelter rules also the rescue of casualties, bomb searches, as well as dealing with crashed aircraft, escaped prisoners of war and dead bodies.

Chapter three reflected on the impact of war on the police and policing. The war did more to enhance police and community relations than any other event. His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary noted that 'the public appreciation of the police [had] never been greater, the confidence that is placed on the police had never been higher, the relationship between the public and the police never better'.¹⁴² The contribution made by the police during the Second World War was recognised widely. However, sickness during the war was a major problem to the police in general, and it is suggested that this was possibly due to the tremendous increase in workload on an ageing workforce and perhaps trauma stemming from the horrific events the police were called upon to deal with. The end of the war enabled those wanting to retire to do so. The war was also a catalyst for future discussions about police pensions. Furthermore, this reinforced the need for a more structured and centralised approach to training. Still, conventional thinking remained firm behind the idea that the police must remain independent of politicians, above all, a centralised national police organisation and structure was regarded as detrimental to liberty and democracy.¹⁴³ The Defence Regulations were short-lived, though influence continued, strengthening links between central Government and local police forces at the expense of local Government.

¹⁴² Dixon, p.223.

¹⁴³ Emsley, *The Impact of World War II on Policing in North-West Europe*, p.160.

Further Research

This study has raised questions in several areas. Looting was rife and a grave offence with severe penalties. Consequently, cases of looting were likely reported as theft. Further research might focus on reported incidents in Norwich and determine how typical Norwich was compared to other cities. Also, the role of women police officers and the experience in Norwich, but also wider afield offers opportunities for research. A conscious decision was made to exclude the experience of the police concerning the internment of aliens and others under the Defence Regulations. Although sources exist for Norwich, these are limited, and often restricted, making research challenging, but not impossible, revealing a unique local experience.

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