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**MISSIONARIES, MORAL ADVOCACY, AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF POLICE COURT
PROCEDURE IN LONDON, 1876-1930**

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In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, London's thirteen courts of summary justice (aka "magistrates courts" or "police courts"), which handled the vast majority of criminal trials in the burgeoning metropolis, expanded their roles in working-class community life and gender relations through a number of innovations.¹ Some, like the passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, and the Slander of Women Act of 1891, were implemented at the legislative level. Others, though equally profound, occurred through more informal processes. One of the most significant of these innovations was the introduction of a new type of agent into the milieu of the courtroom. In 1876, the first Police Court Missionaries, funded by the Church of England Temperance Society, began their work. Initially, the goal was to aid first-time offenders whose crimes were attributable to alcohol, in hopes that they could be "redeemed" before their lives descended into crime and misery. The missionaries rapidly adopted a wide range of tasks, not only counseling first-time offenders and monitoring their behavior over longer and longer periods of time, but interviewing them prior to their trials and even advocating lenient treatment before the magistrates. In time, the missionaries became vital liaisons between the magistrates and the ever-increasing numbers of men and women that appeared in court, not just for trial, but also seeking conflict mediation, advice, and even outright charity. In 1907, the role

of the missionary finally received formal sanction from the Home Office and they became England's first official Probation Officers.

This slow revolution in the London courts began, with little fanfare, on August 1, 1876. At the behest of the Church of England Temperance Society and with the full cooperation of the Bow Street magistrates, George Nelson, a veteran of the Coldstream Guards, became England's first Police Court Missionary.² The Police Court Missionaries were the inspiration of Frederic Rainer, a journeyman printer and correspondent of the Reverend Henry J. Ellison (later Canon Ellison), the chairman and founding member of the Church of England Total Abstinence Society.³ Rainer had been one of the first members of Ellison's Society, which had been formed in Windsor, a stronghold of the early temperance movement.⁴ The path of Rainer's involvement in temperance traced through his friendship with Ellison and his involvement in the Windsor organization, but the origin of his interest in the police courts is less clear. One source traces it to his frequent walks around London, which began after he was employed there in 1859 by a firm of ecclesiastical printers.⁵ In 1862, however, Rainer received a much more intimate exposure to the courts. On the day of his wedding, April 21, 1862, his own mother was brought up before the Windsor Petty Sessions for an assault summons.⁶

In 1876, Rainer's commitment to the temperance cause and his interest in the police courts culminated in a letter to Ellison. In the missive, he suggested that Ellison's organization establish missions in the courts in order to aid those whom drink had led to commit minor offences.⁷ Rainer's letter bemoaned the inevitable downward spiral of men and women who fell victim to drunkenness, and expressed hope that, through the direct involvement of the CETTS in the courts themselves, some check might be put on

such descents. “Offence after offence,” he lamented, “and sentence after sentence appears to be the inevitable lot of him whose foot has once slipped.”⁸ Rainer included a donation of five shillings to fund the effort.

From these modest origins, the Police Court Missionaries would grow into what the head of the Home Office would later call “the handymen of the Courts.”⁹ Working in the Magistrates’ Courts and Petty Sessions throughout the metropolis, the men and women of the Police Court Mission (PCM) became instrumental in the daily functioning of the courts and an indispensable counterpoint to the work of the magistrates themselves. Although the task of the first missionaries was confined to temperance work in and around the courts, the role of these early agents very rapidly expanded into almost every aspect of the courts’ functioning. Within a few years of their introduction, the missionaries were collecting pre-trial information on the accused, mediating interpersonal and marital conflicts, advising the magistrates, monitoring the post-trial behavior of the courts’ clientele, and even providing employment, funds, and tools for those in the community deemed worthy of such support. It stands as an apt demonstration of their indispensability to the police courts’ operation that, in the early twentieth century, a succession of Parliamentary acts were passed that officially recognized both the importance of the duties performed by the missionaries and the value and commitment of the agents themselves.

Like the magistrates, however, the missionaries had their own goals and ideals in relation to their plebian clientele. Their impact on an individual’s treatment at the hands of the summary justice system (i.e. courts presided over by magistrates alone without the aid of a jury) could be decisive, since the word of a missionary often meant the difference

between prison and probation. Of equal significance was the missionary's role in extending the purview of the courts well beyond the confines of the courtroom itself. Much of their work took place in the homes of their probationers, interviewing their friends and family, meeting with their employers, visiting public houses, and learning as much as possible about the daily lives of their charges.

The missionaries represent an interesting example of the continued presence and influence of Church on State in Britain, but to ask whether this is indicative of the persistence of Anglican religiosity in the court system or rather an example of the Anglican Church's adoption of a rationalized approach to social issues is to somewhat miss the point.¹⁰ It is more important to recognize that this correspondence between the publicly-expressed attitudes of the magistrates and missionaries evinced a shared adherence to a Victorian moral discourse that crossed social, economic, and administrative boundaries. Of particular significance in this regard were their common attitudes towards gender and domesticity and the cumulative effect that this had on women's experiences in the police courts.

The complex roles played by the missionaries and their peculiar status as agents that were paid, initially, by a private religious organization but worked under the direction of public officials makes them an awkward fit in the historiography and legal scholarship on their period. The most significant surveys of law, crime, and punishment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century contribute only a few sentences about the probation system and none at all to the missionaries that pioneered it.¹¹ Nor do the missionaries appear as a topic in the growing literature on gender and summary justice in Victorian Britain.¹² They are also entirely absent from the literature on social welfare

and the Victorian reform movements. Another vein of historiography where one would expect to find some discussion of the Police Court Missionaries is the work that has been done on the British temperance movement. But the mention of the missionaries there is remarkably brief as well. A final scholarly forum where one might expect to see the police court missionaries is in the literature on the missionary movement proper. But the very nature of this phenomenon, focusing, as it did, on the conversion and moral reform of non-Europeans, means that there is comparatively little attention paid to domestic enterprises such as the PCM.¹³ This elision, however, is present also in work that deals substantially with the social, intellectual, and philosophical origins of missionary culture in England and its impact on the national consciousness.¹⁴ While the ideology of imperialism did not appear to be a prominent factor in the PCM's work, nationalism, particularly the relationship between morality and national strength, crops up here and there in the missionaries' discourse, and the absence of missionaries in the historiography of the broader missionary movement makes a discussion of this aspect of the PCM pertinent.

Clearly, there is considerable room for a comprehensive, analytical history of the PCM, but that is not the goal of this article. Rather, my purpose here is to discuss the impact that the missionaries had on court procedure and on the broader social and cultural roles that local courtrooms played in London society, to examine how the missionaries interpreted their work, and to assess the important ways in which both magistrates and working-class defendants adapted to the missionaries in their own courtroom strategies. In doing so, I hope to fill in a significant gap in the historiography of the relationship between state and philanthropic activity, the cultural and social dimensions of British

law, the nature of the relationship between the courts and working-class communities, and the significance of gender issues in the daily functioning of urban British courtrooms. The increasing application of anthropology, sociology, and cultural theory—with their focus on discourse, ideology, representation, and media dynamics—to the study of law in modern Britain has encouraged fruitful cross-pollinating between legal historians, literary critics, and scholars across a broad spectrum of the social sciences.¹⁵ And it is to this burgeoning vein of interdisciplinary legal and historical scholarship, a field that is already well-established in American legal study but is still in its early stages in the British context, that this article speaks most cogently.¹⁶

* * *

In analyzing the significance of the London Police Court Mission, there are two elements worth noting in the inaugural annual report submitted by George Nelson, the first police court missionary. One element is the centrality of gender in his approach to his work. In the views of the missionaries and those who supervised them, male drunkenness and female drunkenness, along with male and female morality and vice more generally, were treated as two distinct, though related, concerns. As Nelson wrote in his 1877 report, “I have had some most fearful cases to deal with, indeed (mostly females), and I must say that I am nearly baffled to know what to do with them . . . I am fully persuaded in my own mind that they should be placed under medical care and enforced abstinence.”¹⁷ Whether intentionally or not, however, Nelson also contributed to the sensationalizing of female inebriation, submitting the first of what would become a

stream of vignettes about the seemingly endless capacity for self-destruction demonstrated by women in the throes of alcoholism. “One poor woman, in Bermondsey, signed the [temperance] Pledge with me. I visited her at her home, or wretched place of abode, when she came out of prison . . . I called two days afterwards . . . but found that she was drinking again. She has sold and pledged everything from the home that would fetch one penny.”¹⁸ Nelson reported that another woman, a “Mrs. K,” “has been before the magistrates for drunkenness nearly 200 times.” It is telling that, in this first report, the issue of male drunkenness was not even mentioned. On the contrary, Nelson emphasized that he received a positive reception from the men he targeted for his work.¹⁹ A similar pattern appeared in the report of William Batchelor, the second police court missionary appointed, though he chose to highlight the ethnic identity of his clients in conjunction with their gender. “I have had some very bad cases,” he wrote, “very many of them Irish; the greater number of them females, I am sorry to say.”²⁰

The missionaries’ emphasis on the problem of female drunkenness was mirrored in the attitude of the clergy who, as part of the CETS campaign, tried to compile statistics on the relationship between drunkenness and crime. Summarizing information taken from the annual report of the Westminster House of Correction for Females, the Rev. G.P. Merrick wrote that “drunkenness, or offenses arising therefrom, still continues to fill nearly three-fourths of the cells in the prison. The statistics showing the prevalence of that vice amongst women are simply appalling.”²¹ Like Nelson, Merrick concluded that the current methods for dealing with female drunkenness were ineffective because the moral weakness of such women made them impervious to deterrence.²²

Although these early reports by Nelson and Batchelor demonstrate that they arrived in the courts with a panoply of preconceived notions about their working-class targets, their moral character and, in particular, the susceptibility of women to vice, these biases probably had little impact on court dynamics in the initial years of the missionaries' work. The limited scope of their duties and their lack of influence with magistrates either unfamiliar or unsympathetic to the PCM project meant that the missionaries had little to offer working-class men and women in return for their cooperation. Four years after the founding of the Police Court Mission, the missionaries were still struggling to make headway among their plebian clientele. Batchelor's frustration was apparent in the annual report he submitted in 1881, which summarized his work at the Bow Street and Clerkenwell Police Courts, two of the busiest courts in London. "It is a most difficult work to do—some do not like to be asked even to take a [temperance] tract, the most respectable often refuse, and tell me to give them elsewhere. Others will say 'don't preach to us now, we shall have lots of that where we are going to' [i.e. in prison]."²³

Nelson, while painting a more sanguine picture, nonetheless admitted that the attendants of the courts were often less than cooperative, so much so that he could not even accurately report his results. One particular obstacle was that the missionaries' interventionist methods required them to visit the homes of those who had signed pledges to insure that they kept their promises.²⁴ Due to the stigma attached to drunkenness (and to being publicly prosecuted for such in the police courts), however, a sizable percentage those who took the pledge did so only with the stipulation that the missionaries would *not* visit their homes.²⁵ Nelson estimated that roughly twenty five per cent. of those who

signed kept their pledges, but added that an equal percentage of those charged with drunkenness were “almost past redemption.” Overall, the number of men and women who took the pledges represented just a small proportion of those charged with drunkenness. The initial years of the temperance campaign in the courts had been a failure.

The liminal class position of the missionaries added to their difficulties in gaining adherents. Batchelor and Nelson were both former members of one of Britain’s oldest and most distinguished army regiments, the Coldstream Guards. The majority of CETS missionaries were drawn from the ranks of the educated working class (which grew following the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1871), since literacy was a prerequisite for the job. Thomas Holmes, arguably the most famous of all the Police Court Missionaries (in part because of his widely-read 1900 memoir, *Pictures and Problems from London Police Courts*) was originally an iron-moulder. But the most important qualifications, according to the administrators of the PCM and the missionaries themselves, were not formal education or training, but rather enthusiasm, compassion, patience, and an unwavering commitment to the temperance cause and to the moral redemption of their charges. The training of the police court missionaries was largely done on-the-job during the first decades of the PCM, an issue that would later become a point of criticism as the probation system was formalized and refined through successive acts of Parliament. The typical missionaries’ limited experience of formal education would be another contentious issue. But the latter concern was often more prominent among those who pushed for reform of the system in the wake of WWI than it was among those who worked with the missionaries on a daily basis in the London police

courts. C.H. Denyer, a police court clerk, wrote that too much education could in fact widen the social distance between the missionaries and their clients, thereby reducing the former's influence.²⁶

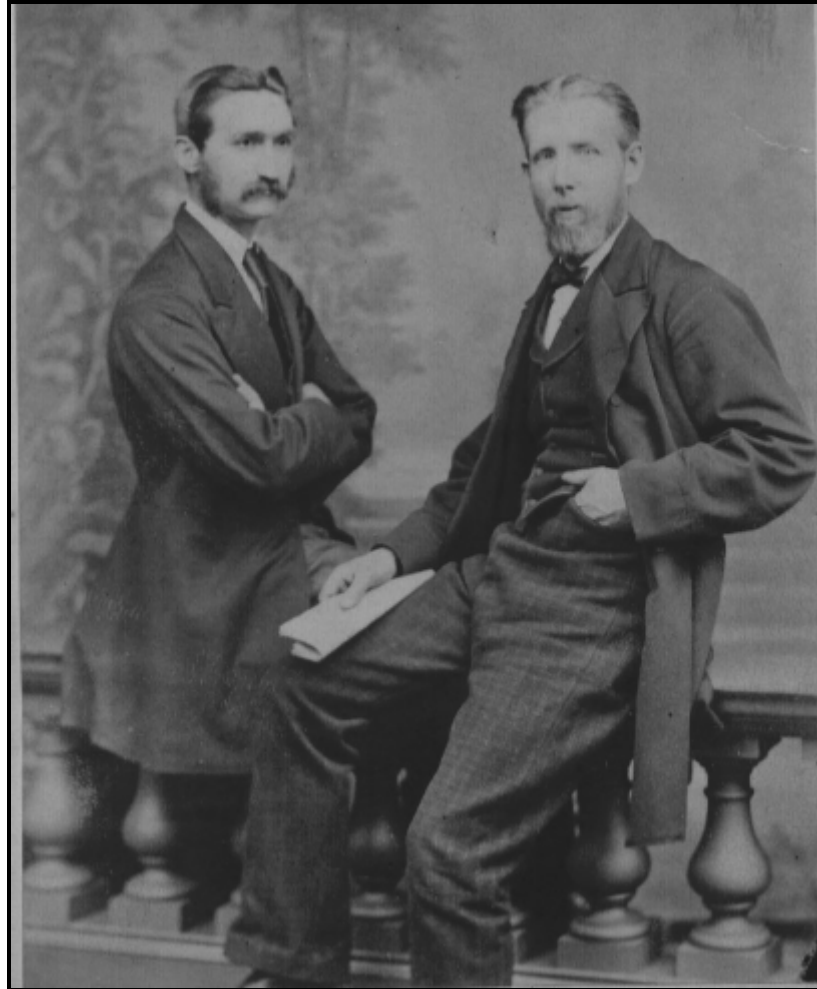


Figure 1. William Batchelor and George Nelson, Police Court Missionaries, c. 1880 [Courtesy of the Nottingham Galleries of Justice]

Regardless of whether or not the men and women approached by the missionaries in those initial years saw the new agents as social equals with whom they could commiserate or as moralizing interlopers into their lives, they had little practical incentive to sign temperance pledges, or to keep their oaths if they did. The missionaries, while permitted to conduct their work in the courts, did not hold any particular influence

over legal proceedings, nor did they enjoy a close relationship with the magistrates. One clear indicator of the missionaries' lack of integration into the culture of the court was the amount of time that they spent on temperance work among those who had no connection to the courts themselves, but who were merely target audiences of the temperance mission more broadly conceived. In other words, in the initial years of the London Police Court Mission, the courts were a base of operations and their clientele were an important aspect of the temperance effort, but the missionaries spent much of their time working in the surrounding community. In Batchelor's 1881 report, for example, he reported over 1,500 visits to cab stands and cab shelters, but only 539 visits to the Bow Street and Clerkenwell Police Courts.²⁷ In Nelson's case, the contrast was even more extreme; he made 1,289 visits to cab stands and shelters, and 395 visits to the police courts.²⁸

Confronted with their limited progress among police court defendants, the missionaries instead turned some of their energy towards converting the staff of the courts to their cause. A significant success in this regard was Nelson's recruitment of the chief gaoler at the Southwark Police Court in January of 1878.²⁹ The gaoler not only signed the pledge, but, in contrast with previous practice, he implemented a policy of total abstinence in the cells. Nelson later told the story of how the gaoler had prevented one woman from compounding her initial crime with further indulgence. "On entering the gaoler's room at Southwark one day," Nelson reported, "a poor woman, that had been charged with drunkenness, asked the gaoler 'if she could have a drop of beer.' 'No, my woman,' said the gaoler, 'you have come to the wrong shop for beer; you can have tea or coffee, if you like.'"³⁰ In this vignette, which has all the feel of an exemplary tale, we once again see the missionaries portraying women as the morally-weaker sex, while the

male gaoler has not only the strength of will to resist sin, but also the courage and compassion to aid others in finding solace from drink.

Both the negotiations by Nelson's pledgees and the missionaries' campaign to recruit court staff to the temperance cause were early signs of the future character of the Police Court Mission. Defendants' insistence that missionaries not visit them at home or work and their refusal to give accurate addresses at all in some cases demonstrated that they were willing to cooperate with the missionaries, but would often do so only on their own terms. The pledge was of secondary consideration to their reputations and their life beyond the court in general. Likewise, the missionaries' decision to campaign among the court staff was a calculated response to their initial lack of success with the daily clientele of the courts. Even in the early years of the PCM, we can see indicators that both the missionaries and the targets of their work were capable of adaptation, negotiation, and reciprocity, all of which would become key elements as the relationship between the missionaries, the courts, and their plebian clientele continued to evolve.

It fell to the third of the initial cohort of London missionaries, Mr. Haskett, to serve as the harbinger of the next stage in the evolution of the Mission. Eschewing the cabmen and police courts which had been the focus of Nelson and Batchelor, Haskett chose to beard the lion in its den by frequenting public houses. There, he distributed tracts and spoke with both customers and proprietors. Haskett's boldest strategy involved direct intervention to prevent those already drunk from getting even drunker. "I continue to follow the custom of going into a public house when I see a person enter the worse for drink," the missionary wrote, "and call the attention of the vendor to their state, and respectfully request them not to server with any more."³¹ Like his colleagues, Haskett

also highlighted the issue of female drunkenness in his reports, declaring that they made up the majority of public houses' daytime clientele.³²

Haskett's most prescient observation concerned the relationship between drinking, interpersonal conflict, and police court summonses. Batchelor, Nelson, and Haskett all discussed drink as a cause of crime, claimed to be as dedicated to stopping the latter as they were to ameliorating the former, and stressed their commitment to the redemption of petty offenders. But only Haskett noted in his official reports that magistrates, too, might share these predilections. He was also the first missionary to emphasize that drink and drink-inspired crime were not just a cause of charges (i.e. court cases initiated by the police) but also a common catalyst of summonses (i.e. court cases initiated by private individuals):

POLICE COURTS—The fruit of drink can be seen in full force in these places, and on Mondays, or after a holiday, the sights are beyond description, wife appealing against husband, and *vice versa*; children against parents and parents against children; women and men disfigured through falling about when helplessly drunk or fighting, so much so, that recently, when a magistrate was discharging some females, who were brought before him, he said, “he could not feel it in his heart to punish the poor creatures, they had so punished themselves.”³³

Haskett's description neatly summarized what would be the keys to the missionaries' future prominence in the dynamics of the police courts—the forging of a more sympathetic understanding of working-class life on one hand and the increasing

coordination and cooperation of both philosophy and practice between missionaries and magistrates on the other.

It was missionaries' attempts to fashion a closer working relationship with figures of authority in the court system (magistrates, court staff, and policemen), rather than their lukewarm reception by their working-class clientele, that led to the expansion of their roles and duties in the mid-1880s. During this period, missionaries began to focus on police court work itself, to the detriment of their efforts among cabmen and other high-risk groups in the community. But this shift was facilitated by their earlier successes in recruiting police and court staff to the temperance cause. Thanks to the cooperation of gaolers and policemen, missionaries were able to interview prisoners in the cells as they awaited trial before the magistrates.³⁴ Concern over "fallen women" prompted the police to solicit the missionaries' help and, starting in the mid-1880s, policemen began to bring indigent young women whom they had picked up off the street directly to the missionaries.³⁵

Similarly, the shared concern of missionaries and magistrates with women's morality prompted the latter to seek a more active, personal engagement with the work of the temperance agents. Batchelor, in his 1884 report, wrote that James Vaughan, the magistrate of Bow Street Police Court, "has often requested me to make enquiries for him in some cases of very young girls; and through it we have restored some direct to their mothers or fathers, or from the homes where some have been sent."³⁶ This was the first officially-recorded instance of a magistrate personally seeking the assistance of the missionary. The magistrates' use of the missionary to gather information and, in some cases, to preserve the integrity of families would later become one of the primary

functions of the Police Court Missionaries. Although such work related only indirectly to the temperance effort – the work of assigning girls to “homes” or returning them to their parents, in 1884, represented only a small fraction of Batchelor’s overall workload – Vaughan’s interest, compounded by their shared commitment to the redemption of “fallen” girls, made this an important collaboration in the eyes of both parties.³⁷ In a letter written to the Police Court Mission five years later by J.T. Ingham, chief magistrate of London, this aspect of Batchelor’s work was central.³⁸

This initial cooperative effort between the missionary Batchelor and the magistrate Vaughan foreshadowed the expansion of this relationship to other courts in subsequent years. The magistrates incorporated the missionaries into their own vision of the courts’ role in the community, using the missionaries to extend their influence beyond the confines of the courtroom. Missionaries, in turn, used the goodwill and support of the magistrates to cement their authority and to amplify their impact on working-class men and women. The increasing focus of the missionaries on work in or connected to the police courts indicated a move away from their earlier emphasis on securing pledges and distributing tracts to cabmen (neither of which had proven successful) and the adoption of more indirect, but ultimately more effective, strategies. By the mid-1880s, the missionaries and the magistrates had ceased to be discrete entities operating in the same space. They were moving towards a synthesis that would facilitate the goals of both sides and, in the end, have a profound impact on police court procedure, the treatment of petty crime, and the role of the courts in their local communities.

The working-class clientele of the courts also played an active role in shaping the practice of the missionaries and even found ways to use the influence of the missionaries

for their own purposes. One of the first signs of this adaptation came in the June 1878 report filed by Nelson, where he mentioned that one woman “expressed a wish that ‘the good people of London’ would build some lodging-houses where religious meetings could be held, food supplied, and beds procured for threepence or fourpence a night.”³⁹ Considering the missionaries’ zeal and their willingness to intervene actively in working-class life – Hackett’s forays into public houses stood as one of many such examples – the woman’s suggestion jibed nicely with the missionaries’ own ambitions for the reformation of their clientele. By the mid-1880s, the missionaries had added lodging houses to their stable of regular visitation sites, and their support (along with reported enthusiasm among the working class) for the establishment of similar institutions by the CETS itself bore substantial fruit in the long run. The missionaries’ willingness to compromise with their clients’ wishes (such as by not demanding the home addresses of pledge-signers) also helped them gain their confidence and cooperation.

Two signs of the growing self-assurance and influence of the missionaries by this period was the diligence with which even those who had no intention of keeping temperance pledges signed them, and the reaction such false signing provoked from the missionaries themselves. George Nelson, for example, began to refuse them the opportunity to do so. This remarkable reversal in the approach of a missionary that once had to all but beg for pledges was a sign of just how far the missionaries had come in establishing themselves as vital figures in London courtrooms. With the expansion of the missionaries’ roles in the courts, it was becoming increasingly crucial for those who sought the sympathy of the magistrates to first obtain the goodwill of the missionaries. For “debauched” women, repeat offenders, and the Irish, such goodwill was often

particularly hard to come by.⁴⁰ Successful negotiation of this added layer of bias and expectations by those accused of crimes or seeking the assistance of the court could result in lenient treatment, charity, and lighter sentences. Failure could leave the petitioner bereft of aid and the accused liable to the full penalty of the law.

In 1885, for example, we find the first mention of the Police Court Missionaries providing financial support and serving as advocates for those petitioners who consented to sign a temperance pledge and who were judged by the missionaries to be morally deserving. That year, Batchelor reported that one woman came to “beg” his assistance with all the appearance of woe and a tale to accompany it. The drinking habits of her and her husband had cost them their house, she claimed.⁴¹ The missionary responded with aid from his own pocket and then used his influence in the community to secure employment for her.⁴² Batchelor was careful to point out that his judgment in this case had been sound, since, at the time of writing, not only was the woman still at her job, “doing well,” but her employers also “give her a good character.”⁴³ In another instance, reported by the missionary A.C. Thompson in 1886, his intervention prevented a man charged with drunkenness from being fired from his job as a postman (he had been caught with a registered letter in his possession while drunk). Here, the testimony of the postman’s aged mother, who told the missionary that her son was “her sole support,” prompted Thompson to supply the advice and aid that convinced his employers to overlook the offense.⁴⁴

Concurrent with the expansion of their roles in the police courts, the missionaries began writing and publishing their own series of vignettes in the Church of England Temperance Society’s *Annual Reports*. These anecdotes were part of the CETS’s

campaign to elicit more financial support from the members of the Rochester Diocese, which employed the missionaries, and from other potential patrons. This money was needed to support the Shelter Home for Inebriate Women that the CETS had founded and, as Batchelor's report above also indicated, having some ready funds to distribute to the most needy cases could also have an immediate and substantial impact on temperance work. Even a small financial incentive could be a great encouragement for a man or woman in desperate straits to sign the pledge and to hold to it.

But the most significant demand for funds, as the initial appeal in the 1887 *Report* made clear, had been created by the missionaries' rapidly-expanding roles. More specifically, the redirection of the missionaries' focus from public speeches to personalized, individual work in the police courts and the surrounding neighborhoods required greater manpower and consequently greater funding to retain new agents. By the end of 1887, the Police Court Mission was employing four full-time missionaries who, over the past year, had "paid over 1,000 visits to police courts and prisoners' cells, held interviews with 9,000 accused persons, visited in their own houses 5,400 persons charged at the police courts, taken 500 total abstinence pledges, handed 393 cases over to the Clergy, dealt with 300 special cases, addressed 379 meetings, and induced 18 fallen women to enter penitentiaries."⁴⁵ The missionaries' vignettes and the excerpts from letters that accompanied them were carefully selected to emphasize the effectiveness of their work and the gratitude of the working-class men and women who had received the missionaries' aid.⁴⁶

It was in this period that the missionaries first began to have a direct impact on the trial process itself in the courts. London magistrates began using the missionaries as pre-

trial interviewers and investigators into the circumstances of those who had been charged or summoned due to drunkenness or minor offences (often assault) where drink was deemed to be the cause. One author of the *London Police Court_Mission's Annual Report* (printed as a section of the *CETS Annual Report*) attributed this practice to magistrates' reluctance to inflict severe penalties on first-time offenders. "In many cases," he wrote, "the Magistrates find that they are able to trust the Police Court Missionaries from the beginning, and, instead of sending these poor creatures to prison, they defer judgment, and let the Police Court Missionary try his best, and it happens again and again that, before judgment is passed, the unhappy prisoner has completely changed, and the magistrate inflicts no punishment."⁴⁷ The *Report's* ambitious assertion that the missionaries now provided the courts with a viable alternative to conviction was supported by the London magistrate George Lewis Denman. Addressing the missionaries at a public meeting in 1889, he encouraged them to continue their preventative work in the courts. Denman justified his support for their efforts by extolling the benefits of prevention over punishment, especially in cases involving first time or minor offenders. "If you catch a young man or a young girl at the door of a Police Court," Denman said, "after receiving a mere nominal punishment, or no punishment at all for the first offense, and can instill into the mind of that young person what will come to him or to her – what is likely to be the result of it if they allow themselves to be there again by not being able to say 'NO' to such a question as 'Come and have a drink,' – it is incalculable how much good may be done – not only to them but to the whole community."⁴⁸

The roles of the missionaries as investigators, prisoner interviewers, and advisors to the magistrate dated back at least to the 1884 collaboration between Batchelor and

Vaughan over the care of “fallen women.” The legal sanction for the missionaries’ work in this capacity came initially from the 1879 Summary Jurisdiction Act, which gave courts of summary jurisdiction the discretion to discharge prisoners convicted of minor crimes and to bind them over to keep the peace in lieu of inflicting a fine or imprisonment.⁴⁹ The 1879 Act, however, was passed at a time when few courts possessed the personnel to effectively employ these options. As basis for his decision, the magistrate had only his own knowledge of the offender and whatever information he could garner informally from police or other local sources. A subsequent statute, the 1887 Probation of First Offenders Act, was a more significant watershed in the reform of criminal procedure, in part because it gave the courts the power to bind over those convicted of more serious crimes (albeit first offenders only) such as larceny.⁵⁰ It was the introduction and expansion of the Police Court Mission, rather than the legal authorization for such measures, that made the use of formal probation a viable option. By 1887, many English magistrates and justices of the peace, particularly in London, had missionaries available to both conduct pre-trial interviews with potential candidates for leniency and to monitor offenders after they had been released on probation.⁵¹

In some cases, missionaries could even go so far as to advocate for those they found particularly deserving of clemency. In one such instance, an assault case, “the prosecutrix was drunk when the alleged assault was committed and the prisoner was sober, and it was stated that the latter was a quiet inoffensive man and the woman a drunken woman.”⁵² The magistrate sentenced the accused – whose anonymity was preserved in the report by the use of the sobriquet “R.A.” – to one month’s hard labour, but the case was far from over. The missionary subsequently interviewed the prisoner,

who “asserted his innocence, and appeared quite broken-hearted as he had a delicate wife and five children – all too young to work.”⁵³ The prisoner’s pleas had the flavor of melodrama, but the missionary, as a privately-employed agent, was free to leave the confines of the court and to further investigate the matter. He first visited the prisoner’s home and spoke to his wife, then interviewed the prisoner’s foreman, who gave a good account of R.A., telling the missionary that he was “a sober, quiet man.”⁵⁴ Having established the veracity of R.A.’s claims and received testimonials to his character, the missionary returned to court accompanied by the prisoner’s wife, his foreman, and the manager of the works. The result was an almost complete reversal of R.A.’s fortunes. “The missionary appealed to the Magistrate to reduce the penalty to a fine for the sake of the man’s wife and little children. The Magistrate, upon consideration, reduced the sentence to a fine of £3, which was at once paid.”⁵⁵

This anecdote illustrated how the intercession of a missionary could dramatically alter the fortunes of a defendant. The particular circumstances of the case made it one that appealed to the missionary’s sensibilities. To him, the story itself must have appeared as a parable of the damage that alcohol could wreak on an otherwise respectable family, and the case was made all the more poignant by the sobriety of the accused. He had not fallen into wicked ways due to drink, but had been provoked by the wickedness of a drunken woman, a perfectly-cast villain in this police court drama. The prisoner’s appeal, consciously or not, played directly to the expectations of the missionary. The prisoner was the victimized, not the victim, and to punish him would be to punish his ailing wife and his innocent children. Thanks to the testimony of his employers, moreover, the missionary could be reasonably certain that the release of the prisoner

would return a respectable, productive individual into society and prevent a grave injustice. Similarly, the missionary's advocacy, following a rigorous process of investigation, reassured the magistrate that leniency was justified.

The benefits of this burgeoning relationship between the missionaries and court clientele were clear. A working-class man or woman who cooperated with the missionary could hope for more favorable treatment from the magistrate. In return, the missionary would gain a (at least apparently) sympathetic audience for his crusade against drink, the gratitude of the accused and, in some cases, a signed temperance pledge. But the true authority in the equation was the magistrate himself, and it is not immediately obvious what they stood to gain from this arrangement. By practicing leniency where the missionaries recommended it, the magistrates could maintain their ideals of "merciful" justice. On a more practical level, the prominence and frequency of repeat offenders made it obvious to the magistrates that imprisoning drunkards did little to curb their habits. There was no compelling reason *not* to allow the missionaries to continue their strategy of pledging, induction into homes for inebriates, and voluntary redemption. The magistrates' cooperation with the missionaries also brought them more in line with the opinions of contemporary social reformers on the diminished responsibility of habitual drunkards for their own actions and the inadvisability of strict sentencing.⁵⁶ Nor should it be forgotten that the missionaries' work in the courts was still a privately-funded affair and as they became more and more prominent in the administration of the courts, the value of their contributions and the necessity of maintaining their commitment and goodwill would not have been lost on the magistrates. Magistrates' support of the missionaries' temperance agenda, regardless of their personal

opinions on the subject, was one obvious way for the magistrates to show their appreciation for the missionaries' work in the courts.

Most magistrates were probably not teetotalers, but their work with poor Londoners clearly convinced many of them that alcohol was the chief culprit in much of the violence, suffering, and abuse that they bore witness to from the bench.⁵⁷ The magistrate Alfred Plowden, at one point, calculated that more than a quarter of the cases he had heard in the previous year had been prosecutions for public drunkenness, leading him to conclude, "you might close half the Police Courts if you get rid of drunkenness."⁵⁸ In a two-month period at the Thames Police Court in the 1880s, Montagu Williams prosecuted 379 persons for public drunkenness, about 3/5 of the total being men and the rest, women.⁵⁹ Both Plowden and Williams were quick to point out that their estimates did not take into account the number of cases which they felt could be blamed on drunkenness, but in which the crime under consideration was some other misdemeanor or felony, most often assault or theft. Plowden described the constant parade of drunkenness cases that he presided over daily: "on Monday mornings the list [of drunkenness cases] swells to a procession, and when you have arrived at an end, drink will be found as the proximate cause of the felonies and misdemeanors that await investigation."⁶⁰ Williams likewise declared "I am quite within the mark when I state that, except upon the days when School Board summonses are taken, the number of persons charged with offences resulting from intoxication would constitute more than one-half of the total charges heard."⁶¹ Judicial opposition to the abuse of alcohol by the working class was so prevalent that the authors of a professional guide for magistrates

felt obliged to include a caveat against allowing this pervasive sentiment to bias judicial decisions.⁶²

Why then did most magistrates, fully appreciating the dangers of alcoholism in society, allow their courts to become centers of temperance advocacy but refrain themselves from becoming teetotalers or joining temperance societies? One explanation was that, having daily witnessed the tremendous hold that alcoholism had on so many of the court clientele, temperance may have seemed to them a vain effort. As Plowden wrote, expressing doubt that any amount of legal regulation would solve the problem, “I believe it to be true that you cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament.”⁶³ His conclusion on the subject was that ultimately, the solution to rampant alcohol abuse lay not in legal regulation, but in the moral uplifting and economic progress of the working classes. Alcoholism, he concluded, would continue to plague the people “until an improved tone and higher standard of thought and living has taught the masses to turn in disgust from the false gods which their fathers worshipped to the purer ideals of a higher civilization.”⁶⁴ In such circumstances, magistrates may have felt that speaking out directly in favor of abstinence would have been pointless, since they could not back up their entreaties with any force. Rather, it appears that many magistrates chose to work indirectly against alcoholism by providing the police court missionaries with a broad mandate for their work. Far from interfering in the missionaries’ advocacy of temperance in and around the courts, London magistrates permitted the missionaries tremendous leeway to conduct their campaign when and where they saw fit. As one observer commented on the persistence of the missionaries’ temperance work in the London police courts, “he [the police court missionary] has plenty of opportunity for producing his

pledge-book.”⁶⁵ By following this strategy, the magistrates could tacitly support the temperance movement, and retain the goodwill of the missionaries, without alienating the men and women who appeared before them for judgment, aid, or advice.

Another explanation for some magistrates’ unwillingness to adhere publicly to the temperance cause was their belief that the destructive potential of alcohol was determined by the class and gender of the consumers. The contrast between these magistrates’ views on intoxication among the working class and their views on intoxication among people higher up on the class hierarchy was demonstrated by J.A.R. Cairns’s recounting of the mayhem following the traditional Oxford-Cambridge rugby match. Cairns not only tolerated drunkenness in celebration (or mourning) among the privileged young collegians and their supporters, but applauded it. He wrote that for magistrate and youth alike, an appearance in court the next morning was all part of the fun. As a consequence of the night of drinking and revelry that followed the event, he explained, “I had two dock loads of youth before me . . . some had spent the night in the cells. It was all in the game and added piquancy to the adventure.”⁶⁶ In stark contrast to magistrates’ treatment of working-class clientele, one student was even allowed clemency on the charge of assault against a constable. “It is impossible to treat assaults on the police as a venial offence,” Cairns wrote, “but it was equally impossible to impose imprisonment in such a case as this.”⁶⁷ Instead, the youth gave “an Englishman’s apology—full, frank, spontaneous, but without servility,” and the police constable, following the role dictated by his social position relative to the youth in question, “accepted the explanation without demur—the blow was accidental.”⁶⁸

Cairns's celebration of drinking by university students and the lack of enthusiasm for abstention among many magistrates demonstrate the distance—in both ideology and practice—that still remained between missionaries and magistrates, at least on the subject of alcohol consumption and temperance. In the 1880s and 1890s, magistrates were less concerned with drink *per se* and more concerned with the moral uplifting of drunkards and reducing the danger posed to the social fabric by the violence and disorder that often seemed to accompany heavy drinking. Such drink-related problems, in magistrates' experience, were primarily an issue among the working class, and the temperance message needed to be tailored accordingly. The missionaries were an instrument well-suited to the magistrates' particular priorities. If the missionary saw a promising candidate for reform through pledging, assignment to a Home, or another alternative to incarceration, then the magistrate had every reason to cooperate, but their support for the temperance movement itself, in most cases, stopped short of direct public advocacy.

If the magistrates' unwillingness to join the temperance movement was a sign of the ideological distance between them and their missionaries, the formers' public support and financial contribution to the Police Court Mission itself evinced the growing integration between the two groups, particularly in London's East End. By the late 1880s, magistrates were writing testimonials praising the good work of the missionaries, testimonials that were promptly and prominently reprinted in the pages of the CETS annual reports. In 1890, Sir John Bridge, the chief Metropolitan Magistrate, wrote to the administrators of the Police Court Mission in gratitude for “the great benefit the Magistrates received from your Missionary.”⁶⁹ The East End magistrate John Dickinson wrote on behalf of himself and his colleague, Frederic Meade, “the work in such a Court

as Thames, and in such a poor and densely populated district as this, must necessarily be very heavy, but your energy, attention, and kindly sympathy have never failed. Your work is a great one, helping the weak and tempted, comforting the miserable and hopeless, and striving to rescue the forlorn and vicious.”⁷⁰ On a more practical level, the magistrates provided funds for the missionaries’ work out of the police court “poor boxes,” and occasionally made personal contributions, usually in their wives’ names. Typically, the courts each gave between £5-15 yearly, and another £1-5 was donated by each magistrate individually.⁷¹ All told, this made the courts and the magistrates among the most significant secular contributors to the London Police Court Mission.

With the steady increase in funding across the 1880s and 1890s, the PCM was able to hire more missionaries, provide them with more resources, and expand the range of their duties. One notable expansion of the PCM system was the inauguration of the Women’s Police Court Mission. The first mention of the new female agents appeared in the CETS Annual Report for 1885, though the first mention of women’s direct involvement with the missionaries’ work dates back to 1884, when the *CETS Annual Report* stated that, in conjunction with the missionary’s work among policemen, “a Policeman’s Christian Association has been started, and mainly carried on by Christian ladies.”⁷² The 1892 Annual report also recorded that the task of visiting cab shelters, which had fallen by the wayside of most male missionaries’ duties as they focused more and more on police court work, had been taken up by “Honorary Lady Visitors.”⁷³

Since male missionaries had always worked with both men and women in and beyond the courts, and since there was little discussion in the pages of the CETS concerning the specific need for female missionaries, it is unclear precisely why this

innovation was introduced. If the Policeman's Christian Association and the Honorary Lady Visitors were the precedents, then it may have been the initiative of women themselves within the CETS that prompted the creation of the Women's Police Court Mission. The attitude and character that women missionaries brought to the work did not differ significantly from that of their male colleagues. J. Hasloch Porter, the former secretary of the CETS (1878-1881) claimed that the "sympathy" so often touted as one of the male missionaries' most essential characteristics was even more strongly expressed by their female counterparts. Calling the Women's Police Court Mission "an unqualified success" in his 1927 history of the PCM, he wrote that "women and children in police courts no longer feel hopeless and forlorn wherever there is a Missionary, but in a woman Missionary they find a specially sympathizing friend."⁷⁴

The vignettes in the CETS Annual Reports that described "Our Mission Women at Work," followed the same pattern of those that dealt with the male missionaries' work. They told tales of women destroyed by drink and of their admirable recovery following the taking of a pledge at the encouragement of a woman missionary. One such vignette, entitled "Perseverance Rewarded," explained that one woman's ("E.P.") married daughter "signed the pledge to help her mother. It took three weeks' persistent visiting to induce E.P. to take the pledge; but when the mission woman had gained her confidence, she implored her to speak to her husband. This man was first amused, and then surprised that a woman should dare to ask him to take the pledge. 'If my wife will be different, I will,' he finally answered, and he has kept his word."⁷⁵ This story emphasized the contagious nature of redemption, describing how a woman's abandonment of alcohol

had, with the continued assistance by the woman missionary, served as a catalyst for the redemption of other members in her family or household.

But for all the reportage that the work of the women missionaries received in the pages of the annual reports, they were never fully integrated into the Police Court Mission's work, nor were their efforts allocated the same personnel, funding, or remuneration as that of their male colleagues. One obvious indicator of the marginalization of women's missionary work was that male missionaries usually outnumbered female missionaries by a ratio of two to one. Furthermore, male missionaries, as of the late 1890s, were generally assigned to work in a single police court, allowing them to build a strong rapport with the magistrates and the clientele there. Women missionaries, in contrast, were peripatetic, frequently being assigned to two, three, or even four courts simultaneously. This practice hindered their ability to form the personal connections with magistrates and court clientele that were so central to the male missionaries' success. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, there was a stark contrast between the roles that male and female missionaries played in the police courts themselves, which, by the 1890s, had become a central milieu of the missionary work. In 1899, the twelve primary male missionaries made 3210 visits to the police courts, an average of 268 visits per missionary.⁷⁶ By comparison, in the same period, the five women missionaries made a *total* of 643 visits, and the vast majority of those (430) were made by one woman who was assigned to deal with Bow Street, Marlborough Street, Marylebone, and Westminster Courts.⁷⁷ Another woman missionary, assigned to work in the Thames Police Court (one of the busiest in London) made merely two visits to the court that year, while her male counterpart appeared there 253 times.⁷⁸ The vast majority

of women missionaries' labor was confined to home visiting, the aspect of missionary work that the CETS administrators seemed to feel was most appropriate for them. The view that women's efforts to morally reform others were most appropriate and effective in domestic—rather than public—environments would be articulated in other arenas of social reform as well.

One of the most famous of all the Police Court Missionaries, Thomas Holmes, who is credited with writing the seminal memoir of the missionaries' work in the nineteenth century, denigrated women's capacity to advance the mission's work and questioned their suitability for social work in general. "A short time ago," Holmes wrote, "I was listening to a very notable lady, who probably had never been in a police court. She was arguing that women were much better adapted for 'rescue work' than men. She may have been right, but I do not think she was; at any rate, her reason was quite wrong—'women can see through people better than men.' If this is true, the measure of their knowledge is the measure of their unfitness. Men may be more credulous; if so, they have more faith and hope. I can see through no one, I do not want to."⁷⁹

"Sympathy" was at the center of missionaries' identity and discourse. Holmes's accusation that women were more skeptical and cynical than men were, if this were a view widely held by his colleagues, would have gone a long way towards explaining the specific rationale for the exclusion of women from mainstream Police Court Mission work and for the marginalization of their contributions. Magistrates' preference for working with male staff and their concern over the moral effect that the atmosphere of the police court had on women may also have played a part in limiting women missionaries' roles in the courts. Despite their marginalization, however, the introduction

of female missionaries, which preceded the appointment of the first woman magistrate by more than three decades, represented a significant development in the evolution of gender roles within the British court system and preceded the appointment of the first woman magistrate by more than thirty years.⁸⁰

The arrival of women missionaries, although important, was not the most dramatic expansion of the Police Court Mission in the late 1880s and 1890s. The most significant development was the extraordinary increase in the scope and diversity of the male missionaries' work. The widening of the missionaries' activities was made possible both by the growth of funding for the project and by the magistrates' continued support. J. Hasloch Porter, a former missionary, argued that one of the keys to the missionaries' success was that the local community did not associate them with the police or with officialdom in general, and the religious character of the Mission enhanced that impression. "Here the policeman was useless," Porter wrote, "official buttons could only frighten away; the power of a spiritual agency was needed to get at the back of offences, to reach the hearts of offenders."⁸¹ By 1900, the missionaries had become an indispensable resource for the magistrates and court clientele alike. In 1902, with an annual operating budget in excess of £1,800, the thirteen male missionaries of the London Police Court Mission conducted over 23,000 visits and interviews in the courts, at their own homes, and at the homes of court clientele.⁸² The eight missionary women and two "ladies" (i.e. volunteers) made nearly 14,000 visits concerning court cases and attended the police courts on 1,334 occasions.⁸³ The Police Court Mission served the needs of the magistrates, conducting preliminary interviews and advising on individual cases, but also offered counsel and aid to the men and women who attended the court.

Even as their duties expanded dramatically, the missionaries never lost sight of their temperance agenda, and they continued to collect pledges and spread warnings about the dire effects of alcohol.

The author of the 1901 annual report gave the following description of a missionary's typical day at the police court:

Every morning before the magistrate takes his seat upon the bench, our Missionaries have been busy seeing the prisoners in cell or waiting room, listening to their stories and sympathizing with them—and, as each stands in the dock, and the Magistrate turns again and again to the Missionary handing cases over to him or conferring with him during the luncheon hours as to what can be done, the value of a good Missionary's services cannot be overstated. Then in the afternoon, when the Magistrate hears applications for summons, and many a time the Missionary, by his efforts, is able to avert evil or prevent the summons from being taken out by effecting a reconciliation.⁸⁴

According to this account, from the moment the doors of the court opened until after the magistrate retired for the day, the missionaries were a fully-integrated aspect of court procedure and were on hand to serve as advisors, intermediaries, and advocates before, during, and after formal trials. In 1901, for example, over 2000 cases were handed over by London magistrates directly to the missionaries for them to deal with as they saw fit.⁸⁵ In such circumstances, it became more essential than ever for the accused to earn the sympathy of the missionary prior to his or her case coming before the bench. The best way to do so was to sign a temperance pledge, as "A.J.B." did when his wife summoned

him to court: "I, A.J.B.," the husband wrote, "promise my wife if she agrees to withdraw the summons granted against me for assault, I will not touch another drop of strong drink, and willingly submit to the decision of the law if I break my pledge."⁸⁶

The missionaries provided the magistrate with an opportunity to exercise leniency in cases where both agreed it was deserved and a chance to resolve cases before the rigors of summary justice were applied. As the discourse on crime and punishment in official circles increasingly emphasized redemption and reform, the opportunity to resolve minor crimes and interpersonal summonses *before* they came to trial was embraced by the magistrates. Such an outcome also appealed to many working-class and lower-middle-class men and women, whose aspirations towards social recognition, political progress, and "respectability" were all ill-served by the public embarrassment of a police court appearance. One of the most common tasks of missionaries was mediating between aggrieved spouses when one felt compelled to seek a court summons against the other, usually for assault, abuse, or neglect. But missionaries' intercession was not in any way limited to cases involving marital strife, nor did their mandate extend only to trials where alcohol was a factor. By the 1890s, missionaries were advising magistrates and prisoners alike on a broad variety of cases, many of which had no direct relationship to the temperance cause.⁸⁷

Court clientele often responded by adopting the strategies suggested by the missionaries, either because such tactics assured them of the missionary's support once they came before the magistrate or because their own experience demonstrated the efficacy of such measures. Thomas Holmes described this dynamic in cases involving youths accused of street gambling. Such cases were troublesome, time-consuming affairs

where guilt was hard to prove and innocence almost always claimed, as the missionary commented sardonically, “the number of innocent boys charged with gambling is only equaled by the number of innocent women charged with being drunk.”⁸⁸ Holmes went on to describe the episode that followed when eight “decent-looking lads” were charged:

I was speaking to them in the prisoners’ room before they went into court, and gave them a world of good advice, I thought I had made some impression on them, and finally advised them to admit their guilt to the magistrate, and tell him that they would not do it again. To the magistrates’ surprise they all pleaded guilty and expressed penitence but one, who stoutly protested his innocence, when several constables were called to prove the charge. The magistrate told the boys that he was pleased with their honesty, candour, and penitence, and should deal very leniently with them, and, hoping they would keep the promise they had given, discharged them all excepting the ‘innocent’ one. He was fined ten shillings. So lads charged with gambling in the streets pleaded ‘guilty’ at North London till the plea no longer availed.⁸⁹

It is no coincidence that those who received leniency in this case were all youths brought up on their first offenses. Even as court procedure was changing to accommodate the approaches to trial and pre-trial procedure made possible by the presence of missionaries, the clientele of the court were adapting to the changing dynamics of the system and adjusting their strategies to take into account the benefits of the missionaries’ sympathy and influence.

Although the missionaries, through their relative independence and broad engagement with the community, were in an excellent position to judge the veracity of claims made in court, there was still room for performance and the manipulation of public sympathy on the part of court clientele. At the very least, individuals who succeeded in garnering the sympathy of the missionaries could expect to receive the missionaries' aid in making their case before the magistrate. Hugh Gamon, a social reformer commissioned by the Toynbee Trust to investigate the Police Courts, wrote, "[the missionary's] good word with the magistrate is much solicited; for the magistrate, in giving sentence, may allow himself to be influenced by the representations of the missionary, and be lenient to one who has promised faithfully to amend. Even old offenders may at last accept the assistance constantly proffered, but always before rejected."⁹⁰

In circumstances that involved actual crimes, the magistrate, not the missionary, would be the final arbiter, and it was therefore of paramount importance that his compassion be engaged. The results of a collaborative effort between a "deserving" candidate and the supporting missionary, presented in a public testimonial with the audience of the court looking on, was a strong incentive for the magistrate to practice leniency and an opportunity to demonstrate publicly his compassion for deserving cases. As the magistrate H.L. Cancellor wrote in his memoirs, describing the value of missionaries' personal engagement and detailed knowledge of defendants, "the results of their work give magistrates just the sort of guidance which is necessary to enable them to temper justice with mercy."⁹¹ When the accused, with the aid of the missionary, was returned to the ranks of the law-abiding and gainfully-employed, the results of the

episode could then be celebrated in the pages of the Police Court Mission's *Annual Report* as a testimony to the success of the mission's approach and a validation of their philosophy. Such was the case in one instance of a man charged with stealing a loaf of bread:

When accused, the defendant became confused and said he was sorry, **but he had had nothing to eat that morning** [emphasis theirs]. He had nothing of any value on him except one penny. He stated that he had been a miller's traveler, then a clerk, and finally a club porter. The Club failed two years ago, and since then he could get no employment. Enquiries proved this story true. He was sober and respectable, and his age was the only bar to his obtaining work. "**His character was irreproachable,**" says the Missionary, "and he was handed over to my care. I found him a permanent situation in Surrey, and there he remains, **having won the confidence and esteem of the lady who gave him employment** on her estate in response to my appeal."⁹²

That year, the London Police Court Mission reported finding employment for 351 men, 231 women, 277 boys, and 192 girls.⁹³

Even as sympathetic mediation and direct or indirect intervention in summary proceedings became an established protocol in the courts, the cooperation of the magistrates and increases in funding for the Police Court Mission made it possible for missionaries to provide yet another form of aid to accused men and women who caught their attention. By the mid-1890s, missionaries were encouraging temperance and preventing the further degradation of families through the direct provision of charity.⁹⁴

In 1906, the Mission reported that it had, in 5,200 instances, provided “clothing, blankets, food, rent, stock and tools, etc.” to individuals and families, and had “materially helped” 8,332 people overall, for a cost of £2,227.⁹⁵ In 1905, one missionary alone distributed “8 tons of coal, 680lbs. of bread, 100lbs. of meat, and large quantities of groceries, etc. amongst poor cases recommended to the Court.”⁹⁶

In the midst of such largesse, the missionaries were careful to emphasize that aid was provided only to those who proved themselves morally deserving, and that the goal was always to promote self-respect and self-sufficiency, not dependence and demoralization.⁹⁷ Such charity was used not only to provide the means of earning income for families, to prevent them from losing their lodgings, or to fend off starvation if the breadwinner had been imprisoned, but even to provide a change of scenery for those who seemed to be hopelessly in the grip of alcoholism. The last tactic was predicted on the belief, common among missionaries, that the environment of the streets was instrumental in promoting immoral behavior, alcoholism, and attendant criminal behavior. It is not clear, however, how missionaries reconciled this belief with their equally-common assertion that it was up to individuals to resurrect their self-respect and, through it, to accomplish their final redemption.

A vignette published in 1902 attested to the effectiveness of such selective deployment of charity, and drew on the celebrated redemptive powers of “Liberty” to justify an expenditure on what might have seemed frivolous to critical readers. “Fines, imprisonments, failed to redeem her, so in 1899 she was sent for one year to an Inebriate Reformatory,” the missionary wrote of “Mrs. W,” whom he described as a “weak, abject woman [who] standing at the dock . . . presented a pitiable sight.”⁹⁸ “When released, she

succumbed to the evil at once, and the old life began over again. A new plan was tried—she was sent for a few weeks to the seaside, with money in her pocket, full Liberty, and happy environment. What bolts and bars failed to do, Liberty accomplished! She fought—she won.” Here we have a portrayal of “leisure” as a morally-redeeming activity, linked to “Liberty,” one of the most sacred of all English ideals. The use of “holidays” was consistent with the belief commonly voiced among reformers that trips to the countryside, particularly for children, were beneficial to both health and character. In this case, as in those of children’s “holidays,” a trip offered a relief from the supposedly oppressive and degrading environment of the city streets and it removed the sinner from the temptation to sin. Perhaps most importantly, this trip was monitored and structured by the missionaries, insuring that alcohol, which often figured prominently in working-class leisure, would be wholly absent.⁹⁹

Even after two decades of the Police Court Mission’s continuous operation, the formula for judging an individual to be deserving of aid and advocacy had not changed measurably from the strict standards that had been followed since the inception of the Mission in 1876. In order to qualify, successful candidates had not only to demonstrate genuine need, but also prove that they were industrious – if not in employment, then at least in seeking it – and preferably that their poverty could not be attributable to alcohol or, if it was, they must have proven sincere willingness to amend their ways. The presence of children was also a strong justification for charity.

If these requirements were met, then the turnaround in the fortunes of a household could be dramatic. The missionaries’ intervention, more than merely altering the course of a case, could reverse its expected consequences entirely, transforming anticipated

punishments into unexpected rewards. Many of the instances in which the courts granted charity, for example, began not with appeals initiated by court petitioners, but with arrests, charges, or police court *prosecutions* of one sort or another. In one such case, when a couple was charged with robbing their gas meter, the magistrate quickly saw through the fabricated story of a burglary, and the wife promptly confessed. Despite the seriousness of the charge, not only was the wife let off, but the missionary then obtained a job for the husband. The key factors in this instance were the husband's earnest pursuit of employment and the wife's defense that her children "were crying for bread."¹⁰⁰ Not only did missionary and magistrate alike feel that both leniency and charity were justified, but the secretary of the Police Court Mission, who chose to highlight this tale in the annual report, clearly believed that the sponsors and potential donors would also find this sympathetic treatment appropriate and the couple worthy of support.

In another case, a man returning from an unsuccessful search for work had found "his wife and child crying for want of food."¹⁰¹ When he resorted to begging, he was promptly arrested, but the results of that arrest were far from negative. "The missionary was asked to make strict inquiry, the result of which enabled the magistrate to discharge A.C.. Needless to say, the family's immediate wants were supplied and some work found for the man." In both of these situations, the accused entered the court on charges, unemployed, with hungry children at home, and left exonerated, with the missionary earnestly working to obtain them employment and, in the later case, with food (and possibly rent as well) in hand. That year (1899), the London Police Court Mission paid rent and lodging in 495 cases, provided tools or stock in 581, and "furnished clothing, blankets, food, coals, &c." in 1776 instances.¹⁰² A decade passed between the second

case and the first, and by 1910, the year that the couple was brought before the bench for robbing their meter, the PCM was providing almost twice that volume of charity to London households it had deemed worthy.¹⁰³

Gender and adjudged moral worthiness were prime factors in the missionaries' willingness to aid individuals. Ethnicity and nationalism were also significant, particularly during WWI and the interwar period. The pejorative descriptions that the first cohort of missionaries made about Irish attendees at the police courts were replicated, albeit in a milder form, by subsequent missionaries who discussed the increasing ethnic diversity of police court clientele. The missionary Thomas Holmes, vividly recalling his first visit to the courts in the mid 1880s, spoke of the "horrible speech and diverse tongues" that greeted him.¹⁰⁴ The missionary for the Thames Police Court, two decades later, would similarly describe his community as a place where "the languages used equal only Babel of old in their confusion."¹⁰⁵

Ethnicity did not reestablish itself as a primary focus of the missionaries' discourse again until the early 1930s, however, when tales began to appear in the PCM's annual reports attesting to the corrupting influence that Jews, Lascars, and "aliens" could have on London women. Such anecdotes reflected popular anxiety over both the numbers and diversity of the immigrants flooding the Metropolis, a concern that was mirrored in magistrates' observations of their courts and communities.¹⁰⁶ The 1931 *CETS Annual Report* gave prominent attention to the case of a young London girl whose affection and loyalty for a Jewish boy had led her to a path of immorality and crime. In order to impress him, she had claimed great wealth and, when her suitor had demanded proof of this munificence – according to the missionary, her money was "his chief

interest” from the beginning – she had stolen from her employer.¹⁰⁷ She and her erstwhile fiancée had been caught and charged, but she had sacrificed her own interest in favor of his, allowing him to be acquitted while she was convicted and placed on probation for two years. It was at this point that the missionary intervened, since, in his opinion, the moral fault lay entirely with the Jewish boy and the girl’s behavior was prompted merely by misplaced loyalty. “Surely Adam tempted Eve this time,” was the missionary’s curt summary of the case.¹⁰⁸ The missionary secured work for her when her reputation and its publicity would have otherwise made it impossible, and his efforts were validated when she once again became engaged, “but not,” the missionary declaimed, “to the Jewish boy!”¹⁰⁹

In another 1931 case, a missionary took far more direct measures to separate a woman from the corrupting influence of a man identified merely as an “alien.” The woman had deserted both her husband and her young children to pursue an affair with her wealthy lover in London. The husband wrote to the Police Court Mission and “implored the Mission to seek her and invite her to return home.”¹¹⁰ A London missionary traced the woman and, after much persistence, obtained an interview and persuaded her to leave her lover and to restore herself to her family. In addition to highlighting the role of ethnicity in missionaries’ moral evaluation and public discourse, this case also revealed just how familiar the work of the missionaries had become, not only to Londoners, but to people all over England. The reputation of the London Missionaries was clearly such that, by the 1930s, even a man from an entirely different city was aware of their role (or had been advised of it, perhaps by the missionaries in his own city) and could employ

them for precisely the type of work that they thrived on – the restoration and preservation of broken family ties.

One of the most dramatic demonstrations of missionaries' views on ethnicity, and an apt example of the dangers that the missionaries and the magistrates associated with interracial relationships, appeared as the capstone vignette in the 1932 *Annual Report*. According to the *Report*, “when the Court learned that a girl, aged 22, had run away from home and was living with a Lascar seaman in the East End, the Missionary was asked to visit the girl and persuade her to leave the coloured man.”¹¹¹ The girl initially refused, but later took the initiative, appearing in court “frightened and bruised, and asking for the Missionary.”¹¹² The missionary found work for her, but the respite was temporary – after moving jobs several times, she disappeared. A few months later, it became apparent to the missionary that “the fear that she had returned to the old life proved true,” as he received a letter from her, now pregnant and in the hospital, asking that the missionary restore her to her parents. When the parents refused to receive their fallen daughter, the task was left to the missionary to find her care, a shelter, and the means to support the newborn. Obviously meant as a cautionary tale, the vignette ended with a lament on the ubiquity of such sad dramas, “this is one of the many cases with which a Police Court Missionary has to deal, which have no ending, but continue from one chapter to another like a serial story.”¹¹³

Like the Irish before them, Jews, Lascars, and “aliens” were frequently represented in the missionaries' public discourse during the 1920s and 1930s, but almost always as the villains and rarely, if ever, as the victims. Ethnic minorities, according to the missionaries' reports, were a source of immorality rather than a cohort in need of aid

and support. Since such minority groups were often excluded from employment opportunities open to other members of the London working class, the assistance of the missionaries would have been a tremendous boon.¹¹⁴ Although the statistics on aid given by the PCM did not segregate according to ethnicity, the attitude of missionaries in the circumstances recounted above suggests that members of London's ethnic minority populations would be less likely than most to receive the missionaries' advice, advocacy, and charity. It is particularly telling that, in cases where men from ethnic minorities were involved, the missionaries were willing to aid women who had blatantly transgressed the boundaries of acceptable gender behavior and had spurned the missionaries' initial offers.¹¹⁵ Little judgment was offered on the wife who abandoned her family to pursue an affair or the young woman who took a Lascar lover, discarded the employment obtained for her, and then bore an illegitimate child. Regardless of such women's behavior, they appeared as victims in the missionaries' discourse and the blame for their downfall was, implicitly or explicitly, laid at the feet of the men involved.¹¹⁶

The resurgence of race and ethnicity as prominent features of the missionaries' discourse in the early 1930s was catalyzed by the missionaries' concern with nationalism and the expansion of the British Empire in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. As empire and assertive British nationalism moved to an increasingly prominent position in public discourse and in London courtrooms, it also became part of the missionaries' methods and philosophy. In the 1890s, "sending lads to sea," outfitted at the expense of the PCM, became an increasingly popular option for missionaries.¹¹⁷ 1906 was the first year that missionaries explicitly linked their work to the discourse of nationalism and imperial ambition, publicly appealing to "the citizens of

the Empire,” to support their efforts towards charity and redemption of offenders, particularly first-time lawbreakers.¹¹⁸ Not surprisingly, missionaries expressed nationalist sentiment most prominently during the war years, and it was in this period that their enterprise became most fundamentally linked to nationalism and the promotion of British power abroad. A segment of the *Annual Report* for 1915 entitled “The Country’s Call” touted the missionaries’ conversion of reprobates into valuable contributors to the national cause. “Perhaps the best report we have to give for the last year,” the author wrote, “will be found in the large number of men and lads who have passed through the hands of the Missionaries in the last year or two, and having been under their probation or care, instead of being sent to prison, have now joined the Colours and are **doing their best for King and Country. Over 1,100** who have been under our Missionaries ‘quite recently,’ have joined the Army and Navy since the war began.”¹¹⁹

Similarly, the Padcroft Boys’ Home, the flagship boys’ reformatory run by the PCM, was advertised as an institution that transformed young troublemakers into paragons of respectability and civic virtue who stood ready to contribute to the national cause [see Fig. 1 and 2]. “No longer troublesome boys but useful citizens,” the Padcroft brochure proudly proclaimed in 1918, “**the hooligans of the streets** have become **heroes in the trenches.**”¹²⁰ As evidence of the success of the enterprise, the brochure listed the accomplishments of their alumni in detail, “958 of our Old Boys are serving in H.M. Forces, many have been mentioned in dispatches. One has won the V.C., five the D.C.M., five received Commissions.”¹²¹ This brochure, like the *Annual Report*, was intended to encourage contributions and to reassure current donors that their support was producing valuable results. By linking the missionary work and the Padcroft Home to the

war effort, the PCM was strengthening the justification for their efforts and demonstrating their commitment to enhancing British national prowess, both at home and abroad.



Figure 1. “The Raw Material. This is how we receive the boys! Often utterly Destitute, without home or friends” (*Saving the Lads* [brochure for the Padcroft Boys’ Home], c. 1918. Courtesy of the Nottingham Galleries of Justice.)



Figure 2. "The Finished Article. After three months' training each lad is found a suitable situation. This lad went as a footman to a Cabinet Minister." (*Saving the Lads* [brochure for the Padcroft Boys' Home], c. 1918. Courtesy of the Nottingham Galleries of Justice.)

In the midst of wartime rationing and the concentration of resources, both human and financial, on the war effort, the public defense of their institution must have seemed a prudent tack for the authors of the *Annual Report* to adopt. "We are told," one contributor wrote, "that in War time we must give up all luxuries. To the magistrates the Police Court Mission is no luxury. **Both in peace time and War time it is an absolute necessity.**"¹²² In the end, though, their worry that the PCM would be sacrificed to the exigencies of war proved unfounded. The Home Office deemed the work of the

missionaries “indispensable” and this decision was reinforced when a conscription tribunal before whom the three military-age missionaries of the Middlesex Courts were called reached the same conclusion.¹²³ Regardless, two of the missionary staff in 1916 decided to serve their country in the trenches rather than in the courtroom, and joined up anyway.¹²⁴

By the conclusion of the war, male missionaries were earning between £200-250 yearly and female missionaries between £120-150, but the days of the police court missionaries as amateur agents motivated by religious zeal and directed by private philanthropy were numbered.¹²⁵ The Home Office, following the passage of the 1907 Probation of Offenders Act, had taken an increasingly active role in the employment of the missionaries, and by this period they were paying two-thirds of their salaries.¹²⁶ Ironically, the very success and adaptability of the London Police Court Mission, in peacetime as well as in war, was their undoing. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the process that had begun with the 1907 act, which had formalized probation and the missionaries’ relationship to the police courts, was completed. In response to growing concerns among the magistrates and Home Office officials that so important a task as the monitoring of probationers could not be left to religiously-motivated amateurs, the responsibilities once held by the missionaries were transferred to professional civil servants. The recruitment and instruction of Probation Officers, once the purview of the London Police Court Mission and its parent organization, the Church of England Temperance Society, also became the responsibility of the Home Office, which initiated its own training scheme in 1930.¹²⁷ By the mid-1930s, the men and women fulfilling this purpose in London courtrooms were no longer missionaries, but rather agents of the state

bureaucracy. The declared principle of the missionaries and the probation system that they helped inaugurate, “to temper justice with mercy,” was not forgotten. But how much the original spirit of the enterprise—“to advise, assist, and befriend”—still lingered in their work was a question that only those in their care could answer.

¹ In 1900, 81% of all criminal offenses in London were adjudicated summarily (*Criminal Statistics for 1902*, p. 37 quoted in Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge, U.K., 1990), 260).

² *Memorandum in Reference to the Training, Appointment, and Payment of Probation Officers from the Rev. Harry Pearson and Mr. Evan Griffiths, secretaries of the Police Court Mission (C.E.T.S) north and south of the Thames* (1921), 1 [hereafter *1921 Memorandum*]. Unpublished biographic materials on Frederic Rainer from the Rainer Foundation Archive, Galleries of Justice, Nottingham, UK (hereafter GOJ).

³ William McWilliams, “The Mission to the English Police Courts,” *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 22 (1983), 134.

⁴ Unpublished biographic materials on Frederic Rainer (GOJ).

⁵ Specifically, Gilbert & Rivington, *Transcript of Talk at PMR School Dinner*, 6 Nov. 1987, 4, (GOJ).

⁶ *Ibid.* According to the story in the *Windsor Express*, Rainer’s mother, Sarah, and another woman had gotten into a violent altercation in the marketplace, an altercation that had escalated into violence. Rainer’s mother confessed her guilt, and was duly fined 10s. 6d., including costs (excerpt from *Windsor and Eton Express, Berks, Bucks and Middlesex Journal and West Surrey Gazette*, 26 April, 1862 [GOJ]).

⁷ F.V. Jarvis, *Advise, Assist, and Befriend: A History of the Probation and After-Care Service* (London, 1972), 2.

⁸ J. Hasloch Potter, *Inasmuch: The Story of the Police Court Mission, 1876-1926* (London: National Association of Probation Officers, 1927), 7.

⁹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction* (1936) (hereafter *Social Services*), 37 (National Archives).

¹⁰ In such philanthropy, the Anglican Church was following the example set by the Nonconformist churches in ministering to the more humble elements of English society. See George Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850-1940* (Stanford, 1998); Donald Lewis, *Lighten their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828-1860* (Westport, 1986).

¹¹ John Briggs et. al., *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History* (New York and London, 1996); David Garland, *Punishment and Welfare: A History of Penal Strategies* (Hants, 1985); Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge, UK, 1990).

¹² Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1991); A. James Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth Century Married Life* (London, 1992), 52-67; Shani D’Cruze, *Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women* (Dekalb, 1998).

¹³ Andrew Porter, ed., *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914* (Grand Rapids, 2003).

¹⁴ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, 1999).

¹⁵ For the pioneering work in the connections between law, culture, media, and society, see Stuart Hall, et. al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London, 1978); Pierre Bourdieu, “The Force of Law: Toward a Sociology of the Juridical Field,” *Hastings Law Journal* 38, no. 2 (July 1987): 814-853; Sally Engle Merry, “Legal Pluralism,” *Law & Society Review* 22, no. 5 (1988): 869-896; Kim

Lane Scheppelle, "Foreword: Telling Stories," *Michigan Law Review* 87, no. 8 (Aug. 1989): 2073-2098; Toni M. Massaro, "Empathy, Legal Storytelling, and the Rule of Law: New Words, Old Wounds?" *Michigan Law Review* 87, no. 8 (Aug. 1989): 2099-2127; Barbara Yngvesson, "Inventing Law in Local Settings: Rethinking Popular Legal Culture," *Yale Law Journal* 98, no. 8 (June 1989): 1689-1709.

¹⁶ Prominent examples include Ginger Frost, *Promises Broken: Courtship, Class, and Gender in Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995; Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870-1930* (Chicago, 1997); Jan-Melissa Schramm, *Testimony and Advocacy in Victorian Law, Literature, and Theology* (Cambridge, 2000); Carolyn A. Conley, *Certain Other Countries: Homicide, Gender, and National Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century England, Ireland, and Wales* (Columbus, 2007).

¹⁷ "Police-Court Work," *CET Chronicle*, 1 Sept. 1877, 147 (Lambeth Palace Archives, hereafter LPA).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ *CET Chronicle*, 2 Feb. 1878, 70.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Church of England Temperance Society Annual Report* (hereafter *CETS Annual Report*), 1881, 19 (LPA).

²⁴ So essential were such home visits to their work that Nelson fully expected the reduction of his assigned territory from three courts (Lambeth, Southwark, and Marylebone) to one (Marylebone) in December 1880 would alone be enough to substantially increase his success rate in holding pledgees to their word. Ibid.

²⁵ "Many that sign with me refuse their addresses," Nelson wrote, "some of them young men in good positions, and are afraid of their friends or employers finding out that they have been charged with being drunk; others that give their addresses and wish their cases kept secret, and, as a rule, promise never to tell anyone except God in prayer; other in various ways pass from my observation." Ibid.

²⁶ Page, *Crimefighters of London: A History of the Origins and Development of the London Probation Service 1876-1965* (London, 1992), 51.

²⁷ Ibid, 21.

²⁸ Ibid., 20.

²⁹ *CET Chronicle*, 26 Jan. 1878, 61.

³⁰ *CET Chronicle*, 1 June 1878, 348.

³¹ *CETS Annual Report*, 1881, 22.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ In his annual report for the work done in 1883-1884, George Nelson recorded interviewing 6,312 prisoners, while visiting only 1,001 cabstands and shelters. He also recorded 206 visits to Police Stations, up from 54 in 1880-1881. *CETS Annual Report*, 1881, 20 and *CETS Annual Report*, 1884, 21.

³⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1884, 21.

³⁶ Ibid., 22.

³⁷ Batchelor's 1884 statistics are not available, but Nelson reported sending only 27 girls to Homes and Institutions that year and restoring 41 girls to their parents. Ibid, 21.

³⁸ *CETS Annual Report*, 1889, 28.

³⁹ *CET Chronicle*, 1 June 1878, 348.

⁴⁰ "I have in this court [Marylebone] a greater number of Irish people," Nelson wrote in 1884, "Roman Catholics, a most difficult class to deal with." *CETS Annual Report*, 1884, 22.

⁴¹ She was, according to Batchelor's description, "in a wretched condition . . . scarcely anything on her back!" *CETS Annual Report*, 1885, 37.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "I persuaded him to sign the pledge, and advised him to show it to the authorities," Thompson explained, "he was not discharged, and is going on well." *CETS Annual Report*, 1886, 41.

⁴⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1887, 71

⁴⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁴⁷ *CETS Annual Report*, 1889, 33. The author was most likely Rev. J. Dennis Hird, the London Diocesan Secretary, though this claim may have been penned by one of the missionaries themselves.

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- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Jarvis, *Advise, Assist*, 10.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 15.
- ⁵¹ By 1889, there were eleven missionaries operating out of the London courts and by 1892 there were fifty-one missionaries operating countrywide. The largest concentration of them after London was to be found in Liverpool. *CETS Annual Report*, 1889, 28; *CETS Annual Report*, 1892, 24.
- ⁵² *CETS Annual Report*, 1890, 37.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ A seminal statute in this trend was the Habitual Drunkards Act of 1879. The prosecutions for drunkenness declined steadily beginning in the mid 1870s and continued to do so in succeeding decades. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, 294-300.
- ⁵⁷ In his survey of 382 prominent Victorian teetotalers, Brian Harrison found only 3 judges. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 152.
- ⁵⁸ Alfred Chicele Plowden, *Grain or Chaff: The Autobiography of a Police Court Magistrate* (London, 1903), 319-320. In a year's work at the Marylebone Police Court, Plowden had adjudicated 12,798 cases, of which 5,301 were for public drunkenness.
- ⁵⁹ The exact numbers were 215 men and 164 women. Montagu Williams, *Later Leaves, Being the Further Reminiscences of Montagu Williams, Q.C.* (London, 1891), 231.
- ⁶⁰ Plowden, *Grain or Chaff*, 320.
- ⁶¹ Williams, *Later Leaves*, 231.
- ⁶² "Advocates of the temperance cause," they wrote, "have to take care that their principles shall be entirely subordinated to the paramount duty of justice." John Crump and Bertram Crump, *The Magistrate's Pocket Manual*, (London, 1904), 45. John Crump was a solicitor and Bertram Crump was an exhibitioner of Exeter College, Oxford.
- ⁶³ Ibid., 321.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 328.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 163. The pledge-book was a ledger in which temperance workers recorded the names of those who took an oath to abstain from the consumption of alcohol.
- ⁶⁶ J.A.R. Cairns, *Sidelights of London* (London, 1924), 47.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, 48.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 48-9.
- ⁶⁹ *CETS Annual Report*, 1890, 33.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., 34.
- ⁷¹ In 1889-90, the courts and magistrates collectively contributed roughly £90 to the PCM. *CETS Annual Reports*, 1890 & 1891.
- ⁷² *CETS Annual Report*, 1884, 21.
- ⁷³ *CETS Annual Report*, 1892, 83.
- ⁷⁴ Potter, *Inasmuch*, 10.
- ⁷⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1895, 26.
- ⁷⁶ *CETS Annual Reports*, 40.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., chart insert.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., 40.
- ⁷⁹ Thomas Holmes, *Pictures and Problems from the London Police Courts* (London, 1900), 41.
- ⁸⁰ Ada Summers, the Mayor of Staleybridge, was sworn in on 19 December, 1919. Her appointment was made possible by the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919.
- ⁸¹ Potter, *Inasmuch*, 9.
- ⁸² *CETS Annual Report*, 1902, 20.
- ⁸³ Ibid., 40.
- ⁸⁴ *CETS Annual Report*, 1901, 20.
- ⁸⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1902, 21.
- ⁸⁶ *CETS Annual Report*, 1904, 21.
- ⁸⁷ Potter, *Inasmuch*, 9.
- ⁸⁸ Holmes, *Pictures and Problems*, 50.

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- ⁸⁹ Ibid., 50-51.
- ⁹⁰ Hugh Gamon, *The London Police Court To-Day and To-morrow* (London, 1907), 164.
- ⁹¹ H.L. Cancellor, *The Life of a London Beak* (London, 1930), 37.
- ⁹² *CETS Annual Report*, 1908, 27.
- ⁹³ Ibid., 21.
- ⁹⁴ In addition to contributions made directly to the Mission, the “poor box” maintained in each police court, filled with contributions by private and collective donors, came increasingly under the purview of the missionaries. Potter, *Inasmuch*, 83.
- ⁹⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1906. “Materially helped” probably includes the paying of court-levied fines by missionaries in cases they deemed appropriate.
- ⁹⁶ *CETS Annual Report*, 1905, 25.
- ⁹⁷ Gareth Stedman Jones, *The Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge, UK, 1984).
- ⁹⁸ *CETS Annual Report*, 1904, 29.
- ⁹⁹ Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, U.K., 1998), especially chapter 3, “*Ally Sloper’s Half-Holiday: Comic Art in the 1880s*,” 47-79.
- ¹⁰⁰ *CETS Annual Report*, 1910, 27.
- ¹⁰¹ *CETS Annual Report*, 1899, 32.
- ¹⁰² Ibid, chart insert.
- ¹⁰³ *CETS Annual Report*, 1911, 22. That year, the PCM reported providing “clothing, blankets, food, rent, stock and tools, &c.” for 5,002 persons and families.
- ¹⁰⁴ Holmes, *Pictures and Problems*, 23.
- ¹⁰⁵ *CETS Annual Report*, 1904, p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁶ Sascha Auerbach, *Race, Law, and ‘The Chinese Puzzle’ in Imperial Britain*, (New York, 2009), 151-184.
- ¹⁰⁷ *CETS Annual Report*, 1931, 22.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁰ *CETS Annual Report*, 1932, 27.
- ¹¹¹ *CETS Annual Report*, 1932, 28.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., 29.
- ¹¹⁴ Laura Tabili, ‘*We Ask for British Justice*’: *Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca and London, 1994), 58-80; Jacqueline Jenkinson, “The 1919 Riots,” in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London and New York, 1996), 93-111.
- ¹¹⁵ Laura Tabili, “Women ‘of a Very Low Type’: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain,” in *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, eds. Laura Frader and Sonya Rose (Ithaca and London, 1996), 165-69.
- ¹¹⁶ This mirrored magistrates’ discourse on topic of interracial relationships (Auerbach, *Chinese Puzzle*, 182-83).
- ¹¹⁷ In 1899, the London missionaries dealt with 61 lads in this way. *CETS Annual Report*, 1899, chart insert.
- ¹¹⁸ *CETS Annual Report*, 1906, 23.
- ¹¹⁹ *CETS Annual Report*, 1915, 21.
- ¹²⁰ *Saving the Lads* (brochure for the Padcroft Boys’ Home), c. 1918 (GOJ).
- ¹²¹ Victoria Cross and Distinguished Conduct Medal, respectively.
- ¹²² *CETS Annual Report*, 1915, 20.
- ¹²³ *CETS Annual Report*, 1916, 15.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid.
- ¹²⁵ Page, *Crimefighters of London*, 95.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., 103.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., 132.