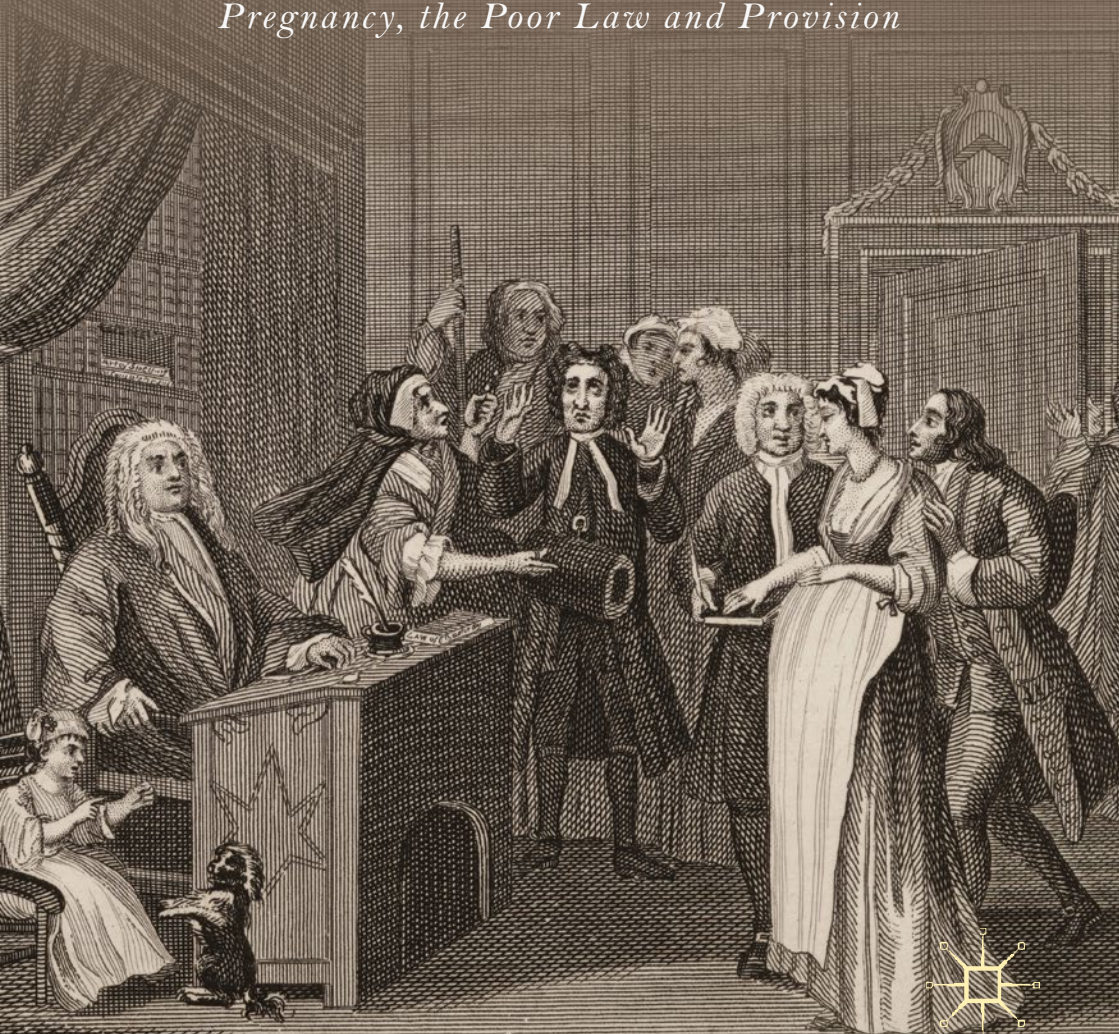


SAMANTHA WILLIAMS

Unmarried Motherhood in the Metropolis, 1700–1850

Pregnancy, the Poor Law and Provision



Unmarried Motherhood in the Metropolis,
1700–1850

Samantha Williams

Unmarried Motherhood in the Metropolis, 1700–1850

Pregnancy, the Poor Law and Provision

palgrave
macmillan

Samantha Williams
University of Cambridge
Cambridge, UK

ISBN 978-3-319-73319-7 ISBN 978-3-319-73320-3 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73320-3>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018930123

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © Classic Image / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

For cake club

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this book came when I was preparing a series of lectures on the history of English poverty and I decided to take unmarried mothers as one of the groups of the poor I would consider in detail alongside the broader changes in legislation and social policy. I was surprised by how little had been written on unmarried mothers and the poor law and so the seed of this study was planted. The research benefited from funding from the Roger Schofield Local Population Studies Society Fund and the University of Cambridge's Faculty of History's Ellen McArthur Fund. I owe thanks to two research assistants, Heather Falvey and Jonathan Healey, for collecting some of the material. Heather was excellent at locating relevant evidence. I would also like to thank Alys Levene, Kevin Siena, Audrey Eccles, Jeremy Boulton, Romola Davenport and Tim Hitchcock for sharing some of their material with me, and I owe thanks, too, for advice from Bob Shoemaker and Joanna Innes. The anonymous reader of a draft of the book made invaluable comments and I hope that the final book is all the better for them. The staff at the Southwark Local Studies Library were very friendly and helpful. When I found interesting examples in the archives Mary Wrenn shared my enthusiasm with whoops of glee, and Jenny Blackhurst has offered me much valuable support. I dedicate this book to them and our friendship, bolstered by much cake and coffee. Girton has provided a warm and intellectually enriching environment. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to my husband, Hamish, and our girls.

I would like to thank the Economic History Society for permission to reproduce material from my article, 'The maintenance of bastard children in London, 1790–1834', *Economic History Review*, 69:3 (2016), pp. 945–71.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: Illegitimacy in London	1
2	Shame	45
3	Pregnant and Birthing Bodies	79
4	The Workhouse	111
5	Maintenance	165
6	Punishment	207
7	Conclusions	231
	Manuscript Sources	239
	Index	263

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COWAC	City of Westminster Archive Centre
GL	Guildhall Library
J.P.	Justice of the Peace
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
SLSL	Southwark Local Studies Library

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 4.1	All births in the workhouse, St. Martin in the Fields and St. Luke Chelsea, 1724–1835	116
Fig. 4.2	Age of unmarried mothers in the workhouse and in bastardy examinations, St. Luke Chelsea, 1743–1835	119
Fig. 4.3	Births in the workhouse and the proportion illegitimate, St. Mary Newington, 1841–1861	145
Fig. 5.1	Initial expenses paid by fathers, St. George the Martyr and St. Mary Newington	183
Fig. 5.2	Weekly maintenance sums, St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, St. Saviour and St. Luke	187
Fig. 5.3	Duration of maintenance payments, St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, and St. Saviour	192
Fig. 6.1	Committals to Bridewell, Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction for bastardy, 1559–1779	212

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Luke Chelsea, 1743–1835	120
Table 4.2	Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Martin in the Fields, 1750–1824	125
Table 4.3	Married women's duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Martin in the Fields, 1751–1824	126
Table 4.4	Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after delivery, St. George the Martyr, 1802–04	127
Table 4.5	Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Mary Newington, 1851–1852	146
Table 5.1	Population, number of illegitimate children, bastardy recovery rate, and maintenance as a proportion of parish relief, responding London parishes, Town Queries, 1834	172
Table 5.2	Occupations of fathers and all men, St. Mary Newington, St. George the Martyr, and St. Saviour	176



CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Illegitimacy in London

One winter's day in November of 1792 Mary Roberts was brought before a London magistrate to be examined as to her parish of settlement.¹ Mary had been born in St. Helen's, Abingdon, but had travelled to London and had earned a new parish of settlement by dint of three years' service with Mr Edwards of Danvers, St. Luke Chelsea. She was visibly pregnant and told the justice that the father was Jonathan Johnson. Nine days' later Mary entered St. Luke's workhouse on being 'With child' and stayed for twelve days before she 'Went Out at her Own Request'. The workhouse committee agreed to give her 3*s.* 6*d.* per week. She was back a month later; the reason for admission recorded as 'Faind in Labour'. It seems that this was a false start and a month later her stillborn baby was born in the workhouse. After four weeks lying-in the workhouse committee ordered her out 'her month being up' with 2*s.* It is likely that she returned to service, like so many women in her circumstances. Although many illegitimate infants died, for many other mothers the birth of their infants was just the start of a difficult period in their lives when they had to find the wherewithal to bring up their children.

The focus of this book is poor unmarried mothers in London like Mary Roberts who, by reason of their poverty, became 'chargeable' to the parish. The laws against bastardy were aimed squarely at the poor; those who were not chargeable did not come within the scope of the bastardy statutes.² This system—established in 1576—both held parents financially liable for their illegitimate children and criminalised them. Affiliation

under the old poor law offered parish overseers a parallel process whereby they could reclaim the costs of bastardy from the putative fathers. Affiliation therefore singled out unmarried mothers and putative fathers for 'special' treatment, which included bastardy examinations, in which mothers named the putative father, and hearings in court, plus bastardy bonds and maintenance orders.³ Unmarried parents were also subject to the systems of punishment: by church courts to perform public penance for fornication and by magistrates who might order them to be whipped or who committed them to houses of correction.⁴ Moreover, these gaols were established as places for the punishment and reform of the poor convicted, usually summarily, of petty offences.⁵ The bastardy laws were overhauled in 1834 as part of the new poor law and, despite attempts to stop the system of affiliation, it was retained, but punishment ceased.⁶

Over the eighteenth century there was a shift in the ecology of plebeian childbirth in the London. The establishment of many parish workhouses from the early part of the century provided unmarried mothers with an alternative place to give birth, as well as a place to reside if necessary, with outdoor relief running in parallel.⁷ From mid-century a wave of high-profile charitable lying-in hospitals were founded upon pro-natalist agenda, some of which accepted the unmarried mother.⁸ Single pregnant women could be delivered at home (paid for themselves, by putative fathers via the affiliation system or by the parish) or in an institution. There was a further institutionalisation of child abandonment with the opening of the Foundling Hospital (1741), thus potentially offering poor unmarried mothers with a place for their children while they returned to work.⁹ Poor unwed women, their pregnant bodies and the process of childbirth became more visible in terms of public, and even political, discourse and social policy.¹⁰ And yet, even with these increased avenues of assistance, secret births and infanticides continued.¹¹ This was in the context of changing judicial attitudes to infanticide whereby far fewer women were found guilty in London, while in 1803 the new offence of concealment of birth was introduced.¹²

By the end of the century there was a reversal: a population explosion and rapidly rising poor rates tilted in favour of political economy, Malthusian fears of over-population and a harshening in attitudes to the poor and to illegitimacy.¹³ The Revd. Thomas Robert Malthus commented that 'no person can doubt the general tendency of an illicit intercourse between the sexes to injure the happiness of society' and he called for the withdrawal of poor relief to illegitimate children, as well as the abolition of

the poor law.¹⁴ Chargeable bastard children became an increasing concern of the parochial authorities. The Georgians worried about debt, credit, and national prosperity; it is essential to set the rising costs of the administration of the poor laws, as well as the maintenance of chargeable bastards, within this context.¹⁵ National expenditure on the poor increased from £1.9 million for the period 1783–1785, to just over £4 in 1803, and to £7.9 million in 1818.¹⁶ The dependency and fertility of the poor became key political issues. There were repeated calls for reform of poor relief, culminating in the Poor Law Commission (who sent out the Rural and Town Queries), the Poor Law Report, the resulting Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and its new bastardy clauses outlined above. The Poor Law Report was drenched in the discourse of the sexual double standard and it called for the ‘entire abolition’ of the bastardy laws.¹⁷ However, as Nutt has shown, the official discourse put forward by the Commissioners was disconnected from that of parish officers in their responses to the Rural and Town Queries, many of whom did not see the need for the bastardy laws to be overhauled.¹⁸ There was a backlash to the reforms proposed in the Bill and affiliation had to be retained (with some alterations). However, the place for destitute single pregnant women and unmarried mothers became the new union workhouse. The bastardy clauses of the new poor law were the harshest of the new code; they were analysed in some depth by Henriques as early as the 1960s.¹⁹ In London this marked less of a new departure than elsewhere, given that the capital had embraced the workhouse for more than a century as one part of its welfare provision.²⁰

Over the entire period covered here, attitudes towards illegitimacy were generally negative but the extent to which bastardy was stigmatised and unmarried parents felt shame is more difficult to decipher.²¹ As Levene, Nutt and Williams note, ‘[T]he shifting incidence and spatial variations of illegitimacy over this period [1700–1920] serve to remind us not only that children born to unmarried parents were often the product of a diverse range of sexual encounters and relationships, but that social norms and accepted standards could also be highly variable across time and space.’²² There is no doubt that there was a variety of attitudes towards the birth of infants outside of wedlock at any given time and that the circumstances in which such thoughts were shaped and articulated changed substantially with the industrialisation and urbanisation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This book explores the making of metropolitan bastardy and the shifting landscape of chargeable bastardy over the eighteenth and first half of

the nineteenth centuries. This is important not only in its own right, since illegitimacy was rising and was costly, but because it also informs wider debates on courtship and sexual practices, marriage, welfare provision, constructions of motherhood and fatherhood, prostitution and criminality, among others. The book also attempts to recover the experience and agency of unmarried parents and, in particular, of mothers.²³ The lived experience of being poor has been a focus of recent scholarship on, for instance, vagrancy.²⁴

Historians might think that the history of unmarried motherhood in the metropolis is familiar. Other studies have used London bastardy examinations, petitions to the charitable Foundling Hospital and applications to the lying-in hospitals to good effect to examine aspects of courtship, the occupations of putative fathers, and the survival strategies of unwed mothers, as well as the access of pregnant single women to the new London lying-in hospitals.²⁵ However, little is known about the encounters of pregnant single women and mothers with the workhouse and the extent of provision for them by the poor law, despite the fact that bastardy examinations were a product of the poor law. Moreover, the survival strategies detailed in the petitions say little about parish provision, its value and its duration.

This study also seeks, in exploring the lived experience of unmarried motherhood, to engage with the history of emotions and, in particular, the shame often associated with out-of-wedlock births. It assesses the extent to which unmarried parents were shamed and felt shame and the processes by which this might have been achieved. There is a consideration of the embodied experience of pregnancy and birth for women. Pregnancies could be hidden or public, while birth could be secret and alone, ending in tragedy, or domestic or institutional in the workhouse. The study assesses process and success, or otherwise, of the affiliation system. It explores the maintenance of illegitimate children through outdoor relief and the attempt by parishes to recover the costs from putative fathers. Since chargeable bastardy was criminalised, the punishment and gaoling of unmarried parents is explored.

There are two principal organising concepts: poverty and gender. For the purposes of this study 'poverty' is defined as chargeable bastardy; that is, that the child might become chargeable to the parish ratepayers, either requiring outdoor relief or, from the early eighteenth century, indoor relief. The birth and lying-in of the mother was also covered by this term and unmarried mothers required outdoor relief or admission to a parish

nursing home or workhouse. The affiliation system sought to defray the costs of poor illegitimate children from the putative father. Gender was central to the shifting constructions of heterosexuality, courtship, pregnancy, birth, motherhood and fatherhood. The affiliation system, like the wider old and new poor laws, was deeply gendered, expecting nurture from unmarried mothers and financial responsibility from unmarried fathers.²⁶ There were double standards not just in sexuality but also in the punishment metered out to unmarried parents. One principal finding is that attitudes towards bastardy did not map neatly onto levels of illegitimacy, the latter of which this book now turns to.

LEVELS OF ILLEGITIMACY

There were significant rises and falls in the national trend in illegitimacy between the late sixteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century. Illegitimacy ratios (illegitimate baptisms as a proportion of all baptisms) rose quickly from around 2 per cent in the 1570s to 3 per cent at the turn of the century, thereafter falling to a low point of under 1 per cent during the Civil War. The level of illegitimacy then rose rapidly and steadily to a high point in the 1850s to almost 7 per cent—a higher ratio was only recorded from the 1960s—while the proportion of all first births (a better calculation since 80 per cent of unmarried mothers only had one illegitimate child) rose from 7 per cent to around 25 per cent.²⁷ There was a substantial number, but not proportion, of women having more than one illegitimate child.²⁸ In addition, between one-quarter and 40 per cent of all first births were prenuptially conceived. This means that, by the early nineteenth century, 50–65 per cent of all first births were conceived out of wedlock.²⁹ Such figures have led Wrigley to comment that, '[T]he marked increase in illegitimacy and in prenuptial conceptions in the course of the eighteenth century is a notable phenomenon.'³⁰ Following the peak around 1850 there was a steady decline in the ratio until the end of the nineteenth century. Illegitimacy in England was closely associated with courtship and generally rose and fell with age at marriage, which declined almost three years between 1680–1689 and 1830–1837, from 27.7 to 24.9 for bachelors from 25.8 to 23.1 for spinsters.³¹ This was driven by a doubling of those marrying young (ages 15–24) from 22 per cent of first marriages in the period 1600–1724 to 41 per cent, 1775–1837, and a greater proportion of men and women marrying.³² Furthermore, the age of unmarried mothers was similar to married mothers, which suggests that these women were

little different in their courtship practices to women who did wed.³³ Given that more women were marrying, many more of them at younger ages, and that a larger proportion of women were pregnant when they walked down the aisle, a rise in the illegitimacy ratio is to be expected.

These data are largely for rural England with a few market towns. The trend in illegitimacy for the metropolis is far more difficult to measure. Estimates for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London are lower than those for rural England, as are mid-nineteenth-century figures.³⁴ However, before the 1880s it has been estimated that at least one-third of London's illegitimate infants were not recorded, perhaps because they were not baptised, or because they were baptised as legitimate, or because illegitimate infants' baptisms were recorded in workhouse registers which no longer survive.³⁵ Ratios must therefore be treated as minimums. Wilson has argued strongly for a mid-eighteenth-century 'large-scale illegitimacy crisis'. He has estimated that 12 per cent of baptisms within the Bills of Mortality were of illegitimate infants—a figure that would be much higher than the rest of the country—brought on by high prices, the Seven Years' War, the abolition of Fleet marriages and the General Reception at the London Foundling Hospital (1756–1760).³⁶ His thesis has been countered by Levene who tempers the figure to 7 per cent. This figure, she argues, 'does not support Wilson's assertion that London was a sink of illegitimacy'.³⁷ This level is still higher than that of rural parishes at this time (3–4 per cent). Rogers found that the ratio in St. Paul Covent Garden varied greatly depending upon whether or not the illegitimate baptisms in the workhouse were included in the overall baptism figures. The ratio was 8.5 per cent in 1700–1702 (including workhouse births), 4.1 per cent in 1730–1732 and 3.7 per cent in 1760–1762 (excluding workhouse births), and 4.9 per cent in 1790–1792 (including workhouse births).³⁸ Evidence for St. Martin in the Fields shows that the illegitimacy ratio varied considerably in the second half of the eighteenth century, from 2.3 per cent in the 1750s, dropping to 1.4 per cent in the 1760s, rising steeply to 5.3 per cent in the 1770s, and then dropping again to 4.6 per cent in the 1780s, 4.1 per cent in the 1790s, 3.0 per cent in the 1800s, and rising slightly to 3.5 per cent in the 1810s (with an average of 3 per cent in the whole period 1751–1810).³⁹ In Southwark, by contrast, the ratio was just 0.9 per cent in the period 1813–1820.⁴⁰ The low figure for Southwark must surely owe something to the baptism practices of mothers and/or the parochial authorities. The data from St. Paul Covent Garden and St. Martin's indicate that levels in the capital were at least broadly comparable with the national picture in the

eighteenth century. While the level and trend of metropolitan bastardy is still not clear, it most probably also rose over and above population increase during the eighteenth century and, given the population's sheer size, the actual number of illegitimate children was high.⁴¹

EXPLAINING ILLEGITIMACY

Historians have sought to sketch out the temporal and geographical contours of this phenomenon since the ground-breaking work of Laslett and others in the 1970s in order to better understand its causes.⁴² Adair drew a broad distinction between a higher illegitimacy 'highland' region and a lower illegitimacy 'lowland' zone in early modern England based on economy and culture.⁴³ Other studies indicate that illegitimacy was generally lower in rural areas than in some industrialising areas, suggesting an economic explanation.⁴⁴

Levine and Wrightson have described illegitimacy in early modern England as 'a compound phenomenon' which is not easily explained.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, there have been numerous theories and observations. Many fall within two camps: economic or cultural. In the 1970s Shorter suggested that industrialisation and urbanisation, with its associated migration, led to a decline in the control that parents and communities were able to exercise over individuals. Rising rates of bastardy were infamously interpreted by Shorter as a bringing a 'sexual revolution' for plebeian women over Europe.⁴⁶ Shorter was not without his critics and others saw little freedom in the experiences of unmarried mothers but rather a heightened sense of female vulnerability.⁴⁷ According to Tilly, Scott and Cohen, industrialisation disrupted traditional courtship, rather than causing change in moral values or behaviour, and resulted in a rise in 'disappointment of many marital expectations'.⁴⁸

Laslett and Wrigley, as historical demographers, put forward the 'courtship intensity hypothesis', whereby when economic fortunes were good courtship 'intensified', as more couples sought to get married. In consequence, the risk of conception and birth outside marriage rose. Conversely, in times of economic hardship, courtship intensity decreased, as did marital pregnancy and illegitimacy.⁴⁹ Moreover, since unmarried women tended to give birth to their first illegitimate child at a similar age to that at which married women were having their first child, this would suggest that women entered into sexual activity under the expectation—or promise—of marriage, but that obstacles 'frustrated' the marriage taking place, such

as unemployment, desertion or death, much as Tilly, Scott and Cohen had suggested.⁵⁰ Rogers argues that the bastardy examinations for Westminster show frustrated marital expectations.⁵¹ However, as Levene, Nutt and Williams have highlighted, explanations of courtship intensity and frustrated courtships do not explain the precise mechanisms, beyond 'a generalised economic backdrop', by which courtship for all was controlled and experienced.⁵² Since no dramatic improvement in economic circumstances ran in parallel with the marked rise in illegitimacy, historians would have to explain this trend in terms of rising levels of 'failed courtships' which could not be applicable to all locations over such a long time span.⁵³ Moreover, Levene et al. warn against linking 'national' demographic and economic trends, given the prevailing highly localised conditions.⁵⁴

Another demographic concept, that of a 'sub-society' of unmarried mothers and fathers linked by generation and kin, was also put forward by Laslett and has been recently reinstated by Steven King.⁵⁵ Levene et al. highlight that the higher the bastardy ratio the greater the likelihood of links between unmarried parents; this meant that late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England was a 'bastardy-prone *society*'.⁵⁶ Another criticism is that the demographers' approach tends to see sexual desire and practice as largely constant over time, while cultural historians have explored changes in sexual culture.⁵⁷

Instead, historians, including Hitchcock, Wilson, Trumbach and Dabhoiwala, with somewhat different emphases, locate change in sexual practices within courtship, whereby there was a 'sexual revolution' in the late eighteenth century, but one that was rather different to that put forward by Shorter and that affected men and women rather differently.⁵⁸ This 'revolution' increased heterosexual, penetrative sex between young couples and it had a particularly metropolitan flavour. Men were increasingly seen as the active sexual partner, and women the passive, and attention was focused upon the male orgasm. This, needless to say, put women at greater risk of an out-of-wedlock pregnancy.⁵⁹ This may have brought a limited degree of 'liberation' to men, argues Hitchcock, but the freedom accorded to women was far more circumscribed.⁶⁰ It is difficult to know whether betrothal, now at a younger age, triggered the start of a sexual relationship or whether there had been a shift to 'pregnancy-led' marriage, whereby pregnancy led to a wedding, as argued by Wilson for London.⁶¹ Dabhoiwala believes that part of the reason for this 'first sexual revolution' was the decline in public punishment and the policing of unmarried parents, while Hitchcock also

emphasises the decline in the importance of sexual reputation and the increase in metropolitan poor law provision.⁶² Others confirm that any revolution benefitted men far more than it did women.⁶³

More recently, Griffin has drawn on both these historical approaches—historical demography and the history of sexuality—to contend there was the ‘unmaking of the old social order’ whereby social disapproval and the awareness of the inability to raise a child alone had helped ‘to keep a lid on premarital sexual activity’ and maintain low levels of bridal pregnancy and illegitimacy.⁶⁴ Griffin draws upon autobiographies to suggest that it was in the industrial heartlands that change occurred; high levels of women’s employment at relatively good wages meant that women could support their children without a husband and that it was here that illegitimacy ratios rose sharply. She argues that sexual behaviour did indeed change and that it did so in response to new economic circumstances rather than new ideas.⁶⁵ Yet there are also limitations with her approach, since she draws upon only twenty autobiographies, all written by men, and a handful of examples of illegitimacy ratios in industrialising parishes. Much of her evidence comes from the later eighteenth century whereas the national illegitimacy ratio had been rising from the 1650s. The most recent parochial-level data of illegitimacy ratios in the period 1813–1820 reveal that the highest illegitimacy was on the Welsh and Scottish borders and was scattered across Norfolk and Suffolk.⁶⁶

Despite local studies and cultural approaches the relationships between economic fortunes, employment for women, courtship, sexual desire and practice, and local levels of illegitimacy, still need to be more precisely understood. There is no clear explanation for the rise in marital expectations as evidenced by rising illegitimacy and bridal pregnancy and the doubling in the number of young marriers. This book charts the making of metropolitan bastardy and provides new evidence within which to locate London within the steep upward trend in illegitimacy, while at the same time exploring the response of the old and new poor laws to this rise. Plebeian sexuality and courtship created illegitimacy; poverty and the poor law turned this into chargeable bastardy.

ILLEGITIMACY IN LAW

The illegitimate child was ‘fillius nullius’, or nobody’s child in common law, which meant that the child had no legal next of kin and could not succeed to titles or any hereditary position.⁶⁷ Cressy argues, ‘[p]aternity

was the key to lineage, position, substance, and name for females as well as males'.⁶⁸ English common law did not allow for the retrospective legitimisation of a child if their parents married. Illegitimate children were also not supposed to be able to inherit but family settlements and personal gifts could in fact be left in wills.⁶⁹ In canon law there was a moral expectation upon parents to support illegitimate as well as legitimate children.⁷⁰ Moreover, fornication and associated bastardy was against ecclesiastical law and could result in prosecution.⁷¹

Legislation between 1576 and 1810 established and strengthened the legal mechanism for the maintenance of poor illegitimate children and ran alongside the Elizabethan poor laws of 1572 and 1598–1601.⁷² The Act of 1576 specified that the parents of 'Bastards now being left to be kept at the Charge of the Parish where they be born' ('chargeable' bastardy) were financially responsible rather than parish ratepayers. Both parents were put under an obligation for 'the payment of Money Weekly, or other Sustentation for the Relief of such Child' and failure to do so could result in imprisonment.⁷³ This legislation, argues Nutt, 'implicitly recognised the illegitimate child's right to relief'.⁷⁴ The Act of 1576 referred to bastardy as an 'encouragement of lewd life' and the Act of 1609 further provided for the punishment of unmarried mothers as 'lewd' women.⁷⁵ Walter King has highlighted how the statutes treated poor unmarried parents more harshly than those who were able to support their illegitimate children. 'In short', he argues, 'it was pauper bastardy and not bastardy per se which was intolerable'.⁷⁶ Historians have pointed to the contradictory situation in which unmarried parents found themselves. Mothers disrupted the social order of hierarchy and the economic order in terms of chargeability, yet paternalistic 'civic fathers' felt compelled to provide for poor children.⁷⁷ Reputed fathers were in the contradictory and paradoxical situation whereby in law a bastard child was 'fillius nullius', and thereby to have no father, and yet the bastardy laws required the father to be financially responsible for the maintenance of the child.⁷⁸ Furthermore, fatherhood embodied authority, yet illegitimate paternity did not guarantee fatherhood and the social and parental roles associated with it.⁷⁹ Moreover, concern for and special commitment to poor children was particularly high in London, most probably reflecting the unusually high number of foundlings, orphans, deserted and other poor children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸⁰

In 1733, legislation specified that single women swear paternity before the magistrates (a bastardy examination) and that the putative father was

to 'give security to indemnify such Parish', usually with a bond.⁸¹ Gender and power played out in the courtroom as young plebeian women were expected to give an account of their sexual histories in front of older male justices from considerably higher up the social scale. Nevertheless, Hitchcock and Black argue that 'bastardy examinations taken under oath before one or two magistrates were a powerful means by which the mothers of illegitimate children could establish the parish and/or the putative father responsible for the physical well-being of their child or children'.⁸² Hitchcock and Shoemaker point out that unmarried mothers were using the economic interests of the parish—through the bureaucracy of settlement—to force fathers to pay for their children.⁸³ Further acts of 1809 and 1810 were concerned with both the indemnification of parishes and the punishment of mothers. The former declared that putative fathers were liable for all legal costs of affiliation, including apprehending him and obtaining the order. It repeated that failure to do so was to be punished by three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The importance of poverty in this study is underscored once again: it was the poverty of the mother to provide for her (thus chargeable) infant that made the putative father financially responsible for the child, but his poverty and failure to provide might propel him into the house of correction or to abscond. The Act of 1810 declared that the punishment of the mothers of bastard children was 'too severe' and imposed a maximum period of imprisonment of one year. Nutt comments that gaoling for this length of time was 'relatively uncommon' and inflicted usually only for the second or subsequent offence.⁸⁴ The laws of affiliation offered tenacious overseers a system parallel to the poor laws whereby they might recoup the expense of one category of the poor.⁸⁵ Moreover, Nutt argues, it reflected formally (and, it might be argued, engendered) 'what had probably always existed as a de facto gendered division of parental labour: mothers as primary carers, and fathers as financially responsible'.⁸⁶ Indeed, Crawford argues that '[t]he gender division of labour was rigid on the issue of the rearing of children under seven: it was women's work, and it was their natural function' and that fathers were to support them financially.⁸⁷ Thus, it can be seen that gender, as well as poverty, is another organising principle upon which this book is built.

After a mother had sworn the name of the putative father of her child then a warrant was issued for him to appear before the magistrates' bench and give his evidence. If the justices deemed him the father (and he had the opportunity to appeal) a bastardy order was issued, detailing any

expenses he had to pay and a weekly maintenance sum. Reputed fathers were expected to reimburse the parish of any expenses, including lying-in costs, the fees and travel costs associated with the process of affiliation, and either a lump sum by which there was no future responsibility or regular weekly amounts for maintenance of the child. Bonds were also taken, whereby the putative father and one, two, or three bondsmen (and sometimes women) put up a large sum in case the father defaulted.⁸⁸ For instance, in St. Mary Newington, Lambeth, John Hall, a husbandman and most probably the putative father, and Thomas Oxley, a tile-maker, both of Camberwell, were named in a bond of 1659 for the bastard child of Mary Martyn. In this parish between 1659 and 1756 15 per cent of bonds named a woman as a bondsperson.⁸⁹ In the early nineteenth century almost 60 per cent of illegitimate children here were affiliated before they were six months old.⁹⁰

Unmarried mothers were also subject to the laws of settlement under which a parish was deemed responsible for a person if they became chargeable. Since an illegitimate child took the place of birth as his or her place of settlement overseers might have sought to remove a woman without a local settlement. A pregnant single woman represented a potentially heavy expense if she went into labour and the parish had to provide the delivery and lying-in costs. In addition, since the child could use the place of birth for a settlement parish the parish could find itself responsible for future generations.⁹¹ The poor laws and settlement laws created a system of policing poverty, and settlement (and bastardy) examinations 'created a new technology of identity' and belonging.⁹² Infants born in one parish might be removed with their mothers back to her parish of settlement since children were to be kept with their mothers for nurture, held to be the age of seven, after which any chargeable bastard child might be removed back to his or her place of settlement, as was the case with Thomas Harrison, who was removed from St. Luke's to St. James Clerkenwell in March 1817.⁹³ The child might be removed as young as four or five years old if he or she was a vagrant.⁹⁴ Some single heavily pregnant women were inhumanely harried over parish boundaries, even when in labour.⁹⁵ In one case in Pattingham, Staffordshire, one official complained of a woman 'soe greete with child that I was feereful shee would have cryed out before I shoud have bee shut of hir'.⁹⁶ Many pregnant single women were removed from parishes in which they had no settlement throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and after 1834.⁹⁷ Elizabeth Bridgen and her illegitimate daughter Ann, for instance, were shuttled back and forth

between St. Clement Danes and St. James Clerkenwell, from St. James Clerkenwell back to St. Clement Danes, from St. Clement Danes to St. Pancras, and then back again to St. Clement Danes, as each parish sought to avoid financial liability for them.⁹⁸ Between one-third and one-half of all paupers removed in England and Wales came from London.⁹⁹ Women were not inevitably removed, however, and some unmarried mothers living in London were sent non-resident relief from their home parishes.¹⁰⁰ In the seventeenth century there was also a counter current of women coming to give birth in London in secret, find a private nurse, and re-enter the labour market, with one cynic remarking, ‘an ounce of London deliverance’ provided a cheap and simple cure for a lost maidenhead.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, by the second half of the eighteenth century around half of unmarried mothers secured a settlement in London by serving out an annual term in service or as an apprentice.¹⁰² The legal process around a bastard birth frequently generated two examinations—a settlement examination and a bastardy examination—such as those produced for Mary Child in May 1783. Mary gained her settlement through her father and his apprenticeship in St. Mary Newington and her two illegitimate sons also gained their settlements in the same parish when they were born there.¹⁰³ In another case in St. Mary Newington Mary Woodrooffe gave birth to an illegitimate daughter, also called Mary. Twenty years later Mary junior had ‘not gained any settlement’ and so her settlement remained St. Mary Newington. She, too, was pregnant with an illegitimate child.¹⁰⁴

The law was somewhat complicated for unwed pregnant women by the 1744 Vagrancy Act, section 25, under which the bastard child of a wandering, begging, and chargeable woman without a vagrants’ pass took his or her mother’s settlement.¹⁰⁵ Legally, if a woman (married or single) gave birth in a parish other than her settlement parish and could not pay her own way home then she came under the remit of the Act and she was, *ipso facto*, a vagrant.¹⁰⁶ However, there was no precise differentiation between the travelling or casual poor and vagrants. Because the county paid the costs of vagrants rather than the parish, parochial officials could be tempted to deem pregnant women with no local settlement as ‘vagrants’.¹⁰⁷ Yet, argues Eccles, not all ‘strangers’ in this situation were apprehended, examined and committed as vagrants.¹⁰⁸ Vagrant women could be detained by overseers and taken before a J.P. to be examined and possibly committed to a house of correction until the next quarter sessions. The court could order her to be publicly whipped (after the birth) and detained for up to six months.¹⁰⁹ There were further important legislative changes in the

1790s. The 1792 Vagrancy Act deemed single pregnant women actually chargeable and therefore removable, although this had been effectively the case since 1744.¹¹⁰ After 1795, if an unmarried mother, who was under an order of removal (not identified as a vagrant), gave birth then her infant took her settlement; while in 1814 any illegitimate infant born in the poor house or workhouse took his or her mother's settlement.¹¹¹

Snell has highlighted that pregnant servants could not be removed unless discharged by their employer.¹¹² Many masters and mistresses did indeed dismiss their pregnant servants, but this was not an inevitable outcome. Of a sample of Foundling Hospital petitions in the early nineteenth century, 5 petitioners of 41 (12 per cent) were allowed to stay in their employers' homes while pregnant.¹¹³ Levene found that unmarried mothers and their infants constituted 13–14 per cent of removals from the London parishes of St. Clement Danes and St. Luke Chelsea (1752–1793 and 1799–1816 respectively).¹¹⁴ Unmarried mothers who were removed were generally in their mid-20s and their children tended to be younger than those of deserted or widowed women suggesting, Levene believes, that having an infant could propel a woman into destitution.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, once a putative father was affiliated a mother might be able to stay where she was and raise her child there with her infant maintained by the putative father or with non-resident relief from her parish.¹¹⁶

The new Bastardy Clauses of 1834 were the most severe and the most effective of the new poor law, despite the fact that the Poor Law Commissioners failed to abolish affiliation (see Chap. 5). Instead, cases were moved from petty sessions to quarter sessions—a more formal and expensive court, which met less frequently and had less discretion—and women were now compelled to provide independent evidence of the child's paternity: 'no such Order shall be made unless the Evidence of the Mother of such Bastard Child be corroborated in some material Particular by other Testimony to the Satisfaction of such Court'.¹¹⁷ Any unsuccessful affiliation cases were to be paid for by the parishes that brought them, making it less likely that guardians would bring proceedings to court that they did not feel confident of winning. Payments were not to exceed the actual cost to the parish of maintaining the child, and putative fathers could no longer be imprisoned for non-payment, although their goods could be seized and wages docked for maintenance.¹¹⁸ The child now took the settlement of his or her mother, meaning that the pregnant woman or the mother and child might still be removed to her parish of settlement, but that they would not be separated.¹¹⁹ If the mother married then her

husband was to be responsible for her illegitimate child. Any woman having an illegitimate child (whether single or widowed) who found herself destitute was to enter the workhouse, and outdoor relief was not to be issued, even though outdoor midwifery provision, cash and relief in kind was given to married women.¹²⁰ Indeed, despite the aim of the Poor Law Commissioners to abolish outdoor relief, between 70 and 89 per cent of all poor relief recipients were relieved outdoors before 1900.¹²¹ New union workhouses were to be built and operated with the principle of deterrence in mind. They were large, dominating prison-like buildings and the house was to be well regulated and to operate with strict discipline. Diets were to be plain and luxuries restricted, routines monotonous, inmates separated by age, sex and whether able-bodied. The conditions inside thus made the workhouse 'less eligible' than alternatives outside and deterrence was ensured.¹²² However, 'the problems of women were simply not considered by the framers of the 1834 New Poor Law', and the category of 'able-bodiedness' was problematic when applied to women.¹²³

There were further legislative changes to the bastardy clauses in 1839 and 1844. In 1839 affiliations were returned to petty sessions, but evidence still had to be corroborated.¹²⁴ The 'Little Poor Law' of 1844 took affiliation and maintenance out of poor law hands altogether. It forbade union officers to intervene in maintenance actions; instead, the mother had to obtain a direct action in petty sessions—a civil action—against the father, still with corroborative evidence of paternity, and with legal costs attached. The amount recoverable was limited to 10*s.* for the midwife and 2*s.* 6*d.* weekly until the child was aged 13. These legislative changes marked a watershed in attitudes towards, and welfare provision for, unmarried mothers. Further legislative changes only came later in the century. The power for guardians to initiate affiliations was restored in 1868, and in 1872 guardians were allowed to pursue putative fathers in order to recover maintenance costs. Fathers were responsible for maintenance until the child reached 16 years of age and they could be imprisoned once more for non-payment.¹²⁵

UNMARRIED PARENTS IN LONDON

London was the largest city in Europe by the end of the seventeenth century.¹²⁶ Jonas Hanway observed in 1766 that, 'It is generally acknowledged, that a *ninth part* of the whole people of *England* are congregated within the Bills of Mortality.'¹²⁷ Only a quarter of Londoners had been born there

and one in six of the population of England and Wales had lived in the capital, while many more people visited.¹²⁸ The metropolitan experience was precocious in its urbanisation and many of its parishes were the size of cities.¹²⁹ London is important, then, due to its sheer size and its distinctiveness, as well as the long-term economic and social impact of the metropolis.¹³⁰ Trumbach comments that '[T]his pattern of migration was of great cultural importance.'¹³¹ By 1700 the cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark were understood as 'London', yet the region was diffuse, with the city's suburbs increasingly sprawling into the counties of Middlesex and Surrey.¹³² Schwarz describes London as 'a kaleidoscope of neighbourhoods, set amidst a large and amorphous urban region'.¹³³ In 1600 the capital had around 200,000 inhabitants, but by 1801 there were almost a million, increasing to more than double that figure by 1851, accounting for 10 per cent and then 14 per cent of the population of England and Wales, and increasing to around one-fifth by 1901.¹³⁴ London's massive growth depended upon high rates of in-migration since it was a 'demographic parasite' with deaths outnumbering births until the late eighteenth century.¹³⁵ Some migrants came to the city in search of seasonal and casual work; others undertook their apprenticeships there; while others were attracted by working the growing service sector and some relatively well-paid trades.¹³⁶ Wrigley comments that, 'London was so very much bigger than any other town in the country that the lives of the inhabitants of London were inevitably very different' to those outside the capital and that this had implications for family life since '[n]ear relatives were less likely to live close at hand' and because households were larger due to the presence of more lodgers, servants and apprentices.¹³⁷

Bastardy examinations reveal that unmarried parents were part of a highly mobile population. Many came from the south and east of England, but others travelled much further distances, including the south-west, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.¹³⁸ Furthermore, there was significant internal mobility within the metropolis, of migrants to London and those born there, between positions.¹³⁹ Most of those giving birth to illegitimate infants in London were unmarried women, at around 90 per cent, with widowed women accounting for about 7 per cent, and the remainder the 'adulterine bastardy' of married women.¹⁴⁰ It does not appear that 'de facto' or 'common law' marriages significantly increased the number of illegitimate children in large numbers, however, despite persistent assumptions about the capital; a maximum of 15 per cent of unmarried parents in London cohabited.¹⁴¹

There has been a great deal of scholarship on plebeian bastardy in the metropolis, but actually very little upon affiliation, the poor law and the workhouse.¹⁴² Gowing has argued that ‘London’s treatment of illegitimate mothers and their children was distinctive in early modern England’ since, given high levels of migration and the turnover in domestic positions, unmarried mothers did not ‘belong’ in the way they might in rural communities and they frequently lacked family and friends, who might be some distance away. Single women had difficulty establishing their belonging to a parish and their position as objects deserving of relief. Acquiring a new settlement could be difficult, which could mean that they were treated under the vagrancy laws rather than the new Elizabethan poor laws; this placed pregnant women and mothers with infants in a particularly vulnerable position.¹⁴³ While rural communities might be made up of just one parish there were more than 150 parishes in London, some of which, in the City in particular, were very small, whilst others outside the walls were sprawling.¹⁴⁴ Parish boundaries were policed by watchmen, beadles and porters in seventeenth-century London in order to prevent ‘big bellied’ women entering.¹⁴⁵ If the father could not be found then the unmarried mother needed someone to stand surety for her; only in a handful of cases did pregnant women find parishioners willing to do so.¹⁴⁶ Mothers and their accomplices might also attempt to abandon the child, preferably in a wealthier parish.¹⁴⁷ In 1619, for instance, Christopher Fawcett reported to the churchwardens on his attempts to remove pregnant women or women with infants from the parish of St. Saviour Southwark, as he worried about the possibility of these mothers leaving their infants behind.¹⁴⁸ This would have the effect of skewing illegitimacy ratios and the economic burden of caring for bastard children. A prevalent theme is that parishioners were far more concerned with the costs of bastardy that might fall to them than with the sinfulness of unwed parents and that punishment served to deter other couples from placing an economic burden upon the parish, although others also point to the affront of illicit sexuality to godly morality.¹⁴⁹ What is apparent is that unmarried parents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were far more likely to be punished through the ecclesiastical and secular courts than they were in the eighteenth century (see Chap. 6).

Studies have shown that many unmarried mothers in the city were servants and therefore subject to the authority of the household head whose own social standing was subject to the chastity of the women within his household.¹⁵⁰ Most (85 per cent) were hired by ‘artisans, tradespeople and

retailers of various kinds'. Women found themselves subject to the sexual attentions—wanted or otherwise—of masters, their sons, servants, apprentices, lodgers.¹⁵¹ To some extent domestic service was sexualised.¹⁵² In theory servants were protected in law from summary dismissal, but many historians have given examples of pregnant maidservants being thrown out of their place, and they cite this as evidence of the shame that such a situation brought on masters and mistresses.¹⁵³ It was an offence to harbour a pregnant single woman; employers, as well as parents, could be punished and offenders were regularly prosecuted at the church and secular courts and Bridewell.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, masters might be ordered to keep a pregnant maidservant until she was 'brought a-bed and churched'.¹⁵⁵ If a servant's master allowed her to stay, then he became liable for the expenses for up to one month after the birth. Concerned ratepayers might put him under pressure to throw her out to avoid the settlement of the bastard child.¹⁵⁶ This resulted in numerous instances of parishioners driving out pregnant women or dumping women in labour over parish boundaries in their haste to rid the parish of a financial liability.¹⁵⁷ With nowhere else to go these women might give birth in the streets and fields.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, there were networks of other women assisting pregnant women into parishes where they were not resident and providing places to give birth, such as Anne Bagley who was said to be 'a common harbinger of greate bellied women'.¹⁵⁹

Gowing has shown how single women's bodies were under surveillance for signs of pregnancy and might be physically searched.¹⁶⁰ Thus Griffiths argues that '[B]odies ... contained legal data'.¹⁶¹ Once labour had started, midwives were under oath to withhold their assistance to unmarried mothers until they named of the father of the child. The women's mothers and other gossips present at the birth might do so, too. For instance, Elizabeth Nicklin's mother 'kneeled down and prayed God that her said daughter and her childe might never part till she had fathered it right'.¹⁶² Gowing comments, 'the extremity of pain was meant to force the truth from women's otherwise opaque and recalcitrant bodies'.¹⁶³ The unmarried female domestic servant was also the early modern 'archetype' of infanticidal mother. Indeed, as Kilday argues 'the specific components of the seventeenth-century legislation [1624] relating to new-born child murder meant that it was very difficult for anyone *other* than an unmarried mother to be accused of the offence in the first place'.¹⁶⁴ Midwives again played a crucial role in the identification of whether a woman's body showed evidence of birth and breast milk.¹⁶⁵ Following the law of 1624 there was a

substantial increase in the number of cases although judicial attitudes softened towards infanticide after c.1760. There were important changes in the law with the introduction of the offence of concealment of birth in England and Wales in 1803.¹⁶⁶ Victorians continued to worry about the unmarried mother as perpetrator of infanticide, and there was also a moral panic over baby farming as a covert form of child murder in the 1860s.¹⁶⁷

Being an unmarried mother or father was an experience both similar and dissimilar to that of married parents. As Mendelson and Crawford argue, '[t]he maternity of single women was very different from that of wives', citing the stigma of being a 'bastard bearer', the possibility of punishment, that midwives forced the names of the putative fathers from women in labour, and that the parish might put the child out to nurse.¹⁶⁸ Similarities might come with the experience of pregnancy, childbirth, baptism and churching and, to some extent, trying to make ends meet while raising a child (if the child remained with them). There was a powerful pro-natalist ideology of motherhood in early modern England, but one which required it to be experienced within marriage.¹⁶⁹ Unmarried mothers therefore stood outside this idealised version of motherhood and were judged against it. And yet the bond between mother and child was understood to be a natural one, and this was acknowledged for unwed women, since bastard children were expected to stay with their mothers until the age of seven.¹⁷⁰ In the eighteenth century, ideal motherhood and fatherhood was rooted in sensibility and was thus depicted as tender, affectionate, caring, nurturing and selfless. Active parenting meant striving to provide for children; mothers, particularly lone women, expressed emotional as well as economic distress when they could not.¹⁷¹

There is a pessimism about the experiences of unmarried mothers in the early modern period that evaporates in the historiography concerning the eighteenth century. While Gowing and others have highlighted the very difficult circumstances of such women in the seventeenth-century metropolis (but also their ingenuity in certain situations), the tone of eighteenth-century studies is one of optimism.¹⁷² Drawing upon bastardy examinations, petitions to the London Foundling Hospital and admission information of unmarried mothers to the lying-in hospitals, Evans has argued strongly for the agency of women in exploiting the available provision and their strong kinship and friendship networks.¹⁷³ This is where one might find a 'kind' view of relief to unmarried mothers.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Evans does not consider the role of the workhouse or of payments for the maintenance of illegitimate children. She does evoke the very strong emotional attachments

unmarried mothers had for their children, as evidenced in the petitions, notes and tokens pinned to the infants' clothes.¹⁷⁵ Twenty years ago Hitchcock wrote a provocative piece on the role of London's welfare institutions, arguing that 'London's parochial and hospital provision was uniquely well designed for problems faced by unmarried, plebeian mothers' and this, and his more recent work with Shoemaker has highlighted the new institutional provision for poor pregnant women during the eighteenth century, with the introduction of lying-in hospitals, the Foundling Hospital, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, the Lock Hospital for the treatment of venereal disease, a number of smaller hospitals, and the passing of Workhouse Act of 1723 which resulted in there being 86 parish workhouses by 1776.¹⁷⁶ Slack has argued that workhouses were a truly original contribution to social welfare.¹⁷⁷ While parishes continued to remove single pregnant women without a settlement under the poor laws and to robustly dispute uncertain cases before magistrates, some of this new provision was free from the issues of parochial belonging. During the 'General Reception' (1756–1760), for instance, the Foundling Hospital accepted all infants; later, children had to have been born within the area covered by the Bills of Mortality.¹⁷⁸ Hitchcock and Shoemaker argue that women might have used the new parish workhouses to their advantage—not only as a place in which to give birth but also as a way to establish a right to relief for the child.¹⁷⁹ However, there has been little systematic research on the use and experience of the workhouse by unmarried mothers, as well as outdoor relief for them, and the success or otherwise of overseers in recovering the costs of childbirth and maintenance from reputed fathers in the metropolis.¹⁸⁰ More, too, needs to be said about the making of metropolitan bastardy in terms of the distinctiveness of provision in London and by the parochial officers at the local level. Historians widely recognise that poor law provision operated within a wider mixed economy of welfare of public, charitable and informal relief and that the poor put together a living from the economy of makeshifts.¹⁸¹ There would have been a 'hierarchy of resort' for unmarried mothers; they most probably turned, firstly, to friends and any nearby family, and only then to the parish, and a place at a lying-in hospital would have been favoured over a workhouse ward.

Many nineteenth-century accounts of the unmarried mother in London also draw upon the records of the Foundling Hospital, yet the number of mothers seen as 'proper objects' of this charity was low and increasingly self-selecting by upper domestic servants.¹⁸² Other historians have

considered charitable relief for unmarried mothers more in terms of prostitute ‘prevention’ work and the setting up of mother and baby homes.¹⁸³ Thane is one of only a handful of researchers to consider poor law provision for unmarried mothers, and she sets it within the new poor law’s expectation that all women belonged to male-breadwinner families; this assumption meant that the new poor law was peculiarly poorly framed for the reality of the lives of working-class women, including single women with children, but also widows and deserted wives.¹⁸⁴ Much of what we think we know about Victorian unmarried mothers is informed rather more by art and literature rather than history: the ‘fallen women’ about to jump from a bridge into the Thames or the unmarried mother who died in a fever of moral turpitude.¹⁸⁵

SOURCES, STRUCTURE, PLACE AND THEMES

This book draws upon a range of sources in order to explore the experience of unwed plebeian parenthood in the capital between the early eighteenth and the mid nineteenth centuries. This is the ‘core’ time period but it is necessary to locate this study in a much broader time frame which means that discussion extends back to the late sixteenth century, since the affiliation system was established in 1576, and forwards to the end of the nineteenth century, both in order to assess the impact of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and also because of the association of illegitimacy with shame in the Victorian imagination. The approach is economic, in terms of providing a history of the maintenance of bastard children (Chap. 5), but it is also social and cultural, since it attempts to recover the experience of both unmarried mothers and putative fathers, although the weight of evidence is skewed primarily towards women. The approach is also quantitative since I wanted to establish, as far as it is possible, the representativeness of different experiences. Hitchcock, for instance, uses just five cases—those of Rebecca Clement, Joan Rumbold, Elizabeth Edwards, Elizabeth Langford and Elizabeth Bussell (1740s and 1750s)—in order to make great claims about the role of the workhouse for single women in St. Luke, Chelsea,¹⁸⁶ whereas this study (Chap. 4) considers all the unmarried mothers in the workhouses of St. Luke Chelsea (296 women, 1743–1835), St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster (1498 women, 1750–1824), and St. George the Martyr, Southwark (30 women, 1802–1804). However, this study is also qualitative since it engages with social and cultural history in terms of the history of emotions, with a focus

upon feelings of shame, and it weaves the different experiences of unmarried parents into the fabric of the book throughout.

The structure of the book is thematic. It analyses different sets of sources relating to different parts of London depending upon the subject of the chapter. It starts with an exploration of the extent to which chargeable bastardy carried notions and feelings of shame. Was shame part of the distinctive metropolitan features of bastardy? The chapter necessarily draws upon a broad range of evidence, including church and secular court records, old and new poor law sources, the admittance policies of lying-in hospitals, Foundling Hospital petitions, autobiographies, charitable records, novels, art, and the press. The mechanisms by which shame could be instilled in unmarried parents witnessed profound shifts over the period. The chapter proposes a broad outline whereby illegitimacy was more heavily associated with shame in the early modern period, with a lull in the eighteenth century, followed by resurgence in the nineteenth century. Notions of shame reflected and impacted upon illegitimacy levels but the two cannot be neatly mapped onto one another.

Chapter 3 explores the embodied experience of pregnancy and birth for single women which is available in coroners' records of the deaths of newborn babies for Westminster and Middlesex as well as the infanticide cases that fell within the jurisdiction of the Old Bailey. Shame was thought to be the motivating principle behind infanticide. These births ended in tragedy, with the death of the child and the woman accused in the highest court of killing her child. Although infanticide cases contain particular lines of enquiry and evidence, they do, nevertheless, provide a window into what could not otherwise be recovered: the views of the defendants and witnesses about identifying pregnancy and childbirth and the particular difficulties in delivering oneself in a 'secret' birth. These cases display a particular metropolitan flavour.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus upon chargeable bastardy and so draw primarily upon poor law sources since poor unwed women could be delivered in metropolitan poor-law workhouses. Chapter 4 examines their experiences inside the house: their length of stay before and after birth, the conditions inside, and their reasons for departure. It reflects upon the differences between the early workhouses and the new union workhouses after 1834. The affiliation process produced settlement and bastardy examinations, court records, affiliation orders, and bastardy maintenance books ('bastardy books'). These are used in Chap. 5 to analyse the maintenance of illegitimate children (outdoor relief) and to assess the sums ordered and actually

paid, the duration of maintenance, and the amounts recovered by parish officers from putative fathers. The bastardy books also reveal the costs of home deliveries and the proportion of women who were delivered at home, in the workhouse, and in a lying-in hospital.

Responsibility for poor relief in London fell to individual parishes of which there were 108 in the City of London, 8 in the City of Westminster and 50 more in the wider 'metropolis'.¹⁸⁷ The capital had a distinctive system of welfare, with specialisation and institutionalisation. The metropolitan poor law also had to respond to large numbers of non-settled and casual poor.¹⁸⁸ After the end of the Napoleonic Wars poor law expenditure in the capital became more important in relation to the rest of the country. The cost of relief more than doubled in real terms per pauper due to a population increase of over 45 per cent and a growth in the number of the casual poor.¹⁸⁹ As Green has argued, the scale, density, and political fragmentation of metropolitan life, along with the more complex administrative structure, the relatively comprehensive network of welfare institutions, and the fluidity of the pauper population, made for a diverse set of experiences in terms of poor relief.¹⁹⁰ It is not possible to examine the workings of the poor law system in each and every parish given the sheer size of the metropolis, which before 1834 was administered by over 170 different bodies.¹⁹¹ For this reason the study focuses upon particular localities with the best records for our purposes: Chelsea and Westminster—north of the River Thames—and Southwark and Lambeth—south of the river—but with reference to many other parishes where applicable. The combined population size of the parishes studied is over 150,000—a total equivalent to the population of Leeds.¹⁹²

The old poor law operated within and between specific legal cultures.¹⁹³ From the late eighteenth century the summary courts in London and Southwark were formalised with a constant daily rotation of magistrates and regular hours of business. In the City there were 26 magistrates on rotation, which resulted in no uniform interpretation of the law.¹⁹⁴ In the period 1784–1796, 5.9 per cent of cases were concerned with bastardy and desertion of family and 10.5 per cent with vagrancy and begging.¹⁹⁵ In Southwark from 1792, three justices sat in rotation. They received stipends and the rotation office had a detachment of up to six constables.¹⁹⁶ It is likely that three magistrates could impose greater uniformity in policy than was evident in the City.

St. Luke Chelsea was on the western edge of London; it was a large parish whose population grew rapidly from 11,604 in 1801 to 32,371 in

1831.¹⁹⁷ Although Chelsea was still predominantly agricultural, providing market gardening produce to the metropolis, it was urbanising and becoming a choice for wealthier Londoners who employed large numbers of servants; none the less, it also had pockets of poor housing. It also contained manufacturing in the form of porcelain works, brewhouses, a paper factory, a floor cloth manufacture, and a melting pot and crucible factory, had access to and serviced transport along the Thames, and was home to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea for pensioned soldiers.¹⁹⁸ To the east of St. Luke's and the west of the City was the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster. Its population was large: around 25,000 for most of the eighteenth century, rising to 27,437 in 1801, and falling slightly to 23,970 in 1831.¹⁹⁹ St. Martin's was one of the wealthiest parishes in London, located in the burgeoning West End and populated by jewellers, coachmakers, other skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, and domestic servants. There were large houses as well as slums such as the Bermudas and the courts off Long Acre, Drury Lane, and the north side of the Strand.²⁰⁰ Services and professionals dominated the male occupational structure, while clothing declined.²⁰¹

By 1700 the cities of London, Westminster and the Borough of Southwark were understood as 'London'. Initially Southwark and Lambeth were only linked to the rest of the metropolis by London Bridge and so growth was slow compared to the rest of London. After the building of Westminster Bridge (1750) and Blackfriars Bridge (1769) growth was much more rapid, with new courts and alleys stretching out from Borough High Street to Red Cross Street, around the Mint, east to Snow's Fields, and westwards by around half a mile.²⁰² Population growth was uneven: while St. Saviour's grew only slowly between 1801 and 1831 (15,596 to 18,006), the population of St. George the Martyr almost doubled (22,293 to 39,769) and the numbers of residents trebled in St. Mary Newington (14,847 to 44,526).²⁰³ Southwark was dominated by warehouses, works and slums, with districts described as 'sorry build Timber Houses, and as ill inhabited'.²⁰⁴ A London directory for 1781 highlighted that Southwark's manufacturing was dominated by the leather trades, with skimmers, tanners, wool staplers, hatters and glue makers all listed.²⁰⁵ Cheap housing predominated in Southwark: over 43 per cent of assessed housing stock was valued at below £20 in 1830. In contrast, in the much more affluent western districts of Marylebone and Westminster the majority of housing was valued at above £40.²⁰⁶ In St. Olave and St. Saviour textile manufacture and transport and communications accounted for the largest sectors of male occupational structure.²⁰⁷

It has already been noted that unmarried parents were not only financially responsible for their illegitimate children but they were also subject to punishment by the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities between 1576 and 1834, and this is the focus of Chap. 6. Two sources in particular contain information on the punishment of unmarried parents across London—house of correction calendars for Bridewell, and the Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction, as well as the Town Queries of 1834. It is also possible to assess the extent to which putative fathers were gaoled in the Southwark parish of St. George the Martyr from the bastardy books. When these sources are assessed they reveal a marked decline in the punishment and gaoling of unwed mothers and putative fathers, no doubt contributing to a shift in attitudes towards births outside wedlock and sexuality.

Bastardy in London was distinctive. There were a large number of single young women in domestic service, who were not only ‘at risk’ of pregnancy but also unlikely to be able to afford to marry until they had accrued savings. Domestic servants in London earned more than elsewhere, but their position in the service hierarchy was sharply graded.²⁰⁸ Seleski has argued that plebeian women in London led increasingly insecure lives between 1750 and 1820 with the rise of migrants to domestic service positions and the high turnover of places. Moreover, traditional courtship patterns had less relevance to the realities of urban life. The combination, she argues, led to the rise in illegitimacy.²⁰⁹ After the birth, mothers could not return to live-in service with a child. Many fathers also experienced unstable employment prospects and falling real wages, or had apprenticeships to serve out.²¹⁰ ‘[U]nemployment, war or premature death’ prevented marriages.²¹¹ In addition, migrants who came to the capital in search of work might be a long way from relatives who might assist during the crisis of an illegitimate pregnancy, to enforce a promise of marriage, or try to ensure a wedding. Being away from friends and family in a large city might also have contributed towards a sense of relative sexual freedom, as well as opening up the opportunities for prostitution. London also had a particular and precocious welfare system. By the eighteenth century the poor law machinery associated with bastardy was substantial. The poor law, the laws of settlement, and the system of affiliation were ‘a crucial aspect of the growth of the state’ from the locality upwards via overseers and vestrymen who could intervene in the daily lives of plebeian Londoners.²¹² Welfare provision in the city mixed outdoor relief, charitable provision, work-houses, lying-in hospitals and houses of correction in unique combination

and contributed to the diverse experience of unmarried motherhood. Whilst this system responded to plebeian illegitimacy it also sought to influence it, through the attempt to enforce paternal financial responsibility, by punishing women as lewd, and by imposing notions of shame. Although there was a huge administrative effort to examine pregnant women and identify and affiliate putative fathers in order to indemnify the parish from the substantial costs of bastardy, London parishes were actually remarkably poor at recovering these expenses and the burden fell to ratepayers. Reputed fathers fell behind in their payments, were too poor to pay, or slipped away across parish boundaries leaving their pregnant sweethearts behind—on the parish and holding the baby.

This introduction started with the story of Mary Roberts. Her experience was representative of a group of unmarried mothers who used the metropolitan workhouse in the eighteenth century. The rest of this book tells the different and varied stories of other women and some men. There were those who endured secret births and those who gave birth supported at home. There were also the women and men who were committed to the house of correction, sometimes to beat hemp like Moll Hackabout, or work the treadmill.²¹³ There are tales of respectable fathers who paid for the maintenance of their children, sometimes for many years, while there are those who absconded, defaulted or went bankrupt. And finally, there is evidence that some unmarried parents felt shame at their predicament, but rather more evidence that those higher up the social scale felt that they should.

NOTES

1. St. Luke Chelsea workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799: <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Chelsea/Chelsea1743.shtml>, last accessed January 2017; London Metropolitan Archives [LMA], P74/LUK/123-139 (X15/39-45), St. Luke Chelsea Settlement and bastardy examinations, 1782–1838.
2. W. King, 'Punishment for bastardy in early seventeenth-century England', *Albion: a quarterly journal concerned with British studies*, 10:2 (1978), pp. 130–51; G. Walker, *Crime, gender and social order in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 227; L. Gowing 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate: single mothers in the early modern city', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 137–52; F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 13.

3. The same laws of affiliation could be, and were, invoked against fathers deserting their wives and children, but in many fewer numbers. See, for instance, Southwark Local Studies Library [SLSL] 763, St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseer maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835.
4. M. Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); F. Dabhoiwala, ‘Summary justice in early modern London’, *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 796–822.
5. R.B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ch. 7.
6. U.R.Q. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’, *Past & present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29.
7. T.V. Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse: a study in institutional poor relief in selected countries 1696–1750’ (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1985); T. Hitchcock ‘“Unlawfully begotten on her body”: illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke’s Chelsea’, in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 70–86; T. Hitchcock and R.B. Shoemaker, *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 121–33, 139–48.
8. A. Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), ch. 11; L. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation: sex, science, and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 176–83; T. Evans, ‘Unfortunate Objects’: lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ch. 7; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 254–6.
9. Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’, p. 76; Evans, *Unfortunate Objects*, ch. 5; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 259–62.
10. Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, part III; Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 283–91.
11. A.-M. Kilday, *A history of infanticide in Britain c.1600 to the present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), ch. 2; M. Clayton, ‘Changes in Old Bailey trials for the murder of newborn babies, 1674–1803’, *Continuity and Change*, 24:2 (2009), pp. 337–359. For the seventeenth century see L. Gowing, ‘Secret births and infanticide in seventeenth-century England’, *Past & present*, 156 (1997), pp. 87–115.
12. R.W. Malcolmson, ‘Infanticide in the eighteenth century’, in J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Crime in England, 1550–1800* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 187–209; Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 114–16.

13. P. Langford, *Polite and commercial people: England 1727–1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 145; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 283–91.
14. T.R. Malthus, *An essay on the principle of population*, D. Winch (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 24, n. 6, 259–70.
15. M.C. Finn, *The character of credit: personal debt in English culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 152–4.
16. D.R. Green, *Pauper capital: London and the poor law, 1790–1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 26–7.
17. (1834) *Report from His Majesty's Commission for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the poor laws* (London), pp. 92–9, 195.
18. T. Nutt, 'The paradox and problems of illegitimate paternity in old poor law Essex', in Levene et al., *Illegitimacy*, pp. 102–21.
19. Henriques, 'Bastardy', p. 114; A. Brundage, *The English poor laws, 1700–1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 69. See also L. Forman Cody, 'The politics of illegitimacy in an age of reform: women, reproduction, and political economy in England's new poor law of 1834', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), pp. 131–156, at pp. 146–50; T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61, at pp. 339–43.
20. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse'; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 121–33; Green, *Pauper capital*, pp. 57–69.
21. A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams, 'Introduction', in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1–17, at pp. 10–14.
22. Levene et al., 'Introduction', p. 11.
23. On plebeian agency in eighteenth-century London see Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten' and Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*.
24. T. Hitchcock, *Down and out in eighteenth-century London* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004); A. Eccles, *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2012); D. Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English culture and society, 1650–1750* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
25. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (London, University of Chicago, 1998); N. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster', *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–375; Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten'; J. Black, 'Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?', in Levene et al., *Illegitimacy*, pp. 50–65; J. Hurl-Eamon, '"The lowest and most abandoned trull of a soldier": the crime of bastardy in early modern London', in R. Hillman and P. Ruberry-Blanc (eds), *Female*

- transgression in early modern Britain: literary and historical explorations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 163–90.
26. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility' pp. 336–7; S. Williams, 'The maintenance of bastard children in London, 1790–1834', *Economic History Review*, 69:3 (2016), pp. 945–71; P. Thane, 'Women and the poor law in Victorian and Edwardian England', *History Workshop*, 6 (1978), pp. 30–51.
 27. P. Laslett, 'Introduction; comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), pp. 1–68, Tables 1.1(a) and 1.1(b), figure 1.2, pp. 14–18; E.A. Wrigley, 'Marriage, fertility and population growth in eighteenth-century England', in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (London: Europa Publications, 1981), pp. 137–85, at p. 162; E.A. Wrigley, 'British population during the "long" eighteenth century, 1680–1840', in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), volume I *Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, pp. 57–95, at pp. 70–1.
 28. See, for instance, K. Oosterveen, R.M. Smith and S. Stewart, 'Family reconstitution and the study of bastardy: evidence from certain English parishes', in Laslett et al., *Bastardy*, pp. 86–140, at pp. 87–88, 99, 113–20; A. Newman, 'An evaluation of bastardy recordings in an east Kent parish', in Laslett, *Bastardy*, pp. 141–57, at p. 144; P. Laslett, 'The bastardy prone sub-society', in Laslett, *Bastardy*, pp. 217–46, at pp. 232–8; P. Laslett, *Family life and illicit love in earlier generations: essays in historical sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Table 3.12, p. 150.
 29. Laslett, 'Introduction', Table 1.3, p. 23; E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 421–7; Wrigley, 'British population', p. 70.
 30. Wrigley, 'British population', p. 70.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5.
 33. Laslett, 'Introduction', p. 55. For age of unmarried mothers in London, see Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, Tables 8.1–8.3, pp. 243–4; Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 367.
 34. R. Finlay, *Population and metropolis: the demography of London 1580–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 149–50; R. Adair, *Courtship, illegitimacy and marriage in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 202–23, P. Laslett, 'Introduction', in Laslett et al., *Bastardy*, pp. 1–68.

35. 45th *Annual report of the Registrar General* (1884), and see Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 229; Levene et al., 'Introduction', pp. 7–8; Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 356; T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy and the poor law in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005), pp. 204–12. See also Adair, *Courtship*, pp. 45–7; E. Hubbard, *City women: money, sex, and the social order in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 87; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 229–30. Cressy argues that the seventeenth-century statistics from parish registers 'stand up well alongside evidence from the ecclesiastical courts and other sources': D. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 73–4.
36. A. Wilson, 'Illegitimacy and its implications in mid-eighteenth-century London: the evidence of the Foundling Hospital', *Continuity and Change*, 4:1 (1989), pp. 103–64, at pp. 104, 136–7.
37. A. Levene, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration', *Continuity and Change*, 18:2 (2003), pp. 201–35, at p. 228.
38. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', n 7, p. 370.
39. Pauper Lives project (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>), database funded by the ESRC (RES-000-23-0250); R. Davenport, J. Boulton and J. Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality in the workhouse of St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824' (unpublished paper given at European Social Science History Association Conference, Glasgow, Saturday 14 April 2012, available at the Pauper Lives in Georgian London and Manchester project website, <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>), p. 10.
40. L. Shaw Taylor and E.A. Wrigley, ESRC-funded project 'The occupational structure of Britain 1379–1911', Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge.
41. Laslett, 'Introduction', Table 1.6, pp. 34–5; Laslett, *Family life*, appendix 2, pp. 158–9; Adair, *Courtship*, pp. 202–23; Williams, 'Maintenance of bastard children', Table 1 p. 952, 955; Levene, 'Origins of children'; A. Levene, 'Poor families, removals and "nurture" in late Old Poor Law London', *Continuity and Change*, 25:2 (2010), pp. 233–262, at p. 228; Finlay, *Population and metropolis*, pp. 18, 148–50; (1845) *Eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General* (London), pp. 73–80.
42. Laslett et al., *Bastardy*; Laslett, *Family life*.
43. Adair, *Courtship*.
44. These studies are reviewed in E. Griffin, 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain', *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 139–161.

45. D. Levine and K. Wrightson, 'The social context of illegitimacy in early modern England', in Laslett et al., *Bastardy*, pp. 158–75, at p. 169.
46. E. Shorter, 'Illegitimacy, sexual revolution and social change in modern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11:2 (1971), pp. 237–72.
47. L.A. Tilly, J.W. Scott and M. Cohen, 'Women's work and European fertility patterns', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:3 (1976), pp. 447–76; C. Fairchilds, 'Female sexual attitudes and the rise of illegitimacy: a case study', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1978), pp. 627–67; P. Seleski, 'The women of the labouring poor: love, work and poverty in London, 1750–1820' (unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1989).
48. Tilly et al., 'Women's work', p. 465.
49. Laslett, 'Introduction', pp. 20–24; Laslett, 'Illegitimate fertility and the matrimonial market', in J. Dupaquier, E. Helia, P. Laslett and M. Levi-Bacci (eds), *Marriage and remarriage in populations in the past* (London: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 461–71, at pp. 466–8; Wrigley, 'Marriage', pp. 155–63.
50. Levine and Wrightson, 'Social context', p. 161; Wrigley, 'Marriage', p. 161; D. Levine, *Family formation in the age of nascent capitalism* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 127–45.
51. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 369.
52. Levene et al., 'Introduction', pp. 9–10.
53. *Ibid.* On the standard of living, see C. Feinstein, 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Britain during and after the industrial revolution', *Journal of Economic History* 58:3 (1998), pp. 625–58. On 'failed courtships' in London, see J. Black, 'Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?', in Levene et al., *Illegitimacy*, pp. 50–65, at pp. 59–62; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 2–3, 42–44; Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 369.
54. Levene et al., *Illegitimacy*, pp. 9–10. For localised conditions see P. Hudson and S. King, 'Two textile townships, c. 1660–1820: a comparative demographic analysis', *Economic History Review*, 53:4 (2000), pp. 706–41; Griffin, 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change'.
55. Laslett, 'The bastardy prone sub-society'; S. King, 'The bastardy prone sub-society again: bastards and their fathers and mothers in Lancashire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, 1800–1840', in Levene et al., *Illegitimacy*, pp. 66–85.
56. Levene et al., 'Introduction', p. 13, and see B. Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 197.
57. For criticism of this approach see, for instance, T. Hitchcock, 'Redefining sex in eighteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996),

- pp. 73–90; T. Hitchcock, ‘Demography and the culture of sex in the long eighteenth century’ in J. Black (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 69–84.
58. Hitchcock, ‘Demography and the culture of sex’; Hitchcock, ‘Redefining sex’; Wilson, ‘Illegitimacy’; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*; Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*. See also H. Abelove, ‘Some speculations on the history of sexual intercourse during the long eighteenth century in England’, *Genders*, 6 (1989), pp. 125–30; T. Laqueur, ‘Sex and desire in the industrial revolution’ in P. O’Brien and R. Quinault (eds), *The industrial revolution and British society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 100–123. Laslett reflected upon the possibility of a sexual revolution: Laslett, ‘Introduction’, pp. 26–9.
 59. Hitchcock, ‘Redefining sex’; Hitchcock, ‘Demography’; T. Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700–1800* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 39–41; Wilson, ‘Illegitimacy’; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*.
 60. Hitchcock, ‘Redefining sex’, p. 80.
 61. Wilson, ‘Illegitimacy’, pp. 133–35.
 62. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, ch. 1; Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’, p. 80.
 63. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*.
 64. Griffin, ‘Sex, illegitimacy and social change’, p. 151.
 65. *Ibid.*, pp. 160–61.
 66. Shaw Taylor and Wrigley, ‘Occupational structure’ data.
 67. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 73–79; M. Finn, M. Lobban and J. Bourne Taylor, ‘Introduction: spurious issues’, in M. Finn, M. Lobban and J. Bourne Taylor (eds), *Legitimacy and illegitimacy in nineteenth-century law, literature and history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1–24, at pp. 5–7.
 68. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 73–79, quote p. 74.
 69. *Ibid.*; Finn et al., ‘Introduction’, pp. 5–7; G. Frost, *Living in sin: cohabiting as husband and wife in nineteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 23–8.
 70. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 73–79; Ingram, *Church courts*, pp. 262–3.
 71. Ingram, *Church courts*, Table 2 p. 68, 259–81.
 72. Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, pp. 336–7.
 73. *Ibid.*; L. Gowing, *Common bodies: women, touch and power in seventeenth century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 179.
 74. Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, pp. 336–7, T. Nutt, ‘Bastardy’, in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain, I: Voices of the poor: poor law depositions and letters* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 127–203, at p. 127.

75. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 117; Kilday, *Infanticide*, p. 37; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 219.
76. King, 'Punishment for bastardy', p. 134.
77. A.M. Froide, *Never married: single women in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 40–1; P. Crawford, *Parents of poor children in England, 1580–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 5; A. Levene, *The childhood of the poor: welfare in eighteenth-century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
78. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', p. 102.
79. A. Shepard, 'Brokering fatherhood: illegitimacy and paternal rights and responsibilities in early modern England', in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 41–63, pp. 41–3.
80. P.A. Fideler, *Social welfare in pre-industrial England: the old Poor Law tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 128; V. Fildes, 'Maternal feelings reassessed: child abandonment and neglect in London and Westminster, 1550–1800', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as mothers in pre-industrial England: essays in memory of Dorothy McLaren* (London, Routledge, 1990), pp. 139–178; Levene, *Childhood of the poor*, pp. 3–4.
81. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 336–7; T. Hitchcock and Black (eds), 'Introduction', *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999), pp. x–xi. On the relationship between the laws of settlement and the rise of the form, see N. Tadmor, 'The settlement of the poor and the rise of the form in England, c. 1662–1780', *Past & present*, 236 (2017), pp. 43–97.
82. Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea examinations*, p. viii.
83. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 299.
84. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 336–7.
85. *Ibid.*; S. Williams, 'Maintenance of bastard children'.
86. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 337. On seventeenth-century maternity and parental roles, see P. Crawford, *Blood, bodies and families in early modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004), ch. 3.
87. P. Crawford, 'The construction and experience of maternity in seventeenth-century England', in V. Fildes, *Women as mothers in pre-industrial England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990), pp. 3–38, at p. 13; Crawford, *Parents of poor children*.
88. Nutt, 'Bastardy', p. 131; Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', pp. 103–4; Hitchcock and Black, 'Introduction', pp. vii–xiii.
89. SLSL 1121–2, St. George the Martyr bastardy bonds, 1628–1756, and transcript by C. Powell.

90. LMA P92/MRY/357, St. Mary Newington register of bastard children, 1802–35.
91. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 88. See also K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and belonging: community, identity and welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 85; P. Sharpe, ‘Parish women: maternity and the limitations of maiden settlement in England 1662–1834’, in P. Jones and S. King (eds), *Obligation, entitlement and dispute under the English poor laws* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 168–92.
92. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 69. And see Snell, *Parish and belonging*.
93. Levene, *Childhood of the poor*, pp. 17; Levene, ‘Poor families’, p. 248; L. Charlesworth, *Welfare’s forgotten past: a socio-legal history of the poor law* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 130; LMA P74/LUK/144 (X015/047), St. Luke Chelsea, Removal orders, examinations, and bastardy orders, 1799–1837, 03/03/1817. And see Nutt, ‘Paradox and problems’, pp. 119–20.
94. Crawford, ‘Construction and experience of maternity’, p. 12.
95. Levene, ‘Poor families’, p. 237; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 120; L. Gowing, ‘Ordering the body: illegitimacy and female authority in seventeenth-century England’, in M.J. Braddick, Michael and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 43–62, at pp. 43–4; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 89.
96. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 89.
97. LMA P74/LUK/144-5 (X015/047); St. Luke Chelsea Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1835; St. Martin in the Fields Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1725–1824, provided by ‘Pauper lives in Georgian London and Manchester’ project, <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>; LMA P92/GEO/137, St. George the Martyr Examinations and removals, 1833–1842; LMA SO/BG/24 St. George the Martyr Examinations and visits, 1844–1860.
98. <https://www.londonlives.org/static/BridgenElizabeth.jsp> Accessed 10 February 2018.
99. Green, *Pauper capital*, p. 18. Levene did not find that unmarried mothers and their children were a large proportion of those removed from London parishes: Levene, ‘Poor families’, p. 248. See also Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 237–44. On settlement see J.S. Taylor, ‘The impact of pauper settlement 1691–1834’, *Past & Present*, 73 (1976), pp. 42–74.
100. T. Sokoll (ed.), *Essex pauper letters, 1731–1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), letters 6, 114, 189, 211, 217, 220.

101. B. Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 147.
102. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 358.
103. SLSL 844 St. Mary Newington settlement and bastardy examinations, transcript, 30/5/1783.
104. *Ibid.*, 25/2/1784.
105. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 14, 88, 102.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–9.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 11, 88.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90. On the changing law on whipping pregnant and lying-in women see Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 8, 11, 14.
110. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 18, 115.
111. N. Landau, 'The laws of settlement and the surveillance of immigration in eighteenth-century Kent', *Continuity and Change* 3:3 (1988), pp. 391–420, at p. 400; Levene, 'Poor families', p. 237; Charlesworth, *Welfare's forgotten past*, p. 58. Levene points out that unmarried mothers were perceived to be actually chargeable both before and after amendments to the law in 1795 due to their pregnancies: Levene, 'Poor families', p. 249.
112. K.D.M. Snell, 'Pauper settlement and the right to poor relief in England and Wales', *Continuity and Change*, 6:3 (1991), pp. 375–415, p. 384.
113. S. Williams, "'I was Forced to Leave my Place to Hide my Shame": the living arrangements of unmarried mothers in London in the early nineteenth century', in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds.), *Accommodating Poverty: the housing and living arrangements of the English poor, c. 1600–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 191–218, at p. 198.
114. Levene, 'Poor families', p. 248.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 248, fn 43 p. 261.
116. Sokoll, *Essex pauper letters*, letters 6, 114, 189, 211, 217, 220.
117. (1834) 'An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales', P.P. 4 & 5 George IV, c.76 cited in Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 340.
118. U.R.Q. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', *Past & present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29, at pp. 112–14.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 114.
120. D.R. Green, 'Medical relief and the new poor law in London', in O.P. Grell, A. Cunningham and R. Jütte (eds), *Health care and poor relief in eighteenth and nineteenth-century northern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 220–45, at pp. 228–9; Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law'; L. Forman Cody, 'The politics of illegitimacy in an age of reform: women, reproduction, and political economy in England's new poor law

- of 1834', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), pp. 131–56; Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', pp. 104–6; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 339–40; J.A. Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women, unwed mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* (London: Continuum, 2012), pp. 15–35 (in which the Bill's passage through the House of Commons and the House of Lords are also discussed); G. Frost, "Your mother has never forgotten you": illegitimacy, motherhood, and the London Foundling Hospital, 1860–1930, *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1 (2014), pp. 45–72; E. Sandy, 'Lone motherhood in late-Victorian and Edwardian Poplar' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011), pp. 214, 229. See also A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses, 1851–1861, *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38–53; N. Goose, 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52–69, at p. 38; A. Hinde (ed.), special issue on the new poor law, *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017).
121. M.A. Crowther, *The workhouse system, 1834–1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen, 1983), fig. 1, p. 60; Snell, *Parish and belonging*, pp. 219–20.
 122. Crowther, *Workhouse system*, pp. 40–2. And see M. Levine-Clark, 'Engendering relief: women, ablebodiedness, and the new poor law in early Victorian England', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), pp. 107–130.
 123. Thane, 'Women and the poor law', pp. 48–49; Levine-Clark, 'Engendering relief'.
 124. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 119; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 341–3; Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women*, pp. 37–8; W. Acton, 'Observations on illegitimacy in the London parishes on St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, and St. George's, Southwark, during the year 1857; deduced from the returns of the Registrar-General', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (1859), pp. 491–505, at pp. 496–7.
 125. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 120; Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian Women*, pp. 38–41.
 126. J. Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), II 1540–1840, pp. 315–46, at pp. 315–16; L. Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', in Clark, *Cambridge Urban history*, II, pp. 641–672, at p. 643.
 127. J. Hanway, *An earnest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor* (London, 1766), p. 1.
 128. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 11; P. Earle, *A city full of people: men and women of London 1650–1750* (London: Methuen, 1994),

- p. 44; T. Reinke-Williams, *Women, work and sociability in early modern London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 6.
129. Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', p. 647.
 130. E.A. Wrigley, 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy, 1650–1750', *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 44–70; Wilson, 'Illegitimacy', p. 103.
 131. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 11.
 132. Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice', p. 796.
 133. Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', pp. 645–7.
 134. R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500–1700: the making of the metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 37–59, Table 1, p. 39; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, p. 10; L. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force, and living conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Table 126, p. 126; Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', p. 644, Table 19.1 p. 650; R. Dennis, 'Modern London', in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, III 1840–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 95–132, at p. 98.
 135. Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', pp. 203, 207–9, 318–19; Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', pp. 649–51.
 136. Beier and Finlay, *Making of the Metropolis*; P. Earle, 'The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 42:3 (1989), pp. 328–53; P. Wallis and C. Webb, 'Leaving home and entering service: the age of apprenticeship in early modern London', *Continuity and Change*, 25:3 (2010), pp. 377–404; T. Meldrum, *Domestic service and gender, 1660–1750: life and work in the London household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), ch. 2; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 18; Hubbard, *City women*; P. Humfrey (ed.), *The experience of domestic service for women in early modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 12–18.
 137. Wrigley, 'London's importance', p. 50.
 138. Hitchcock and Black, 'Introduction', pp. xvii–xviii; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 242–4 and Table 8.4; J. Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor in London, 1740–1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1999), pp. 122–5.
 139. D.A. Kent, 'Ubiquitous but invisible: female domestic servants in mid-eighteenth century London', *History Workshop*, 28 (1989), pp. 111–128, at pp. 120–21; Hitchcock and Black, 'Introduction', pp. xvii–xviii; Humfrey, *Domestic service*, p. 3. See also P. Griffiths, *Youth and authority formative experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 191; L. Pollock, 'Little commonwealths I: the household

- and family', in K. Wrightson (ed.), *A social history of England, 1500–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 60–83, at p. 61.
140. J. Black, 'Illegitimacy', Table 3.5, p. 92; and see Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', pp. 357–8.
 141. S. Williams, "'They lived together as Man and Wife": plebeian cohabitation, illegitimacy, and broken relationships in London, 1700–1840', in R. Probert (ed.), *Changing Relationships? Cohabitation and births outside marriage, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 65–79, at p. 79. For outside London, see Newman, 'Bastardy recordings', p. 151. However, also see Higginbotham who found that 35% of unmarried mothers who entered Lambeth workhouse, in the later period 1875–1877, had cohabited: A.R. Higginbotham, 'The unmarried mother and her child in Victorian London, 1834–1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Indiana, 1985), Table 2.2 p. 51.
 142. The poor law in London is generally under-researched. See Green, *Pauper capital*.
 143. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', pp. 137–40.
 144. J. Innes, 'Managing the metropolis: London's social problems and their control, c.1660–1830', in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds), *Two capitals: London and Dublin 1500–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 53–79, at p. 55.
 145. P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 57–9; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', pp. 140–41, 146; J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 272–3; E. Fox and M. Ingram, 'Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy in early seventeenth-century London', in R. Probert (ed.), *Cohabitation and non-marital births in England and Wales, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 10–32, at pp. 17–18.
 146. Gowing, 'Magistrate's gate', p. 141.
 147. On seventeenth-century foundlings in London see Griffin, *Lost Londons*, and Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate'; on the eighteenth century see Levene, *Childhood of the poor*.
 148. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate', pp. 140–1; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*.
 149. Gowing, 'Ordering the body'; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate'; Hubbard, *City women*; Griffin, *Lost Londons*; King, 'Punishment', pp. 138–40; Ingram, *Church courts*; R.B. Outhwaite, *The rise and fall of the English ecclesiastical courts, 1500–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, online ed., 2007); Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*.
 150. Capp, *When gossips meet*, ch. 4; Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor', Tables 3.7 and 3.8, pp. 106–07; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 159;

- Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 358; Schwarz, 'London', pp. 649; Griffiths, *Youth and authority*, pp. 271–4; Hitchcock and Black, 'Introduction', p. xviii.
151. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 45–6; Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 13, 15, 25, 53, 54, 58, 63, 90–101, 204, 205; G. Walker, 'Rereading rape and sexual violence in early modern England', *Gender and History*, 10:1 (1998), pp. 1–25, at pp. 12–13; T. Mendrum, *Domestic service and gender, 1660–1750: life and work in the London household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 93–4, 100–110, 103–4, 107–8, 116, 124, 126, 208; Hubbard, *City women*, pp. 86–8, 99–102; Black, 'Illegitimacy', pp. 114, 114, 116–17; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 117, 161; Nutt, *Bastardy*, pp. 180–2, 202–3.
 152. Gowing, 'Ordering the body' p. 46.
 153. M. Jackson, *New-born child murder: women, illegitimacy and the courts in eighteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 49.
 154. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 156–7; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', pp. 141–2; King, 'Punishment for bastardy', p. 138; Reinke-Williams, *Women, work and sociability*, p. 100; S. Hindle, 'A sense of place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550–1650', in A. Shepard and P. Withington (eds), *Communities in early modern England: networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 96, 101.
 155. Hubbard, *City women*, p. 94.
 156. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 211.
 157. Gowing, 'Ordering the body'; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 57–9; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 87–103.
 158. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 120, 151, 156–9; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', pp. 141–2; Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 44; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 55–6; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 87–103.
 159. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 156–7; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', p. 141; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 58–60; Fox and Ingram, 'Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy', pp. 17–18.
 160. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 46–51.
 161. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p. 269.
 162. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 53.
 163. *Ibid.*
 164. Kilday, *Infanticide*, p. 26 (Kilday's italics).
 165. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 46–51; Gowing, 'Secret births', pp. 96; Kilday, *Infanticide*, p. 57.
 166. Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 17–19, 28–31, 116–17; Clayton, 'Old Bailey trials', p. 339.

167. L. Rose, *The massacre of the innocent: infanticide in Britain 1800–1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986); A.R. Higginbotham, “‘Sin of the age’: infanticide and illegitimacy in Victorian London”, in K.O. Garrigan (ed.), *Victorian scandals* (Athens Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1992), pp. 257–88; A.R. Higginbotham, ‘Infanticide and illegitimacy in Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, 32 (1989), pp. 319–39; M.L. Arnot, ‘Infant death, child care and the state: the baby-farming scandal and the first infant life protection legislation of 1872’, *Continuity and Change*, 9:2 (1994), pp. 271–311.
168. S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in early modern England 1550–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 148.
169. Crawford, ‘Construction and experience of maternity’.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 12; Levene, *Childhood*.
171. J. Bailey, “‘Think wot a mother must feel’: parenting in English pauper letters, c. 1760–1834’, *Family and Community History*, 13:1 (2010), pp. 5–19; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; J. Humphries, *Childhood and child labour and the British industrial revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
172. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*.
173. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*.
174. L. Schwarz, review of Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, *Economic History Review*, LIX, 4 (2006), pp. 847–9.
175. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*. See also A. Levene, ‘Institutional Responses: The London Foundling Hospital’, in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, III (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006).
176. Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’, pp. 75–6; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*.
177. P. Slack, ‘Hospitals, workhouses and the relief of the poor in early modern London’, in O.P. Grell and A. Cunningham (eds), *Health care and poor relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 234–51, at p. 237.
178. R. McClure, *Coram’s Children: the London Foundling Hospital in the eighteenth century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981); Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; Levene, ‘Institutional Responses: The London Foundling Hospital’. But on settlement and the General Lying-in Hospital, see Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 283–4.
179. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 145–7; Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’, pp. 70, 73–6.
180. See Williams, ‘Maintenance of bastard children’.
181. J. Innes, ‘The “mixed economy of welfare” in early modern England: assessments of the options from Hale to Malthus (c. 1683–1803)’, in

- M. Daunton (ed.), *Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 139–80; S. King and A. Tomkins (eds), *The poor in England 1700–1850: an economy of makeshifts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
182. F. Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria: Sexuality and desire among working-class men and women in nineteenth-century London*, translated by J. Howe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992); Sheetz- Nguyen, *Victorian women*; J. Gillis, ‘Servants, sexual relations and the risks of illegitimacy in London, 1801–1900’, in J.L. Newton, M.P. Ryan and J.R. Walkowitz (eds), *Sex and class in women’s history* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 114–45, at pp. 117–19. And see G. Frost, *Promises broken: courtship, class, and gender in Victorian England* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1995), ch II; G. Frost, *Living in sin: cohabiting as husband and wife in nineteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), ch. 6.
 183. A.R. Higginbotham, ‘Respectable sinners: Salvation Army rescue work with unmarried mothers, 1884–1914’, in G. Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the lives of English women, 1760–1930* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 216–33; P. Bartley, *Prostitution: prevention and reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), ch. 4.
 184. Thane, ‘Women and the poor law’. See also L.H. Lees, *The solidarity of strangers: the English poor laws and the people, 1700–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 185. A.R. Higginbotham, ‘The unmarried mother and her child in Victorian London’, (unpublished PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1985), pp. x–xii, 207–10; J. Paxman, *The Victorians: Britain through the paintings of the age* (London: BBC Books, 2010), ch. 3.
 186. Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’.
 187. J. Innes, ‘Managing the metropolis: London’s social problems and their control, c.1660–1830’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 107 (2001), pp. 53–79, at p. 55.
 188. *Ibid.*, p. 62; Green, *Pauper capital*; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*; Levene, *childhood of the poor*, pp. 15–16; A. Tanner, ‘The casual poor and the city of London poor law union, 1837–1869’, *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp. 183–206.
 189. Green, *Pauper*, pp. 34–6.
 190. *Ibid.*, pp. xiv, 16–20, 34–6; and see Innes, ‘Managing the metropolis’.
 191. Green, *Pauper capital*, p. 19.
 192. J. Langton, ‘Urban growth and economic change: from the late seventeenth century to 1841’, in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban history of Britain*, II 1540–1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 453–90, Table 14.4, pp. 473–4.

193. M.C. Finn, 'Law's empire: English legal cultures at home and abroad', *Historical Journal*, 48 (2005), pp. 295–303, at pp. 295, 297; S. Hindle, *On the parish The micro-politics of poor relief in rural England c. 1550–1750* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 2004), pp. 195–203, 306–11, 405–32; J. Healey, 'The development of poor relief in Lancashire, c. 1598–1680', *Historical Journal*, 53 (2010), pp. 551–72; P. King, 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 125–72; P. King, 'The rights of the poor and the role of the law: the impact of pauper appeals to the summary courts 1750–1834', in Jones and King, *Obligation*, pp. 235–262; Nutt, 'Illegitimacy and the poor law', chs. 4–6; Nutt, 'Bastardy', pp. 128–9; D. Eastwood, *Governing rural England: tradition and transformation in local government, 1780–1840* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1994), chs. 3–4; R.B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex, c. 1660–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 23–5, 35–64, 81–94, 178–87, 225–37; Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice'; D.D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the city of London in the late eighteenth century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), ch. 2; J.M. Beattie, *Crime and the courts in England, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 59–67, 283–8. See also N. Landau, *The justices of the peace, 1679–1760* (London: University of California Press, 1984).
194. Green, *Pauper capital*, p. xiv, 170–6; Gray, *Crime*, ch. 2; Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice'; *Abridgement of Abstract of Answers and Returns Relative to Expense and Maintenance of the Poor in England and Wales* (P.P. 1818, XIX), app. a, p. 88a.
195. Gray, *Crime*, tab. 6.1, p. 117. Poor law offences accounted for 1.2% of a sample of committals to the Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction, 1670–1721; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, tab. 7.1, p. 169.
196. Beattie, *Crime*, pp. 65–7.
197. 1851 Census of Britain, Populations Tables 2, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>, last accessed 3 February 2016.
198. Hitchcock and Black, 'Introduction', p. xv. See also C. Nielsen 'Disability, fraud and medical experience at the Royal Hospital of Chelsea in the long eighteenth century', in K. Linch and M. McCormack (eds.), *Britain's soldiers: rethinking war and society, 1715–1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 183–201.
199. J. Boulton and J. Black, 'Paupers and their experience of a London workhouse: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824', in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins, and R. Preston (eds.), *Residential institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: inmates and environments* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014),

- pp. 79–92, at p. 80; 1851 Census of Britain, Populations Tables 2, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>, last accessed 3 February 2016.
200. L. MacKay, 'Culture of poverty? The St. Martin in the Fields' workhouse, 1817', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26:2 (1995), pp. 209–231, at pp. 212–13.
 201. Data collected by Jacob Field from the recognizances and indictments in Southwark (LMA), Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.
 202. R. Porter, *London: a social history* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 269; J. White, *A great and monstrous thing: London in the eighteenth century* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012), pp. 1–2, 32, 77. On seventeenth-century Southwark see Boulton, *Neighbourhood and society*.
 203. Population totals 1801–1831 are given in (1834) 'Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, Answers to Town Queries' (P.P. 1834 (44)), XXXV.
 204. White, *London*, p. 6.
 205. *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13.
 206. Green, *Pauper capital*, pp. 56–7.
 207. Data collected by Jacob Field from the recognizances and indictments, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.
 208. Meldrum, *Domestic service*, table 6.1, p. 188; Kent, 'Ubiquitous but invisible', table 3, p. 188; J.F. Field 'Domestic service, gender, and wages in rural England, c.1700–1860', *Economic History Review*, 66:1 (2013), pp. 249–72, table 1, p. 254.
 209. Seleski, 'Women of the labouring poor'.
 210. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 369; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, Figure 5.1, p. 195, p. 268.
 211. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 195, 268.
 212. Tadmor, 'The settlement of the poor', p. 46, and see S. Hindle, *The state and social change in early modern England, 1560–1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Hindle, *On the Parish?*; Snell, *Parish and belonging*.
 213. William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress* (1733), plate 4.



CHAPTER 2

Shame

Shame has been frequently associated with unmarried motherhood. ‘The conventional narrative about unmarried motherhood is that it was always shameful. Mothers and their “illegitimate” children were disgraced, abandoned, cast out by society, even by their own families, except possibly among the poorest classes, [from the Victorian period] until the 1960s’, argue Thane and Evans.¹ The Victorian period has been characterised as one in which having a child out of wedlock was particularly stigmatised, drawing upon contemporary novels, paintings, and the views of ‘noisy moralisers’.² However, the evidence suggests that there was, in fact, a diverse set of attitudes towards unwed women and their illegitimate children between the Victorian period and the 1950s (and before 1837). Thane and Evans believe that while these women and children ‘faced passionate social opprobrium’ they also benefitted from ‘strong and influential support that brought some improvements’.³ Higginbotham also uncovered disparate attitudes towards unmarried mothers in Victorian London.⁴

The discursive environment relating to the illicit sexuality of the lower orders and illegitimacy witnessed profound shifts between the early modern period and the end of the nineteenth century. This chapter assesses the attitudes taken by different sections of society towards unmarried parents over this period and the extent to which unmarried parenthood was stigmatised. Tracing the history of shame and how its relationship with unmarried parenthood over such a long time span is a somewhat daunting

task; although this chapter draws upon many histories there is the problem of comparison of studies, long-term change and how this all fits with established chronologies. Due to the nature of the evidence, far more is known about the views of those higher up the social scale. Indeed, this chapter could be a history of others telling unmarried parents that they should feel shame. Whether poor individuals actually felt this emotion, and if this differed between men and women, is far more difficult to discern. As Higginbotham has argued, '[t]he Victorian unmarried mother left few indications of her own responses and feelings' and this was even more applicable to the period before 1837.⁵ Furthermore, some of the sources in which unmarried mothers expressed shame, such as the London Foundling Hospital petitions, were created in a context that increasingly required such an expression to be successful.⁶ Some evidence is offered below but it is far patchier for unwed parents themselves than it is for other groups, primarily those who sought to impose shame.

Many historians have assumed that illegitimacy in the past was associated with shameful feelings for unmarried women and social opprobrium by others, rather than providing more than anecdotal evidence or examining the extent to which the nature of shame associated with bastardy changed over time.⁷ Others have assumed the opposite, arguing that labouring men and women, simply because of their position in the social order, felt no shame about illegitimacy.⁸ Adair comments that 'the nuances of stigma over time and place remain largely unexplored'.⁹

INSTILLING AND FEELING SHAME

It is firstly necessary to define 'shame' and its relationship to sexuality. Shame was socially constructed and historically contingent.¹⁰ In modern Anglo-American usage shame has a strongly negative connotation.¹¹ Shame can be a passive and an active emotion: a passive reaction to external evaluation or a powerful public concept.¹² As Munt contends in her study of the cultural politics of shame, this is an embodied emotion, written on the body by blushing and as part of the psychic process that, in turn, constructs subjectivities and identities.¹³ Shame is also performative.¹⁴ Ikegami explains that emotions are 'manifested through external expressions such as words, gestures and actions' and 'recognised by others in the context of cognitions, values and cultures'.¹⁵ Shame can also be manifested as an emotional culture.¹⁶ Munt adds that shame brings about an emotional impoverishment with a knowing suppression of empathy by

those shaming others and that shame is associated with envy, disgust and contempt.¹⁷ Nash and Kilday have sought to historicise shame. Drawing upon and refining sociological, psychological and anthropological definitions of shame, they suggest that historians should define and expand the definition of shame as ‘a painful emotion arising from the consciousness of something dishonouring’ in one’s own conduct or circumstances or those of others, or ‘of being in a situation which offends one’s sense of modesty or decency’.¹⁸ Guilt and shame are often confused or conflated; Munt explains that guilt might be felt when one knows one has committed a wrong, whereas shame is the result when, because of the wrong, one has entered a state of disgrace.¹⁹ While shame might be an internal emotion and subjectivity, the role of others has been crucial, as has been the cultural context of honour, modesty and decency. Nash and Kilday suggest that there were also contemporary ‘onlookers’ who were also important participants in the actions of shame and shaming. Historians must, they argue, not only consider the individual’s ability to ‘feel’ shame and to actively ‘conceive’ of it at a distance, but they must also view shame as a fluid concept, with a changing role and function depending upon the circumstances.²⁰ They argue that, ‘episodes where the “social emotion” of shame is displayed ... provid[e] an unrivalled window into the emotional and psychological lives of past individuals and societies’.²¹ Shame embodied power between individuals feeling and displaying shame and the attempts of others to instil this emotion in them.²² Indeed, in her study Munt seeks to explore the transmission of shame within and between groups.²³

Furthermore, Nash and Kilday maintain that the historian of shame ‘should understand the importance of circumstances which triggered shame to operate for those involved’ and that shame might be generated with the dynamic interactions between people, institutions and ideas.²⁴ Ikegami notes that shame might have an interactive relationship between the self and society and that—particularly importantly for the current study—shame also manifests itself with ‘unequal distributions of power among interacting parties’ and that emotions thus have political, and gendered, dynamics.²⁵ It is also important for historians to realise that in any given situation shame was not the only possible response and ‘the choice to reach for this particular emotion requires much deeper analysis’.²⁶ It was not always possible to control how discourses of shame were created or how they were utilised by individuals or groups.²⁷ Nash and Kilday point to the potential for the history of shame to inform us, from a social

history standpoint, about class formation or, from a post-modernist perspective, the creation and use of highly codified language to describe (and, one might add, create) social realities.²⁸ The concept of shame that they outline provides an extremely useful tool of analysis for examining historical understandings of sexual norms and unmarried parenthood. In her own study of infanticide Kilday has reflected upon shame and unmarried motherhood. ‘Certainly’, she argues, ‘illegitimacy was regarded as shameful: it not only brought shame upon the child, its father and its mother, in particular, but it could also bring disgrace on the wider family and kin of the individuals involved’.²⁹ However, she, too, does not consider whether it waxed and waned over time.

There were many ways that shame might be instilled. Eighteenth-century writers such as Bernard Mandeville and Erasmus Darwin, like many before them, believed that notions of honesty and modesty—and intense shame when these ideals were broken—were inculcated in women from infancy.³⁰ Mandeville wrote of ‘the fear of Shame attacks [the unmarried mother] so lively, that every Thought distract her’ and that when her condition is known ‘how will her Relations detest her!’³¹ Shame might also be invoked through shaming mechanisms such as unofficial community organised ‘rough music’, the ‘Scold’s Bridle’, the ducking stool, plus official church or secular shame punishments for fornication (and associated bastardy), homosexuality, adultery, the branding of petty criminals, whipping, the pillory, the gallows march and dying speech, and the shaving of prostitutes’ heads.³² Shame might also be associated with disease and particularly venereal disease.³³ Furthermore, as Carabine has argued, social policy—here the poor law—might have played a major role in constituting sexual norms. Important in the context of unmarried parents is her observation that through these social norms social policy constituted deserving and undeserving gendered welfare subjects. Social policy and sexuality were, to borrow Carabine’s phrase, ‘mutually constitutive’.³⁴ Social policy contributed towards sexual norms not only through welfare provision but also through criminal legislation, policy and practice.³⁵ For unmarried parents social policy and criminal punishment were linked. The extent to which shame punishments were carried out for unmarried parents is explored in Chap. 6.

Church and state were extremely powerful in shaping attitudes towards illegitimacy, and, while views were usually negative, their exact nature changed over time. Between 1576 and 1834 fornication and bastardy were criminalised through the church and secular courts, while the poor

law and affiliation system both drew upon and contributed towards these social norms.³⁶ Even after the decline of the ecclesiastical courts in the seventeenth century Christian teaching remained influential through the rise of evangelicalism in the later eighteenth century.³⁷ Philanthropy—largely, but not exclusively, driven by evangelicalism—became an extremely important influence upon sexual norms, social policy and the stigmatising of illegitimacy.³⁸ There is, however, a growing body of scholarship that argues that eighteenth-century London was at the centre of a ‘sexual revolution’.³⁹ It was not just institutions and social policy that influenced sexual norms. Other factors which also contributed included elite and popular literature, ballads, and art.⁴⁰ As will become evident, levels of illegitimacy and levels of shame cannot be easily mapped onto one another. Illegitimacy ratios did not simply reflect attitudes to having children out of wedlock. This chapter reflects upon the extent to which shame associated with bastardy might have impacted upon illegitimacy levels as well as the likelihood that rates of bastardy might have raised or lowered stigma.

EARLY MODERN ATTITUDES

There is little doubt that sex outside marriage and bastardy were seen as shameful by many in the early modern period. Gowing has argued that ‘[S]ingle motherhood [was] one of the perpetual fears of women, their neighbours and employers, and parish and civic authorities’ and that community concern over bastardy resulted in the surveillance of single women’s bodies by other women for signs of illicit pregnancy.⁴¹ In a case of 1765 it was stated that if an unwed woman was thought to be pregnant her neighbours would be sure to ‘keep a Stricter Eye upon her’ and there is plenty of evidence to this effect for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴² Such surveillance must surely have contributed to an association between unmarried pregnancies and shame. Another indication of the intolerance of community members to illegitimacy is the regular recording of children as illegitimate (‘bastard’, ‘base born’) in the parish registers by ministers despite their being no legal requirement to do so.⁴³ Accusations of bastardy were also part of the language of insult, and such slurs formed the basis of a number of slander cases brought before the church courts in a range of dioceses both for mothering and fathering a bastard child.⁴⁴

Presentment to the church courts for fornication—of which illicit pregnancies were ‘visible badge[s] of lack of chastity’—could result in public penance.⁴⁵ To churchwardens and other officers presenting women to the

church courts, Ingram argues, a “great belly” not only provided positive proof of sexual immorality but also crystallised a sense of moral outrage’.⁴⁶ Ingram argues that such activity by the ecclesiastical authorities meant that ‘even the humblest servant-girl internalised the conviction that sex without marriage in view was reprehensible’.⁴⁷ ‘Births out of wedlock were events that should not happen’, argue Fox and Ingram, drawing upon the London Consistory Court records, as they were ‘a source of scandal and shame’.⁴⁸ To date there has been little quantitative research on the regularity with which men and women were brought before the London church courts, although Dabhoiwala argues that ‘large numbers ... must have been dealt with by the capital’s ... church courts’.⁴⁹ The prominence of sexual offences in the church courts led them to be commonly known as the ‘bawdy courts’ or ‘bum courts’.⁵⁰ This is compelling evidence that ‘honest householders’ and the ecclesiastical courts sought to impose shame upon bastard-bearers and bastard-begetters and that in some cases it was successful.

The secular judiciary also played an increasingly active role in imposing shame. The poor law act of 1576 which instituted the affiliation system described chargeable bastardy as an ‘evil example and encouragement of lewd life’ and the act enabled magistrates to whip mothers and putative fathers as a shaming punishment. The Act of 1610 made the unmarried mothers of chargeable bastards liable to a year in a house of correction with hard labour, which was intended as another shaming and deterrent punishment.⁵¹ In her study, Shepard argues that putative fathers feared ‘the wider social opprobrium’ far more than the legal implications and financial responsibility. Magistrates sometimes made orders that stipulated that payments should be made after divine service at the communion table or in the church porch—public rituals which may have ‘carried associations of shame’.⁵²

Concealment of pregnancy and birth indicates that unmarried women were concerned for their reputations. For instance, in 1633 Anne Mast, an Essex servant, kept her pregnancy secret until she gave birth in the room she shared with her mistress. When questioned by a magistrate why she had not named the father earlier, she replied that, ‘it would have bine a greife unto her freinds’.⁵³ It was argued by contemporaries that only unmarried women possessed sufficient incentive to commit infanticide, ‘to avoid their Shame, and to escape Punishment’. These assumptions were the basis of the Infanticide Act of 1624 (see Chap. 3).⁵⁴ It has been argued by Jackson that the attitude that only poorer unmarried mothers were

believed to possess the motive for concealment and murder continued into the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Mary Ellnor, for instance, was found guilty of murdering her infant in 1708 and sentenced to death. While awaiting the gallows in Newgate prison she acknowledged to the Ordinary that she was guilty of the sins of 'Whoredom' and that her lover had brought her to a 'shameful End'.⁵⁶ Many women concealed their pregnancies and births between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries and, while such behaviour might suggest that they felt ashamed of their predicament, it would be difficult to use concealment as an indication of *changing* levels of shame felt by women given the particular legal context. Many women who were accused of infanticide had concealed their pregnancies and deliveries and it might be argued that they did so to keep their reputations to enable them to continue in domestic service rather than through an acute sense of shame. However, turning out a servant does suggest that masters and mistresses disapproved of the conduct of their employees. Historians have highlighted just how important the sexual morality of wives, daughters and servants was to the proper ordering of the household and the masculine authority of the husband as household head, an attitude that persisted into the Victorian period.⁵⁷ In contrast, infanticide could be viewed sympathetically in the pamphlet literature, and the drastic fall in the proportion of women found guilty at the Old Bailey reveals a softening in attitudes towards them.⁵⁸

There is evidence from the early modern period to show that the act of giving birth to a bastard child was not held as 'shameful' by all sections of the community. In seventeenth-century London, for instance, there were extensive networks of women helpers for 'big bellied' women, despite this, too, being an offence.⁵⁹ A widow living in Fetter Lane and running a food business, for instance, offered assistance in finding a midwife and somewhere to give birth.⁶⁰ In Cheshire unmarried mothers did not lose all claims to respectability and credit. Despite being a 'potent personification of disorder and dishonesty', argues Walker, women testifying in the magistrates' court could reimagine their honour and invert the stereotypes of bastard-bearers. Women recast themselves as honest, lawful, as good mothers, and abused by their lovers whom they accused of dishonourable and lewd behaviour.⁶¹

The church courts were suspended during the Civil War and with them all ecclesiastical powers of punishment.⁶² Yet the 1640s and 1650s were a period of renewed sexual discipline in which radical Protestants, zealous magistrates and godly householders sought to reform the immoral. In

many counties the number of secular prosecutions for fornication and bastardy rose.⁶³ And yet, even before the war, rapid expansion in the metropolis had begun to affect the effectiveness of moral policing.⁶⁴ There was a sharp fall in the numbers of prosecutions for fornication and illegitimacy from the 1620s and a further fall during the war at Bridewell and in the Cornhill and St. Dunstan-in-the-West wardmote books.⁶⁵ Dabhoiwala argues that sexual policing never recovered from the suspension of the church courts during the Interregnum.⁶⁶ For a couple of decades following the Restoration the restored Consistory Court of London prosecuted cases of fornication and bastardy, but far more bastardy cases were prosecuted by recognisance or indictment at quarter sessions and after the Act of Toleration in 1689 ecclesiastical cases were largely restricted to those for defamation.⁶⁷

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: TWO TURNING POINTS?

According to Dabhoiwala the decline in the policing and public punishment of illicit sexual activity in the century following the Restoration contributed towards the ‘first sexual revolution’ in the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ By the 1730s the Society for the Reformation of Manners and similar bodies, and their prosecution of fornication, adultery, and prostitution, were no longer active. Moreover, as London grew both in terms of population and geography fewer inhabitants were willing to take on unpaid voluntary policing roles.⁶⁹ The slanders ‘bastard-bearer’ and ‘bastard-getter’ had lost their potency by the early eighteenth century and they accounted for just 8–9 per cent and less than 1 per cent of cases of defamation respectively in the London consistory court in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ However, Dabhoiwala contends that ‘[f]or plebeian men and women, the bastardy laws continued to criminalize the bearing of children out of wedlock’.⁷¹ Thus, the decline of sexual discipline did not necessarily extend to the parents of chargeable bastards. Indeed, for a month in 1731, in the newspaper *Parkers’ Penny Post*, the churchwardens of St. Sepulchre published their resolution to punish ‘from time to time’ unmarried mothers who were delivered in the workhouse.⁷² St. Margaret’s workhouse committee sent Sara Pagett and Jane Herbert to the house of correction after their lyings-in in 1729 and 1730, and they threatened Mary Green with the same if she applied again in 1731.⁷³ However, it would appear that these women were the ones punished ‘from time to time’—supported by the fact that commitments for bastardy to Bridewell and the Westminster

and Middlesex houses of correction were low (Chap. 6)—and that the threat was used more as a deterrent. In London, at least, even chargeable bastardy was not routinely criminalised or punished. With the decline in punishment it might be argued that there was a loosening-up of sexual culture for the young men and women working and living in London, although this benefitted men far more than women.

There were also important shifts in metropolitan welfare culture which had significant implications for unmarried mothers. The establishment of parish workhouses from the 1720s provided pregnant unwed women with a place to give birth, and they quickly came to provide extensive medical care. However, they were established to be deterrent, with work expected of all inmates who were able, and—with shaming in mind—some workhouse committees insisted that unmarried mothers wear distinctive uniforms (see Chap. 4).⁷⁴ In the 1740s workhouses were joined by a whole host of other institutions. Philanthropic provision was influenced by fears of underpopulation and international insecurity, which led to the establishment of a number of pro-population associational charities, including the Foundling Hospital, the Lock Hospital for venereal cases, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, the Marine Society and the lying-in charities.⁷⁵ Although the priority was saving infant lives, plebeian women benefitted from this pronatalist provision.

The Foundling Hospital was founded in 1739 by Thomas Coram as a ‘Hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children’. Coram certainly referred to saving poor parents from shame, poverty and infanticide, as did the Hospital’s Royal Charter of 1739 and ‘An Account of the Hospital’ (1749). A sense of shame was also expressed in the Hospital’s psalms, hymns and anthems.⁷⁶ Jackson, argues that the founding of the Hospital was based on the assumption, for the first time, that relieving mothers of their burden was better than being exposed to further shame and punishment.⁷⁷ Philanthropist and governor of the Foundling Hospital, Jonas Hanway, associated shame with illegitimacy, commenting that ‘the child, being illegitimate, it may not in all cases be conveniently shewn to the world’ and that the mother might be ‘ashamed to throw herself, with her child, on charity’.⁷⁸ In contrast, Evans contends that although the minutes of the founding of the Hospital hinted at the relationship between illegitimacy and shame, they did not actually state that this was the prime reason for its establishment. The priority for the charity, she argues, was the poor child rather than its mother and that the emphasis by those petitioning to have their child admitted was

economic necessity.⁷⁹ Indeed, the language of shame was not commonly expressed in the petitions in this period. In Levene's sample from the period 1760–1793 just 5 per cent of petitioners used words such as 'shame' and 'disgrace', whereas in Trumbach's research the figure was 8.5 per cent (1768–1779) and Evans found that 16 per cent of sampled petitioners referred to their feelings of shame (1763–1801).⁸⁰ It would seem that there was a disjuncture between the discourse of philanthropy and the day to day administration of the Hospital in which top-down attitudes were not readily realised. Women petitioning the Foundling Hospital found themselves with variable levels of support, which might be considered indicative of attitudes towards them and associated levels of stigma: in Trumbach's sample, employers assisted in 48.2 per cent of cases and friends or family helped in 6.0 per cent, with a further 4.8 per cent of women receiving charity from yet another person, but in 5.2 per cent of instances families had rejected petitioners and 22.8 per cent of the women stated that they had 'no friends'.⁸¹ Evans argues strongly that it was the 'language of misfortune' which characterised the petitions and she emphasises the high level of help given to mothers from family and friends.⁸² However, Trumbach's evidence suggests a lack of kin; this conclusion is supported by the fact that so many women were migrants.⁸³ Assistance for unmarried mothers came from those immediately around them and the fact that courtship had not resulted in a wedding was due in part to their relatives being at some distance.

There were mixed opinions about unmarried mothers by the governors of the lying-in hospitals. The Royal Maternity Charity would only deliver women in their own homes if they were married, while the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital, the British Lying-in Hospital and the City of London Hospital stated that they would only accept married women.⁸⁴ While the three other lying-in hospitals did admit unmarried mothers, their regulations referred to the shame of their situation. The Westminster Lying-in Hospital (1765, later called the General Lying-in Hospital), for instance, agreed to admit 'Such Women [who] have been unwarily seduced from the paths of virtue ... overwhelmed with Shame, and wounded with Contrition for their past Indiscretion', while the New General Lying-in Hospital, Store Street, was set up in 1767 to help unwed women who were 'overwhelmed with Shame and remorse, and destitute of every other Means of Subsistence'.⁸⁵ The man-midwife Felix Macdonough commented that admittance of unmarried pregnant women to the General Lying-in Hospital (1752, later named Queen Charlotte's) provided an

opportunity to ‘correct their Morals’.⁸⁶ These three lying-in hospitals only admitted unmarried women in their first confinements.⁸⁷ Moreover, in 1774 the Westminster Lying-in Hospital created separate wards for married and unmarried mothers.⁸⁸ Hitchcock and Shoemaker argue that these restrictions pushed many of the most vulnerable and poorest unmarried women into workhouses and thereby ‘reinforced the association of parish relief with extreme poverty and moral turpitude’.⁸⁹ In practical terms some pregnant unwed women could now access institutional lying-in care, but in terms of rhetoric and regulation the governors emphasised the shameful situation of illegitimacy, as had the governors of the Foundling Hospital.

There was another ‘turning point’ towards the end of the eighteenth century. Concerns of underpopulation gave way to widespread fears of overpopulation and the dependency of the poor, most clearly and alarmingly voiced by the Revd. T.R. Malthus, and were joined by new ideas of political economy and evangelicalism.⁹⁰ Many self-help charities and mutual aid societies were founded and supported by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor.⁹¹ Malthus’s *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) articulated fears about the geometrical growth of population that would outstrip resources. These contributed to a reformulation of attitudes towards poverty, as well as the economic and moral costs of bastardy.⁹² Clark argues that the period 1770–1825 was a transitional phase in London with clashes between libertinism and the evangelical moral reform movement in which sexual reputation and chastity became a marker of middle-class status.⁹³ These standards were also adopted by magistrates, charity officials, clerics, and constables.⁹⁴ Regency aristocrat, their mistresses and bastard children, were viewed by middle-class reformers as corrupt.⁹⁵ At the same time, there was a shift in intellectual ideas about shame. Alongside a ‘crisis’ in shame punishments, Nash and Kilday locate a crisis of shame itself.⁹⁶ They describe how traces of the usefulness of shame in punishment did not entirely disappear from the writings of Cesare Beccaria, Jeremy Bentham and Baron David Hume. While there was repugnance at the more barbaric and cruder shame punishments, ‘there was nonetheless a desire to make it more subtle and effective within a socially utilitarian system of punishments’.⁹⁷

In the new climate the purpose of the Foundling Hospital changed from the single purpose of care of the child and with an emphasis upon economic necessity, to the dual purpose of the care of the child and the moral reform of the (unmarried) mother. From 1801 the charity specified that it would accept only illegitimate infants; before the change in the

rules a significant proportion of children who were admitted were legitimate (around 30 per cent).⁹⁸ The new regulations stated that the mother had to have been deserted by her lover, relatives and friends, and who had, previous to her fall, 'borne a good character for virtue, sobriety, and honesty', and by admitting the child, she might return to a 'course of virtue and the way of an honest livelihood'. The rules implied that petitioners should indeed feel shame: 'whose delivery took place in secret, and whose shame was known only to one or two persons'.⁹⁹ Although none of the Governors was evangelical, some evangelical men supported the hospital through other means, such as by preaching charity sermons.¹⁰⁰ The change in the purpose of the hospital conformed instead to a new ethos that material aid was useful only if it brought about moral reform and rehabilitation; philanthropic culture now demanded that charity must only be given, even to the deserving, in the manner most conducive to the improvement of morals and manners. The new ethos emphasised industry, sobriety, and economy.¹⁰¹

The 'language of shame' was far more evident in the period 1801–1810, in which at least 32 per cent of petitioners or their referees referred to such feelings, and this figure would be higher if all the cases were also included where the petitioner left her place of service so that her employers did not find out or deliberately did not tell her relatives. It was noted in many cases that the parents of the petitioners did not know of their present predicament and it could be argued that these were the practical signs of shame.¹⁰² In 1801 the petition of Ann Harding stated boldly her acute feelings of shame. She stated that:

your Petitioner has been undone; by departing from the path of Virtue; by which means every avenue of releif [sic] from From her former friends seems at present to be entirely Shut up added to this calamity her Undoer is Callous to every Sense of feeling both to her and her Unfortunate offspring.¹⁰³

Being 'situated and filled With shame and remorse' she pleaded for the child to be admitted, which would, she said, 'in some measure sooth the present anguish of her mind and leave her once more to walk in The path of Virtue'.¹⁰⁴ The evidence presented here certainly suggests that, after the reformulation of the rules, greater numbers of petitioners were expressing feelings of shame.

Furthermore, in a number of cases the employers of petitioners specifically said that, although they would help them in their application to the

Foundling Hospital by giving them a reference in support of their application to the hospital and that they would also give them a good character for a new position, they would not take them back into their own households. This was the single most helpful act an employer could offer.¹⁰⁵ This suggests that some employers felt that a sense of stigma accompanied the pregnancy of servants in their employment and that there should be some disciplinary action taken for their behaviour. When Jane Lomax applied for the admission of her bastard child into the hospital in 1805, for instance, she presented her petition and a letter from her employer, Mr Slee. He wrote:

I should not have discharged her had it not been for this her misfortune. I do entertain a high opinion of her Honesty. I do therefore the more readily interfere in her behalf on that account.

Mr Slee told the enquirer that: the contents of his letter are strictly true he was very sorry to part with the Petitioner. She was the best servant he ever had, he thinks a worthy object of your Charity. He has caused a strict enquiry to be made after John Brown [the father of Jane's child] but without effect.¹⁰⁶

Despite Jane being one of the best servants he had ever employed, Mr Slee still thought that the shame was too great and that he must let her go. What is not clear from a review of a long sweep of time is whether employers were less willing to take back their servants than before. Historians of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century domestic service suggest that an illicit pregnancy would often result in a servant losing her place due to the shame associated with her pregnancy, but, it must also be borne in mind that household heads would no doubt want to avoid financial responsibility for her and the child.¹⁰⁷ Of course in practical terms motherhood and live-in domestic service could not be combined.

Bourne Taylor argues that the Foundling Hospital came to 'reflect and contribute to the increasingly privatised and selective forms of early Victorian charity with its stress on sin and redemption' and that its dominant theme was the rescue of children through the mother's reform.¹⁰⁸ The Hospital shared this shift in emphasis with the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, established from the simple rescue of these unfortunate women, to their penitence, redemption and reform from the late eighteenth century—what had become known as 'magdalenism' by the 1840s.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, a perceived rise in prostitution was seen as posing a threat to the social order, and in the period 1787–1817 at least six

institutions were established to help the Magdalen to contain this threat of moral pollution.¹¹⁰

What is not clear, however, is whether petitioners and their referees actually felt shame and remorse or whether they were compelled to express such feelings because the Governors expected or hoped to hear such pleas. Indeed, 'plebeians may not have accepted the notions of bourgeois respectability that elite reformers tried to impose on them' but, argues Siena, 'they certainly recognized the ramifications of not *appearing* to conform to those ideals'.¹¹¹ It is certainly clear that petitioners and referees kept a keen eye on the rules. The language used in the petitions and character references closely reflected the language used in the new regulations. In order to demonstrate a previous good character, many used the exact words 'virtue, sobriety, and honesty' (as were stated in the rules), as well as 'modest' and 'decent'. The enquirers at the hospital frequently used the terms 'seduced', 'criminally connected', and 'yielded'.¹¹² Similar language was used in the character references in rape victims' cases; they were described as 'modest', 'virtuous', and 'sober'. Such references were crucial to supporting their reputation. In their character references, employers still stressed that these women were truly penitent sinners.¹¹³ Petitioners also used the language of 'seduction and abandonment'. It has been argued that there developed a new image of 'respectable illegitimacy' in the later eighteenth century; the only justification for bastardy was if a 'fallen' woman could establish her 'respectability' through conforming to the stereotype of having been seduced and then abandoned by her lover.¹¹⁴

The trope of seduction and abandonment, particularly of the working-class mother ruined by a higher-ranking man, was evident in later Georgian and Victorian poetry and novels, such as William Wordsworth's poem 'The Thorn' (1798), Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838), Frances Trollope's *Jessie Phillips* (1843), subtitled *a Tale of the New Poor Law* and Gaskell's *Ruth* (1850).¹¹⁵ This motif was also present in radical melodramas against the bastardy clauses between 1834 and 1844, and it infused missionaries' tracts about the dangers of passion, ballads and penny-issue novels which featured the dire fate of seduced maidens.¹¹⁶

In contrast, both Gillis and Clark have suggested that plebeian ideas of sexuality largely accepted pre-marital sex and that sexual reputation was only one factor by which working women judged one another.¹¹⁷ At the same time, Clark recognises that religious revivalism, evangelicalism, and dissent were also enthusiastically embraced by certain sections of the working classes.¹¹⁸ Clark contends that 'plebeian women had their own code of

sexual honour' in the period 1770–1820 and that this was just between women. This code, unlike that emerging for the middle class, did not exclude prostitutes, kept mistresses, unmarried mothers, those in cohabiting relationships, and the unchaste, who were not ostracised.¹¹⁹ On unmarried mothers in particular, she draws upon just three petitions to the Foundling Hospital, 1815–1817, in which female relatives offered assistance, whilst also arguing that fathers and other male relatives 'tended to shun unmarried daughters who became pregnant'.¹²⁰ There is insufficient evidence here in order to establish attitudes towards women with illegitimate children within plebeian culture. Two historians of the Foundling Hospital in the Victorian period—Barret-Ducrocq and Sheetz-Ngyen—disagree on the prevalence of the expression of shame in the petitions. Sheetz-Ngyen cites individual instances whereby unmarried mothers wrote of their shame at their situation, whereas Barret-Ducrocq argues that '[I]n most cases [applications] project sadness, not shame'.¹²¹ She argues that although in most cases the relatives reacted 'in a tolerant and reassuring manner' they also tried to 'keep the news from spreading'. There was a variety of responses among employers.¹²² The trope of seduction infused many of the Victorian petitions, almost to the point where putative fathers were routinely referred to in this way.¹²³ A wider cult of seduction and abandonment was greatly reinforced by the hospital's new rules for admission which placed 'respectable illegitimacy' at the core of its policy.

The petitions are a problematic source when assessing feelings of shame. How plebeian men and women felt about their own situations might more usefully be explored through working-class autobiographies, although there are very few that discuss illegitimacy and those that do were written by (mostly non-metropolitan) men. Clark draws upon the account written by Francis Place, master tailor and political radical in London, to suggest that attitudes towards unmarried motherhood changed over his lifetime. He remembered that in the 1780s tradesmen did not care if their daughters had illegitimate children, but that by the 1820s, when he was writing, such behaviour had become to be considered scandalous.¹²⁴ Griffin has analysed other autobiographies.¹²⁵ Early male autobiographers expressed shame at an illegitimate pregnancy, such as John Cannon, who, writing in the early eighteenth century, believed that his reputation had suffered badly—'calumny, reproach & scandall'—and that his credit had been 'cracked'.¹²⁶ William Swan's sweetheart's pregnancy 'brought guilt into my conscience indeed'.¹²⁷ Griffin shows that another autobiographer,

Thomas Johnson, absconded, while John Harland, James Bowd, Thomas Whittaker and William Swan married quickly.¹²⁸ Similarly, John Harland was a Methodist preacher and was ordered by the Methodist authorities back from Cornwall to Bradford to ‘make what reparation I could to Olivea by making her my wife’.¹²⁹ However, Griffin argues that there was a change in the sexual culture revealed by the autobiographers towards the end of the eighteenth century, and particularly for women living in the industrial north (where, she claims, illegitimacy ratios were higher), to one of ‘incaution’. Although illegitimacy ‘was to be avoided at all costs’, the relatively well-paid employment opportunities afforded to women in the factory districts, along with the assistance of family, meant that if women could not secure marriage then they did at least have the resources to raise a child without a husband. Griffin describes this as ‘the unmaking of the old order ... [of] social disapproval’ for illegitimacy and one which marked a ‘watershed in the lives of working women’, although there is no direct evidence to this effect by female autobiographers.¹³⁰ It would seem reasonable to argue that high illegitimacy levels suggest an acceptance, or at least toleration, of illegitimate births and, therefore, little shame. However, rising population and illegitimacy rates as well as the escalating costs of national poor relief led to widespread debate about chargeable bastardy and the wider roles of the poor law and philanthropy.¹³¹

THE NEW POOR LAW, MAGDALENISM AND THE IMPOSITION OF SHAME

Negative feelings towards unmarried mothers grew in the thirty or so years between publication of Malthus’s *Essay* (1798) and the Poor Law Commission of 1832.¹³² Malthus had argued that poor relief offered, ‘a direct, constant, and systemical encouragement to marriage before removing from each individual that heavy responsibility which he would incur by the laws of nature for bringing human beings into the world which he could not support’.¹³³ Such a mechanism would lead to a situation in which poor relief would, paradoxically, create more of the poor it was seeking to maintain. He was not only concerned about the causal link between the poor law and marriage but also the impact of support for unmarried mothers. He commented that ‘no person can doubt the general tendency of an illicit intercourse between the sexes to injure the happiness of society’ and that ‘[W]here the evidence of the offence was most complete, and the inconvenience to the society at the same time the

greatest, there, it was agreed, the largest share of the blame should fall'.¹³⁴ He also looked back to the concerns of Jonas Hanway, linking improvident marriages to the child mortality in London workhouses.¹³⁵ He called for the withdrawal of poor relief to illegitimate children, as well as the abolition of the poor law, although he modified his views somewhat in later editions of the *Essay*.¹³⁶

Malthus's views were profoundly influential on the Poor Law Commissioners; however, Henriques has argued that they misunderstood the subtleties of his arguments and that he did not propose to make women entirely responsible for their illegitimate children.¹³⁷ Forman Cody describes a situation in which Liberal and Whig critics of the poor law characterised unmarried mothers as "pests of society," burdens, villains, strumpets, and cunning manipulators of men and charities', while working-class Radicals and 'the occasional Tory aristocrat' held more compassionate views of unwed women as seduced and abandoned victims in need of support.¹³⁸ There were several parliamentary investigations into the poor laws in the 1810s and 1820s which raised concerns that the system of poor relief could collapse if not reformed. In 1832 the Whig government ordered an investigation of unprecedented scale into the workings of the poor law by sending out the Rural and Town Queries to every parish, as well as sending out dozens of commissioners to interview people. The questionnaire contained three questions related to chargeable bastardy.¹³⁹ The results were published two years later and were intended to provide evidence for the Poor Law Amendment Act of that year. Illegitimacy was a central issue in the formulation of the new poor law.¹⁴⁰

Historians have shown that the new Bastardy Clauses of the new poor law were among the harshest of the new legislation.¹⁴¹ However, Nutt has shown that the mentality of overseers, vestry members, and magistrates collected in the Rural and Town Queries did not necessarily provide support for the proposals in the Bill which sought (and failed) to place financial liability solely on the mother. The majority of these officials wanted to enforce paternal responsibility more effectively, although a minority (19 per cent) wanted reforms similar to recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834. Only around 5 per cent of respondents wished to punish mothers as the only means of deterrence, with its associations of instilling shame. However, the prevalence of officials' opinion in support of putative fathers paying maintenance was entirely absent from the *Poor Law Report* and, in common with many other issues, the Commissioners cherry-picked the evidence that supported their proposals.¹⁴²

There is no doubt that the passing of the new Bastardy Clauses as part of the Poor Law Amendment Act was a watershed in the treatment and attitude towards unmarried mothers.¹⁴³ It could be argued that the new social policy with regards to this category of the poor provided one principal mechanism by which to impose shame upon unwed women. Nevertheless, there was a range of views regarding chargeable bastardy, not only as evidenced by the responses to the Rural and Town Queries but also by the passage of the Poor Law Bill through parliament and subsequent reaction to the new law. The Commissioners argued that the affiliation system was an inducement to illicit intercourse and a 'reward to the shameless and unprincipled'.¹⁴⁴ That it 'extend[ed] the rights of matrimony to the unqualified and undeserving'.¹⁴⁵ The Poor Law Report was drenched in a gendered language which placed the blame for illegitimacy solely on mothers. Their children were described as 'bastards begotten and born out of lawful matrimony (an offence against God's law and man's law)' and that bastardy was an 'evil example and encouragement of lewd life'.¹⁴⁶ The influence of Malthus was clear and bastardy allowances were blamed as an inducement to illegitimate intercourse and that mothers had lost all sense of shame.¹⁴⁷ The Bill proposed that the mother of an illegitimate child was to be required to maintain it and that the putative father was absolved from all responsibility. Such an amendment would encourage self-control in women and thereby prevent illegitimacy. However, this double standard faced opposition in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The Bill was even dubbed the 'philanderer's charter' by one critic.¹⁴⁸ By compromise, the final Bastardy Clauses retained affiliation but moved cases to the more expensive courts of quarter sessions with the stipulation that the mother's evidence had to be independently corroborated.¹⁴⁹ 'On the whole, the Commissioners could claim a victory', contends Henriques and she argues that affiliation had become 'difficult, costly and hazardous'.¹⁵⁰ The new Bastardy Clauses were unpopular, however. Sir Edmund Head, an assistant poor law commissioner, noted that, 'some of the most violent opposition which has been offered to the amended Poor Law has been directed against its enactments on the subject of Bastardy'.¹⁵¹ *The Times* was a particularly harsh opponent of the new poor law and the Bastardy Clauses. In June 1840 it stated that, 'the parish, which has no legal recourse upon a father, will generally refuse to be burdened with his paramour and child' and that unmarried mothers had to give birth in the streets of London because no workhouse would give them shelter.¹⁵² A rival discourse to that of the

Commissioners' developed whereby women were used by men to their shame and ruin.¹⁵³ A stream of petitions was submitted to the House of Commons.¹⁵⁴ Affiliation was returned to petty sessions in 1839 and was taken out of the hands of poor law guardians altogether in 1844.¹⁵⁵

These new bastardy laws made affiliation very much harder. Henriques characterises the Bastardy Clauses of 1834 as a swift upheaval with the 'sudden withdrawal of the easy procedure for obtaining support for an illegitimate child'.¹⁵⁶ Although this is a very under-researched area, the limited evidence that is available suggests that the vast majority of unmarried mothers did not engage in affiliation proceedings (see Chap. 5).¹⁵⁷ This change has important implications for the culpability—and the potential for feelings of shame—of putative fathers, who would have been named, and paying maintenance, far less often than before 1834. Nutt has argued that the old poor law system of affiliation reflected 'a more explicit gendering of parental roles ... mothers as primary carers, and fathers as financially responsible'.¹⁵⁸ The reduced responsibility of reputed fathers shifted parental obligation on to mothers, as did institutional help by charitable magdalenism.

Furthermore, without the bastardy allowances or outdoor relief that was so prominent under the old poor law it is likely that unmarried mothers were much poorer and that many ended up destitute in the workhouse. Pat Thane believes 'once there, to be left in no doubt of their shameful condition'.¹⁵⁹ There is little evidence for London workhouses; however, this was certainly the case in Norfolk.¹⁶⁰ In the early nineteenth century relief minutes recorded 'a fine boy' or 'a fine girl' having been born to unmarried mothers in the workhouse, yet by 1834 Digby reveals that there was a 'strongly punitive and moralistic attitude when unmarried mothers were applicants for relief'.¹⁶¹ Guardians insisted that mothers in the workhouse wear a petticoat and stockings either of a conspicuous colour or a striped serge dress as 'public badges of shame' and in the Docking workhouse this policy continued even after the central poor law board had banned such a uniform in 1839.¹⁶² In Andover union unmarried mothers were dressed 'in an ordinary frock, but with a broad yellow stripe down it'; yellow was the colour of disgrace.¹⁶³ Shaming and punitive policies were also evident in the Swaffham Union where unwed mothers were excluded from the annual Christmas dinner and from the Coronation dinner on the Workhouse Green in 1838.¹⁶⁴ Thane also notes that the Poor Law Board ruled in 1851 that all unmarried mothers should be made to pick oakum in the workhouse rather than carry out the relatively more

attractive domestic tasks normally assigned to female inmates.¹⁶⁵ By the late nineteenth century in Poplar Union, in the East End, unmarried mothers were only offered the workhouse and they entered to give birth and then left again.¹⁶⁶ The dominant discourse in the nineteenth century became one of stigmatising illegitimacy.

Philanthropy meanwhile attempted to reform the unmarried mother. Magdalenism was mostly religiously-driven—and it drew upon Evangelical, Nonconformist, Catholic, Quaker and Jewish imperatives—but there was a minor but vigorous secular vein, most notably shown in Urania Cottage, the ‘House for Homeless Women’ set up by Charles Dickens and Lady Burdett-Coutts in the 1840s. Although its primary aim was the rehabilitation of prostitutes through the provision of a wide range of asylums, penitentiaries, refuges, societies and missions, by the mid-nineteenth century the movement sought increasingly to ‘rescue’ women who had never sold their bodies as ‘preventative’ cases for the ‘unfallen’.¹⁶⁷ The new rules at the Foundling Hospital from 1801 meant that the charity could, in fact, be seen as one of the first philanthropic institutions to engage in ‘prostitute *prevention* work’, by which unmarried mothers were saved from the ‘inevitable’ slippery slope into prostitution for economic survival. There was a widespread assumption that prostitution started with a ‘loving fall’.¹⁶⁸ There was thus a conflation of unmarried motherhood with prostitution. Within this concept there was a ‘scale of promiscuity’ and a ‘hierarchy of respectability’. The St. Marylebone Female Protection Society would only take in women who had been ‘perfectly well conducted until their fall’, while the London Female Mission would only assist those who had recently become prostitutes. The Ladies’ Associations would only help those unmarried mothers who were younger and had only had one illegitimate child.¹⁶⁹ Although these charities aimed to provide practical help to mothers as well as religious instruction and their ‘reform’, their infants continued to embody shame; in 1861, for instance, the *Magdalen’s Friend* stated that ‘the infant at her breast was her stigma, her burden, her curse’.¹⁷⁰ There was thus a range of responses within magdalenism. This persisted into the later nineteenth century. While Mason charts a move towards more home-like ‘cottages’ for fallen women within the magdalenism movement, Bartley also shows how some women poor law guardians wanted unmarried mothers with two or more illegitimate children to be compulsorily detained so that they could be prevented from bearing any more. At the same time Beatrice Webb argued against such a policy and others highlighted that it would penalise mothers but not putative fathers.¹⁷¹

As early as 1831 the Foundling Hospital reimagined its own history to reflect its new ethos. While Coram had established the charity as a ‘hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children’, John Brownlow, secretary to the London Foundling Hospital and foundling himself, set out the reasons for the founding of the charity as reform of the mother rather than the survival of the child. Brownlow claimed that a woman, bereft of help from her relatives and abandoned by her lover, ‘Being therefore unable to afford protection to her offspring in an honest *way*, she throws off for ever her remaining mantle of virtue, and abandons herself to a prostituted life!’¹⁷² Likewise, the Reverend Sydney Smith, one of the preachers at the hospital’s chapel, stated that the charity’s new purpose was to ‘distinguish between hardened guilt and the first taint of vice’.¹⁷³ Sermons delivered at the Foundling Hospital later in the century contributed to the shaming of unmarried mothers. In 1862 James Augustus Hessey preached, ‘[s]he has become a mother; she is a scandal and disgrace to a decent household; she belongs at once to a class which is a shame even to mention’.¹⁷⁴

Other charities included the Rescue Society, the Female Aid Society, Homes of Hope, and the Salvation Army, who restricted their intake to women who had been ‘perfectly well conducted until their fall’. The Magdalen Hospital now also took in girls who had been seduced by a promise of marriage and kept them separately from the more ‘hardened transgressors’.¹⁷⁵ Many of these ‘homes’ provided training for a placement in domestic service.¹⁷⁶ From the 1880s the preventive branch of the Ladies’ Association received recommendations for the ‘unfallen’ women that they might assist from poor law guardians or school board officers.¹⁷⁷ The Workhouse Magdalen Branch was part of a wider movement of visiting single mothers in workhouses to help and reform them, and also included the Workhouse Girls Aid Society, founded in 1880. Women guardians and philanthropic women visited these women in workhouses and in lying-in hospitals. Mothers might be given help finding a nurse for their child or employment, or a place for their child in the Foundling Hospital.¹⁷⁸ Bartley argues that entry into the workhouse continued to carry stigma for the unmarried mother and that it was thought to lead to ‘further ruin’ from association with ‘degraded and vicious women who haunt our workhouses all over the country’.¹⁷⁹

It is almost impossible to know the extent to which Georgian and Victorian unmarried women and men actually internalised feelings of shame, although this chapter has shown instances where shame was (or

was not) visible. Social policy initiatives and institutional structures were one way that behavioural norms were transmitted. During the nineteenth century many middle-class employers did believe chastity to be essential for their own daughters, and increasingly so for their employees.¹⁸⁰ Gillis has commented that it is doubtful that servants internalised fully the attitudes of their employers, but ‘years in service did raise a woman’s expectations and inculcate a prim, superficially correct form of behaviour’.¹⁸¹

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to chart the processes by which unmarried parents were shamed and the extent to which these changed over time. In terms of shaming processes, Munt argues that the victimisation of many stigmatised groups has remained historically long-lasting despite some mutation.¹⁸² Indeed, Kilday would agree, stating as she does that the shame and the social stigma associated with illegitimacy was remarkably enduring across time and place.¹⁸³ It is the contention of this chapter that the shame associated with unmarried parents, and mothers in particular, was present in the whole of the period considered here, but that its extent and the processes by which shame was transmitted changed. It has been possible to marshal considerable evidence in relation to groups within society who attempted to impose shame; given the limitations of evidence far less has been said about whether poor unmarried mothers and fathers were effectively shamed, although at times the discourse of shame was particularly potent. There was a particularly metropolitan flavour to the waxing and waning of shame related to its particular institutions: the rise and fall of the London consistory court, the metropolitan houses of correction, workhouses, the Foundling Hospital, lying-in hospitals, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, and the mother and baby homes established in the wave of ‘magdalenism’. These contributed to a particular experience of bastardy in the capital and to the intensity of shaming mechanisms. The making of metropolitan illegitimacy was a ‘compound phenomenon’, however, and illegitimacy ratios did not neatly rise and fall with levels of shame; the process was far more complicated than this. The waning of shame in the eighteenth century must have contributed to loosening of sexual attitudes described by Dabhoiwala, but this might not have constituted a ‘sexual revolution’. The next chapter considers sex, courtship and pregnancy in order to reflect further upon the purchase of shame, as well as to reflect upon the models of ‘courtship intensity’, ‘frustrated courtship’ and

changes in sexual culture in explaining the rise in illegitimacy. The chapter also seeks to recover the experience of pregnancy and the birthing body.

NOTES

1. P. Thane and T. Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried motherhood in twentieth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1.
2. Such as Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (1837–38); Frances Trollope, *Jessie Phillips* (1843); Elizabeth Gaskell, *Ruth* (1853); Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* (1857); George Eliot, *Adam Bede* (1859); ‘The Outcast’, 1851, Richard Redgrave; ‘The Bridge of Sighs’, 1878, Gustave Doré. For more on Victorian attitudes, see the discussion below. The term ‘noisy moralisers’ is that of Thane and Evans, *Sinners*, p. 1.
3. Thane and Evans, *Sinners*, p. 28.
4. A.R. Higginbotham, ‘The unmarried mother and her child in Victorian London, 1834–1914’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Indiana, 1985), pp. x–xix.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. xii–xiii.
6. S.K. Williams, ‘That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune’: unmarried mothers’ petitions to the Foundling Hospital and the rhetoric of need in the long eighteenth century, in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. K. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 86–101.
7. N. Rogers, ‘Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster’, *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–375, at p. 358; R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (London: University of Chicago, 1998), p. 233.
8. J. R. Gillis, *For better, for worse: British marriage, 1600 to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); A. Clark, ‘Whores and gossips: sexual reputation in London 1770–1825’, in A. Angerman, G. Binnerna, A. Keunen, V. Poels, and J. Zirkzee (eds), *Current Issues in Women’s History* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 231–48.
9. R. Adair, *Courtship, illegitimacy and marriage in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 90.
10. S. R. Munt, *Queer attachments: the cultural politics of shame* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1–30; E. Ikegami, ‘Emotions’, in U. Rublack (ed.), *A concise companion to history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 333–53, at p. 346.
11. Ikegami, ‘Emotions’, p. 344.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
13. Munt, *Queer attachments*, pp. 2–3, 6.
14. *Ibid.* See J. Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (London: Routledge, 1990).
15. Ikegami, 'Emotions', p. 337.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
17. Munt, *Queer attachments*, p. 2.
18. D. Nash and A.-M. Kilday, *Cultures of shame: exploring crime and morality in Britain 1600–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), ch. 1 and specifically pp. 4, 12, 18–20.
19. Munt, *Queer attachments*, pp. 3–4. See also Ikegami, 'Emotions', pp. 345–6.
20. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, ch. 1 and, more specifically, pp. 4, 12, 18–20. They also discuss the wider theoretical understandings of shame, including those of modernity and civilising processes. See also Ikegami, 'Emotions', p. 345.
21. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, p. 12. See also Ikegami, 'Emotions'.
22. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, p. 17.
23. Munt, *Queer attachments*.
24. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, p. 19. And see Ikegami, 'Emotions', p. 350.
25. Ikegami, 'Emotions', pp. 344, 347, 352.
26. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, p. 19.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 13–14.
29. Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 35–36.
30. M. Jackson, *New-Born Child Murder: women, illegitimacy and the courts in eighteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 113–23.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
32. See, for instance, Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*; L. Poos, 'Sex, lies and the church courts of pre-reformation England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 25 (1995), pp. 585–607; S. Hindle, 'The shamming of Margaret Knowsley: gossip, gender and the experience of authority in early modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 9:3 (1994), pp. 391–419; M. Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987); F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin, 2012); T. Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730–1830* (London: Longman, 1999); F. K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 357–394, at p. 376.

33. K. Siena, *Venereal disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600–1800* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), pp. 31–37.
34. J. Carabine, 'Constituting sexuality through social policy: the case of lone motherhood 1834 and today', *Social and Legal Studies*, 10:3 (2001), pp. 291–314, abstract.
35. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*.
36. Carabine, 'Constituting sexuality'.
37. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*; P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) ch. 4; B. Hilton, *The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism in economic and social thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
38. Langford, *Polite and commercial people*, ch. 4; Hilton, *Age of atonement*, pp. 242, 245; P. Bartley, *Prostitution: prevention and reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), part II; A. R. Higginbotham, 'Respectable sinners: Salvation Army rescue work with unmarried mothers, 1884–1914', in G. Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the lives of English women, 1760–1930* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 216–33; Proushaka, 'Philanthropy', p. 376.
39. T. Hitchcock, 'Demography and the culture of sex in the long eighteenth century', in J. Black (ed.), *Culture and society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 69–84; T. Hitchcock, 'Redefining sex in eighteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), pp. 73–90; A. Wilson, 'Illegitimacy and its implications in mid-eighteenth-century London: the evidence of the Foundling Hospital', *Continuity and Change*, 4:1 (1989), pp. 103–164; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*; Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*.
40. 'Unfortunate Objects': lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ch. 3.
41. L. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate: single mothers in the early modern city', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 137–52, at p. 138; L. Gowing, *Common bodies: women, touch and power in seventeenth-century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2003).
42. Jackson, *New-born child murder*, p. 40; L. Gowing, 'Secret births and infanticide in seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 156 (1997), pp. 87–115; A.-M. Kilday, *A history of infanticide in Britain c.1600 to the present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
43. Adair, *Courtship*, p. 223. In St. Botolph Aldgate bastard children were entered into the baptism register with their reputed father's names alongside those of their mother: E. Hubbard, *City women: money, sex, and the*

- social order in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 97.
44. J.A. Sharpe, *Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York* (York: York University Press, Borthwick Papers, 58, 1980), pp. 27–8; R. A. Marchant, *The church under the law: justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 224; Ingram, *Church courts*, Tables 12 and 13, pp. 298, 301; L. Gowing, *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 64–5, 70, 77, 85, 88–9, 106, 116–17, 134; A. Shepard, ‘Brokering fatherhood: illegitimacy and paternal rights and responsibilities in early modern England’, in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 41–63, 51–2.
 45. Ingram, *Church courts*, p. 261; R. B. Outhwaite, *The rise and fall of the English ecclesiastical courts, 1500–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007 online ed.); B. Reay (ed.), *Popular cultures in England 1550–1750* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 29–30; K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). This involved confessing the fault openly in church before the whole congregation during the service on a Sunday or a major holiday, dressed in a white sheet and carrying a white rod, and asking God for forgiveness.
 46. Ingram, *Church courts*, p. 53–4, 261.
 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 279–80.
 48. E. Fox and M. Ingram, ‘Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy in early seventeenth-century London’, in R. Probert (ed.), *Cohabitation and non-marital births in England and Wales, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 10–32, at p. 15. See also Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, p. 41.
 49. Dabhoiwala, *Origin of sex*, pp. 14, 16 (quote), 19–11, 41. On the London church courts in general see: R. M. Wunderli, *London church courts and society on the eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1981, online ed.), ch. IV, II. These records have been used by Hubbard, *City women*, pp. 86–110; Fox and Ingram, ‘Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy’; Tim Reinke-Williams, *Women, work and sociability in early modern London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
 50. Ingram, *Church courts*, pp. 17–18.
 51. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, p. 44; Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 117–18.
 52. Shepard, ‘Brokering fatherhood’, pp. 51, 55–6. See also B. Capp, ‘The double standard revisited: plebeian women and sexual reputation in early modern England’, *Past & Present*, 162 (1999), pp. 70–100, at pp. 72–3.

53. L. Gowing, 'Ordering the body: illegitimacy and female authority in seventeenth-century England', in M.J. Braddick, Michael and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 43–62, at p. 57; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 118.
54. Jackson, *New-born child murder*, pp. 4, 30–6; Kilday, *Infanticide*.
55. Jackson, *New-born child murder*, p. 40.
56. <https://www.londonlives.org/static/EllenorMaryExecuted1708.jsp>.
57. Capp, *When gossips meet*; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 2002).
58. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, ch. 3; Kilday, *Infanticide*, ch. 5; M. Clayton, 'Changes in Old Bailey trials for the murder of newborn babies, 1674–1803', *Continuity and Change*, 24:2 (2009), pp. 337–359.
59. P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 59–60, 65; Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate', pp. 141–2.
60. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate', pp. 141–2.
61. G. Walker, *Crime, gender and social order in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 227–37.
62. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, p. 46.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 50; Griffin, *Lost Londons*, pp. 201–9, Appendix Table 2a.
65. Griffin, *Lost Londons*, pp. 201–9, Appendix Table 2a.
66. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, pp. 50–2.
67. R. B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 20–21; T. Meldrum, 'A women's court in London: defamation at the Bishop of London's Consistory Court, 1700–1745', *The London Journal*, 19:1 (1994), pp. 1–20.
68. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, pp. 77–8, ch. 2.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–5, 77–8.
70. Meldrum, 'A woman's court', Tables 3 and 4, pp. 9–11.
71. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, p. 78.
72. Siena, *Venereal disease*, pp. 157, 305 n96.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
74. T. Hitchcock and R. B. Shoemaker, *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 121–33, 144–6; Siena, *Venereal disease*, p. 148.
75. T. Hitchcock, '"Unlawfully begotten on her body": illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke Chelsea', in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe

- (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997) pp. 70–86; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*; D. Andrew, *Philanthropy and police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 182; Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, p. 145; R. McClure, *Coram's children: the London Foundling Hospital in the eighteenth century* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 252; T. Evans, 'Unfortunate Objects': lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ch. 7; Croxson, 'The foundation and evolution of the Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service, 1745–86', *Social History of Medicine*, 14: 1 (2001), pp. 27–57; L. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation: sex, science, and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 176–83, at pp. 176–83; L. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying in Georgian London's lying-in hospitals', *Bulletin for the History of Medicine*, 78:2 (2004), pp. 309–348; A. Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 114–16, ch. 11; S. A. Seligman, 'The Royal Maternity Charity: the first hundred years', *Medical History*, 24 (1980), pp. 403–18; B. Croxson, 'The public and private faces of eighteenth-century London dispensary charity', *Medical History*, 41:2 (1997), pp. 127–49; A. Andrew, 'Two medical charities in eighteenth-century London: the Lock Hospital and the Lying-in Charity for Married Women', in J. Barry and C. Jones (eds), *Medicine and charity before the welfare state* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 52–97.
76. A. Levene, 'Institutional Responses: The London Foundling Hospital', in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, III (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. viii, 19, 113–21.
 77. Jackson, *New-born child murder*, p. 114.
 78. J. Hanway, *An earnest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor* (London, 1766), p. 76.
 79. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 70, ch. 5; Levene, 'Institutional responses', pp. xv–xvi.
 80. Levene, 'Institutional responses', pp. 173–365; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 287–8; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 113.
 81. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, Table 9.6, p. 281.
 82. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, ch. 5.
 83. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 242–4; J. Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor in London, 1740–1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1999), Table 3.10, p. 122.
 84. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 147.
 85. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

86. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 283.
87. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 154.
88. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 284.
89. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 256.
90. Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, p. 145; McClure, *Coram's children*, pp. 249–55; Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*, pp. 195–202.
91. Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, p. 145; Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*, pp. 195–202; McClure, *Coram's children*, pp. 249–55.
92. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 283–7; L. Forman Cody, 'The politics of illegitimacy in an age of reform: women, reproduction, and political economy in England's new poor law of 1834', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), pp. 131–156; T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61, at pp. 352–8.
93. A. Clark, 'Whores and gossips: sexual reputation in London 1770–1825', in A. Angerman, G. Binnerna, A. Keunen, V. Poels, and J. Zirkzee (eds), *Current Issues in Women's History* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 231–48, at p. 232.
94. Clark, 'Whores and gossips', pp. 232, 235; Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*, pp. 103, 127, 153.
95. Clark, 'Whores and gossips', p. 232.
96. Nash and Kilday, *Cultures of shame*, ch. 5.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 176.
98. A. Levene, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration', *Continuity and Change*, 18:2 (2003), pp. 201–235, Table 5, p. 220.
99. R.H. Nichols and F.A. Wray, *The History of the Foundling Hospital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 98–9; McClure, *Coram's children*, pp. 250–1. The new regulations insisted, for the first time, that the children admitted had to be illegitimate; before the change in the rules, a significant proportion of children who were admitted were legitimate (around 30 per cent): Levene, 'Origins of the children'.
100. McClure has shown that evangelical men were not necessarily supporters of the Foundling Hospital. Of 47 vice-presidents and 8 treasurers between 1770 and 1870 only 7 appear in a list of 90 active evangelical supporters of charities: McClure, *Coram's children*, p. 253.
101. Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*, pp. 197–202. See also Bourne Taylor, who argues that the Hospital managed to also hold on to their older, eighteenth-century, sense of public spirit. J. Bourne Taylor, "'Received, a Blank Child': John Brownlow, Charles Dickens, and the London Foundling Hospital—archives and fictions", *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 56:3 (2002), pp. 293–363, at pp. 322–3.

102. B. Weisbrod, 'How to become a good foundling in early Victorian London', *Social History*, 10 (1985), pp. 193–209, at p. 201.
103. LMA A/FH/A08/001/002/010 (1801).
104. *Ibid.*
105. Williams, 'I was Forced to Leave my Place to Hide my Shame'.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. Bourne Taylor, 'Received a Blank Child', p. 323.
109. M. Mason, *The making of Victorian sexual attitudes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 82–115; Bourne Taylor, 'Received, a Blank Child', p. 322; S. Lloyd, '"Pleasure's Golden Bait": prostitution, poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in eighteenth-century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), pp. 51–70.
110. Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*, pp. 197–202; Clark, 'Whores and gossips', pp. 231–48.
111. Siena, *Venereal disease*, p. 39 (Siena's italics).
112. Williams, 'That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character', p. 97.
113. J. Gammon, 'Defining reputation: negotiating gender and power in the long eighteenth-century court room' (unpublished paper presented at the Exeter Early Modern England Workshop, University of Exeter, 10–12 July 2003); Clark, *Women's Silence*, p. 78.
114. Wilson, 'Illegitimacy and its implications', pp. 103–164; McClure, *Coram's children*, p. 140; Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700–1800* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 39–41, at pp. 104–7.
115. Higginbotham, 'The unmarried mother', pp. 21–23; J. Bourne Taylor, '"Bastard to the time": legitimacy as legal fiction in Trollope's novels of the 1870s', in M. Markwick, D. Denenholz Morse and R. Gagnier (eds), *The politics of gender in Anthony Trollope's novels* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 45–60.
116. Bourne Taylor, 'Bastard to the Time'; Clark, *Women's silence*, p. 78.
117. Clark, 'Whores and gossips', pp. 232–3, 236–7; Gillis, *For better, for worse*, part II.
118. Clark, 'Whores and gossips', p. 233; J. Obelkevich, 'Religion', in F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750–1950*, III *Social agencies and institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 311–56, at pp. 321–26, 333.
119. Clark, 'Whores and gossips'.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
121. J. A. Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women, unwed mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* (London: Continuum, 2012); F. Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria: sexuality and desire among working-class men and women in nineteenth-century London*, translated by J. Howe (New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 161.

122. Barret-Docrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria*, pp. 165–76.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Clark, ‘Whores and gossips’, p. 234.
125. E. Griffin, ‘Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain’, *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 139–161; E. Griffin, *Liberty’s dawn*, p. 148.
126. Griffin, ‘Sex, illegitimacy and social change’; Griffin, *Liberty’s dawn*, p. 148.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*
130. Griffin, ‘Sex, illegitimacy and social change’; Griffin, *Liberty’s dawn*, pp. 120–62.
131. Forman Cody, ‘Politics of illegitimacy’, p. 132.
132. A. Brundage, *English poor laws, 1700–1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 68–9.
133. T. R. Malthus, *Essay on population* (London, 1798), p. 83; 9th edn (London 1888), p. 415.
134. Malthus, *Essay*, Winch (ed.), pp. 24, n. 6; U.R.Q. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’, *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29, at p. 109.
135. Malthus, *Essay*, Winch (ed.), p. 106.
136. Malthus, *Essay*, Winch (ed.), pp. 259–70; U.R.Q. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’, *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29, at p. 109.
137. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’, p. 109. See also Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, pp. 354–7.
138. Forman Cody, ‘Politics of illegitimacy’, p. 132.
139. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 286; Forman Cody, ‘Politics of illegitimacy’, pp. 137–8; Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, p. 343.
140. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 286; Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’.
141. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’; P. Thane, ‘Women and the poor law in Victorian and Edwardian England’, *History Workshop*, 6 (1978), pp. 30–51; Forman Cody, ‘Politics of Illegitimacy’; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*; Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’.
142. Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, pp. 347–51; M. Blaug, ‘The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new’, in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Essays in social history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 123–53; M. Blaug, ‘The poor law reexamined’, *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964), pp. 229–45.
143. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’; Thane, ‘Women and the poor law’; Forman Cody, ‘Politics of illegitimacy’; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*; Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’.

144. (1834) *Report from His Majesty's Commission for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the poor laws* (London), p. 195. See also Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 107; L. H. Lees, *The solidarity of strangers: the English poor laws and the people, 1700–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 141.
145. *Poor law report*; D. Englander, *Poverty and poor law reform in 19th century Britain, 1834–1914: from Chadwick to Booth* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 18; Thane, 'Women and the poor law', p. 32.
146. *Poor law report*, p. 96.
147. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 107; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'. Nutt dates the influence of Malthus to after 1831.
148. Brundage, *English poor laws*, p. 69.
149. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 114.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
151. Higginbotham, 'The unmarried mother', p. 17.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
154. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', pp. 114–5.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–19; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'.
156. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 125.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 125–6; Nutt, 'Illegitimacy and the poor law', ch. 4 and especially pp. 181–4, 187–90; B. Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 198; (1837–8), 'Return to the House of Commons of the Number of Affiliations made under the provisions of 4 & 5 Will. IV, c.76, s.72, at each Sessions of the Peace in England and Wales subsequent to the said Act etc. (P.P. XXXVIII,), pp. 413–30.
158. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 336–7.
159. Thane, 'Women and the poor law', p. 32.
160. A. Digby, *Pauper palaces* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 152–3.
161. Digby, *Pauper palaces*, p. 152.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
163. N. Longmate, *The workhouse: a social history* (London: Pimlico, 1974, 2003), p. 157; V. Richmond, *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 289.
164. Digby, *Pauper palaces*, p. 153.
165. Thane, 'Women and the poor law', p. 32.
166. E. Sandy, 'Lone motherhood in late-Victorian and Edwardian Poplar' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011).
167. Mason, *Victorian sexual attitudes*, pp. 82–115.

168. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–115; Bourne Taylor, ‘Received Blank Child’; Bartley, *Prostitution*, p. 104.
169. Mason, *Victorian sexual attitudes*, p. 110; Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 94, 105–6.
170. A. R. Higginbotham, ‘Infanticide and illegitimacy in Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, 32 (1989), pp. 319–39, at pp. 321–2.
171. Mason, *Victorian sexual attitudes*, pp. 95–115; Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 106–7. See also P. Hollis, *Ladies elect: women in English local government 1865–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 267–71; Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women*, pp. 149–63, 171, 189.
172. J. Brownlow, *Hans Sloane: a tale illustrating the history of the Foundling Hospital in London* (London: F. Warr, 1831), pp. 60–3, 95; J. Brownlow (1858) *The history and design of the Foundling Hospital, with a memoir of the founder* (London: W. and H.S. Warr), pp. 29–32.
173. Brownlow, *History and design*, pp. 32–8.
174. Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women*, p. 62.
175. Higginbotham, ‘The unmarried mother’, chs. 3–4; Mason, *Victorian Sexual Attitudes*, pp. 82–115; Andrew, *Philanthropy and police*, pp. 187–94; Bartley, *Prostitution*, ch. 4.
176. Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 51–2, 97–8.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 104; Hollis, *Ladies elect*, pp. 267–71; Ducrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria*, p. 151.
179. Bartley, *Prostitution*, pp. 94, 105, 109–10.
180. Clark, ‘Whores and gossips’, p. 232.
181. J. R. Gillis, ‘Servants, sexual relations and the risks of illegitimacy in London, 1801–1900’, in J. L. Newton, M. P. Ryan and J. R. Walkowitz (eds), *Sex and class in women’s history* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), p. 139.
182. Munt, *Queer attachments*, p. 3.
183. Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 3, 5, 180.



CHAPTER 3

Pregnant and Birthing Bodies

For married women pregnancy was evidence of respectability and it gave women status and authority, while childbirth was, in Crawford's words, 'the female rite of passage *par excellence*'.¹ This was not so for poor unmarried women, for whom the identification of pregnancy was particularly important because of its implications for illicit sexual activity and charges of fornication, bastardy, settlement and chargeability, and with it the potential cost to the poor rates, as well as their own future employability.² Being an unmarried mother was an embodied gendered experience that started with sexual intercourse and continued to pregnancy, childbirth, lying-in and breast-feeding.

COURTSHIP AND CONCEPTION

The metropolis offered the prospect of a new exciting life in a sprawling city. It was 'noisy, stunning and filled with promises of adventure'.³ Migrants might have greater freedom to meet members of the opposite sex and to engage in courtship without the interference of family, but also without their assistance if things started to go wrong; on the other hand, although migrants might be far from kin they were frequently under the household authority of a master or mistress, while peers and the wider community took an interest in the behaviour of courting couples.⁴ Bastardy examinations reveal that unmarried mothers had spent a numbers of years working in London before they became pregnant, that they were employed

in relatively menial jobs (many in domestic service positions) and that around half of them had gained a right of settlement in their London parish by serving out an annual service term.⁵ Their lovers worked in a wider range of trades, broadly reflecting the occupations of the communities in which they lived and worked (see Chap. 5).⁶ Unmarried mothers and putative fathers, then, were usually drawn from the same social class. However, the discrepancy in the flexibility of employment might have made women vulnerable to abandonment since domestic servants were relatively immobile while men found it easier to move between jobs or even across the seas.⁷ There were many more young single women in the capital than elsewhere, meaning that there were more women 'at risk' of pregnancy.⁸ In Westminster, for instance, the sex ratio was ten women for every eight or nine men.⁹

Studies have found that relationships were conducted between plebeian men and women who 'lived and worked in close proximity to each other', such as those between servants, servant and lodger, servant and member of the family of the employer, and, occasionally, master and servant.¹⁰ These studies draw upon bastardy examinations and petitions to the Foundling Hospital, which say little about motivation in courtship. As Rogers comments, '[A]rguments about illegitimacy are necessarily inferential because we have little hard evidence about the sexual attitudes and motivations of the bastard-bearers themselves'.¹¹ Instead, historians have to draw conclusions from the courtship patterns contained within such sources.

The demands and long working hours of domestic service limited the opportunities for women to meet men,¹² though women and men could meet this way in households employing more than one servant. A sample of petitions to the Foundling Hospital from the early nineteenth century reveals that in almost half of cases the couple either met in service or through other servants in the household.¹³ Charlotte Winds, for example, met Edward Kenward, the gardener, when she was in service with Mrs Newport. In other cases, petitioners met the fathers of their children in their place of work, such as Sarah Barber, who met Charles Collis in the ham shop where she worked. Another 12 per cent of couples met while living in lodgings. Lovers could also meet through family, friends and neighbours; 23 per cent of petitioners met in these circumstances. In the final 16 per cent of cases, petitioners lived or worked nearby to their lovers or they met in the street. Mary Farman, for instance, met Joseph Baite, a married Musician of the Band of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, in

her local park. The housekeeper told the hospital enquirer that, 'She thinks Nursery Maids shod not be supposed to visit the Park as they generally do, without some one to attend them—on Acct of the Danger of red Coats and Music which are tempting Things to inexperienced Girls'.¹⁴

Where a couple were living and working had a huge influence upon their courtship and their opportunities for sexual activity. Despite the proximity of other household members, over half of couples in the sample had sex in their rooms, including Henry Julian who 'seduced [Margaret Weir] in Oct 1839 in her Bed Room in her Masters House They used adjoining Rooms as Bedrooms' while 'All the family was at home'. In a further fifth of cases couples had sex in their lodgings. The vast majority of sexual activity took place indoors and on private territory. These findings are confirmed by Black's and Trumbach's studies of metropolitan sex and courtship.¹⁵ There was little evidence of casual or promiscuous relationships, the vast majority of women knew the names and addresses of their lovers, and most couples had had sex more than once or twice.¹⁶ However, Rogers found that the vast majority of courtships in Westminster lasted no more than ten months, with just 3.5–5 per cent lasting two years or more. He attributes the breakdown of relationships to 'desertion and pregnancy, or compromised by financial incapacity'.¹⁷ He argues strongly that it was frustrated courtships that resulted in an illegitimate pregnancy, due to 'unemployment, war or premature death' and that London offered particularly low or falling real wages or unstable employment prospects for men and women.¹⁸ The evidence is mixed: some wages were higher in London, but there was a decline in metropolitan real wages in the second half of the eighteenth century of 38 per cent.¹⁹ No doubt economic conditions in London contributed to the break-up of relationships and the rate of illegitimacy, but some weight needs to be given, too, to courtships where couples began to have sex before they had decided to marry and, when pregnancy became apparent, either the couple could not afford to marry or, within a more 'libertine sexual culture', men were not prepared to marry their lovers.

The stories told by other petitioners hint at prostitution. Sarah Thompson's lover was a sailor and they conducted their courtship between her lodgings and his ship. Sarah told her landlady that, '[s]he had been on board Ship to visit him and this Child was the consequence of that visit'. In another case John Robinson and Sarah Watson were 'connected' in Earl's Park. A similar proportion of couples went to local pubs in order to have sex. Mary Ann Jackson's lover, who '[o]ne night he took her to the

[public house] and under a pretence of giving her Refreshment took her to a House and Seduced her'. Such descriptions appear to support middle-class contemporaries' fears that many pubs were dens of immorality.²⁰

Prostitution might also result in an illegitimate pregnancy.²¹ Illegitimacy and prostitution is an under-researched area. In early modern London 'lewd' women were delivered in bawdy houses and the networks of women who would assist 'big bellied' women also accommodated prostitutes.²² Such cases usually came to light through its prosecution at Bridewell.²³ Prostitution was specified along with having an illegitimate child in three of the eighteenth-century Bridewell cases analysed for Chap. 6. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries prostitutes in the capital were frequently young women of around eighteen years of age, alternating prostitution with domestic service or work in the clothing trades.²⁴ Prostitutes might also make use of the workhouse, such as Mary Brown, only 17 years old, who turned up in labour at the door of St. Clement Danes' workhouse.²⁵ Black found a handful of pregnant single women examined before magistrates were engaged in prostitution and he suggests that the casual nature of some of the sexual activity, or that couples engaged in sex in inns, is suggestive of prostitution.²⁶ Trumbach estimates the proportion of such women in St. Margaret Westminster at one-third of those examined, 1712–1721.²⁷ A rise in eighteenth-century metropolitan prostitution is central to Trumbach's argument that there was a 'new male heterosexuality' and that 'probably the majority of men in London had sexual relations with a population of prostitutes who could be found walking from one end to the other of the great thoroughfare of interconnecting streets'.²⁸ New poor law union workhouse admission and discharge registers occasionally admitted women 'in labour' whose occupations were recorded as 'prostitute' (see Chap. 4).²⁹ Trumbach comments for the eighteenth century that '[t]he women seduced into prostitution, however, must always have been a minority of the young unmarried women in the city', while Walkowitz points out that most Victorian unmarried mothers 'were servants who were not prostitutes'.³⁰ To contemporary Victorian society the distinction between unmarried motherhood and prostitution became increasingly blurred, yet, Walkowitz argues, '[t]he stereotyped sequence of girls seduced, pregnant, and abandoned to the streets fitted only a small minority of women who ultimately moved into prostitution'.³¹

Some women engaged in sexual activity without any plans for the future. This is an important finding as it relates to the debate between

historians as to whether illegitimacy was a result of 'frustrated courtship' or to a change in sexual culture. It would seem that there is room for both arguments. The fact that so many unmarried mothers were the same age as those marrying and of pregnant brides strongly supports the idea that unmarried mothers were engaged in the same sexual behaviour as many other women. However, although many started having sex at betrothal, a significant, but ultimately uncalculatable, number engaged in sexual activity with little thought of marriage. Evans and Trumbach both found that in one-fifth of cases petitioners to the Foundling Hospital stated that they had a promise of marriage, and Trumbach also found that around the same proportion of those examined in St. Leonard Shoreditch believed themselves to be betrothed.³² In my sample of petitions, 1801–1810, 44 per cent of petitions stated that the couple were betrothed, while in 16 per cent of applications the Hospital enquirer noted explicitly that there had been no marriage proposal.³³ It is likely that some of those women with no stated marriage proposal were in relationships with an expectation of marriage (and that this information was simply not given in the documents), yet these findings do suggest that there had been some freeing up of sexual culture in London in the way described by Dabhoiwala. This loosening of attitudes was somewhere between promiscuity and betrothal.

There has been a long-standing assumption that a large number of plebeian couples cohabited in this period and that there were 'de facto' marriages. Nearly all historians have drawn upon Gillis' idea that informal marriages were tolerated before Hardwicke's Act of 1753 and that after this Act the children of cohabiting couples who did not marry in an Anglican church were bastardised.³⁴ However, Probert has demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of people married formally both before and after Hardwicke's Act.³⁵ In London, numerous cases of the cohabitation of pregnant unmarried women with their lovers, as well as instances of unmarried couples living with their illegitimate children, came before parish overseers, Justices of the Peace, the court of the Old Bailey and the Committee of the Foundling Hospital, but such relationships formed only a small proportion of all cases. In the early nineteenth century a maximum of 15 per cent of unmarried parents cohabited.³⁶

Not all sexual activity was consensual, and notions of consent were blurred. Women faced high levels of sexual harassment and a significant minority of unmarried pregnant women had been raped, although the proportion is difficult to quantify.³⁷ Establishing the prevalence of sexual violence is problematic given how few rapes were reported, no doubt

partly due to the fact that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries men could prosecute women for claiming that they had raped them.³⁸ Early modernists in particular have highlighted the vulnerability of servants to sexual harassment and sexual violence within the household by other male household members, including apprentices, servants, lodgers and masters.³⁹ Elizabeth Bussell was repeatedly raped by her young master, Mr Samuel Firmin, a button seller, in 1750. She told the magistrate that he locked her in a room, threatened to kill her with a penknife, and ‘forcibly lay with her’, and that he ‘several times afterwards lay with her by frightening her with his drawn penknife and beating and bruising her frequently’.⁴⁰ Recent research on women’s life-writing by Jane Humphries points to significant levels of sexual exploitation by women during industrialisation.⁴¹

In an attempt to get around the evidential problems Clark has analysed a sample of petitions to the London Foundling Hospital for the period 1815–1845. She finds that the proportion of petitioners who were sexually assaulted rose from 11 per cent in the period 1815–1824, to 15 per cent 1825–1834, to 31 per cent 1835–1845. The doubling of the figure between the second and the third periods followed John Brownlow (secretary) starting to ask applicants in 1835 if they had consented.⁴² However, despite the popular trope which placed responsibility for sexual exploitation on aristocrats and factory owners—particularly in radical rhetoric—just 9 per cent of rapes in the North-east Assize depositions were perpetrated by masters. Instead, women were at most risk from men of their own background, with 14 per cent of women raped by lodgers and 31 per cent by fellow servants.⁴³ The household was a particularly dangerous place for women, and this also borne out in Northern Assize records and newspapers.⁴⁴ Men also coerced or raped their sweethearts. For instance, Sally Swarthmore’s lover, a footman, crept into her bedroom uninvited, while Mary Carr was violently raped by a farm labourer who worked with her father. She told him that ‘she was very sorry for what he had done—he said he was sorry too and again promised to marry her but she told him she had lost all affection for him’.⁴⁵ Men largely got away with rape, with few prosecutions and even fewer convictions.⁴⁶

BEING WITH CHILD

Recognising and identifying pregnancy could be fraught with difficulties for women, for observers, and even for midwives.⁴⁷ The very unpredictability of the female body contributed to a view of women as unreliable

and duplicitous.⁴⁸ As Gowing argues, '[t]he recognition and identification of illegitimate pregnancy in early modern communities was an uncertain business'. Doing so was extremely important because unmarried women's pregnancies threatened the parish 'with the [economic] burden of illegitimacy' or the possible 'crime of infanticide'.⁴⁹ Eighteenth-century midwifery texts set out the signs of pregnancy as nausea and vomiting, swollen legs, back pain, increased breast and waist size, haemorrhoids, and movement—'quickening'—of the foetus in the womb.⁵⁰ Quickening was of huge legal, as well as cultural, significance. According to Cressy it was 'a time for joy, but it also marked a new stage of anxiety' over the possibility of miscarriage.⁵¹ Abortion was illegal only after quickening.⁵² It was only after this point in the pregnancy that a woman was generally expected to make a sure forecast of her due date.⁵³ However, estimating the duration of pregnancy was still problematic, and particularly so for young women. The midwife Jane Sharp wrote in 1671 that 'young women especially of their first child are so ignorant commonly, that they cannot tell whether they have conceived or not, and not one in twenty almost keeps a just account, else they would be better provided against their lying in, and not so suddenly be surprised as many of them are'.⁵⁴

This view of pregnancy was challenged by the changes in medical science over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, drawing upon the advances in anatomy, reproductive knowledge, male midwifery and medicine's increasing claims to professionalisation.⁵⁵ Understandings shifted from the internal feeling of mothers and the importance of quickening to male objective medical science, which came to view life as starting much earlier, at conception.⁵⁶ As Forman Cody argues, '[m]an-midwifery ... [became] an objective body of knowledge about the invisible world of life, acquired through clinical practice, contemplation, reading, collecting, dissecting, learned conversation, and debate, in short all of the details of practice from which most women, no matter how learned, were excluded'.⁵⁷ William Hunter's *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (1774) made visible 'the invisible world of life' with its illustrations of foetal development.⁵⁸ The 'new obstetrics', with improved anatomical knowledge and midwifery techniques, was taught to a large number of (mainly male) students in London medical schools and midwifery increasingly became part of the training for surgeon-apothecaries.⁵⁹

Abortion was an option for an unwanted pregnancy. It was believed by contemporaries that it was single and widowed women, and usually domestic servants, who wanted to an abortion to avoid poverty and social

ostracism.⁶⁰ Of course, it was unmarried women who were most likely to come to the attention of the authorities, thus reinforcing the stereotype.⁶¹ In early modern England there were remedies to 'restore' the menstrual cycle, such as letting blood between the toes, the taking of savin (juniper), or the tight lacing of the body.⁶² Cressy argues that 'knowledge of abortion was widely distributed in the female subcultures of early modern England'.⁶³ The herbs and plants used to procure abortion might also be used to ease labour pains or to accelerate delivery.⁶⁴ Gowing describes how stories that drew upon a popular model of preventing a child from forming or clearing a blockage became more clearly defined attempts to 'make away' with an unborn child once in the courts.⁶⁵

Throughout the entire period of this book concerns persisted about midwives performing abortions, as well as harbouring pregnant unmarried women, colluding in infanticides, and dumping new-borns with negligent nurses.⁶⁶ In 1679 the midwife Ann Atkinson was supposed to have assisted in the murders of 'Illegitimates or Bastards' in a house in Holborn to save 'their Mothers Credits'.⁶⁷ Putative fathers might be implicated in attempts to procure an abortion.⁶⁸ Cases of abortion, prematurity, and infanticide turned on the age of the unborn child, yet establishing this was problematic. Midwives, matrons and surgeons would be called on for their opinions. In 1788 in St. George Southwark the surgeon and apothecary William Underwood was called by the parish officers to examine the 'abortion or untimely Birth' of Jenny Herbert, a lodger who shared a room with another woman, Ann Jones, while in cases of child-murder they were asked whether the infant was born at full term.⁶⁹ Abortifacients were sold and advertised widely, even after the various changes in the statutes on abortion between 1803 and 1861, whereby the penalty rose to life imprisonment and there was a lesser offence of knowingly supplying others with instruments or medicines to procure an abortion.⁷⁰ Before the twentieth century, however, there were very few prosecutions for abortion; indeed before the nineteenth century no cases were tried at the Old Bailey. There is little evidence of how often single women might have resorted to this method between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.⁷¹

As a woman's physical appearance became apparent to others, pregnancy became a social as well as a personal experience.⁷² Advice manuals told their readers that women in advanced pregnancy must be taken care of and must get rest.⁷³ Although husbands were expected to shoulder more of the domestic chores and childrearing responsibilities, in practice female relatives and neighbours usually offered most help.⁷⁴ Women in

poorer households did not hire a nurse nor enjoy the leisurely lying-in as practised by wealthier families but the poor law might pay for the costs of delivery and a shortened lying-in period.⁷⁵ Women prepared for the birth by acquiring childbed linen and baby clothes and by speaking to a midwife about their deliveries.⁷⁶ Many women would have been apprehensive about the coming birth; a mother-to-be might 'dread the ordeal and wonder if she was going to die'.⁷⁷ A poor single woman would not have welcomed the realisation of her pregnancy. Historians have charted the intense surveillance and physical searches of single women's bodies by midwives and matrons for signs of illicit pregnancy.⁷⁸ Hester Rowden was examined by no less than three midwives: Susannah Woan, Rebecca Graham, and Ann Jeffs, the midwife for the workhouse in St. Martin in the Fields, in February 1793.⁷⁹ In June 1709 the midwife Mrs Poore was paid 2s. 6d. by the overseers of St. Botolph Aldgate for '[s]earching two Women who pretended to be wth Child'.⁸⁰ Daughters living at home could be especially vulnerable to such confrontations, but domestic servants were also closely observed by mistresses and other servants.⁸¹ Sarah Church had been in Mary Keats's service for between three and four months, but, '[o]n suspecting her maid to be with child she charged her with it and she always denied it', she requested that her friend, Mrs Curghey, a mother herself, examine Sarah.⁸² A woman would become the object of concern of master and mistress, friends and family, neighbours and parishioners, and the parochial and judicial authorities. Indeed, Gowing argues that 'neighbours, friends and midwives—were not companions, but threats'.⁸³ Thus, unwed pregnant women were under surveillance on two levels: that of friends, family and household, and that of the civic community and parish officials.⁸⁴ For the woman herself, Cressy argues, '[f]ragments of evidence from the ecclesiastical court records point to a pattern of discovery, despair, coming to term, and lying in'.⁸⁵

Unmarried mothers also acquired childbed linen and baby clothes, spoke to midwives about their deliveries, and acquired lodgings for lying-in.⁸⁶ Elizabeth Deal 'went to a Midwife at Stepney, and desired to Lye In in private, which the Midwife promised she should, if she would make provision for the Child, which she promised', and in Ann Westgoe's case it was reported that, 'Mrs Spencer, says she beleives [sic] her to be an object of Charity & seeing her distress took her into her house and being a Midwife assisted her out of Charity'.⁸⁷ While Evans describes a strong network of assistance for single pregnant women in eighteenth-century London, provided by kin, friends and neighbours, employers and

landladies, and Hitchcock argues that the parochial and charitable institutions were ‘uniquely well designed for problems faced by unmarried, plebeian mothers’, others have shown how women concealed their pregnancies for as long as possible, left their places before discovery, or were dismissed when their pregnancies became evident.⁸⁸ It is clear that there was a wide diversity of experiences for unmarried mothers in the city, with historians emphasising one form of experience over another.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Women gave birth in very many places and the range of locations expanded during the eighteenth century. A few unfortunate women gave birth in the streets or fields. In seventeenth-century London the poorest women might be delivered in the fields on the edges of the city, in the ‘cages’ that functioned as local prisons, in the streets, in church porches or even at the door of the magistrate, the overseer’s or constable’s house, or in the homes of those who illicitly took in ‘big-bellied’ women.⁸⁹ Women gave birth in similar locations in the eighteenth century, such as Sarah Hawkins, who, in March 1754, was ‘brought to bed in ye street’.⁹⁰ These women lacked the social networks that provided care and would have fallen under the vagrancy laws. Eccles details the experience of such vagrant women, tramping while heavily pregnant and going into labour on the road.⁹¹ The contrast between married and unmarried, rich and poor, is highlighted by Gowing: in 1636 the churchwardens of St. Christopher le Stocks paid 5*s.* to ring the bells for Queen Henrietta Maria’s safe delivery while at the same time churchwardens in Cornhill paid the beadle 2*s.* 6*d.* to drive out ‘women great with child’.⁹²

Secret births and delivering oneself remained a reality for a small minority of women even with the expansion in the provision of lying-in care.⁹³ Some unmarried women, who had tried to disguise their pregnancies or deny them to others, gave birth alone in bedrooms, kitchens, inns, or the privy.⁹⁴ These births came to the attention of the authorities when abandoned infants were found dead in the street or when suspected women were reported to parish overseers, to coroners and the courts.⁹⁵ Elizabeth Armer, for instance, ‘Delivd her self of a Child the day before’ and then entered St. Luke’s workhouse. She stayed just over a fortnight.⁹⁶ Other women were taken to the local workhouse after self-delivery.⁹⁷ Many infants were abandoned at birth on the London streets. John Porter, one of the watchmen in the ward of Bread Street, reported to the coroner that

he 'saw something lying upon the Wall of the Church Yard of Allhallows'. He discovered that it was a child 'wrapped up in Cloths'.⁹⁸ Thomas Coram described seeing abandoned infant bodies in the streets in his daily journey between Rotherhithe and the City, and he cited this as his motivation in establishing the London Foundling Hospital, although it would be difficult to estimate just how many infants met this fate.⁹⁹

Unassisted delivery was a frightening experience for unmarried women, particularly given that many were largely ignorant about the birth process since they were usually excluded from the birthing chamber of other women's labours.¹⁰⁰ Although there were advice manuals on pregnancy and birth that were written with a lay audience in mind, it is unlikely that single women read these and, moreover, the process of birth was poorly described.¹⁰¹ For the historian, coroners' reports and infanticide cases heard at the Old Bailey reveal far more about the process of birth than do other sources, such as workhouse and lying-in records, and, although the new midwifery textbooks and lectures also provide insight into the birthing body, they do not detail the lived experience of giving birth.¹⁰² This is vividly described in coroners' reports and infanticide cases. Women felt great pain across their stomach, back, and pelvis, and this was accompanied by sweating and a headache. They tried not to cry out but some were heard groaning and screaming. They sought out beer, rum, brandy and gin to dull the pain. Delivery was accompanied by a great effusion of blood that was difficult to control and conceal, and some women experienced haemorrhaging. Lack of medical assistance made this more likely, as well as complications associated with delivery of the placenta.¹⁰³ The tearing of the navel string or cutting it without clamping was one reason for the death of the infant. The workhouse nurse of St. James's, Jane Sevier, told the Westminster coroners' court she believed 'there could not be an intention of preserving the deced's life [a new-born male child found in Little Warwick Street, St. James's parish], the navel string not being cut or tied which she apprehends would have occasioned the deced's death'.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, it was the surgeon's Hector Campell's opinion that the umbilical cord of a child found dead in St. John Southwark had 'never been pressed or tied'.¹⁰⁵ Women also described symptoms of temporary madness and unmarried mothers came to be seen as particularly susceptible to puerperal insanity, as the association between poverty, shame, illegitimacy and infanticide strengthened in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶

Disguising pregnancy and concealing self-delivery ran the risk of injury to the mother and child and, if the child died, accusations of infanticide.

As remarked earlier, Kilday has argued that ‘the specific components of the seventeenth-century legislation [1624] relating to new-born child murder meant that it was very difficult for anyone *other* than an unmarried mother to be accused of the offence in the first place’, since they alone were supposed to have the motive for such an act to hide their shame, while the early modern ‘archetype’ of infanticide was the unmarried female domestic servant.¹⁰⁷ The presence of midwives and gossips could provide corroborative evidence if a baby was stillborn. Potential witnesses, such as fellow servants and lodgers, sometimes testified that they had been uncertain of a woman’s pregnancy or labour.¹⁰⁸ Gowing describes such cases as ‘not entirely secret’. She argues that denials from other women protected them, ‘it was safer for others ... to have known nothing; some testimonies suggest a careful avoidance of knowledge’.¹⁰⁹

The outcome of self-delivery could be dire: in April 1760, for instance, Ann Hurlock was accused and found guilty of infanticide. She was sentenced to hang ‘on Saturday next’ and to be delivered to the surgeons to be ‘dissected and anatomized’ as the law allowed.¹¹⁰ Ann had given birth in the kitchen in the middle of the night, cut the throat of her infant and hidden its body in the cellar. Fellow servant Sarah Lydburn suspected what had happened upon discovery of blood in the kitchen. Ann was examined by Susannah Derwood, a midwife, who concluded that Ann had recently given birth. She found the baby’s body and the knife. When taken before John Fielding, J.P., Ann confessed and was committed to the City house of correction, Bridewell, for five weeks before being transferred to Newgate for her trial. When found guilty and sentenced to death and dissection the Ordinary of Newgate noted that she looked ‘confounded and thunderstruck, wringing her hands, weeping and wailing. Ann was executed three days later on 24 May at Tyburn.¹¹¹ However, despite cases like Ann’s, the likelihood of being found guilty lessened over the period as attitudes softened: between 1674 and 1714 53 per cent of women were found guilty in London at the Old Bailey, whereas between 1715 and 1776 the figure was 15 per cent, and no one was found guilty thereafter.¹¹² In 1803 the law was amended to allow for charges of concealment of birth with a maximum term of two years imprisonment and thereafter indictments for concealment came to predominate over infanticide.¹¹³ However, intense interest in infanticide persisted in the nineteenth century due, in part, to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834. Concerns were raised that the financial pressures placed upon unmarried mothers by the new poor law encouraged infanticide.¹¹⁴

Delivery in the streets or fields, or a secret birth, was not the normal occurrence. One of the main findings of this book is that a domestic delivery, with birth attendants, was more usual for unmarried mothers in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, even if deliveries in the new parish workhouses and lying-in hospitals are included. Ann Deimer, for instance, gave birth to her baby in the home of the putative father, Thomas Hall, and Mary Colles had her baby at her brother's house.¹¹⁵ The bastardy examinations of St. Botolph Aldgate, 1742–1800, reveal that 15.5 per cent were delivered in workhouses (St. Botolph Aldgate, Hoxton, Wapping, St. George Hanover Square, St. Faith's, and Hackney), 3.8 per cent in a lying-in hospital, 2.1 per cent in their mother's or father's house, and the rest (78.6 per cent) 'at home'.¹¹⁶ Although far more women gave birth in the workhouse in the early nineteenth century, as revealed in the bastardy books, it was still not the majority. In St. Mary Newington Lambeth, 1808–1843, 38 per cent of women gave birth in the workhouse, 60 per cent at home (5 per cent specified her father's, mother's, aunt's, or brother's house), and 2 per cent in a lying-in hospital.¹¹⁷ The figures were similar for St. Saviour Southwark, 1818–1831: 42 per cent of women were delivered in the workhouse and 58 per cent outside, including 19 per cent 'at her apartment' and 12 per cent either at 'her mother's/father's dwelling house'.¹¹⁸

Throughout the period many parishes paid midwives to deliver poor women at home, such as in 1684 when St. Mary Aldermanbury paid the midwife to deliver 'Mr. Todds maide' and in 1732 Ann Harding was attended by Eleanor Barry, who was paid 5s. by the parochial officers of St. George Hanover Square.¹¹⁹ Jane Guttery was paid by St. Margaret Westminster 5s. per delivery for Jane Davis, Mary Norton and Mary Benet in the 1720s, 10s. for twins, and another 5s. 'for laying Sarah Chambers of her Bastard Child by Mr. Cantrel'.¹²⁰ The parish employed other midwives: Elizabeth Doris, Jane Hall, Elizabeth Richard, and Elizabeth Davis were also paid 5s., per birth, although Jane Guttery and Elizabeth Richard delivered the most women.¹²¹ St. Clement Danes also paid for domestic deliveries in the 1710s, and St. Botolph Aldgate continued to pay for births at home throughout the eighteenth century despite building its workhouse in 1736, which also admitted women for childbirth.¹²² In 1694, for instance, the churchwardens and overseers of St. Botolph Aldgate paid a midwife 3s. for 'laying Anne Prescoat', but the most common payment throughout the century was, again, 5s. per delivery. If necessary (but not routinely) nurses were also paid for the lying-in period, at

similar rates of pay.¹²³ In St. Margaret's, for instance, Nurse Herring was given £1 'for the Lying Inn of Sarah Chamberlaine who is Dead as is the Child'.¹²⁴ The parish of St. Sepulchre paid nurses to care for those who were ill in their own homes throughout the eighteenth century.¹²⁵

In the period 1710–1725 St. Martin in the Fields had adopted a different policy, sending their pregnant women for delivery in a parish nursing home, such as that run by Nurse Pomfrett, with the parish midwife attending, usually Mary Le Double. Jane Morris, aged 29, passed from Battersea and foul with venereal disease and pregnant, was sent to lie-in with Nurse Pomfrett.¹²⁶ In 1724 the parish employed nine nurses, whom submitted bills for payment. Nurse Pomfrett submitted ten bills, while Nurses Anderson, Gill and Hunt submitted thirteen.¹²⁷ The establishment of the workhouse in St. Martin's in 1725 resulted in the rapid decline of the parish nursing home.¹²⁸ Parish policy for unmarried mothers became delivery in the workhouse: 84 per cent of all illegitimate infants baptised in the parish register were delivered in the workhouse and between half and two-thirds of mothers delivered in the house were unmarried.¹²⁹ The workhouse had become a lying-in hospital for unmarried mothers. The role of the workhouse is considered in detail in Chap. 4.

Lying-in hospitals also offered care. The General Lying-in Hospital, the Westminster Lying-in Hospital, and the Store Street Lying-in Hospital all accepted unmarried women—although not without contemporary criticism—while they were specifically excluded from the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital, the British Lying-in Hospital, and the City of London Hospital.¹³⁰ Even in the hospitals that admitted unmarried mothers, they were heavily outnumbered by married women. The man-midwife Felix Macdonough estimated that around 2000 of almost 9000 patients at the General Lying-in Hospital [Queen Charlotte's], 1752–1768, were unmarried, while Evans estimates that unwed women accounted for 16 per cent of those admitted to the Westminster Lying-in Hospital.¹³¹ Gaining admittance to lying-in hospitals was a complex and lengthy process, with all mothers requiring a letter of recommendation from a subscriber to the charity, having to attend an interview before the committee, and having to bring a change of linen with they entered.¹³² Obtaining a recommendation was particularly difficult for single women who might be far from home and who lived amongst strangers.¹³³ Recommendations might have been obtained through employers who were willing to help their pregnant servants.¹³⁴ Indeed, the fact that around one-fifth of petitioners to the Foundling Hospital had been delivered in a lying-in hospital in the early

nineteenth century suggests that they had assistance from their masters and mistresses.¹³⁵

Women who managed to obtain a letter of recommendation to one of the lying-in hospitals enjoyed full board with a generous diet, medical treatment including experienced and capable matrons, nurses and two night nurses as well as midwives and men-midwives, in wards with 'decent' furnishings and 'easy chairs' and in which they might even have a bed to themselves, and, moreover, the regulations stated that 'as soon as any woman is delivered her bed be first warmed before she be put there in'.¹³⁶ Unmarried mothers, however, were usually accommodated in separate wards.¹³⁷ There were regulations for the hours of waking, eating, and sleeping, and rules proscribed tea, gin, swearing, the playing of cards and dice, and smoking.¹³⁸ Women were given petticoats and gowns during their stay, 'wrapping Gowns' during delivery and their babies were provided with two clean dresses per week.¹³⁹ They were also given advice on parenthood, child care and breastfeeding, as well as spiritual advice, with Bibles and sermons in the wards.¹⁴⁰ A sermon in 1761 stated that in the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital 'the women are provided with all these needful conveniences of the rest, quiet, warmth and proper assistance which their narrow habitations and indigent circumstances cannot be supposed to furnish', while the City Lying-in Hospital prevented 'women rising too soon' as they might at home.¹⁴¹ While this might all sound highly favourable, Forman Cody points out that the lying-in hospitals 'dramatically and immediately alter[ed] the epidemiological landscape' since new mothers and their babies, cohabiting with other women in a ward for three weeks, created an opportunity for any disease introduced by the midwife, male-midwife, visitor or mother to spread rapidly.¹⁴² Over the century c.1750-c.1850 mortality rates in lying-in hospitals varied but generally improved by the later eighteenth century with deterioration in the nineteenth century.¹⁴³ Moreover, their very success meant that there were periods when the lying-in hospitals suffered from overcrowding, as well as bedbugs, smoking chimneys and a need to air wards.¹⁴⁴

Lying-in hospitals reproduced the existing system whereby for poor women a midwife-matron delivered 'natural and easy labours' and male practitioners were only called in for difficult deliveries. The General Lying-in Hospital had a three tier system: midwife, followed by man-midwife-in-ordinary ('house surgeon', salaried and residential), followed by man-midwife-extraordinary.¹⁴⁵ Women were admitted in the final month of their pregnancies and allowed to lie-in for three weeks.¹⁴⁶ It is

unlikely that many poor women giving birth at home were actually able to lie-in for this long and this made admittance to these hospitals particularly attractive.¹⁴⁷ Women were encouraged to breastfeed immediately rather than to wait the three to four days that was usual.¹⁴⁸ Patients had to obey the hospitals' rules and to assist the nursing and domestic staff in their duties and they were obliged to attend church on Sundays. When they left they were to thank the hospital and the person who gave them a letter of recommendation.¹⁴⁹ However, although hundreds of women were delivered in these hospitals, and they loomed large in the philanthropic imagination, the image of the hospitals has overshadowed their actual size: in 1760 only around 5 per cent of London births were inside these hospitals.¹⁵⁰ For unmarried and married women alike, as Croxson argues, '[I]n-patient lying-in care none the less remained exceptional. Most women were delivered at home'.¹⁵¹

A 'CEREMONY' OF CHILDBIRTH?

Wilson has described the all-female 'ceremony' of childbirth.¹⁵² Birth was both a social and physical experience, which drew upon rituals of spatial enclosure and social participation.¹⁵³ Birth was supposed to take place in an enclosed room with thick curtains keeping out light and air. Labour and the delivery were dominated by women—'gossips'—drawn from married relatives and neighbours and supervised by midwives.¹⁵⁴ Capp describes a situation of tight bonds between the 'gossip network' of the close circle of friends, who provided moral and practical support. Being invited to a birth was a significant rite of passage.¹⁵⁵ The 'gossip network' was also central to the merrymaking after a safe delivery, the christening of the infant, and the churaching of the new mother.¹⁵⁶ Births were both private—in a room—and public—witnessed by others. The publicity of labour was supposed to ensure against secret births and concealed infanticides. Witnesses could prove a stillbirth over infanticide.¹⁵⁷

While Wilson and Capp draw a positive picture of this ritual, Forman Cody highlights that the ideal that women held authority over their pregnancies and deliveries caused concern by some commentators who worried about what women might do when left alone together outside the control of men and the community.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, Cressy comments that 'the gathering of women at childbirth was [seen as] exclusive, mysterious, and potentially unruly' by ministers, physicians and husbands.¹⁵⁹ While these historians recognise the gender politics between men and women

over birth, Pollock and Gowing have shown how births could be a significant site of tension between women, since gossips might not always form 'a cohesive, harmonious group' with a mixture of social ranks. Mothers-to-be could feel obliged to invite women of higher social status who might not prove supportive in the birthing chamber.¹⁶⁰ As Cressy has highlighted, unmarried pregnant women might be 'without the normal system of domestic and social support', although he also argues that '[f]ew single women were completely alone when they came to give birth, and most secured some attendance by neighbouring women and assistance by midwives, like their more respectable sisters'.¹⁶¹

Tension and conflict could be particularly evident for unmarried women, who might be denied assistance from the midwife, her neighbours and her relatives until she truthfully named the father for the purposes of affiliation, since it was believed that women could not lie in the extremity of labour. Midwives were charged with extracting the name of the father of the child during the pain of birth.¹⁶² As Pollock highlights, 'in the context of illegitimate birth, [the midwife] had become a state official'.¹⁶³ In London the evidence of a midwife during the delivery of Dorothy Dorton was used in order to affiliate George Collison in June 1691:

the Oath of Rebecca Holt the Midwife who was present at the birth of the said Male Bastard Child & delivered her thereof that the said Dorothy Dorton in the Extremity of her Travaile Did accuse one George Collison of the Precinct of St. Katharines in the County of Middlx aforesaid to be the only Fathr. of the sd Male Bastard Child.¹⁶⁴

The gossips attending the birth—including mothers, sisters other female relatives, neighbours—would also press the woman for this information.¹⁶⁵ This might be the second time that a pregnant woman would have given the father's name since she should have been examined before two justices of the peace while she was pregnant and she would be examined again after the birth.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, information given in the extremity of pain during birth was viewed as more truthful.¹⁶⁷

The rise of the man-midwife during the eighteenth century provided wealthier women with another choice of birth attendant and led to 'two female cultures' whereby richer women hired male midwives and all other women were delivered by female midwives. This was most conspicuous in London.¹⁶⁸ That these midwives were male is evidence of a significant and

profound shift in the gender politics of reproduction.¹⁶⁹ Despite this 'obstetric revolution', Rose estimates that around 1870 in the industrial cities midwives attended about 90 per cent of all births.¹⁷⁰ Loudon agrees, arguing that 'it is most unlikely that there was ever a time when men-midwives outnumbered the female'.¹⁷¹ For the majority of women, and all poor women, a midwife continued to attend well into the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth century.¹⁷²

It might be expected that institutional provision in lying-in hospitals and workhouses would have disrupted the ceremony of childbirth. However, it is the contention of Forman Cody that the British Lying-in Hospital kept the traditional features of childbirth and lying-in by creating a segregated female space from which men and children were excluded. Although female relations could visit mothers on the wards, husbands and male relatives could only see them in the downstairs hallway in afternoon visiting times.¹⁷³ Moreover, close relationships developed between new mothers in the lying-in wards and also with their nurses. She argues that 'paradoxically, an institutional lying-in experience ultimately closely resembled the early modern ideal of birth occurring in a distinctive space segregated from males and the obligations of household routines'. Women were away from their cramped homes where there was little opportunity for privacy and the experience was closer to that of elite women with their gossips, paid midwives and monthly nurses.¹⁷⁴ Lying-in hospitals were also public spaces, as Croxson has identified. The behaviour of the staff of the hospitals was observable by their peers, house visitors (such as governors), and the lying-in women. The administration of these institutions was monitored and reported back to the weekly board and fed into the annual accounts.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, infants were baptised in elaborate public christenings and these charities also featured publically in pamphlets and sermons.¹⁷⁶ The extent to which workhouses were similar or dissimilar to the lying-in hospitals is explored in Chap. 4.

CONCLUSION

The culture of courtship was different in London, due to the in-migration of many young men and women, the expansion of domestic service, the number of apprentices, and the skewed sex ratio. The capital offered such migrants the promise of an exciting life in a bustling metropolis. London provided a degree of freedom to courting couples, who might be a long way from relatives, although they were still under the watchful eye of their

masters and mistresses. Nevertheless, some couples took the opportunities for sexual activity when they arose, with snatched love-making in their rooms and lodgings. Women might also be sexually harassed, coerced or raped. London also provided burgeoning opportunities for casual or more regular prostitution. 'Brothels and gin-shops were everywhere' in St. Martin in the Fields.¹⁷⁷ All these sexual relationships could end up with an illegitimate pregnancy. Metropolitan bastardy reflected a combination of sexual commerce, casual relationships and frustrated courtships, broken due to low or falling real wages, insecure employment prospects or war. The sexual culture in the capital was looser than elsewhere and, while couples might have enjoyed this more liberal environment, it could back-fire when friends and family could not ensure a marriage. If their lovers would not or could not marry them then women turned to the affiliation system to enforce financial responsibility for their child.

Pregnancy was a calamity. Some women sought to hide their pregnancies, to keep their places and continued to hope for marriage. But giving birth alone was a hazardous business and impacted upon their bodies and minds and could even lead to the gallows. While a substantial and increasing minority were delivered in the workhouse, and a much smaller proportion were admitted into the new lying-in hospitals, the majority continued to give birth 'at home' in a domestic setting. The ceremony of childbirth, at least in its guise as a female-centred space with a female midwife in attendance, endured. Parish policy had a huge impact upon women's choices for the place of delivery, however, whether at home, in a nursing home, or the workhouse. It is to the latter institution, new in the eighteenth century and predominant in London, that this book now turns.

NOTES

1. P. Crawford, *Blood, bodies and families in early modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004), p. 95; L. Gowing, *Common bodies: women, touch and power in seventeenth-century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 117; B. Capp, *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 50–51; T. Reinke-Williams, *Women, work and sociability in early modern London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), ch. 1.
2. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 117.
3. T. Evans, 'Unfortunate Objects': lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 52.

4. L. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate: single mothers in the early modern city', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 137–52, at p. 138; T. Meldrum, *Domestic service and gender 1660–1750: life and work in the London household* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000); Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 52; J. Black, 'Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?', in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 50–65, at pp. 59–62; E. Griffin, 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain', *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 139–161. King and Hurren emphasise the contingent nature of courtship and the role of family and friends in the Midlands in the nineteenth century: E. Hurren and S. King, 'Courtship at the coroner's court', *Social History*, 40:2 (2015), pp. 185–207.
5. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 32–35; Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor in London, 1740–1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1999), ch. 3; N. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster', *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–75, p. 358.
6. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 35–45; Black, 'Putative fathers', pp. 53–6; R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998) p. 234; T. Hitchcock and R. B. Shoemaker, *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. xviii.
7. J.R. Gillis, 'Servants, sexual relations and the risks of illegitimacy in London, 1801–1900', in J. L. Newton, M.P. Ryan and J.R. Walkowitz (eds), *Sex and class in women's history* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 114–45, at pp. 123, 133; D. George, *London Life in the eighteenth century* (3rd ed., London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1951), ch. 3; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 32–35; Black, 'Illegitimacy', ch. 3.
8. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 365; A. Levene, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration' *Continuity and Change*, 18:2 (2003), pp. 201–35, at p. 205.
9. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 365.
10. Hitchcock and Black, *London lives*, p. xviii; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, ch. 8; Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge'; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 160–4; J. Black, 'Illegitimacy, sexual relations and location in metropolitan London, 1735–85', in T. Hitchcock and H. Shore (eds.), *The streets of London: from the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers

- Oram, 2003), pp. 101–18. On master–servant relationships, see Meldrum, *Domestic servants*, pp. 100–110.
11. Rogers, ‘Carnal knowledge’, p. 368.
 12. George, *London life*, pp. 202–3; Capp, *When gossips meet*, p. 128.
 13. A sample of 60 petitions and all accompanying reports between 1801 and 1840 (of a larger sample of 100 petitions) contained information on living arrangements: LMA, A/FH/A08/001/002/010-049, A/FH/A08/001/003/009-015. For a longer version of this discussion, see S. Williams, “‘I was forced to leave my place to hide my shame’: the living arrangements of unmarried mothers in London in the early nineteenth century”, in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds.), *Accommodating poverty: the housing and living arrangements of the English poor, c. 1600–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 191–218.
 14. LMA, A/FH/A08/001/002/014/1, Petitions to the London Foundling Hospital.
 15. Black ‘Illegitimacy in London’, pp. 225–7. See also Black, ‘Illegitimacy, Sexual Relations and Location’; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, ch. 8; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*.
 16. Rogers, ‘Carnal knowledge’, pp. 362–3.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
 19. L. D. Schwarz, ‘The standard of living in the long run: London, 1700–1860’, *Economic History Review*, XXXVIII (1985), pp. 24–41; L. D. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); E.H. Hunt, ‘Industrialization and regional inequality: wages in Britain, 1760–1914’, *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986), pp. 935–66; R.C. Allen and J.L. Weisdorf, ‘Was there an “industrious revolution” before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c. 1300–1830’, *Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), pp. 715–29. But see J. Stephenson, “‘Real’ wages? Contractors, workers, and pay in London building trades, 1650–1800”, *Economic History Review*, early view on-line, 2017; J. F. Field, ‘Domestic service’, table 1, p. 254; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, Figure 5.1, p. 195, p. 268.
 20. F. Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria: sexuality and desire among working-class men and women in nineteenth-century London*, translated by J. Howe (New York: Penguin, 1991), ch. 1.
 21. See A. McLaren, *Reproductive rituals: the perception of fertility on England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 93; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 118–19.
 22. P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 57–9;

- Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate', pp. 140–41, 146; J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 272–3; E. Fox and M. Ingram, 'Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy in early seventeenth-century London', in R. Probert (ed.), *Cohabitation and non-marital births in England and Wales, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 10–32, at pp. 17–18; L. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation: Sex, science and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 59.
23. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, Table 2a, p. 451.
 24. T. Henderson, *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730–1830* (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 14–16, 20–27; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pt 2; J. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian society: women, class, and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) pp. 14–15.
 25. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 304.
 26. Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor', pp. 103–5, 107–08, 110, 113–18.
 27. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 247, 251–4.
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
 29. London Metropolitan Archives [LMA] P92/MRY/336 St. Mary Newington admission and discharge registers 1851–52: Mary Ann Wright 22/07/1851, Mary Ann Hovendon 13/12/1851, Caroline Newport 22/01/1852.
 30. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 229; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 18.
 31. Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 18. And see P. Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000).
 32. Evans, 'Unmarried motherhood', p. 188; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender Revolution*, pp. 259–60, Table 9.3, p. 279.
 33. S. Williams, 'That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune': unmarried mothers' petitions to the Foundling Hospital and the rhetoric of need in the long eighteenth century, in Levene et al, pp. 86–101, at p. 94. Gillis found that the average over the nineteenth century was 55%, while Clark found the higher rate of 70% for the period 1815–1845: Gillis, 'Servants', p. 132; Clark, *Women's Silence*, p. 78.
 34. J.R. Gillis, *For better, for worse: British marriage, 1600 to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 110–11, 196–209.
 35. R. Probert, *Marriage law and practice in the long eighteenth century: a reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ch. 3.

36. Williams, 'They lived together as man and wife', p. 79. Metropolitan cohabitation rates were also low in the seventeenth century: see M. Ingram, 'Cohabitation in context in early seventeenth-century London', in Probert, *Cohabitation*, pp. 33–50. For the Victorian period see G. Frost, *Living in sin: cohabiting as husband and wife in nineteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), chs. 1, 6.
37. Capp, *When gossips meet*, pp. 144–7.
38. M. Chaytor, 'Husband(ry): narratives of rape in the seventeenth century', *Gender and History*, 7:3 (1995), pp. 378–407; G. Walker, 'Rape, acquittal and culpability in popular crime reports in England, c.1670–c.1750', *Past & Present*, 220:1 (2013), pp. 115–42; Walker, 'Rereading rape'; N. Bashar, 'Rape in England between 1550 and 1700', in London Feminist History Group (ed.), *The sexual dynamics of history* (London: Pluto Press, 1983); L. Gowing, *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 75–6. For later periods see A. Clark, *Women's silence, men's violence: sexual assault in England, 1770–1845* (London: Pandora, 1987); S. D'Cruze, *Crimes of outrage: sex, violence and Victorian working women* (London, UCL Press, 1998).
39. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 13, 15, 25, 53, 54, 58, 63, 90–101, 204, 205; Walker, 'Rereading rape', pp. 12–13; Mendrum, *Domestic service*, pp. 93–4, 100–101, 103–4, 107–8, 116, 124, 126, 208; Hubbard, *City women*, pp. 99–102; Black, 'Illegitimacy', pp. 114, 114, 116–17; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 117, 161; Nutt, *Bastardy*, case 28, pp. 180–2.
40. T. Hitchcock and J. Black (eds), *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999), examination 224, pp. 72–3.
41. J. Humphries, 'Eve also delved: gendering economic history', The Ellen McArthur Lectures, lecture 3 'History from underneath: women and girls' experience in the era of industrialisation', 1 March 2016, University of Cambridge.
42. Clark, *Women's silence*, pp. 80–1. See also Evans, *Unfortunate objects* p. 117; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 301–24; Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria*, pp. 109–13.
43. Clark, *Women's silence*, pp. 89, 105–7.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–9, and see Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', p. 364.
46. Clark, *Women's silence*, p. 9; S. D'Cruze and L. A. Jackson, *Women, crime and justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), ch. 4.

47. Gowing, *Common Bodies*, ch. 4 and particularly pp. 120–3, 141–4, and pp. 118–20, 140; M. Jackson, *New-born child murder: women, illegitimacy and the courts in eighteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 61–5; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 31–9; D. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 41–4; S. Williams, ‘The experience of pregnancy and childbirth for unmarried mothers in London, 1760–1866’, *Women’s History Review*, 20:1 (2011), pp. 67–86, at pp. 72–3.
48. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 178.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
50. Williams, ‘Experience of pregnancy’, pp. 72–3.
51. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 45.
52. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 142–3.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 43; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 119.
55. R. Woods and C. Galley, *Mrs Stone and Dr Smellie: eighteenth-century midwives and their patients* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), ch. 7.
56. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 276–83.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 267–9.
59. Woods and Galley, *Mrs Stone and Dr Smellie*, pp. 269, 309.
60. McLaren, *Reproductive rituals*, pp. 90–91.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
62. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 47, 120; McLaren, *Reproductive rituals*, pp. 91, 101, 102–6; Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 47–50.
63. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 48.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
65. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 142–3. See also McLaren, pp. 102–4.
66. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 142–3, 149–50, 156–69; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 57–61; L. Rose, *Massacre of the innocents: infanticide in Great Britain 1800–1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), chs. 10–11.
67. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 149–50; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 57–61.
68. Nutt, *Bastardy*, case 28, pp. 180–82.
69. www.londonlives.org, LMCLIC650010174; Williams, ‘Experience of pregnancy’, p. 71.
70. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 270; Rose, *Massacre of the innocents*, p. 86; McLaren, *Reproductive rituals*, pp. 99, 106; Higginbotham, ‘The unmarried mother’, pp. 210–18; D’Cruze and Jackson, *Women, crime and justice*, pp. 82–3.

71. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 59, 276; D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, crime and justice*, ch. 4. Szepter considers married women in the period 1860–1940 and his estimates are for the 1930s only; he concludes that abortion was not a major method of contraception: S. Szepter, *Fertility, class and gender in Britain, 1860–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 424–31. For brief glimpses in the Foundling Hospital petitions, see Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the time of Victoria*, pp. 127–31.
72. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 42.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 44.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 35; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 150; A. Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 28, 204.
76. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 50–51; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 135.
77. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 44. See also A. Wilson, 'The perils of early-modern procreation: childbirth with or without fear?' *British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, 16:1 (1993), pp. 1–19.
78. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 47–9; Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 71; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 270–75; Jackson, *New-born child murder*, p. 40.
79. LMA, MJ/SP/1761/09/004. I would like to thank Tim Hitchcock for this reference.
80. www.londonlives.org St. Botolph Aldgate, Churchwarden and overseers of the poor account books.
81. L. Gowing, 'Secret births and infanticide in seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 156 (1997), pp. 87–115, at pp. 92–3; Williams, 'The experience of pregnancy', pp. 71.
82. LMA MJ/SP/1762/04/007. I would like to thank Tim Hitchcock for this reference.
83. Gowing, 'Secret births', p. 87.
84. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 44.
85. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 75.
86. www.londonlives.org, Middlesex Coroners, 15 April 1786, 25 May 1772, 4 December 1776; City of Westminster Coroners' Inquests. Childbed linen and baby clothes were usually found in women's trunks, but Anne Morris told the Ordinary of Newgate in Sept 1722 that, 'the Child-Bed Linnen she held in her Hands, to shew at her Tryal, was provided in Newgate, in order to bring her off': www.londonlives.org OA172209242209240001, 12th September 1722. See also Jackson, *New-born child murder*; M. Clayton, 'Changes in Old Bailey trials for the

- murder of newborn babies, 1674–1803’, *Continuity and Change*, 24:2 (2009), pp. 337–59.
87. www.londonlives.org t16910422-22, 22 April 1691; A. Levene, ‘Institutional Responses: The London Foundling Hospital’, in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, III (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), petition 280, p. 261.
 88. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; T. Hitchcock, ‘“Unlawfully begotten on her body”: illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke’s Chelsea’, in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997) pp. 70–86, at p. 75; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*; Williams, ‘The experience of pregnancy’.
 89. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 151, 156–9; Gowing, ‘Giving birth at the magistrates’ gate’, pp. 141–2; Gowing, ‘Illegitimacy’, p. 44; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 55–60; A. Eccles, *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 87–103; Capp, *When gossips meet*, p. 148; Williams, ‘I was Forced to Leave my Place’, pp. 206–7; Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery*, pp. 25–30; J. Boulton, ‘Welfare systems and the parish nurse in early modern London, 1650–1725’, *Family and Community History*, 10:2 (2007), pp. 127–51; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 98.
 90. St. Luke Chelsea Admission and discharge register 05/03/1754.
 91. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, ch. 4.
 92. Gowing, ‘Giving birth at the magistrates’ gate’, p. 140.
 93. On the seventeenth century see Gowing, ‘Secret births’.
 94. Women gave birth in their rooms (36%), the privy (36%), the kitchen or larder (7%), the yard (3%), or somewhere else (6%): S. Williams, ‘The experience of pregnancy’, p. 74. And see Jackson, *New-born child murder*.
 95. A.-M. Kilday, *A history of infanticide in Britain c.1600 to the present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
 96. www.workhouses.org, St. Luke’s Admission and discharge register 02/06/1795.
 97. Williams, ‘Experience of pregnancy’, p. 79.
 98. www.londonlives.org, LMCLIC650020245, City of London Coroners’ inquests.
 99. Levene, ‘Institutional Responses’, p. viii.
 100. H. Marland, *Dangerous motherhood: insanity and childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 154; Gowing, *Common Bodies*, p. 153. The Old Bailey case of Sarah Reynolds records a daughter being with her mother during labour.
 101. Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood*, p. 23.

102. Woods and Galley, *Mrs Stone and Dr Smellie*.
103. Williams, 'Experience of pregnancy'.
104. Westminster Abbey Muniment Room, Records of the Coroner's Court for Westminster, 29 December 1763. See also 15 January 1766 for a similar case.
105. www.Londonlives.org, LMCLIC6500/20404. And see Williams, 'Experience of pregnancy', p. 77.
106. Williams, 'Experience of pregnancy', pp. 80–82; Williams, 'That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune'; Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 120–21, 162–3.
107. Kilday, *Infanticide*, p. 26 and ch. 2. See also Gowing, 'Secret births'. On infanticide see J. McDonagh, *Child murder and British culture, 1720–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
108. Williams, 'Experience of pregnancy', p. 70.
109. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 140, 153.
110. LMA, MJ/SP/1760/04/006; LMA, MJ/SP/1760/05/050 Newgate Calendar.
111. www.londonlives.org, <https://www.londonlives.org/static/HurlockAnninfanticide1760.jsp>.
112. Clayton, 'Old Bailey trials'. And see Kilday, *Infanticide*, pp. 28, 48.
113. Kilday, *Infanticide*, p. 114–16, 121.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–21, 162–3.
115. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes, List of securities for the maintenance of bastard children.
116. *City of London Settlement Examinations*, St. Botolph Aldgate. Petitions to the London Foundling Hospital in the early nineteenth century reveal that 39% of applicants gave birth in their lodgings, 27% in the homes of relatives and employers (a total of two-thirds 'at home'), 22% in the London lying-in hospitals, and just 7% in either Marylebone or Lambeth workhouse. The low proportion giving birth in the workhouse most probably results from the new Hospital rules from 1801, according to which unmarried mothers were not supposed to be 'parish cases', and as such the workhouse is under-represented as a place of delivery: Williams, 'I was Forced to Leave my Place', p. 206.
117. SLSL 860–865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Orders and Adjudications, 1808–1836.
118. SLSL 97 St. Saviour's Overseers Bastard Maintenance Book, 1818–1831.
119. D. Evenden, 'Mothers and their midwives in seventeenth-century London', in H. Marland (ed.), *The art of midwifery: early modern midwives in Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 9–26, at p. 19; Boulton,

- 'Welfare systems and the parish nurse'; City of London Archives Centre [COWAC] C872 St. George Hanover Square Workhouse Committee Minutes, 14 March 1732.
120. COWAC, E3382, St. Margaret's, Westminster, Overseer's Vouchers, 28/11/1728; COWAC, E2633 St. Margaret's Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes; E3382, St. Margaret's, Westminster, Overseer's Vouchers, 28/11/1728; COWAC, E3382, 1727–1729. I would like to thank Kevin Siena for these references. For places outside London see S. Williams, *Poverty, gender and life-cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760–1834* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp. 40–41.
 121. COWAC, E2633, E3382.
 122. St. Clement Danes, Miscellaneous Parish Account Books; St. Botolph Aldgate Parish, Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor Account Books, St. Botolph Aldgate Minute Books of the Parish Vestry Sub-Committee, St. Botolph Aldgate Minutes of Parish Vestries; <https://www.londonlives.org/static/RW.jsp>. All are available on www.londonlives.org last accessed Sept 2014. See also Boulton, 'Welfare systems and the parish nurse'.
 123. See, for instance, payments to nurses and midwives in April 1701, May 1705.
 124. COWAC, E3382, 1727–1729; COWAC Miscellaneous Overseer's Bills, E Unlisted 1041. I would like to thank Kevin Siena for these references.
 125. K. Siena, *Venerical disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600–1800* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), p. 140.
 126. J. Boulton, 'Welfare systems', pp. 132–4, 137.
 127. *Ibid.*, Table IV, p. 132.
 128. *Ibid.*, pp. 147–8.
 129. J. Boulton, 'Welfare systems and the parish nurse', pp. 147–8; R. Davenport, J. Boulton and J. Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality in the workhouse of St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824' (unpublished paper given at European Social Science History Association Conference, Glasgow, Saturday 14 April 2012 and available at the Pauper Lives in Georgian London and Manchester project website, <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/> last accessed March 2017), pp. 9–10. See also Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', pp. 75–6.
 130. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*; B. Croxson, 'The foundation and evolution of the Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service, 1745–86', *Social History of Medicine*, 14:1 (2001), pp. 27–57; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*. Evans and Croxson have found a small number of instances of unmarried women being admitted, either because they simply did not produce or because they forged marriage affidavits: Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 153; Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service', pp. 32, 35.

131. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, Table 7.3 p. 164.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 155; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 343.
133. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 154–5.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 159; J. Gillis, *For better, for worse*, p. 116.
135. Williams, 'I was Forced to Leave my Place', p. 206.
136. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital', p. 33; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', pp. 316, 318, 323. And see Evans, *Unfortunate Objects*, pp. 154–72.
137. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 321.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 323–24.
141. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital', p. 48.
142. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 338.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 342–3.
144. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital', pp. 41–2; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', pp. 314, 334–5. Forman Cody also mentions bedbugs, smoking chimneys and a need to air wards (p. 334).
145. This is with the exception of the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital (in which men delivered babies 1747–1761). However, this institution only admitted married women. See Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, pp. 147–8.
146. Evans, *Unfortunate Objects*, pp. 150–1; Croxton, 'Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service'; Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*.
147. Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 150, 172.
148. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 151.
149. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–51.
150. Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, p. 146.
151. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service', p. 28.
152. A. Wilson, 'The ceremony of childbirth and its interpretation', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as mothers in pre-industrial England: essays in memory of Dorothy McLaren* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 68–107; Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery*, pp. 25–30; and see Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, ch. II.
153. Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*.
154. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 173. See also Evenden, D., 'Mothers and their midwives in seventeenth-century London', in H. Marland (ed.), *The art of midwifery: early modern midwives in Europe* (Routledge, London, 1993), pp. 9–26.
155. Capp, *When gossips meet*, pp. 50–1, 327–8.
156. *Ibid.*, pp. 327–9; Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pt III.
157. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 50–1; Gowing, *Common Bodies*, p. 151.

158. Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, p. 31.
159. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, p. 55.
160. L. Pollock, 'Childbearing and female bonding in early modern England', *Social History*, 22 (1997), pp. 286–306, at p. 300; Gowing, *Common bodies*, ch. 5.
161. Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 73–9.
162. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 53; Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 159–62; Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death*, pp. 73–79; Pollock, 'Childbearing', pp. 303–4.
163. Pollock, 'Childbearing', p. 303.
164. www.londonlives.org, *Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers—Justices' Working Documents*, 28 June 1691, LMSMP500120025 and see also LMSLPS150060033, 23 March 1695.
165. Ingram, *Church courts*, p. 263; Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 163–4.
166. Hitchcock and Black, 'Chelsea settlement examinations', pp. x–xi; Nutt, *Bastardy*, p. 127.
167. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrates' gate', p. 53; Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 52–60.
168. Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, pts II–IV, and ch. 14; Woods and Galley, *Dr Smellie and Mrs Stone*; I. Loudon, *Death in childbirth: an international study of maternal care and maternal mortality, 1800–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 85–99; see also A. Wilson, *Ritual and conflict: the social relations of childbirth in early modern England* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 41–5, ch. 6.
169. Wilson, *Ritual and conflict*; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*.
170. Rose, *Massacre of the innocents*, p. 85.
171. Loudon, *Death in childbirth*, p. 87. See also Joseph Rogers, M.D., *Reminiscences of a Workhouse Medical Officer*, ed. with preface by Prof Thorold Rogers [his brother] (London: T Fisher Unwin, 1889), pp. 7–8. The workhouse medical officer's salary was 'supplemented by an occasional fee from attendance on parturient women, in cases where difficulty or danger arose, or in any illness which took place prior to the ninth day after confinement'.
172. Marland *Dangerous Motherhood*, p. 17.
173. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital', p. 45, 47; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', pp. 322–3, 325, 343.
174. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', pp. 321–3, 340, 348, quote pp. 322–3; and see Croxson, 'The Middlesex Hospital', p. 48.
175. Croxson, 'The Middlesex Hospital', pp. 30, 35, 37.

176. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', pp. 311–12, 324, 325, 340; Croxson, 'The Middlesex Hospital', pp. 37–8.
177. D.A. Kent, 'Ubiquitous but invisible: female domestic servants in mid-eighteenth-century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 28 (1989), pp. 111–28, at p. 113.



CHAPTER 4

The Workhouse

During the eighteenth century there was a shift in the ecology of plebeian childbirth in the metropolis. There was a proliferation of new institutions that provided assistance to mothers for their deliveries with the opening of a large number of parish workhouses, plus the establishment of high-profile charitable lying-in hospitals and domiciliary lying-in charities, as well as the substitution of the man-midwife for the traditional female midwife for the home deliveries of women in the upper sections of society.¹

Although the new workhouses were established with deterrence and hard work in mind, they were quickly medicalised by the sick poor who actually inhabited them, including women who turned up at the workhouse gates in labour.² At mid-century a wave of pro-population charities were founded, including the Foundling Hospital for deserted children (1739, opening 1741) and six lying-in hospitals: the Middlesex (1747), the British Lying-in Hospital (1749), the City of London Hospital (1750), the General Lying-in Hospital (1752), the Westminster Lying-in Hospital (1765), and the Store Street Lying-in Hospital (1767).³ Forman Cody argues that ‘lying-in hospitals transformed the experience of birth’.⁴ In addition, a number of domiciliary lying-in charities were established, such as the Westminster Charitable Society (1716), the Royal Maternity Charity (1757), the Westminster General Dispensary (1774), the General Lying-in Dispensary, Charlotte Street (1778), and the Benevolent Institution (1779), while the Middlesex Hospital also provided assistance with home births alongside hospital births, 1764–1786, and only domiciliary births

thereafter.⁵ Thus, as Seligman has argued, '[t]he eighteenth century saw the introduction on a large scale of skilled maternity care for the poor of London'.⁶ The workhouse was an institution of particular relevance to unmarried mothers. Given the sheer number of workhouses in London many women could use them as an alternative location for their deliveries. In terms of parish policy the workhouse might become more important if access to parish nursing homes or outdoor relief was withdrawn. It must be remembered that outdoor relief continued and ran in parallel with workhouse provision. The process of affiliation (Chap. 5) secured a woman's right to maintenance for her child and this was usually paid as outdoor relief. After 1834 the workhouse continued to provide a place for childbirth and it was to be the only provision for destitute unmarried mothers. It would seem that, in London at least, the workhouse became ever more important over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for this group of the poor.

PARISH WORKHOUSES AND MEDICAL RELIEF UNDER THE OLD POOR LAW

While the City-wide London workhouse, established as early as 1698 and incorporating 105 parishes, soon foundered, a number of other workhouses were established even before the Workhouse Test Act of 1723 was passed.⁷ This Act enabled parishes to,

purchase or hire any house or houses in the same parish, township or place, and to contract with any person or persons for the lodging, keeping, maintaining and employing any or all such poor in their respective parishes ... as shall desire to receive relief or collection from the same ... and there to keep, maintain and employ all such poor persons, and take the benefit of the work, labour and service of any such poor person or persons ...⁸

This enshrined in legislation the 'workhouse test'—so famous in the period after 1834—whereby outdoor relief could be denied.⁹ Following the 1723 Act around 2000 rural and urban workhouses were established across the country, while in London, after parish churches, workhouses became the second most common form of public building.¹⁰ Hitchcock and Shoemaker argue that, '[f]rom the perspective of the poor, the creation of a network of residential parish workhouses in the 1720s represents the single most significant development in the form and nature of poor relief

between the creation of a working system of settlement in the 1690s and the passage of the New Poor Law 140 years later'.¹¹ They continue that 'the environment of the house was intended to create a regular way of life, both devout and virtuous, industrious and contented ... [there] was a desire to instil in the poor an unthinking desire to labour, a "habit of industry"'.¹² Workhouses were designed as deterrent, total institutions.¹³ Workhouse provision was particularly extensive in London: by 1776 there were 86 workhouses in the metropolitan area accommodating over 15,000 inmates; by the end of the century every metropolitan parish had a workhouse.¹⁴ There was also a Quaker workhouse at Clerkenwell in the period 1701 to 1786.¹⁵ The workhouse movement was the single most significant development in the form and nature of poor relief since the codification of the settlement laws in the 1690s.¹⁶ London workhouses were exceptionally large by the standards of provincial workhouses,¹⁷ and a greater proportion of the poor were relieved inside the workhouse.¹⁸ The extent of workhouse establishment in the metropolis was such that following the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834—which sought to impose the union workhouse—a wave of new building was simply not required.¹⁹

Although there were some 86 of them there have been only a handful of studies of metropolitan workhouses, largely due to source survival and the complexity of reconstructing workhouse populations.²⁰ Most work has focused upon the elderly, the sick and children, with very little on pregnancy and birth within the house.²¹ Both the workhouses of St. Martin in the Fields and St. Luke Chelsea have been subject to detailed examination. Boulton, Schwarz, Black and Davenport have produced a wealth of work on the former, while Hitchcock and Siena have examined the inmates in the latter.²² Research by these authors reveals that workhouse inmates were largely women and children at the relative expense of men and the elderly.²³ In St. Martin's workhouse there were many more women than men, particularly those of child-bearing age (20–44).²⁴ Levene has similar findings for St. Marylebone's workhouse.²⁵ Women were far more likely to fall into poverty than men due to insecure female employment (with large numbers of domestic servants) and lower pay, plus they were open to the risks of bastardy as well as the death or desertion of a spouse.²⁶ Many of those in the workhouse were there for short-term emergency relief, others were in and out, and those on the outdoor relief lists tended to be relieved for longer and tended to be older.²⁷ While the two systems of indoor and outdoor relief often continued to run in parallel, at least 60 per cent of

expenditure on poor relief in London was spent on inside provision.²⁸ The intention of invoking the 'workhouse test' was thereby undermined.²⁹

It was the poor who medicalised the workhouse. As Siena has demonstrated—drawing upon the records of the workhouses in St. Luke's, St. Margaret Westminster, St. Sepulchre, St. Andrew Holborn and St. George Hanover Square—it was the large number of the sick and infirm poor entering the house who shaped its day to day practice; workhouses took on a significant medical role as a response to the 'overwhelming number of parishioners who were driven to seek aid due to illness or injury'.³⁰ In the early eighteenth century, 38 per cent of applicants to the workhouse of St. Margaret's cited illness or injury as their reason for admittance, while the figures were similar for the workhouses of St. Sepulchre's, and for St. Luke Chelsea the figure was 42 per cent.³¹ St. Martin's workhouse medical services became so extensive that external medical provision, including parish nursing, declined, although the parish nursing home lasted decades longer in a few other London parishes, notably those without a workhouse, such as St. Clement Danes.³² Many of the sick, including not just the poor but also those slightly better off, who entered St. Martin's for medical care died shortly after admittance due to their illnesses, rather than workhouse conditions, such that this 'distorted patterns of workhouse residence'.³³ While some workhouses incorporated infirmaries, such as St. Margaret's Westminster, others provided specialised sick and infirm wards, including St. Martin's.³⁴ Moreover, almost no parish was able to enforce a strict 'workhouse test' for long and most parishes resumed providing outdoor relief alongside indoor assistance.³⁵

From the little research to date on childbirth within the workhouse it appears that such houses often functioned as lying-in hospitals for poor women. Relieving officers at the workhouse in St. Luke Chelsea admitted poor women for pregnancy, delivery and lying-in. Hitchcock has shown that 4.3 per cent of inmates were either born in the workhouse (6) or were there because of pregnancy (13) in the period 1743–50.³⁶ Many infants were born in the workhouse of St. Botolph Aldgate over the eighteenth century.³⁷ St. Martin's had a ward for nursing and expectant mothers from the 1730s with married and unmarried women in the same ward.³⁸ Between 1770 and 1775, 67 women turned up at the workhouse in labour while a further 205 were admitted in the later stages of pregnancy.³⁹ In 1817/18 the workhouse had a ward for pregnant women, a lying-in ward, and a ward for mothers and their nursing infants.⁴⁰ Like St. Martin's, before St. Clement Danes had a workhouse the parish gave outdoor relief

and employed a string of nurses, including Nurse Hannah Poole who delivered a small number of unmarried mothers and cared for many more poor children in her nursing home.⁴¹ After the workhouse was established in 1773, women in labour also started to turn up at the workhouse gates.⁴² Hitchcock has drawn attention to the role of the workhouse in the lives of poor unwed women in London, arguing that such provision was ‘well designed for problems faced by unmarried, plebeian mothers’ and that ‘the increasingly institutional care ... coped best with just the sort of short-term crisis an illicit pregnancy and birth represented’.⁴³ Another reason for single pregnant women to give birth in the parish workhouse was to establish the child’s settlement and thereby their future maintenance.⁴⁴ Siena has also argued that ‘[a]lthough they were nominally devoted to work, [workhouses] routinely provided care and education for children and refuge for single mothers, as social historians know well’.⁴⁵ He has also highlighted how sexually active single young women ran the risk of venereal disease as well as illicit pregnancy, sometimes simultaneously.⁴⁶ Both conditions were believed to come from promiscuity and to stem from the same deviant behaviour.⁴⁷ These women faced twice the shame, argues Siena, because bastardy cost the parish far more than the treatment of venereal disease: these women were, ‘bastard-bearers first and foul patients only second’.⁴⁸ For this reason parochial officers regulated bastardy much more stringently than venereal disease patients.⁴⁹

The findings of others are confirmed by the trend in the number of all women admitted for childbirth available for the workhouses of St. Luke’s and St. Martin in the Fields (Fig. 4.1). At St. Luke’s the figure rose over time, but with notable fluctuations and a strong downturn after 1825. Many more women were admitted into St. Martin’s where there was more variation and less of a trend over time. More women entered the house in the later 1730s and early 1740s and again in the 1770s and 1780s. The first surge in births might be as a result of the provision of a separate lying-in ward in 1736. Hitchcock and Shoemaker attribute the rapid decline in the early 1740s to the high mortality of infants, with over 60 per cent dying in the house, and poor women shifting their demand elsewhere.⁵⁰ There was a slow drift upwards again and the peak in the 1780s coincided with an expansion of lying-in facilities.

These figures relate to all women, whether they were unmarried, married or widowed, and it might be easy to assume from workhouse records that unmarried mothers dominated the lying-in wards and that most women pregnant with a bastard gave birth in the workhouse.⁵¹ This was

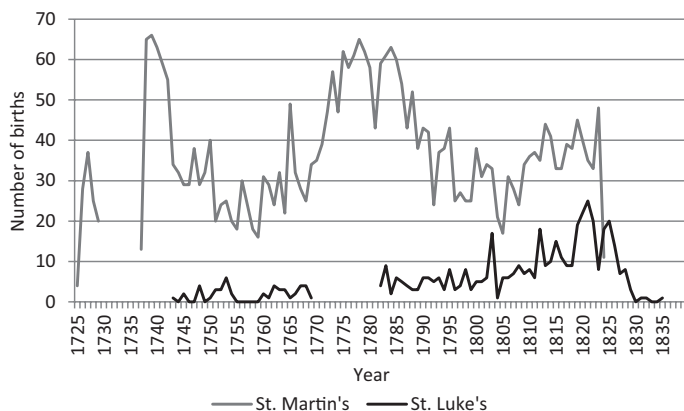


Fig. 4.1 All births in the workhouse, St. Martin in the Fields and St. Luke Chelsea, 1724–1835.

Source: St. Martin in the Fields, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1725–1824, Pauper Lives project; St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799, www.workhouses.org.uk, 1800–1837, LMA P74/LUK/112-115

the case in St. Martin in the Fields which did indeed act as a lying-in hospital for many poor unmarried mothers: 84 per cent of all illegitimate infants who had been baptised in the parish register were delivered in the workhouse and between half and two-thirds of mothers delivered in the house were unmarried.⁵² The parochial surveillance of unmarried mothers was particularly effective in St. Martin's and most were only offered the workhouse for delivery. However, this was not the case elsewhere. These figures are different in kind from those for St. Martin's, and so are not strictly comparable, but only 16 per cent of unmarried women examined in St. Botolph Aldgate had given birth in a workhouse, 21 per cent in St. Luke's, 25–38 per cent in St. George the Martyr, 38 per cent in St. Mary Newington, and 42 per cent in St. Saviour's.⁵³ These women had other options when it came to childbirth.

This chapter analyses poor law records for a number of London parishes in order to recover the experience of the poor unmarried plebeian mothers who used workhouses during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Its central concern is parochial workhouse provision and it will not address in any detail, apart from for direct comparison, other assistance in the wider 'mixed economy of welfare', such as the

lying-in hospitals, nor the range of assistance provided by relatives, neighbours and friends, which has been researched by others, whereas the more precise nature of workhouse provision has not.⁵⁴ The focus remains upon poor-law provision and chargeable bastardy. Hitchcock has commented that, '[t]he lives of plebeian women are notoriously difficult to reconstruct'.⁵⁵ Indeed, recovering the lives of unmarried mothers is particularly difficult, because the marital status of mothers who gave birth in the workhouse between 1723 and 1834 was only rarely recorded. It is usually only possible to identify that mothers were unmarried by linking them to other records, such as bastardy examinations, warrants and adjudications, registers of illegitimate children, outdoor relief lists, and baptism registers.⁵⁶ This has been done for the workhouses of St. Luke Chelsea, 1743–1835, and St. Martin in the Fields Westminster, 1725–1824, chosen for their good record survival and the vastly different sizes of their workhouses and, thus, the number of women delivered there (as shown in Fig. 4.1 above). There is also additional limited evidence for the workhouses of St. Margaret Westminster, early in the eighteenth century and those of St. George the Martyr Southwark, and St. Mary Newington Lambeth, in the early nineteenth century (and whose affiliation and maintenance records are analysed in Chap. 5). After 1834 the workhouse became more important in the provision of poor relief, particularly so for unmarried mothers. The workhouse admission and discharge registers for St. Mary Newington have also been analysed for a later period in order to reflect upon changes in provision for unwed pregnant women and those with children in the mid-nineteenth century.

CHILDBIRTH IN THE WORKHOUSE IN ST. LUKE CHELSEA

St. Luke's workhouse opened in 1737 to accommodate up to 70 people.⁵⁷ From 1749 the parish granted outdoor relief to 10–30 paupers per month.⁵⁸ The Returns of 1777 record just 20 people in the workhouse but turnover must have been much higher: in 1782 there were 156 admissions.⁵⁹ This was a small establishment compared to the average London workhouse size of 201 inmates in 1777.⁶⁰ In 1804 the parish supported 3.3 regular and settled paupers per hundred of the population.⁶¹

Since all entries into the workhouses are searchable for the periods 1743–1769 and 1782–1799 it is possible to estimate the proportion of workhouse entries for birth: 155 women gave birth in this period, which accounted for 3.5 per cent of entries into the house, a figure similar to

Hitchcock's 4.3 per cent for pregnancies and births for the shorter period of 1743–50.⁶² Thus, women coming for their deliveries were only a small proportion of inmates. In St. Mary Le Strand Westminster, 1814–1826, there were just two unmarried mothers in their workhouse—Sarah Darbyshire was aged just 17 years old and was 'Admitted in a Pregnant State unmarried' and Ann Polden, 26 years old, was delivered there of her daughter, who died within a few hours—and they accounted for less than 1 per cent of inmates.⁶³

For the purposes of this chapter, and in order to be able to assess change over time, the records have been divided into three equal periods of 1743–1769, 1782–1808, and 1809–1835. Women were identified as unmarried within the admission and discharge registers (such as 'being with a bastard child' or their new-born was identified as a bastard) or linked to bastardy examinations. There were just 47 births between 1743 and 1769, 24 of which were of unmarried mothers (51 per cent), 152 in the period 1782–1808, of which 108 were illegitimate (71 per cent) and in the following period, 1809–1835, 182 of 276 births were of bastard children (66 per cent). These findings indicate that the number of inmates in the workhouse was growing and that the proportion of women who were unmarried was high and rising but with some fluctuation. These might be minimum figures; a number of women in the workhouse might also have been unmarried since they were young and left the workhouse for service and with outdoor relief issued, but for some reason there was not a bastardy examination, or no record of one. For instance, Ann Buzby, age 20, entered the St. Luke's house on the day she gave birth and stayed for one month. She was allocated 1s. per week in outdoor relief after she left the house. There are a number of reasons why there might not be an examination for a (potential) unmarried mother, including being admitted as a 'casual' (since there were no examinations for casual inmates), while some women 'escaped' before a bastardy examination could be taken, such as 19-year-old Carol Willoby, who gave birth in the house and on her way to see the justice 'r[an] away from the Beadle'. There were a number of women who were very young indeed (in their teens), and yet there is no surviving bastardy examination, and it is highly likely that these young women were unmarried. The bastardy examinations of the parish reveal that unmarried mothers were mainly young, migrant servants and that the fathers were servants and household workers, skilled artisans and construction workers, with approximately 10 per cent from the middling sort.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, some of the women were linked to baptism registers

and their births were recorded as ‘legitimate’. Married, as well as unmarried, women used the workhouse for delivery and the old poor law metropolitan workhouse was not simply a ‘refuge for single mothers’.⁶⁵ This is supported by the figures for St. Martin’s (see below). However, while it is important to recognise that married women also used the house, far more babies were born to married than unmarried women. Unmarried mothers were decisively over-represented in the workhouse. It is possible that workhouses were places of ‘refuge’ but they could equally have been sites of shame. The fact that married women also gave birth in the house might lessen this latter possibility and this issue is discussed in more detail below.

Unmarried mothers in St. Luke’s parish were the same age as their marrying counterparts, which suggests that they were engaged in similar courtship behaviour.⁶⁶ The majority of women who entered the workhouse were in the 20–24 age group, with a significant minority in their teens (Fig. 4.2). Eliza Wadeson was aged just 14 years old when she was examined by the J.P. in November 1824.⁶⁷ There was no marked difference between the ages of those giving birth in the workhouse and all unmarried mothers examined by a magistrate, so it does not seem to be the case that younger women necessarily ended up in the house. These

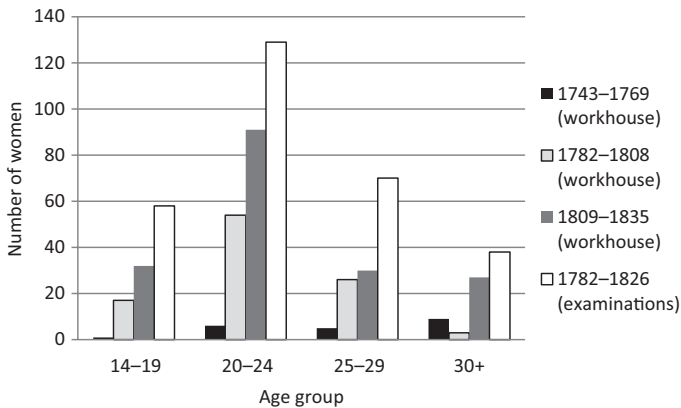


Fig. 4.2 Age of unmarried mothers in the workhouse and in bastardy examinations, St. Luke Chelsea, 1743–1835.

Source: St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799, www.workhouses.org.uk, 1800–1837, LMA P74/LUK/112–115; LMA P74/LUK/123–139, Settlement and bastardy examinations, 1782–1838

ages are similar to those in bastardy examinations in St. Clement Danes, St. Mary Le Strand, St. Sepulchre and St. Martin in the Fields, as well as the unmarried mothers in the Westminster and General Lying-in Hospitals.⁶⁸ These findings lend considerable support to the argument that illegitimacy was the result of broken courtships. However, a significant minority of unwed mothers were also aged over 30, some of whom were giving birth to the second or subsequent illegitimate child and their experiences were dissimilar to those of younger unmarried mothers having their first child.⁶⁹

At what point in their pregnancies did unwed women enter St. Luke's workhouse? The picture is a complicated one (Table 4.1).⁷⁰ A substantial

Table 4.1 Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Luke Chelsea, 1743–1835

	1743–1769 (%)	1782–1808 (%)	1809–1835 (%)
Before birth			
In labour, same day, previous day	19	22	12
Up to 1 week	14	11	7
[Total]	[33]	[33]	[19]
1–2 weeks	5	6	13
2 weeks–1 month	10	17	14
1 month–2 months	29	30	21
2 month–3 months	14	10	19
3 month–4 months	5	2	6
4 month–5 months	5	3	6
Over 5 months	0	0	2
Total number	21	101	176
After birth			
Up to 1 week	0	0	0
1–2 weeks	0	2	0
2 weeks–1 month	23	29	19
[Total]	[23]	[31]	[19]
1 month–2 months	45	38	51
2 month–3 months	23	18	15
3 month–4 months	9	6	5
4 month–5 months	0	2	4
Over 5 months	0	5	6
Total number	22	100	174

Source: St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799, www.workhouses.org.uk, 1800–1837, LMA P74/LUK/112-115

minority came in right at the end of their pregnancies. Between one-fifth and one-third came into the house in labour or up to one week before birth. Indeed, 12–22 per cent of women entered the house either in labour or imminently so, since they gave birth on the same or the next day, yet it is clear from the workhouse committee minutes that women were supposed to apply to enter the house for childbirth.⁷¹ Only seeking admission when labour had commenced also happened in St. James Westminster, which had a ‘Ward for Lying-in-Women, into which many are brought out of the streets to be delivered’.⁷² In one case in St. Clement Danes the workhouse matron turned away a woman in labour without an order from the overseer, but relented when Mary Brown’s contractions intensified and the infant was born there.⁷³ However, there were important changes over time at St. Luke’s. The proportion arriving in labour, on the same day or the previous day, declined from around one-fifth in the first two periods to 12 per cent in the final period, while the figure of those admitted up to one week before also diminished from 14 per cent, to 11 per cent, to just 7 per cent. Thus, by 1809–1835 more women were entering the house earlier before delivery. This might suggest that workhouse policy on the admission of pregnant women had changed to allow them to come into the house a few weeks before. It might also indicate that mothers were happier to enter the house than previously, perhaps based on conditions inside and parish policies on the work that was expected of them and the risk of possible punishment (see Chap. 6).

However, another large minority came inside when they were between six and eight months’ pregnant (43 per cent, 40 per cent, 40 per cent respectively per period) and birth must not have seemed imminent. These women might have lost or left their domestic service. For a minority (10 per cent, 5 per cent, 14 per cent), pregnancy or associated unemployment was obviously too much long before the prospect of their deliveries and they were admitted into the house three, four, and even five months before. Margaret Wallace, for instance, entered the house almost five months before she was delivered of her little boy Frederick. Other pregnant women were in and out of the house, such as Mary Roberts, whose story was told at the start of this book. Mary entered St. Luke’s workhouse on 16 November 1792 being ‘With child’ and stayed for twelve days before she ‘Went Out at her Own Request’ and was given 3*s.* 6*d.* in outdoor relief. She was back a month later with the reason for admission being recorded as ‘Faind in Labour’. This was a false start and a month later her stillborn baby was born in the house. After four weeks the

committee ordered her out 'her month being up' with 2s. Yet other women came into the workhouse during their pregnancies but decided not to stay for their deliveries and discharged themselves.

Legal removal from the workhouse and St. Luke's parish altogether meant that a woman would not give birth in the house. These women were moved on to their parish of settlement before birth (since children took their settlement of birth, parish officers would be keen to avoid this eventuality), such as Sarah Balldori, who was admitted in July 1762 'big with child' and left in September to 'Return to St. George Hanr Square' after her examination revealed that St. George was her parish of settlement. In the case of Sarah Tyler, also settled in St. George Hanover Square, her removal from their workhouse in 1733 was delayed due to 'Doctor Hody declaring that she is not able to be passed to Bristol the place of her last settlement before her delivery'.⁷⁴ This was long before the 1795 Poor Removal Act which stipulated that if an unmarried pregnant woman was under an order of removal at the time of the birth of her child then she should not be moved until after the birth and that the child would then take her place of settlement, not where he or she was born.⁷⁵

The policy of St. Margaret Westminster's workhouse was of a lying-in period of one month.⁷⁶ It might be thought that this was also the case in St. Luke's, since in many cases the reason given for exit from the house was the expiry of one month's lying-in, as in the case of Mary Roberts (above). However, the length of stay calculated from the workhouse registers reveals that many unwed mothers stayed longer than the usual month of lying-in (Table 4.1). Very few left quickly following childbirth: no women left in the first two weeks following their deliveries in the periods 1743–1769 and 1809–1835 and only two women in 1782–1808 (2 per cent); Harriet Pollard was removed from Christ Church to St. Luke's two weeks before her delivery and left after 11 days 'went to live at Mr Bryan's Overseer', while Catherine McLaren gave birth the day she arrived and left after 14 days, her child dead. Between one-quarter and almost one-third of unmarried mothers left between two and four weeks. Many remained in the house a little longer—between one and two months (45 per cent, 38 per cent, 51 per cent). The length of stay of a few women was much longer, such as Ann Crockford, aged 24, who was admitted the day before she gave birth to her son; he only lived 6 weeks, but Ann stayed one year and one week, eventually leaving to go into service. It could be that poor health after delivery accounted for the longer stays of some of these women.⁷⁷ A small number of other unmarried mothers were admitted to

the house after childbirth, including Lydia Bridgeman, who was ‘brought to bed out of doors’ and then entered the house, while Pear Vallender was admitted into the house with her three-week-old baby ‘To Nurse her Child’. Other women were admitted during a miscarriage, such as Harriet Dean, aged just 17 years old, who came into the house in August 1827 and stayed just over a month and left the workhouse to go and live with her mother.

ST. MARTIN IN THE FIELDS

St. Luke’s was a relatively small workhouse, while St. Martin in the Fields was very large and provides a point of comparison and possible contrast. St. Martin’s opened its workhouse in 1725 and by the end of the year there were around 250 inmates. It was rebuilt and greatly expanded in the years 1770–1772 and by 1777 it was often full to capacity at 700.⁷⁸ This compares with an average capacity of 201 for metropolitan workhouses.⁷⁹ In 1803 the workhouse was the third largest workhouse in London.⁸⁰ This was a very large institution, larger than any London hospital.⁸¹ During the Napoleonic Wars an average of 816 people were admitted into the house per year.⁸²

As has been noted above and in the previous chapter, before the establishment of the Martin’s workhouse lying-in women were lodged with parish nurses such as Nurse Pomfrett and delivered by the parish midwife, usually Mary Le Double.⁸³ Upon opening the workhouse only emergency lying-in cases were initially admitted but very quickly workhouse provision displaced the parish nursing system.⁸⁴ In August 1736 the workhouse committee of St. Martin’s decided to buy the next-door two-storey building and ‘in the Upper Floor there to be a Ward ... for the Lying in Women’, the house was to be painted outside and whitewashed inside and new beech bedsteads were provided with new flock bolsters and sheets.⁸⁵ Unfortunately there is a gap in the workhouse records from 1731 to 1736 but when the records resume in 1737 the number of births in the workhouse had almost doubled.⁸⁶ When the workhouse was extended in 1772 there was a sharp rise in the number of births inside (see Fig. 4.1), either due to women taking advantage of the improved medical facilities or due to parish policy that unmarried mothers must enter the house. In 1783 the roof was raised in order to add extra wards, including a new labour ward (ward 4), and a charity school. Only from 1783 were all deliveries held in the labour ward.⁸⁷ The number of births fell back to earlier levels

in the 1790s. Workhouse births accounted for 3–7 per cent of parish baptisms depending upon the year.⁸⁸ As was noted above, examined unmarried mothers tended to be young in St. Martin's workhouse and, like St. Luke's, they became younger over the period. Rogers found that they were, however, slightly older on average than other poor women at marriage, which would suggest slightly more prudential sexual behaviour and marital expectations.⁸⁹ Within St. Martin's workhouse the largest group of unmarried mothers was those aged 20–24, at just over 40 per cent, whereas married women tended to be aged 25–34.⁹⁰

As for St. Luke's, the admission and discharge entries for the workhouse of St. Martin's were divided into three equal (but different to St. Luke's) time periods in order to assess change over time: 1750–1774, 1775–1799 and 1800–1824.⁹¹ There were many more births in St. Martin's workhouse and the proportion of those that could be identified as illegitimate increased steadily over time: there were 726 births in the period 1750–1774 of which 52 per cent (378) were illegitimate, while between 1775 and 1799 1168 babies were delivered of which 695 (60 per cent) were bastards, and in the final period, 1800–1824, 839 women gave birth and 62 per cent of them (518) were illegitimate. These figures are similar in magnitude to those for St. Luke's. From the St. Martin's data it is also possible to estimate the proportion of mothers who were definitely married, since a high percentage of mothers in the workhouse could be linked to the baptism register. Married women accounted for 20 per cent (144, 1751–1774), 18 per cent (216, 1775–1799), and 23 per cent (189, 1800–1824).⁹² Although the majority of deliveries in both workhouses were of illegitimate infants, married mothers also used the house for childbirth.

The findings for St. Martin's on the duration of stay of unmarried mothers before and after delivery are remarkably similar to that for St. Luke's but are more stable over the three time periods (Table 4.2), although this is to be expected given the larger sample size.⁹³ Around one-third of unmarried mothers entered St. Martin's workhouse up to one week before birth; however, slightly higher numbers arrived in labour or imminently so, at 23–30 per cent. The proportion of women who were admitted while six to eight months' pregnant was slightly lower, but it was still a significant proportion at between 33 and 36 per cent. A minority (10–15 per cent) entered the house early in their pregnancies. Very few left shortly after birth; most were discharged between one and two months lying-in. Unmarried women generally stayed longer over time, with the

Table 4.2 Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Martin in the Fields, 1750–1824

	1750–1774 (%)	1775–1799 (%)	1800–1824 (%)
Before birth			
In labour, same day, previous day	29	30	23
Up to 1 week	8	8	7
[Total]	[37]	[38]	[30]
1–2 weeks	6	4	7
2 weeks–1 month	13	11	13
1 month–2 months	22	23	19
2 month–3 months	11	13	16
3 month–4 months	5	7	9
4 month–5 months	2	3	2
Over 5 months	3	3	4
Total number	343	668	487
After birth			
Up to 1 week	1	0 ^a	0 ^b
1–2 weeks	3	3	1
2 weeks–1 month	31	24	15
[Total]	[35]	[27]	[16]
1 month–2 months	42	37	31
2 month–3 months	10	15	15
3 month–4 months	7	8	12
4 month–5 months	2	3	4
Over 5 months	3	9	21
Total number	343	668	487

Source: St. Martin in the Fields, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1725–1824, Pauper Lives project

Notes: ^a2 cases (0.3 per cent), ^b1 case (0.2 per cent)

percentage inside the house for more than one month increasing from 64 per cent to 83 per cent.⁹⁴

Was the experience of unmarried mothers in the workhouse different to that of married women? It is possible to compare the duration each group spent in the house for St. Martin's (Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Somewhat surprisingly, more married women entered the house very shortly before birth (43–46 per cent), which means that this was not necessarily due to the circumstances of being unmarried. A large proportion of all women who used the house for childbirth were turning up at the workhouse gates in labour. Since more unmarried women came in further in advance of

Table 4.3 Married women's duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Martin in the Fields, 1751–1824

	1751–1774 (%)	1775–1799 (%)	1800–1824 (%)
Before birth			
In labour, same day, previous day	37	34	36
Up to 1 week	9	9	9
[Total]	[46]	[43]	[45]
1–2 weeks	4	6	7
2 weeks–1 month	10	10	11
1 month–2 months	15	17	13
2 month–3 months	14	12	9
3 month–4 months	7	5	5
4 month–5 months	2	2	3
Over 5 months	1	5	7
Total number	137	213	182
After birth			
Up to 1 week	1	1	0
1–2 weeks	9	2	4
2 weeks–1 month	42	42	41
[Total]	[51]	[45]	[45]
1 month–2 months	34	31	20
2 month–3 months	5	8	9
3 month–4 months	3	5	8
4 month–5 months	2	2	2
Over 5 months	4	10	15
Total number	137	213	182

Source: St. Martin in the Fields, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1725–1824, Pauper Lives project

birth than married women it might well be that even before advanced pregnancy they could no longer cope outside, perhaps having left their places, run out of savings or wanting to hide pregnancies from parents, employers and friends. Married women also left the house more quickly, with fewer staying over one month (48 per cent 1751–1774, 56 per cent 1775–1799, and 54 per cent 1800–1824). Married and unmarried women used the workhouse differently. With the opening of six charitable lying-in hospitals from mid-century and the domiciliary charities aimed largely at married women it was surely the poorest and least secure married women who chose the workhouse for their deliveries. This is reflected in the small

proportions of married women in the house and in their propensity to enter late, leave early, and go home and/or get back to work.

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH

It is also possible to compare St. Luke's and St. Martin's with other workhouses south of the Thames. The information on unmarried mothers in the workhouses of the parishes analysed in Chap. 5 over the maintenance of their children—St. George the Martyr and St. Mary Newington—is not as rich as that for St. Luke's and St. Martin's, but there is some limited evidence from the later eighteenth century. In 1729 a new brick workhouse for the parish of St. George the Martyr was built on the north side of Mint Street and a new building was erected in Mint Street in 1782.⁹⁵ In October 1731 it was reported that:

There are now in it 68 Men, Women, and Children, of which all that are able, spin Mop-Yarn, and Yarn for Stockings, which are knit by the Women; and beside this Work, 25 Children are taught to read, and say their Catechism.⁹⁶

The workhouse in St. Mary Newington was opened around 1734, built on the west side of Walworth Road. In 1814, the parish obtained a local

Table 4.4 Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after delivery, St. George the Martyr, 1802–04

<i>Period of time</i>	<i>Before</i>	<i>Period of time</i>	<i>After</i>
In labour, same day, previous day	63	Up to 1 week	7
Up to 1 week	3	1–2 weeks	0
[Total]	[66]	2 weeks–1 month	20
1–2 weeks	7	[Total]	[27]
2 weeks–1 month	7	1 month–2 months	53
1 month–2 months	7	2 month–3 months	3
2 month–3 months	7	3 month–4 months	13
3 month–4 months	7	4 month–5 months	3
4 month–5 months	0	Over 5 months	0
Over 5 months	0		
<i>Total number</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>Total number</i>	<i>30</i>

Source: SLSL 702, St. George the Martyr, Workhouse admission and discharge register, 1802–04; SLSL 603, St. George the Martyr, Register of illegitimate children, 1794–1807

Act of parliament for ‘rebuilding or repairing the workhouse’ which was ‘insufficient for the accommodation and proper employment of the poor’. In 1777 the workhouse at St. George the Martyr held up to 220, while that of St. Mary Newington could hold 200—both average-sized workhouses.⁹⁷ A very different picture emerges for St. George the Martyr (Table 4.4). Twice the proportion of unmarried mothers arrived at the house in labour or imminently so than in St. Luke’s or St. Martin’s (two-thirds); a higher proportion, also, than married women at St. Martin’s. Although the numbers are much smaller, such a finding suggests that there were different reasons to account for the choices women made about when to enter the house in Westminster and Chelsea to that in Southwark. It could be that St. George’s workhouse was far less hospitable than those north of the river or that parish policy on admittance to the house for childbirth differed markedly between the two areas. The length of time unwed mothers staying in the house following delivery was far more similar for the three workhouses, with 27 per cent staying up to a month and more than half remaining in the house between one and two months.

In St. Mary Newington’s workhouse admission and discharge registers for the period 1797–1799, no births (of around 200) could be linked to bastardy examinations, which is extraordinary, given that 38 per cent of unmarried mothers in the bastardy orders were delivered in the workhouse in 1808–1843, and must surely attest to missing bastardy examinations.⁹⁸ In the next period for which there are extant records, 1809–1814, there were 22 illegitimate births in the workhouse but the records were poorly kept and there are admission, birth and discharge dates for only half of the mothers. These women came into the house anywhere from actually in labour to three-and-a-half months before the birth and stayed between 7 weeks and over one year.⁹⁹ The bastardy examinations for the same period reveal that women not only gave birth in St. Mary Newington’s workhouse but also in the other local metropolitan workhouses of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, St. Mary Lambeth, St. George the Martyr, and Greenwich, but also as far afield as Tetbury, Gloucestershire (18 women, or 14 per cent, in any workhouses, including St. Mary Newington). Four women gave birth in lying-in hospitals (the Westminster Lying-in Hospital, Queen’s Lying-in Hospital, Bayswater, and the Lying-in Hospital, Bartholomew Close). Nevertheless, and in keeping with the findings from the bastardy books, 77 per cent of mothers were delivered outside the workhouse or a lying-in hospital. The records also reveal that unmarried mothers in St. Mary Newington, as in St. Luke’s, used the

workhouse after birth, even if they had not given birth in the house: 17 women used the workhouse after birth, 6 of whom had given birth there, 11 of whom had not. The parish removed those who were potentially expensive, such as Mary Carr, age 26, who had two illegitimate children, Thomas, age 4, and James, 5 weeks, the latter born in her father's house. James's putative father, John Andrews, was 'at sea'. Thomas was taken out seven weeks before his brother when they were all removed to Stroud. In summary, the experiences of plebeian unwed pregnant women were mixed, depending upon time and place: St. Luke's and St. Martin's resembled with one another more than they resembled St. George the Martyr. The variability of parish policy under the old poor law is a feature long-recognised by historians.

CARE AND CONDITIONS

Very little is known about the care offered to women giving birth and lying-in in the workhouse under the old poor law. This is partly because such assistance has not been a focus of the research to date on medical provision in the workhouse and also because the surviving material is sparse. As Siena and Boulton and Schwarz have shown, the poor entering the workhouse medicalised its provision.¹⁰⁰ Women being admitted for childbirth and lying-in also generated a need for lying-in wards, which, in turn, created a new demand for the provision of care.¹⁰¹ It is likely that women were admitted to a ward in St. Luke's workhouse specifically for expectant mothers and new mothers and their infants; however, the ward that they were admitted to might be subject to change.¹⁰² Likewise, St. James's Westminster had a 'Ward for Lying-in-Women'.¹⁰³ Each ward had its own nurse.¹⁰⁴ In St. Martin's very young children were kept with their mothers. In Bishopsgate workhouse in 1732, the children's ward had two physicians, a surgeon, and an apothecary.¹⁰⁵ Both St. Luke Chelsea and St. Margaret's Westminster had workhouse infirmaries, but there is little evidence that lying-in women were admitted. In St. Margaret's, inmates were sent to be cured of fevers, the itch and the distemper, but not for lying-in, while in St. Luke's there is just one case where a woman was sent to its infirmary.¹⁰⁶ This was not the case in other parishes: in 1727 the house surgeon of St. Sepulchre of requested that a proper infirmary be established to include a room for lying-in women, while in 1791 the workhouse at St. Andrew Holborn had a lying-in room.¹⁰⁷ It is difficult to know whether care in a workhouse ward differed to that in the infirmary.

There is also a paucity of evidence of the nature of workhouse medical attention in childbirth; far more, although still too little, appears to survive about house apothecaries, surgeons and physicians. Even less is known about workhouse patients.¹⁰⁸ Many parishes contracted a surgeon or physician to care for the poor who fell ill. In the 1730s St. George Hanover Square employed an apothecary and a physician. The officers also employed both midwives and men-midwives. Eleanor Barry was paid, as midwife, 5s. for each delivery. A man-midwife was called in only in cases of emergency. The parish insisted upon the man-midwife gaining an order from one of the churchwardens or overseers before he attended the patient. They had secured a medical contract by which Mr John Gowland had agreed to attend *gratis*, but when he left the business of midwifery, they employed the existing parish practitioner, Dr Edward Hody, at a cost of one guinea.¹⁰⁹ On the whole, midwives also delivered women in the lying-in hospitals with male-midwives called in only in cases of difficulty.¹¹⁰ The going rate per pauper delivery was usually 5s. London magistrates customarily paid midwives 5s. to deliver destitute women, while overseers' vouchers for the 1720s for St. Margaret's Westminster reveal that the parish employed a number of midwives: Jane Guttery, Elizabeth Doris, Jane Hall and Mrs Richards, who delivered women inside and outside the workhouse, for 5s. per delivery.¹¹¹ In St. Botolph Aldgate the going rate throughout the eighteenth century was also usually 5s.¹¹² There is no evidence here, then, that unmarried women received inferior care. These values are in contrast to the more measly 1s. 6d. given to the midwives employed by the Royal Maternity Charity.¹¹³ In St. Margaret's the marital status of the woman being delivered was identified: Elizabeth Doris was paid laying 'Ann Waller of her Bastard Child', while Jane Hall was paid for laying Sarah Chambers 'of her Bastard Child by Mr. Cantrel'.¹¹⁴ Jane Guttery was the most experienced parish midwife, being paid to deliver 13 women (including twins) between 28 September 1728 and 11 April 1729, as well as for 'searching Mr. Arnolds Servt'. for signs of pregnancy or a recent delivery and twice for attending inquests into infant deaths.¹¹⁵

Workhouse midwives from St. Martin in the Fields, St. George Hanover Square, St. Margaret Westminster and St. George's infirmary were employed by the City of Westminster coroners' courts in suspected cases of infanticide between 1761 and 1799, and even in Old Bailey trials.¹¹⁶ Some women accused of infanticide were brought to the workhouse for medical assistance.¹¹⁷ By the 1770s some parishes were paying their midwives by contract (as they might also do for surgeon-apothecaries), such as

St. George Bloomsbury, who paid their parish midwife £20 per year. When she delivered 108 infants in 1787 she was rewarded with an extra gratuity of £5 5s.¹¹⁸ Aftercare in St. Margaret's workhouse in 1728 was provided by Nurse Herring 'for the Lying Inn of Sarah Chamberlaine who is Dead as is the Child let her have Twenty Shillings'.¹¹⁹ St. Margaret's continued to pay their midwives 5s. per delivery in the 1730s.¹²⁰ St. Sepulchre employed Elizabeth Crouch as their midwife and this parish also paid nurses to care for the sick in their own homes.¹²¹ Although general workhouse 'nurses' were drawn from the inmates, other nurses might be quite experienced, such as Jane Sevier, who was employed in St. James's workhouse in the 1750s and 1760s, 'she hath been nurse to the lying in ward in the said workhouse for seven years last past', while some workhouses employed more than one nurse in the lying-in ward.¹²² Ann Jeffs was the workhouse midwife in the lying-in room for St. Martin in the Fields in 1761 and had her own room there.¹²³ There is some evidence on the provision of the caudle that was traditional at home births: in St. Mary Le Strand Westminster, in 1793 wine, brandy and gin was given 'for the Lying in Woman' at a cost of 5s. In addition, the parish paid for 'A Woman in the Nursery' for 12 weeks at a cost of 6s.¹²⁴ In January 1826 the workhouse dietary specified that 'in Cases of Sickness the above allowance may be altered & such substitutes as may be ordered by the Medical Attendant'.¹²⁵

Mothers and infants might die in childbirth or shortly after. In the St. Luke's sample of unmarried mothers only Catherine Savory and Emma Beeston were recorded as dying in the workhouse, but in St. Martin's 41 women died in pregnancy, labour or shortly after (just under 3 per cent). The likelihood of illegitimate infants surviving could be low: in general illegitimate infant mortality was twice that of legitimate infants.¹²⁶ In St. Luke's in the period 1743–1769, almost half (46 per cent) of bastard infants born in the house were stillborn or died in the weeks following birth. In St. Margaret's Westminster at mid-century some 78 per cent of all babies (legitimate and illegitimate) in the workhouse died and the parish decided to send infants out to be nursed in the country; however, in the St. Marylebone workhouse levels were not particularly high.¹²⁷ The high figure in St. Luke's fell over time: in the period 1782–1808 27 per cent of the infants were stillborn or died while in the house; by 1809–1835 the proportion had fallen further to 14 per cent. Infant mortality in London more broadly fell over the eighteenth century from around 350 per 1000 to 200 per 1000, and again to around 150 per 1000 in 1850.¹²⁸

Unwed mothers might lose older children, too, with children aged between a few months and nine years old dying whilst in St. Luke's workhouse. Davenport, Boulton and Black argue that the higher infant and maternal mortality rates in St. Martin's workhouse were due to a combination of the conditions in the workhouse and the health of those admitted. The lying-in room was used as an emergency ward, which carried higher risks, while illegitimate pregnancies had higher infant mortality in the late neonatal period. Workhouse conditions might have contributed to neonatal tetanus amongst newborns due to contaminated instruments used to sever the umbilical cord; however, with the new labour ward in 1783 infant and maternal mortality improved.¹²⁹

General conditions within metropolitan workhouses varied greatly from workhouse to workhouse.¹³⁰ Hitchcock argues that, '[i]n some house the inmates received quite adequate food and housing and were even allowed an occasional luxury, while in other houses the conditions shocked even the callous sensibilities of the eighteenth century'.¹³¹ Rules and regulations detailed the hours of rising and going to bed, of work and religious devotion, of dietaries and expectations of behaviour.¹³² On Christmas Day in St. Mary Le Strand's workhouse dinner comprised of 'Roast Beef, Plumb Pudding & Ale'.¹³³ The conditions and diet of St. James Westminster were very good in 1736, but the inmates in the workhouse of St. Mary Whitechapel were described in 1733 as 'not Kept to Work, but go and come as they please, get drunk, and are disorderly'.¹³⁴ Lice and fleas were seemingly ubiquitous in metropolitan workhouses.¹³⁵

Conditions for unmarried mothers in particular might also vary. Some workhouse officials insisted upon the wearing of a distinctive uniform for unwed mothers, such as in St. Martin in the Fields where they were forced to wear blue or yellow uniform.¹³⁶ This was surely intended to instil shame and deter women from applying, although it is not clear for how long this policy was in place. Single pregnant women and mothers were certainly expected to work while inside; when Mary Bates was admitted to St. Margaret Westminster's workhouse it was ordered that, 'Nurse Durham do set her to serving & such other Work as shall be fitting for One in her Condition', while in 1729 Sarah Pagett was put to work in the washhouse of St. Margaret's Westminster's workhouse during her pregnancy.¹³⁷

There is detailed evidence about conditions within the St. Mary Newington workhouse when two Governors and two Guardians inspected the poor inside the house in 1822. The report book recorded that cleanliness and ventilation had been improved and that provisions were 'very

good', in particular, the meat, bread, butter and cheese.¹³⁸ The number in the workhouses averaged about 270 in the early nineteenth century. Women inmates were put to work at coarse needlework, cotton-winding for tallow-chandlers, and the sorting of hairs for brush-makers, while men were employed in door-mat making, knotting yarns for spun-yarn and cord for the bottoms of mats, plus making coarse twines, and the classic workhouse work of picking oakum. The workhouse contractor, Mr Charles Mott, had installed looms to make sheeting, linen and cotton goods but, he complained, the work made a poor return.¹³⁹ An inventory of the house in 1835 indicates the size of the institution with 53 rooms listed over a collection of buildings, with part of the contents valued at £418 17s. 6d.¹⁴⁰ These included rooms for the master, housekeeper, porter, and committee, with a water closet, men's and women's wards, casualty wards for vagrants, sick wards (including a foul ward), workshops, a laundry and the cooks' house, as well as a building called 'Noah's Ark' that had been knocked down. The lying-in ward contained a stove and a coal box, a cupboard, a table, three chairs and two stools, a clothes horse, four double bedsteads and one single bedstead, and even a mahogany tea tray. Since beds were commonly shared, then it might be assumed that nine women could use the room. For children, there was a nursery as well as girls' and boys' schoolrooms. A beer cellar, fowl house, pig sties and gardens were also listed.¹⁴¹

The experience of childbirth in the workhouse could be at odds with delivery in the relative 'luxury' of a lying-in hospital (see Chap. 3). It is difficult to compare directly the diet in the lying-in hospitals with the fare offered in workhouses since the houses varied greatly and the food given specifically to lying-in women was rarely recorded. What evidence there is suggests that diets might sometimes have been comparable.¹⁴² In the lying-in hospitals women were provided with the traditional fortified caudle, gruel and mutton-broth during and after labour, followed by meat, cheese, milk, porridge, plain caudles, bread and 'a pint of strong Beer a day'.¹⁴³ In St. Martin's workhouse lying-in women were allowed one pot of porter for caudle for the first nine days and a pint for seven days thereafter, while other inmates were only given half that quantity.¹⁴⁴ Workhouse fare included meat, vegetables, puddings, cheese, and bread and butter.¹⁴⁵ Workhouses and lying-in hospitals had rules and regulations for waking, eating and sleeping.¹⁴⁶ Upon leaving a lying-in hospital women were expected to give thanks but there was also a high level of accountability and mothers had a real opportunity to complain about any inadequate

care.¹⁴⁷ It would be harder for workhouse inmates to complain about their experience since it could bar them from future relief, but the poor did bring complaints.¹⁴⁸ One of the largest differences between the two institutions was that women were expected to work in a workhouse and not in a lying-in hospital.

Lying-in cases were expensive for workhouse masters. That women in childbirth were costly was recognised by some of the governors of the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital in 1749 when they commented that ‘a lying-in woman costs twice as much as the sick and lame’.¹⁴⁹ Although conditions in the workhouse were not as good as in the lying-in hospitals the workhouse still had to provide food, accommodation, medical and nursing care (although the latter might sometimes be a pauper nurse rather than an experienced paid nurse) before and after the birth of the child and, as has been shown, duration of stay in the workhouse was frequently longer than the three weeks of the lying-in hospital. There was also a high level of breast-feeding in the workhouse, including among unmarried mothers.¹⁵⁰ Like the lying-in hospitals, workhouse embodied many of these features that would make an institution both public and private: lying-in women had their own wards and were attended by female birth attendants, while they were run by masters overseen by vestries and magistrates and were also depicted in pamphlets, ballads, broadsides, and plays.¹⁵¹ The creation of both lying-in hospitals and workhouses created new bureaucracies concerned with social policy and philanthropy, as well as new relations between the propertied and the poor.¹⁵²

DISCHARGE FROM THE WORKHOUSE

What were the circumstances in which unwed mothers were discharged from the house? Some mothers abandoned their children, such as Ann Cradock who ‘Went out to be Church’d, Ran away and left her Infant’ from St. Luke’s. Women also ‘ran away’, ‘absconded’ or ‘absented’ from St. Martin’s (64 women). Ann Corbett ‘Ran away through the Soup Kitchen’. Other women left with workhouse clothing: Ann Dunford ‘Left ye Ho 12th Augt 1770 Stole a Cloak’ and Mary White ‘Ran away & Stole an Apron’. Once their children had died in St. Luke’s workhouse, Rebecca Clements ‘Got out in the night’, as did Ann Stock, and Mary Creesy ‘ran away from the House’. Others wanted to keep their children with them, such as Ann Fraser who ‘got over the wall with her child’ and Elizabeth Barnaw ‘ran away from Martin the Beadle’ with her infant from St. Luke’s.

Liddia Bartlow entered the house for just over a month when she was two months' pregnant, the register stating that she was 'Not Well'. She did not stay, however: she 'Ran away Over the Wall and left her Cloaths behind'. The experience did not put her off totally, though, since she did return when she was just over seven months' pregnant to give birth. However, it is easy to get distracted by such fascinating examples; in fact there were just nine women who absconded from St. Luke's between 1743 and 1835 (less than 2 per cent).

Abandoned and foundling children were a constant problem for parish overseers.¹⁵³ Indeed, Hitchcock and Shoemaker argue that the opening of the Foundling Hospital (1741) had the unintended consequence of 'spark[ing] a murderous wave of child abandonment' in the late 1730s and 1740s and Wilson also attributes the ease of abandoning a child to the Foundling Hospital during the 'General Reception' (1756–1760) as contributing to a 'large-scale illegitimacy crisis in London'.¹⁵⁴ Between the opening of the Hospital in 1741 and just before the General Reception in 1756 over 1384 children were admitted by ballot; during the General Reception, when all children had to be accepted, 14,934 infants were admitted.¹⁵⁵ Employers faced with a pregnant servant, argue Hitchcock and Shoemaker, might have taken a tougher line with them about the pregnancy in the expectation that the infant could be abandoned to the Foundling Hospital without them having to let go of a 'good' servant. Their own failure as householders would not come to the attention of parish overseers who would then seek a bastardy examination and affiliation order. Alternatively, they suggest, the elite patronage of the Hospital was sufficient to legitimate the idea of abandonment.¹⁵⁶ In 1740, for instance, 31 infants became the responsibility of St. Martin's workhouse in 1740 and 29 in 1741, which were the two highest recorded figures of dropped or foundling children for the whole of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁷ The scandal of high infant deaths during the General Reception led to Parliament withdrawing its financial support and the Hospital had to resort to a system of maternal petitioning, with the number of children admitted declining sharply, while after mid-century it would appear that child abandonment declined.¹⁵⁸

A number of mothers left without their child by consent of St. Luke's workhouse committee. In December 1786 Ann Clark was 'Order'd Out by the Overseers: the Child to stay in the House'; her daughter Jane was two-and-a-half-months old. The child died later, aged 11 months. Elizabeth Igginton was discharged in July 1803 'at her own request; got a

place; left her child in the house'. Her son William died seven weeks later aged just over three months' old. Ann Olley 'went to her sister's but left her child in the house', in March 1802, while in September 1768 Sarah Cooper took her other three children but left her new-born son Thomas. Mary Sprosley Street was discharged to her mother's care almost three months' after Mary Street had left in July 1745, while Mary Ann Gordon's reason for discharge in April 1825, aged five weeks, was that 'Grandmother took it to the Country; 3s 6d per week'. Of the 20 infants left or abandoned in the house by their mothers, seven died in the following few months (and therefore there is some overlap between the figures for being left and those for children's deaths in the house). It is possible that their mothers left them in the house because they were sickly or that the withdrawal of maternal care and breast-feeding contributed towards their deaths. Another four children died by the time they were six months old. Margaret Patrick was taken by her mother when she was two years old, but Mary Ann Cradock was apprenticed out when she was aged ten in January 1795 'Bound to Messrs Douglass & Co Cotton Spinners of Eccles in the County of Lancaster'.¹⁵⁹

Of those children who survived birth and the first few weeks or months of life, parish officials frequently ordered outdoor relief to mothers leaving the house. In each sub-period in St. Luke's, 13 per cent (1743–1769), 43 per cent (1782–1808) and 45 per cent (1809–1835) of women were reported as being given regular weekly outdoor relief for the maintenance of their children and/or one-off cash payments (see Chap. 5). Weekly sums were ordered far more frequently: there were 30 cases of weekly sums, 1782–1808, and 68 cases, 1809–1835. Additional cash was given in 21 instances, 1782–1808, 6 of which were given to women in supplement to a weekly order; there were 13 additional cash sums provided, 1809–1835, 3 on top of a weekly maintenance sum. Five women were also given pairs of shoes, clothing, and lodging payments (1782–1808 only). This was also the case in St. Margaret Westminster, where Martha Biggs, for instance, was given 10s. for clothing her child Spriggs Biggs when she left the house.¹⁶⁰ Women who were removed were also given cash payments.¹⁶¹ Parish officials in St. George Hanover Square and St. Margaret Westminster made similar payments.¹⁶² Workhouse admission and discharge registers, therefore, also provide evidence on the provision of weekly maintenance sums for bastard children for those born in the house. Unfortunately they do not address the issue of whether putative fathers

were charged and orders obtained against them for maintenance by magistrates; this is addressed in detail in the next chapter (Chap. 5).

There were also other bastard children alone inside St. Luke's workhouse (16 children aged 0–16 years old, 1743–1799), some of whom were described as abandoned, others apparently so. Children accounted for 27–30 per cent of metropolitan workhouse residents.¹⁶³ Jonas Hanway launched a powerful critique in print of plebeian parenthood and the parochial care for poor infants from the late 1750s, building upon the concerns over childcare in the preceding two decades.¹⁶⁴ Hanway was appalled at the quality of nursing care by parish nurses outside and inside workhouses and the ensuing mortality rates. He cited figures for the rate of infant deaths in St. Luke's for the period 1750–1755. He described the workhouse as 'the worst, no one escaping through the whole year' with 53 children born and received, none discharged and 53 dead.¹⁶⁵ The rate of infant mortality was, according to Hanway, 'now so much mended' in St. Martin's, with 312 children born and received, 147 discharged, 158 dead; however, this was still a high rate of just over 50 per cent.¹⁶⁶ In particular, Hanway held up Nurse Hannah Poole, who ran a large nursing home for poor pregnant women, children and adult paupers in St. Clement Danes as 'an angel of death' killing off her young charges.¹⁶⁷ Hanway also made suggestions about how to improve the care of poor children, suggesting a system based upon the Foundling Hospital's paid and supervised system of nursing in rural communities in the metropolitan hinterland.¹⁶⁸ This was a shrewd move by him in order to revive the fortunes of the Foundling Hospital following the catastrophe of the General Reception.¹⁶⁹ His published findings led to the two Acts of 1762 and 1767 which required certain metropolitan parishes (excluding City parishes and four urban parishes from Middlesex and Surrey) to maintain a register of parish children and apprentices and put in place a system of nursing outside of London for those aged less than four years old. The Acts represented a key innovation in London, and the new system represented a considerable investment of time and money. As argued by Levene, the Acts marked the beginning of a real shift in the parochial management of childcare. Some parishes did, indeed, make arrangements for childcare with the Foundling Hospital.¹⁷⁰ Levene has used the registers of parish poor children to good effect to chart the development of the metropolitan out-parish nursing system after 1767, and its supervision and regulation.¹⁷¹

The registers of parish poor children set up under Hanway's Acts can also be used to establish the number of bastard children under parish care,

some of whom were with their mothers in the workhouse, while others were there alone. In 1789 in St. George the Martyr, for instance, there were 116 children in the house, 29 of whom were bastard children (25 per cent) and 12 (41 per cent) were nursed by their mothers.¹⁷² The proportion of illegitimate children in the house was higher in St. Botolph Aldgate's workhouse in the period 1762–1766, 40 of 100 children (40 per cent) were illegitimate.¹⁷³ Nine of these children had entered the house with money, ranging between £9 and £20. Very few of these children had been born in the house (7 or 17.5 per cent), thus the majority came into the house after birth. Just less than one-quarter were aged under one month at entry, while just less than another quarter were aged between one and three months. Of the rest, 9 per cent were 3–6 months, 15 per cent 6–9 months, 7 per cent 9–12 months, and just over one-fifth were between one and three-and-a-half years old. Many died in the house: 27 of the 40 illegitimate children (68 per cent). More than half (56 per cent) died in their first three months and all died within their first year.¹⁷⁴ Some were in the house with their mothers and being nursed by them (six children), such as William Carter, who was born in the house and nursed and discharged with his mother, but he returned to the house and died there aged just over one year's old. Other children (a further six), four of whom were aged under six months old and so whose life chances would not be good, were 'D[ry] nursed by some of the poor Women in the Workhouse'. A number of children were brought into the house later. John Simmon was admitted in May 1762 aged seven months old and stayed just over two months, when his 'Mother run away with him out of the Workhouse'. These children stayed between 26 days and six and a half months. Children (three cases) could be repeatedly in and out of the house. Elizabeth Carter, for instance, was aged 22 when she was admitted to the house heavily pregnant. Five weeks' later she gave birth to William and she nursed him. They left together five weeks later. However, William returned just a few weeks later and died a year later.¹⁷⁵ In another case, William Bishop entered the house when he was two days old and left almost four months later, returning six months later. He stayed a further one year and three months until he died aged just over two years old. In the final case, Daniel Sands was born in the house and was discharged, only to be re-admitted aged six years old. He was still there when he was ten years old, spinning jersey and able to read and say his prayers. In other cases women gave up their children to care in the workhouse because they were unable to support them, such as Maria Henley, whose illegitimate children Henry, aged five years

old, and Mary, 'almost 4', 'the said children are now chargeable to the Parish of Saint George Surrey and that it is her desire to part with them she not being able to maintain them'.¹⁷⁶

Parish officers used the settlement laws to remove pregnant unmarried women or new mothers without a settlement and thereby avoid any future cost. Overseers in St. Luke's removed at least eight women and two bastard children on their own, such as Mary Lumley who, aged four years old, was passed to St. Martin's in July 1745 a day after she was admitted to the workhouse. St. Martin's removed 64 unmarried women and mothers to a wide range of locations. Just under half were to parishes within London or Middlesex, while those sent outside the metropolis and its suburbs were sent as far away as Gloucester, York, Chester, Hull, Bristol, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Harriet Browne absconded from St. Martin's workhouse in 1794 out of fear at being removed. Much more worryingly for an unmarried woman was the possibility of being sent to the house of correction as a 'lewd woman', possibly for one year's hard labour, although, as Chap. 6 shows, the likelihood of this was low. Five women were discharged from St. Martin's workhouse to Bridewell between 1751 and 1776, including Frances Bartlet 'Sent to Bridewell for a loose disorderly Woman having a Bastard Child Febr. 29th' 1752, while Sarah Hefield was 'Sent to Bridewell for no telling w[h]ere the father of her Child was to be found' in September 1763. Sarah Carter was so frightened by the prospect that she '[R]an away from the Justices when taken to be committed'.

Other women left St. Luke's workhouse for domestic service placements. Two women, Ann Harper and Martha Wilson, went to wet nursing positions from St. Luke's. In neither case had their children died. The proportion whose reason for discharge was to go into service rose over time from 13 per cent, to 19 per cent to 41 per cent. These figures overlap with those provided with outdoor relief, since many women were also given one-off payments or regular weekly maintenance for their infants upon leaving. Between 1782 and 1835 just over two-fifths of women going into service went into wet nurse positions. In 1805 Mary Gray 'went out to live wet nurse at Mr Lambert no 3 Bridge Row; had 1s 0d', her 'Sister to nurse [son Thomas]; to have 2s per week'. Although there was a decline in wet nursing during the eighteenth century, demand continued into the nineteenth century and unmarried mothers could be a ready source.¹⁷⁷ More information was given in St. Luke's admission and discharge registers in the final period and women were recorded as going to their sister's (two women), brother's (two women), mother's/father's/

parents' (11 women), aunt (one woman), and their 'friends' (four women), while Elizabeth Burnell, Elizabeth Robinson, Margaret Russell, and Mary Watson married.

Mothers frequently found that they could not always 'make shift' and they were repeatedly in and out of the house. While Mary Forfor (above) might have been discharged from St. Luke's workhouse 'able to keep herself & child' when her son William was one month old, she returned him to the house just 12 days later complaining that she was not able to keep him. Illness also brought women and their children back into the house. Mary Howard and her son John, admitted to St. Margaret's Westminster in November 1729 until she recovered from her illness, while Ann Mihill was re-admitted into the workhouse a year later with a 'sore Breast'. Mary Foster and her bastard child had the itch and the relief committee issued her with 5s. and ordered the doctor to furnish her with the proper remedies.¹⁷⁸ Catherine Heath's experience was unfortunate: when she entered St. Luke's house 'Disordered in her head', her infant daughter was sent to the Foundling Hospital and she was sent to Bethlem. When she returned 16 months later she stayed for a further five years but eventually 'got over ye wall'.¹⁷⁹ The officers of St. Luke's sent Joan Rumbold on to the Lock Hospital for treatment for venereal disease, while four women left St. Martin's workhouse for treatment at other hospitals.

The workhouse provided a significant amount of care and accommodation for pregnant, birthing and lying-in women, but unmarried mothers did not have to enter the house in order to get relief. The parish officials in St. Luke Chelsea would also relieve women who had given birth outside the house. In February 1736 a complaint was made to the workhouse committee by Margaret Briorly. The Minutes record that she was:

Nurse to Sarah King, who was Delivered last Monday of a Female Bastard Child; Applied and Complained that if the said Sarah King was not Relieved, she would be Lost, for she at present Lay only on straw, and wanted common Necessary.¹⁸⁰

This case reveals that childbirth and lying-in care at home could be poor but that the parish nurse felt that she could make a case to the committee and that they could order further relief, which they did:

That the Overseers of the Poor do allow and pay for the Necessary subsistence during said Sarah Kings Month's Lying-In; a summ not exceeding Forty Shillings.¹⁸¹

The relieving officers in St. Margaret Westminster were allowed considerable flexibility in relieving unmarried mothers lying-in outside the house in the 1730s. The workhouse committee ordered 'that the Overseers do Releive Susanna Cow who lyes Inn of a Bastard Child at their discretion till her Lying Inn is over'.¹⁸²

As was shown at the beginning of the chapter, in the old poor law period far more women gave birth outside the workhouse than inside. Overseers of the poor frequently authorised such payments, possibly because the costs of childbirth and lying-in might be recovered from the putative father with a magistrates' order (see Chap. 5). However, following the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 parish officers could no longer allocate outdoor relief to unmarried mothers and the ability of women to secure an affiliation order was severely circumscribed. This chapter now turns to the restricted provision for unmarried mothers under the new poor law.

THE NEW POOR LAW AND THE UNION WORKHOUSE

By the end of 1837 the Poor Law Amendment Act had been adopted by most metropolitan districts, and they had been organised into 28 new unions.¹⁸³ Since workhouse provision in London had been particularly extensive under the old poor law, this aspect of the new law was not, in fact, 'new'. Indoor relief was of greater importance in the metropolis than in other places. Nevertheless, some workhouse provision in the 1830s was inadequate, and yet new building was slow. Paupers were admitted to the very same buildings, with their use reallocated in order to meet the new regulations.¹⁸⁴ Mr John Crook told the Poor Law Commissioners that the workhouse in St. Clement Danes was too small and that he wanted combined management of workhouses into larger districts 'so that the paupers in the workhouses might be better classified'.¹⁸⁵ While the Poor Law Commissioners did not manage to end the system of the affiliation of putative fathers, they did put a stop to most outdoor relief to unmarried mothers. The place for destitute pregnant single women and unwed women with children was now the union workhouse.¹⁸⁶

A number of new poor law union workhouse populations—all outside London—have been analysed by historians.¹⁸⁷ These studies have shown that unwed mothers were prominent in workhouses in Hampshire,

Hertfordshire, Kent, Winchester, Basingstoke, and Norfolk.¹⁸⁸ In Hertfordshire workhouses, unmarried mothers accounted for just over half of all family groups.¹⁸⁹ The majority of births in the house were of illegitimate children: over 90 per cent of children born in the Winchester workhouse during the 1850s were to unmarried mothers, while in Kent the figure was 66–75 per cent and it was 85–87 per cent in Hertfordshire. Nationally the proportion stood at 77 per cent.¹⁹⁰ Illegitimate children formed a large section of all children in workhouses, accounting for nearly one-third in Norfolk and Hampshire workhouses, and up to one half in England and Wales.¹⁹¹ Given such high levels of illegitimate births in the workhouse, the association between workhouse deliveries being fit only for the unmarried must surely have strengthened and contributed to the stigmatisation of unwed motherhood. Goose suggests that the large number of unwed mothers and their infants in Hertfordshire workhouses in 1851 ‘testifies both to the association of single parenthood with poverty and no doubt also to their moral standing in the eyes of the poor law boards of guardians’.¹⁹²

Most unmarried mothers were indeed only offered the workhouse. In Kent and Norfolk pregnant single women and widows with illegitimate children were only offered the workhouse, while midwifery services were available outdoor to married women.¹⁹³ Digby has charted a strongly punitive and moralistic attitude towards unwed mothers as applicants for relief to the Norfolk boards of guardians in the 1830s. As remarked above, unmarried mothers had to wear a distinctive uniform, while in Swaffham workhouse they were excluded from the Coronation Dinner and the annual Christmas dinner. Even at the end of the century unmarried mothers were put to hard labour in the workhouse laundry only a few days after their confinements. Some were sent on to the Norfolk and Norwich Magdalen for moral rehabilitation.¹⁹⁴

Rather less is known about metropolitan workhouse populations. The proportion of workhouse births that were to unmarried mothers confined in the midwifery wards of the St. Marylebone workhouse in 1857 was 76 per cent, while in London in the 1870s 71 per cent of births workhouses were illegitimate.¹⁹⁵ These figures are in line with those for other workhouses cited above. Higginbotham found scattered instances whereby guardians in St. Pancras, City, and Holborn unions gave unmarried mothers outdoor relief in the form of cash and in kind for short periods of time in the 1860s and 1880s. But, she argues, ‘[t]he majority of unmarried mothers who sought help through the New Poor Law found themselves

in the workhouse'.¹⁹⁶ In 1890, 95 per cent of illegitimate children in receipt of relief with their mothers were so in the workhouse and just 5 per cent were given outdoor relief.¹⁹⁷ At the end of the century in Poplar in the East End of London guardians were reluctant to give unmarried women outdoor relief: just 3.5 per cent of unmarried mothers who applied to the guardians were given outdoor assistance but 60.5 per cent went into Poplar workhouse for their confinements.¹⁹⁸ In Bethnal Green the figure was half (1871–1911), while in St. Pancras just over half (53 per cent) were admitted to the workhouse and 14.7 per cent were given medical or burial orders (1897–98).¹⁹⁹ However, medical orders were thin on the ground for all women: midwifery orders accounted for a maximum of 1.37 per cent of medical orders in London in the period 1883–1913.²⁰⁰ Nationally, unmarried mothers were rarely given outdoor relief: they accounted for just 0.5 per cent of outdoor paupers and their children made up 0.8 per cent.²⁰¹

Union workhouses were to be well regulated and to follow rules for every aspect of workhouse life as set down by the Poor Law Commission, from the classification of inmates by age and sex, to a plain but plentiful diet, the provision of work, strict discipline and guidelines on punishment.²⁰² Upon entry, a pregnant unmarried woman would face a medical inspection and be allocated to a ward, her clothes and property were put away, she was given a workhouse uniform, and she was not to leave without permission.²⁰³ Women were separated from men, were allocated different amounts of food, and were allotted different jobs within the house. Women acted as pauper nurses, mended clothes, and worked in the kitchens and laundries.²⁰⁴ Bells rang for the hours for sleep, work, meals, and religious observance, while meals were taken in silence.²⁰⁵ However, this was the ideal of workhouse practice and, just like the old poor law workhouse, conditions inside the union workhouse varied. Mothers were generally allowed to sleep with their children if they were younger than 7 years old but, argues Crowther, some guardians separated mothers and young babies so that their mothers could undertake workhouse work. The officers of St. Marylebone even enforced premature weaning.²⁰⁶ Charlie Chaplin entered Lambeth workhouse (around a mile from St. Mary Newington) in the 1890s and recalled the painful separation from his mother, and, when he did see her, 'the shock of seeing Mother enter the visiting-room garbed in workhouse clothes ... In one week she had aged and grown thin'. She looked 'forlorn and embarrassed'.²⁰⁷ Dr Joseph Rogers, workhouse medical officer of the Strand Union, leader of the

Poor Law Medical Officers' Association and reformer, remembered the nursery ward as a 'wretchedly damp and miserable room, nearly always overcrowded with young mothers and their infant children' and he recalled that they were put on a diet of gruel as a deterrence, while he described the pauper nurses as 'broken-down inmates'.²⁰⁸ Midwives generally attended routine births and the medical officer was only called 'in circumstances of difficulty or danger'. Although the medical officer did not, strictly speaking, have to be issued with an order by the master or guardians, Rogers came into frequent conflict with officers at the Strand workhouse who refused to issue an order; if he attended without one they refused to pay his bills.²⁰⁹

In contrast, a visitor to another large London workhouse around 1865 found the building dreary but not oppressive and where inmates lived in 'bare wards, where the long rows of bare bedsteads, each covered with the same pattern of counterpane, [made] even the dull walls more monotonous'. But there was a garden with flowers and plants, an aviary and even play equipment for the children and the observer thought that paupers were treated gently.²¹⁰ Maternal mortality in London workhouses was relatively low and certainly lower than that of lying-in hospitals, but it was still higher than that of deliveries at home.²¹¹ Green argues that 'conditions in workhouse infirmaries were often an improvement on those experienced by the poor in their own homes'.²¹² Medical provision inside workhouses began to improve after the 1867 Metropolitan Poor Law Amendment Act when paid nurses began to replace pauper nurses (and were officially forbidden by the Poor Law Board in 1897) and resident medical staff were appointed, but progress was slow.²¹³

A number of studies have reflected upon the duration lying-in women were resident in the union workhouse. In east London women normally stayed ten days and rarely received any other form of poor relief afterwards.²¹⁴ In Kent, Jackson found that 39.5 per cent of unmarried women were admitted within a week of delivery, while 28.9 per cent entered on the day of the birth or the day before. Thus, more than two-thirds of women were resident in the workhouse for only a short time before childbirth. They stayed for at least 11 days and three-quarters were discharged when the children were between 11 and 28 days old. This is also a relatively short period and not a full lying-in month. However, the longest stay after birth was just over 10 months. Many of the women giving birth in the workhouse were young, with 32.5 per cent aged between 21 and 25 years, while the 16–20 and 26–30 years age groups each represented

another 22.8 per cent.²¹⁵ Perkins also found that over 70 per cent of illegitimate infants stayed in Kentish workhouses for less than one month after birth.²¹⁶

St. Mary Newington established a new workhouse in Westmoreland Road in 1850.²¹⁷ The admission and discharge registers record inmates being transferred from the old workhouse on Walworth Road.²¹⁸ It is possible to compare these findings and those for the old poor law workhouses of St. Luke Chelsea, St. Martin in the Fields and St. George the Martyr examined earlier in the chapter with those for the workhouse of St. Mary Newington at mid-century.²¹⁹ The proportion of illegitimate births in this workhouse was almost identical to the national figure at 76 per cent but there were periods when the figure was as high as 90 per cent (see Fig. 4.3). The number of all workhouse births rose (and therefore illegitimate births) from 16 to 79 in the mid-1850s, thereafter fluctuating at 50–73.²²⁰ In the year July 1851–July 1852 there were 64 births of which just under two-thirds (41) were to single (40) or widowed (1) mothers. Women were young here, too, with a median age of 22.5 years old (ranging between 18 and 34) with occupations including laundress, servant, sempstress, hawker, factory-worker, and prostitute. Women were generally admitted to one ward and then moved again at least once. For most women stays were much shorter in the 1850s than they had been in the old poor law period.

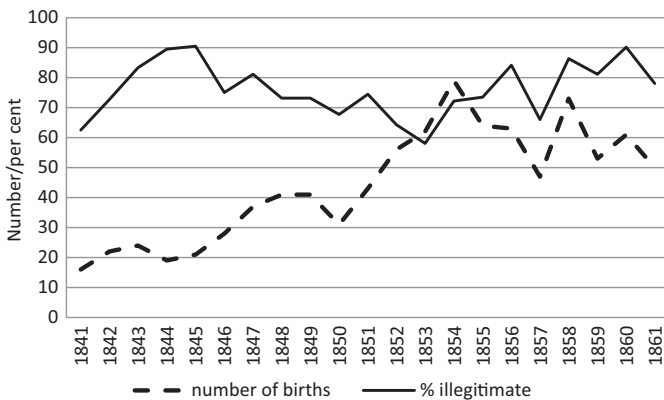


Fig. 4.3 Births in the workhouse and the proportion illegitimate, St. Mary Newington, 1841–1861.

Source: LMA P92/MRY/356, St. Mary Newington, Register of workhouse births, 1841–1861

Table 4.5 Unmarried mothers' duration in the workhouse before and after birth, St. Mary Newington, 1851–1852

<i>Period of time</i>	<i>Before (%)</i>	<i>Period of time</i>	<i>After (%)</i>
In labour, same day, previous day	69	Up to 1 week	6
Up to 1 week	11	1–2 weeks	6
[Total]	[80]	2 weeks–1 month	58
1–2 weeks	3	[Total]	[70]
2 weeks–1 month	3	1 month–2 months	25
1 month–2 months	11	2 month–3 months	3
2 month–3 months	3	3 month–4 months	3
3 month–4 months	0	4 month–5 months	0
4 month–5 months	0	Over 5 months	0
Over 5 months	0		
<i>Total number^a</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>Total number^a</i>	<i>30</i>

Source: LMA P92/MRY/336, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse admission and discharge register 1851–1852; LMA P92/MRY/356, St. Mary Newington, Register of workhouse births, 1841–1861

Notes: ^aThose with evidence of a date of admission and/or discharge

As shown in Table 4.5, many more unmarried mothers entered St. Mary Newington in labour, on the same day or on the previous day (69 per cent) than in St. Luke's (12–22 per cent) and St. Martin's (23–30 per cent); however this was closer to the figure of 63 per cent in St. George the Martyr, which was also south of the river. These women lay-in for a more limited period, too, with 58 per cent leaving between two weeks and one month, while in St. Luke's, St. Martin's and St. George the Martyr under the old poor law around half of mothers were discharged later, at between one and two months after delivery.²²¹ A comparison of St. Mary Newington Walworth Road workhouse in the period 1808–1843 (above) with the period 1851–52 shows that there had been a change in use of the workhouse after 1834: women were coming into the house later and their stay was shorter.

Women used the workhouses for a range of reproductive reasons. Like in the workhouses in the old poor law period, women also came into the house when they were pregnant but left before they gave birth, such as Esther Barrow, a pregnant shoe-binder, who was resident overnight and left at her 'own request', while Harriet Gough was passed back to Salop and Sophia Toy to Fulham. After delivery in the workhouse Susan Carroll

and her infant were passed back to Stepney, as were Sophia and Alfred Hayman to Kent. In other cases (six) women were recorded as in labour but no infant was entered into the admission and discharge books, suggesting they were stillborn. Eliza Spiller's stillborn twins were recorded. Five of the 41 illegitimate infants born in the workhouse died aged between one week old and two-and-a-half years old. Illness brought unmarried mothers and their children into the house, including Mary Ann Bennett with her two month old son George, in 'distress', who died two weeks later and the next day Mary Ann was discharged. Alice Clark (aged two-and-a-half years old) was admitted with her mother but died the very next day. Martha Greening gave birth outside the workhouse but she and her newborn William needed care '3 days after confinement'.

No children appeared to have been abandoned, unlike the old poor law workhouses. Only one child stayed in the house after her mother left: Caroline Newport, a prostitute, left two weeks after delivery and her daughter Jane was 'Delivered to Mother' when she was aged six weeks' old. Mothers were given relief in cash and kind as they left: up to 5s. and clothes. Sarah Bean and her two-month-old son Thomas 'absconded with workhouse cloth' (a punishable offence).²²² Sarah Bruce, a servant, left with her child to go back into service, while Mary Marney was discharged with her son Mathew to go into wet nursing. The contactor of the workhouse in the early nineteenth century, Mr Charles Mott, had observed that wet nursing was much better paid, at 35–40 guineas for nine months, whereas most women could only get £6–7 per year in other employment. He noted that '[a]pplications are constantly made at workhouses for wet nurses, and in cases of emergency character is not inquired into'.²²³

The workhouse registers are one source where it is possible to glimpse the later lives of unmarried mothers, such as in the case of James (age 14), Ellen (9) and William Wells (7), who were admitted with their mother, in August 1851 and discharged nine days later with '2/- & 4 Loaves 2 Months'. Sarah Hall, a widow, was sent on to St. Thomas's Hospital, while her two-year-old illegitimate daughter Mary Ann was sent out to the parish nurses. Louisa Lloyd was admitted with daughter Emily (age 5) and sent three weeks later to the county asylum; Emily was returned to her mother three months later.

After 1834 and the overhaul of the Bastardy Clauses poor relief looked both similar and drastically different. Workhouses had long been a feature of the welfare landscape of London, as had uniforms in some houses for the unmarried mother. Women inmates were expected to work in pre-1834

workhouses as well as new poor law ones. Conditions inside improved over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the union workhouse was a well-regulated institution. Although affiliation continued, the new stipulations made the process very much harder. This was the biggest difference faced by mothers. Recovering the costs of childbirth (and maintenance) must have impacted upon the choices available to a woman for her place of delivery. This is reflected in the very high proportion of unmarried mothers being delivered in the union workhouse. And, although there were continuities between the parochial workhouse and the union one, provision for unmarried mothers inside diminished, with mothers turning up only once their contractions started and they were propelled back out again after three or four weeks.

CONCLUSION

The landscape of childbirth for poor women witnessed a profound shift in eighteenth-century London towards a unique, but fluctuating, blend of parish nursing home, domiciliary deliveries paid for with outdoor relief, and institutional provision in the new lying-in hospitals and workhouses. This made for a particular form of metropolitan bastardy and had implications for the experience of unmarried motherhood. High levels of parochial surveillance in St. Martin's ensured that most unmarried mothers were delivered in the workhouse, whereas in other locations, where perhaps there was less scrutiny, women faced a greater choice of where they were delivered.

Workhouses were a contradictory institution for unmarried mothers. They were designed, both in 1723 and again in 1834, to be deterrent and distasteful but, at the same time, the poor utilised the workhouse throughout their lives and unmarried mothers might use them to their advantage.²²⁴ Certainly, many unmarried women entered the house in the later stages of pregnancy, for their deliveries and for lying-in, and more did so after 1834 than before. In the old poor law period the time spent inside the workhouse extended beyond the traditional month for a significant minority of women in St. Luke's and St. Martin's, but less so in St. George the Martyr; showing, once again, the differences between parishes within the metropolis. Thus, some workhouses offered a longer period of recovery than women might get outside. Medical care in workhouses, under the old and the new poor laws, included the attentions of a midwife and a medical man if needed, plus nursing. The parish bore the brunt of the

costs of accommodation and food. Some women might even leave their infant inside while they returned to work or abandon the baby altogether. However, the disciplinary nature of the workhouse is evident: unmarried mothers were expected to do any work they were capable of and, while inside, they might have to wear a uniform. If they were particularly unfortunate, before 1834 they might be sent from the workhouse to a house of correction as lewd women. Some decided to escape over the wall and abscond.

Entering the workhouse indicated the limited choices that this group faced. The women who entered the workhouse most probably did so because, as migrants, they lacked access to a midwife, gossips and female kin. This chapter has shown that unmarried mothers in St. Martin's workhouse before 1834 stayed longer both before and after delivery than married women, which suggests greater need and poverty. Furthermore, although some married women also chose to give birth to their babies in the workhouse, most did not, and unmarried mothers dominated the delivery and lying-in wards. Only the poorest and most desperate married woman gave birth in St. Martin's workhouse, coming in as they did at older ages no doubt for their second or subsequent child. After 1834 unmarried women had to enter the workhouse or pay themselves for their lying-in from savings.

The system of affiliation meant that parishes (before 1834) could reclaim the costs of the maintenance of illegitimate children, and mothers were provided with regular outdoor relief for the maintenance of their child. However, the distinctiveness of metropolitan bastardy meant that many illegitimate infants were put out to a private nurse (the dreaded 'baby farmers' in Victorian London) when their mothers returned to work, or they were left in the workhouse. After Hanway's Acts in the 1760s those aged 0–4 years old were sent out of the squalor of London to country nurses, a system which was unique to London. The problem of pauper childhood occupied philanthropists and poor law officials alike. Historians still know so very little about the lives of unmarried mothers as their illegitimate children grew up.²²⁵ The sources are remarkably—and frustratingly—silent on their experiences. The next chapter explores the efforts made by parochial officers to recoup the costs of affiliation and their effectiveness. It reveals the geography of chargeable bastardy in London, the proportion of putative fathers who paid maintenance for their children, the amount of weekly maintenance paid, and the duration of such allowances. It finds that London was, once again, distinctive: this time in the failure of metropolitan parishes to recover these costs and thus

the rising illegitimacy ratio contributed to the rising costs of the poor law in London.

NOTES

1. T.V. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse: a study in institutional poor relief in selected countries 1696–1750' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1985); Hitchcock, "'Unlawfully begotten on her body": illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke's Chelsea', in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997) pp. 70–86; T. Hitchcock and R.B. Shoemaker, *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); A. Wilson, *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), ch. 11; T. Evans, 'Unfortunate objects' *Lone mothers in eighteenth-century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 176–83, 283–4; B. Croxson, 'The foundation and evolution of the Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service, 1745–86', *Social History of Medicine*, 14:1 (2001), pp. 27–57; L. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying in Georgian London's lying-in hospitals', *Bulletin for the History of Medicine*, 78:2 (2004), pp. 309–48; S.A. Seligman, 'The Royal Maternity Charity: the first hundred years', *Medical History*, 24 (1980), pp. 403–18.
2. K. Siena, *Veneral disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600–1800* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004).
3. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, ch. 7; Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital's lying-in service'; Forman Cody, *Birthing the nation*, pp. 176–83; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying'; Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, pp. 114–16, ch. 11 *passim*.
4. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 338.
5. Seligman, 'The Royal Maternity Charity'; B. Croxson, 'The public and private faces of eighteenth-century London dispensary charity', *Medical History*, 41:2 (1997), pp. 127–49; B. Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital'; D. Andrew, 'Two medical charities in eighteenth-century London: the Lock Hospital and the Lying-in Charity for Married Women', in J. Barry and C. Jones (eds), *Medicine and charity before the welfare state* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 82–97.
6. Seligman, 'The Royal Maternity Charity', p. 403.
7. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 121–33.
8. 9 Geo I c.7, cited in Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', p. 120; P. Slack, 'Hospitals, workhouses and the relief of the poor in early modern London', in O.P. Grell and A. Cunningham (eds), *Health care and*

- poor relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 234–51, at pp. 239–42; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 52–6; F. Dabhoiwala, ‘Summary justice in early modern London’, *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 796–822, pp. 802–4.
9. Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 96, 120; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 121.
 10. J. Boulton and J. Black, ‘Paupers and their experience of a London workhouse: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824’, in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins, and R. Preston (eds.), *Residential institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: inmates and environments* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), pp. 79–92, at p. 79; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 121.
 11. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 121–2.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
 14. Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’, pp. 75–6; J. Innes, ‘Managing the metropolis: London’s social problems and their control, c.1660–1830’, in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Two capitals: London and Dublin 1500–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 53–79, at p. 63.
 15. Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 70–82.
 16. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 122.
 17. Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’, p. 79.
 18. D.R. Green, ‘“Icons of the new system”: workhouse construction and relief practices in London under the Old and New Poor Law, *The London Journal*, 34:3 (2009), pp. 264–84; D.R. Green, *Pauper capital: London and the poor law, 1790–1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 38–41.
 19. Green, ‘Icons of the new system’, pp. 264–9.
 20. Metropolitan workhouse studies include: Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’; A. Levene, ‘Children, childhood and the workhouse: St. Marylebone, 1769–1781’, *The London Journal*, 33:1 (2008), pp. 41–59; Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’; K. Siena, ‘Hospitals for the excluded or convalescent homes?: Workhouses, medicalization and the poor law in long eighteenth-century London and Pre-Confederation Toronto’, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History/Bulletin Canadien D’histoire de la Médecine*, 27:1 (2010), pp. 5–25. Workhouse studies outside London include: M.E. Fissell, *Patients, power, and the poor in eighteenth-century Bristol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); S.R. Ottaway, *The decline of life: old age in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); A. Tomkins, *The experience of urban poverty, 1723–82* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); J. Reinartz and L.D. Schwarz (eds.), *Medicine and the workhouse* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

21. J. Boulton and L. Schwarz, “‘The comforts of a private fireside’? The workhouse, the elderly and the poor law in Georgian Westminster: St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1725–124’, in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (ed.), *Accommodating poverty: the housing and living arrangements of the English poor, c. 1600–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 221–245; Reinarz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the workhouse*, part I; Siena, *Venereal disease*; Levene, ‘Children, childhood and the workhouse’; A. Levene, *The childhood of the poor: welfare in eighteenth-century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). On the size of metropolitan workhouses under the old poor law, see Green, *Pauper capital*, ch. 2.
22. J. Boulton and L.D. Schwarz, ‘The medicalization of a parish workhouse in Georgian Westminster: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824’, *Family & Community History*, 17:2 (2014), pp. 122–40; J. Boulton, R. Davenport and L. Schwarz, ‘These ANTE-CHAMBERS OF THE GRAVE?: Mortality, medicine and the workhouse in Georgian London (1725–1824)’, in Reinarz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the workhouse*, pp. 58–85; Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’; J. Boulton, ‘Double deterrence: settlement and practice in London’s West End, 1725–1824’, in S. King and A. Winter, (eds), *Migration, settlement and belonging in Europe, 1500–1930s: comparative perspectives* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 54–80; Boulton and Schwarz, ‘The comforts of a private fireside?’; Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 194–210; Hitchcock, ‘Unlawfully begotten’; Siena, *Venereal disease*, ch. 4.
23. Boulton, ‘Double deterrence’, Table 2.2, p. 63; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 139–40; Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 194–8.
24. Boulton, ‘Double deterrence’, Table 2.2, p. 63.
25. Levene, ‘Children, childhood and the workhouse’.
26. Boulton, ‘Double deterrence’, pp. 62–3.
27. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 142. For duration of stay by age and sex in St. Luke’s, 1743–50, see Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 194–8.
28. Green, *Pauper capital*, p. 68.
29. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 132.
30. Siena, *Venereal disease*, p. 178; K. Siena, ‘Contagion, exclusion and unique medical world of the eighteenth-century workhouse’, in Reinarz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the workhouse*, pp. 19–39 and see Reinarz and Schwarz’s ‘Introduction’, pp. 1–16, at pp. 5, 7; Siena, ‘Hospitals for the excluded’; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 133, 144–6.
31. Siena, ‘Contagion’, p. 20; Siena, *Venereal disease*, pp. 140–1. For the sub-period 1743–50 see Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 194–7 and for medical care see pp. 158–60.

32. Boulton and Schwarz, 'Medicalization of a parish workhouse'; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 291–3.
33. Boulton and Black, 'Paupers and their experience', p. 82.
34. Boulton and Schwarz, 'The medicalization of a parish workhouse', pp. 135–6.
35. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 139–40.
36. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', Table 7.3, p. 197.
37. www.londonlives.org, Workhouse admissions register, 1736–1811.
38. R. Davenport, J. Boulton and J. Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality in the workhouse of St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824' (unpublished paper given at European Social Science History Association Conference, Glasgow, Saturday 14 April 2012, available at the Pauper Lives in Georgian London and Manchester project website, <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>), pp. 8, 11.
39. Boulton and Black, 'Paupers and their experience', pp. 82, 87; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 304.
40. L. MacKay, 'A culture of poverty? The St. Martin in the Fields Workhouse, 1817', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26:2 (1995), pp. 209–31, at p. 215.
41. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 291–3, 297.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 304.
43. Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', p. 75.
44. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 304. Although after 1814 any illegitimate infant born in a workhouse took his or her mother's settlement. L. Charlesworth, *Welfare's forgotten past: a socio-legal history of the poor law* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 58.
45. Siena, 'Contagion', p. 19.
46. Siena, *Venereal disease*, pp. 157, 159–60, 167–9, 305 n 99. And see Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', p. 73–4.
47. Siena, *Venereal disease*, p. 157.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 146–7.
51. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*.
52. J. Boulton, 'Welfare systems and the parish nurse in early modern London, 1650–1725', *Family and Community History*, 10:2 (2007), pp. 127–51, at pp. 147–8; Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', pp. 9–10. See also Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', pp. 75–6.
53. City of London Settlement Examinations, I St. Botolph Aldgate 1742–1868, CD; T. Hitchcock and J. Black, *Chelsea settlement and*

- bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999); LMA P74/LUK/110–111, 1743–1799–1826.
54. Evans, *Unfortunate Objects*.
 55. Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', p. 72.
 56. Most workhouse admission and discharge registers do not indicate the marital status of women applying on account of childbirth, including St. Luke's Chelsea. Unmarried mothers could be identified if their child was described as a 'bastard' and women could be identified as married if a husband was referred to. Similar problems have been encountered with workhouse committee minutes. St. Margaret's Westminster workhouse committee record the admittance of women to 'lye-in' but there is frequently no indication as to their marital status. To overcome this, St. Luke's Chelsea's workhouse admission and discharge registers and the workhouse minutes have been linked nominally to the bastardy examinations for the parish. St. Luke Chelsea Workhouse Admission and discharge registers, 1743–1799, www.workhouses.gov; LMA P74/LUK/110–111 1800–1826 Admission and discharge registers; LMA P74/LUK/3–8, 1735–1799, Workhouse committee minutes; P74/LUK/121–125, 1733–1799, Settlement and Bastardy Examinations; COWAC E2633, 1727–3, St. Margaret's Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes.
 57. Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea settlement examinations*, p. xvi.
 58. *Ibid.*, p. xvii n 32; Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', ch. 6.
 59. BPP 1777; St. Luke Chelsea Admission and discharge register.
 60. Green, *Pauper London*, pp. 57–63.
 61. Levene, 'Poor families', p. 260 n20.
 62. St. Luke's admission and discharge register, available from www.workhouses.org, last accessed 9 February 2016.
 63. COWAC G1020, Alphabetical list of the adult poor in the workhouse 1814–1826.
 64. Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea examinations*, p. xviii.
 65. Siena, 'Contagion, exclusion', p. 19.
 66. K. Oosterveen, R.M. Smith and S. Stewart, 'Family reconstitution and the study of bastardy: evidence from certain English parishes', in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), pp. 86–140, Table 3.14 p. 108; R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (London: University of Chicago, 1998); N. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster', *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–375; Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea settlement examinations*, p. xviii.

67. LMA P74/LUK/134, 02/11/1824. For the shorter period of 1782–99 see Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, Table 8.1, p. 243.
68. J. Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor in London, 1740–1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1999), Tables 3.2 and 3.4, p. 91; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, Tables 7.3 and 7.4, pp. 164–5; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, Tables 8.1–8.3, pp. 243–44.
69. Of mothers, 20% gave birth to more than one illegitimate child: P. Laslett, 'Introduction; comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in P. Laslett, P., 'Introduction; comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), pp. 1–68, Tables 1.1(a) and 1.1(b), figure 1.2, pp. 14–18; E.A. Wrigley, 'Marriage, fertility and population growth in eighteenth-century England', in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (London: Europa Publications, 1981), pp. 137–85, at p. 162; E.A. Wrigley, 'British population during the "long" eighteenth century, 1680–1840', in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I *Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, pp. 57–95, at pp. 70–71.
70. These data do not exclude mothers or children who died.
71. Southwark Local Studies Library [SLSL] 932 St. Mary Newington Minutes, April 1816; Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor', p. 117; under the New Poor Law, see Bermondsey admission orders, 1861, Ellen Murphy, 01/01/1861, www.ancestry.com 18 February 2016.
72. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', pp. 167–74.
73. Black, 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor', pp. 116–17.
74. COWAC, St. George Hanover Square Workhouse Committee Minutes, C872, 25 April 1733.
75. Levene, 'Poor families', pp. 236–7.
76. COWAC, St. Margaret's Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 9 Jan 1729.
77. See, for instance, Sarah Hall, who was ill for months: P. Sharpe, "'The bowels of compation": a labouring family and the law, c.1790–1834', in Hitchcock et al, *Chronicling poverty*, pp. 87–108, at pp. 92–3.
78. House of Lords Papers, Abstract of returns made pursuant to an act passed in the 16th year of the reign of his majesty King George the Third by the overseers of the poor within several parishes, townships and places within England and Wales, 1776; Boulton, Davenport and Schwarz, 'These ANTE-CHAMBERS OF THE GRAVE?' p. 62; Boulton and Schwarz, 'The medicalization of a parish workhouse', pp. 123–5.

79. Green, *Pauper capital*, pp. 57–63.
80. Boulton, Davenport and Schwarz, 'These ANTE-CHAMBERS OF THE GRAVE?', p. 60.
81. Boulton and Schwarz, 'The medicalization of a parish workhouse', pp. 123–5.
82. L. MacKay, 'A culture of Poverty? The St. Martin in the Fields Workhouse, 1817', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26:2 (1995), pp. 209–31, at p. 211.
83. Boulton, 'Welfare systems', pp. 133, 137.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 147–8.
85. Boulton and Black, 'Paupers and their experience', pp. 82, 87; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 133, 145.
86. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 145–6.
87. Boulton, Davenport and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', pp. 13–14.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
89. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', tables 3 and 4, pp. 367–8; and discussed by Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, table 8.2, p. 243.
90. Pauper Lives project (<https://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>), database funded by the ESRC (RES-000-23-0250).
91. *Ibid.* I would particularly like to thank Prof Jeremy Boulton and Dr Romola Davenport for access to this particular data. Dr Davenport linked mothers coming into the workhouse with the baptism registers, 1751–1824. I linked the mothers for 1750 to the bastardy examinations available at www.londonlives.org, last accessed 9 February 2016.
92. Overall, 80% of births could be linked to a record indicating legitimacy status: Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', p. 11. The legitimacy status of the remaining births was unknown. The proportion of married women in 1751 is also unknown because these have not been linked to the baptism register in the underlying data.
93. These data do not exclude mothers or children who died. Unmarried mothers who died were a small proportion (2.4 per cent) and the fate of the infant was not given in the dataset.
94. On the lengthening of stay for lying-in women more generally in St. Martin's, see also Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', p. 8.
95. www.workhouses.org, accessed 9 Feb 2016.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*; House of Lords Papers, Abstract of returns made pursuant to an act passed in the 16th year of the reign of his majesty King George the Third

- by the overseers of the poor within several parishes, townships and places within England and Wales, 1776; Green, *Pauper capital*, pp. 57–63.
98. LMA P92/MRY/335/1 Workhouse and infirmary: admission and discharge register, 1797–1799; SLSL transcription of settlement and bastardy examinations by P. Shilham.
 99. LMA P92/MRY/408 Newington workhouse: admission and discharge register, 1809–1814; SLSL transcription of settlement and bastardy examinations by P. Shilham.
 100. Siena, *Venereal disease*; Boulton and Schwarz, ‘The medicalization of a parish workhouse’.
 101. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 144–6.
 102. Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’, p. 81. In St. Mary Newington, 1797–1799, women were initially admitted to a number of wards, including ward numbers 2, 5, 7–8, 10–11, 13–19, 21. When mothers and/or infants were moved the ward number was crossed out and the new ward number written in: LMA P92/MRY/335/1. In St. Martin’s Castle Street workhouse in 1835 all expectant mothers were admitted to ward 4, WEBG/SM/039/001 Castle Street workhouse: admission and discharge book, 1834–1835, available at www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 17 February 2016.
 103. Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’, pp. 82, 87; Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, pp. 167–74.
 104. Boulton and Black, ‘Paupers and their experience’, p. 82. For St. James, Westminster, see Hitchcock, ‘The English workhouse’, p. 169.
 105. www.workhouses.org.uk, 9 February 2016.
 106. COWAC, St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633.
 107. Siena, *Venereal disease*, pp. 140, 146.
 108. Reinartz and Schwarz, ‘Introduction’, p. 7.
 109. Siena, *Venereal disease*, pp. 138–9; COWAC St. George Hanover Square Workhouse Committee Minutes, C871, 1 Jan 1732/3; C872, 14 March 1732/3, 25 April 1733, 23 May 1733.
 110. Croxson, ‘Middlesex Hospital’; Cody, ‘Living and dying’, pp. 315–16, 320–21; Wilson, *Making of man-midwifery*, p. 146.
 111. Forman Cody, ‘Living and dying’, p. 318 n 28; COWAC, St. Margaret’s, Westminster, Overseer’s Vouchers, E3382, 28/09/1728, 08/10/1728, 20/11/1728, 27/11/1728, 28/11/1728, 11/12/1728, 27/12/1728, 06/01/1728/9, 09/01/1728/9, 10/01/1728/9, 29/01/1728/9, 04/02/1728/9, 24/03/1728/9, 11/04/1729; COWAC, Midwife Bill, Miscellaneous Overseer’s Bills, E Unlisted <> 1041 [year not given].
- I would like to thank Kevin Siena for this last reference.

112. www.londonlives.org, Parish, churchwardens and overseers of the poor account books.
113. Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 318 n28.
114. COWAC, St. Margaret's, Westminster, Overseer's vouchers, E3382, 11/12/1728, 09/01/1728/9.
115. COWAC E3382.
116. LMA MJ/SP/1761/09/004 (1761); www.londonlives.org; COWAC WIC652060035 (1766), WACWIC652150392 (1775), WACWIC652300579 (1790), WACWIC652330056 (1799), WACWIC652390110 (1799); POB, t17611021-27.
117. Proceedings of the Old Bailey [POB] (www.oldbaileyonline.org), t17600116-21, t17611021-27, t17710410-35, t17731020-75, t17781209-45, t18090920-114, t18170416-32, t18170521-54, t18280410-17, t18470816-1859.
118. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 318 n28.
119. COWAC E3382, 06/01/1728/9.
120. COWAC, St. Margaret's Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 15 Feb 1733.
121. Siena, *Venerical Disease*, p. 139.
122. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', p. 169–70; Westminster Abbey Muniment Room, Records of the Coroner's Court for Westminster, 29 December 1763; 15 January 1766.
123. LMA, MJ/SP/1761/09/004; POB t17611021-27.
124. COWAC G1030, St. Mary Le Strand, Workhouse Matron's Accounts, 1793.
125. COWAC G1021, St. Mary Le Strand, Table of Diet in the Workhouse, January 1826.
126. A. Levene, 'The mortality penalty of illegitimate children: foundlings and poor children in eighteenth-century England', in A. Levene, T. Nutt, and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 34–49; A. Reid, 'The influences on the health and mortality of illegitimate children in Derbyshire, 1917–1922', in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy*, pp. 168–189; Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', pp. 9–11.
127. Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten', p. 77; Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', p. 178; Levene, *Children, childhood and the workhouse*, p. 53.
128. Davenport et al, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', figure 1, p. 3.
129. *Ibid.*, passim.
130. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', ch. 6; Siena, *Venerical disease*, pp. 142–3, 179.
131. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', ch. 6, quote p. 166.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 167–77.

133. COWAC G1021, Table of diet in the workhouse, Jan 1826.
134. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', pp. 178–9.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
136. Siena, *Venereal Disease*, p. 148.
137. COWAC St. Margaret's Westminster, Workhouse Committee Minutes E2632, 18 Jan 1727/28, 16 Oct 1729, 18 Dec 1729. See also Siena who discusses this for St. Sepulchre and St. Margaret's from the minutes: Siena, *Venereal Disease*, p. 157.
138. SLSL 1108, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse Inspection Report Book, 1819–1836.
139. (1834) Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, pp. 444, 449.
140. LMA P92/MRY/334 Inventory of the workhouse, 1835.
141. *Ibid.* On sharing beds, see Boulton and Black, 'Paupers and their experience', p. 82.
142. On workhouse dietaries see Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', pp. 67, 79, 86, 93–5; <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/life/food.shtml> last accessed 29/03/2016; C. Muldrew, *Food, energy and the creation of industriousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 91–5, 103–5. On lying-in hospital diets see Croxson, 'Middlesex Hospital', p. 33; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 323.
143. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 323.
144. Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', p. 11.
145. Muldrew, *Industriousness*, pp. 91–3, 103–4.
146. Hitchcock, 'The English workhouse', pp. 167–77; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 325.
147. Croxson, 'The Middlesex Hospital', p. 36; Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 326.
148. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 131–33.
149. Seligman, 'The Royal Maternity Charity', p. 413. See also Siena, *Venereal disease*.
150. Davenport, Boulton and Black, 'Neonatal and maternal mortality', p. 20.
151. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 125–9.
152. Forman Cody, 'Living and dying', p. 348; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 125.
153. V. Fildes, 'Maternal feelings re-assessed: child abandonment and neglect in London and Westminster, 1550–1800', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as mothers in pre-industrial England* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 139–78; Levene, *Childhood of the poor*, pp. 33–5; P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 61–5.

154. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 163–4; A. Wilson, ‘Illegitimacy and its implications in mid-eighteenth-century London: the evidence of the Foundling Hospital’, *Continuity and Change*, 4:1 (1989), pp. 103–164, at pp. 136–7, and see A. Levene, ‘The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration’, *Continuity and Change*, 18:2 (2003), pp. 201–35.
155. A. Levene, *Childcare, health and mortality at the London Foundling Hospital: ‘Left to the mercy of the world’* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 7–8; J.A. Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women, unwed mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* (London: Continuum, 2012), Table 2.1, p. 52.
156. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 164.
157. *Ibid.*, Figure 4.4, p. 146, p. 164.
158. Levene, *Childcare*, pp. 3–4, figure 1.1, p. 8, Figure 3.1, p. 52; Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian women*, Table 2.2, p. 52; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 89–94; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 252–3.
159. K. Honeyman, *Child workers in England, 1780–1820: parish apprentices and the making of the early industrial labour force* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); A. Levene, ‘Parish apprenticeship and the old poor law in London’, *Economic History Review*, 63:4 (2010), pp. 915–941.
160. COWAC St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 2 March 1732; there were other clothing payments on 22 March 1733.
161. See also the COWAC St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, including Sarah Vallender, given 2s. 6d. and two aprons, 2 Dec 1794.
162. Gown and 1s. to Mary Jones: COWAC St. George Hanover Square Workhouse Committee Minutes, C872, 31 Jan 1733/34; Katherine Harris 10s. ‘in Consideration of her taking her New born Child with her’: COWAC St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 4 July 1728.
163. Levene, *Childhood*; Hitchcock ‘The English workhouse’.
164. Levene, *Childhood*; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 290–91.
165. J. Hanway, *An earnest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor* (London, 1766), p. 68.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
167. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 290–95, quote p. 291.
168. Levene, *Childhood*, pp. 12–13.
169. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 291.
170. Levene, *Childhood*, pp. 12–14, ch. 3; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 290–95.

171. Levene, *Childhood*, chs. 3–4.
172. SLSL 764 Annual register of the parish poor children until they are apprenticed out, transcription by P. Shilham.
173. St. Botolph Aldgate, Registers of poor children under age 14 years in parish care, 1762–1766, GLBARC10803, www.Londonlives.org April 2012.
174. The reasons for this are complex since mortality is also about exposure and length in the workhouse and the mortality of those who were discharged is not known.
175. Register of poor children and workhouse register. His mother might have re-entered the house with him, since an Elizabeth Carter entered at that time and died a few weeks later, 24/03/1764, but her age is recorded as ‘58’, perhaps incorrectly.
176. LMA, P92/GEO/132 St. George the Martyr Southwark, Removals and examinations, 12/11/1814. And see Jane McIntoch Horler, 01/01/1815.
177. Fildes argues that there was a shift from wet nursing to maternal breast feeding in the eighteenth century: V.A. Fildes, *Breasts, bottles and babies: a history of infant feeding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), pp. 80, 352–3, 401.
178. COWAC St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 13 Nov 1729, 18 Dec 1729; 22 Oct 1730.
179. www.workhouses.org, St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge register, 15 Aug 1758, 24 March 1760.
180. LMA St. Luke Chelsea Workhouse Committee Minutes, P74/LUK/3, 18 February 1735/6.
181. *Ibid.*
182. COWAC St. Margaret’s Westminster Workhouse Committee Minutes, E2633, 22 Jan 1730. Also Mary Lane, 8 April 1736.
183. Green, *Pauper capital*, pp. 98–99.
184. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.
185. (1834) Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, p. 442.
186. U.R.Q. Henriques, ‘Bastardy and the new poor law’, *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29; P. Thane, ‘Women and the poor law in Victorian and Edwardian England’, *History Workshop*, 6 (1978), pp. 30–51. In Kent women pregnant with illegitimate children were only offered the workhouse whereas married women were offered outdoor maternity services: A. Perkyins, ‘The admission of children to the Milton Union Workhouse, Kent, 1835–1885’, *Local Population Studies*, 80 (2008), pp. 59–77, at p. 67.

187. A. Hinde and F. Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses, 1851–1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38–53; N. Goose, 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52–69, at p. 38.; D.G. Jackson, 'Kent workhouse populations in 1881: a study based on the census enumerator's books', *Local Population Studies*, 69 (2002), pp. 51–66; D. G. Jackson, 'The Medway Union Workhouse, 1876–1881: a study based on the admission and discharge registers and the census enumerators' books', *Local Population Studies*, 75 (2005), pp. 11–32; A. Perkyns, 'The admission of children to the Milton Union Workhouse, Kent, 1835–1885', *Local Population Studies*, 80 (2008), pp. 59–77; A. Gritt and P. Park, 'The workhouse populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37–65. See also N. Longmate, *The workhouse: a social history* (London: Temple Smith, 1974, 2003), pp. 156–7; S. Page, 'Pauperism and the Leicester workhouse in 1881', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 63 (1989), pp. 85–95; A. Negrine, 'The treatment of sick children in the workhouse by the Leicester poor law union, 1867–1914', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 34–44; C. Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions, 1851–1911', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83–100; L. Darwen, 'Workhouse populations of the Preston Union, 1841–61', *Local Population Studies*, 93 (2014), pp. 33–53.
188. Hinde and Turnbull, 'Populations of two Hampshire workhouses', pp. 41, 48; Goose, 'Workhouse populations', p. 58; Jackson, 'Medway Union workhouse', p. 24; Perkins, 'Milton Union workhouse', pp. 63–74; Hinde and Turnbull, 'Populations of two Hampshire workhouses', pp. 41, 48–9.
189. Goose, 'Workhouse populations', p. 58.
190. Perkyns, 'Milton Union Workhouse', p. 67; S. Williams, 'Unmarried mothers and the new poor law in Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 91 (2013), pp. 27–43, at p. 34.
191. Hinde and Turnbull, 'Populations of two Hampshire workhouses', p. 48; Perkyns, 'Milton Union workhouse', p. 64.
192. Goose, 'Workhouse populations', p. 58.
193. Perkyns, 'Milton Union workhouse', p. 67; A. Digby, *Pauper palaces* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1978).
194. Digby, *Pauper palaces*, pp. 13, 79, 81, 150, 152–4.
195. W. Acton, 'Observations on illegitimacy in the London parishes on St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, and St. George's, Southwark, during the year 1857; deduced from the returns of the Registrar-General', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (1859), pp. 491–505; A.R. Higginbotham,

- 'The unmarried mother and her child in Victorian London, 1834–1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Indiana, 1985), p. 44.
196. Higginbotham, 'The unmarried mother', pp. 38–9.
 197. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
 198. E. Sandy, 'Lone motherhood in late-Victorian and Edwardian Poplar' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011), pp. 214, 229.
 199. L. Marks, 'Medical care for pauper mothers and their infants: poor law provision and local demand in east London, 1870–1929', *Economic History Review*, 46:3 (1993), pp. 518–542, at p. 518; Higginbotham, 'The unmarried mother', Table 2.1 p. 142.
 200. Marks, 'Medical care', p. 531.
 201. K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and belonging Parish and belonging: community, identity and welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 307.
 202. M.A. Crowther, *The workhouse system, 1834–1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen, 1981, 1983 edn), pp. 40–42.
 203. Crowther, *The workhouse system*, p. 42; Green, *Pauper capital*, p. 176.
 204. L.H. Lees, *The solidarity of strangers: the English poor laws and the people, 1700–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 143.
 205. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 206. Crowther, *The workhouse system*, p. 43.
 207. C. Chaplin, *My autobiography* (London: Penguin, 1966), p. 26.
 208. J. Rogers, M.D., *Reminiscences of a Workhouse Medical Officer*, ed. with preface by Prof Thorold Rogers (London: T Fisher Unwin, 1889), pp. 4, 10, 15–16.
 209. K. Price, *Medical negligence in Victorian Britain: the crisis of care under the English poor law, c.1834–1900* (Bloomsbury, London, 2015), pp. 160–1.
 210. Lees, *The solidarity of strangers*, p. 150.
 211. Green, 'Medical relief', pp. 229–30.
 212. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
 213. Marks, 'Medical care', pp. 523, 529.
 214. *Ibid.*, p. 535.
 215. Jackson, 'Medway Union Workhouse', pp. 26–7.
 216. Hinde and Turnbull, 'Populations of two Hampshire workhouses', pp. 48–9; Jackson, 'Kent workhouse populations', p. 55; Jackson, 'Medway Union workhouse', pp. 24–5; Perkyns, 'Milton Union Workhouse', p. 67.
 217. <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Newington/>, accessed Dec 2016.
 218. LMA P92/MRY/336 St. Mary Newington Admission and discharge register 1851–52.

219. Workhouse admission and discharge registers do not survive for St. Luke's after 1835, not St. George the Martyr. The next set of records for St. Mary Newington is for the period 1851–1853. Records survive for St. Martin's but they are too voluminous for analysis here.
220. LMA P92/MRY/356 St. Mary Newington Register of workhouse births, 1841–61.
221. There was minimal truncation bias since the discharge date of only two women could not be found.
222. www.workhouses.org, St. Luke Chelsea workhouse admission and discharge register, accessed Dec 2016.
223. (1834) Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, p. 454.
224. Hitchcock, 'Unlawfully begotten'; Siena, *Venereal Disease*, pp. 256–7.
225. For the later Victorian period, see G. Frost, "The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep": illegitimacy in the English working class, 1850–1939', *Journal of Social History*, 37:2 (2003), pp. 293–322; G. Frost, "When is a parent not a parent?" Custody and illegitimacy in England, 1860–1930', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 6:2 (2013), pp. 236–262; G. Frost, 'Under the guardians' supervision: illegitimacy, family, and the English poor law, 1870–1930', *Journal of Family History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 122–139; G. Frost, "Your mother has never forgotten you": illegitimacy, motherhood, and the London foundling hospital, 1860–1930, *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1 (2014), pp. 45–72.



Maintenance

The collection of poor rates became mandatory in 1572, and the laws of affiliation, and the legal requirement that parents maintain their illegitimate children, dated from just four years later. The act of 1576 ‘implicitly recognised the illegitimate child’s right to relief’.¹ This, the first of the bastardy poor laws, was a response to rising illegitimacy and concerns about infanticide, as well as the wider issues of the disorder and growing poverty of the poor.² That illegitimacy was seen as a pressing social problem was reflected in the nine bills dealing with bastardy between 1576 and 1610.³ Gowing, in particular, has shown how the economic costs of bastard children to local inhabitants meant that ‘[o]verseeing sexual order was vital to the economic and moral health of household and parish; it became a collective project, sponsored by magistrates but enforced at a local, interpersonal level, between women, amongst neighbours, amongst the poor’.⁴ Maintenance payments were intended for the child and were one form of outdoor relief, usually paid to the mother.

This chapter assesses how the authorities administered the system of affiliation in London from its inception in 1576 to its overhaul in 1834 as part of the Poor Law Amendment Act. The laws of affiliation ran in parallel with the poor law and offered conscientious parish officers the potential to reduce poor law expenditure, unlike that of any other group of the poor.⁵ The steep and sustained rise in illegitimacy created a large caseload for overseers and magistrates and transformed the administration of the poor law over the eighteenth century. This is the clearest way that the

effects of plebeian sexuality on chargeable bastardy and the affiliation system can be seen. Legislation between 1576 and 1810 made both parents of illegitimate children liable for their maintenance rather than the parish but, in effect, it was the putative father who were supposed to bear the brunt of financial responsibility.⁶ Fathers had to be identified, however, and this chapter considers how the magistrates' court went about this. It then turns to examine the recovery of costs (the 'bastardy recovery rate') across London in the 1830s and in greater detail in Chelsea, Southwark and Lambeth between the 1790s and the 1830s, a topic for which there is a rich seam of evidence.

BASTARDY AND THE PARISH

The 'collective project' of overseeing bastardy worked primarily at the level of the magistrates' courts, but cases of bastardy also came to the ecclesiastical courts. The church courts could punish parents for fornication and associated bastardy, as is explored in detail in Chap. 6, as well as hear cases for maintenance. These courts became increasingly interested in identifying the reputed fathers as well as the mothers. In the early seventeenth century, for instance, the Wiltshire church courts came to name a father in a large number of bastardy cases.⁷ However, the secular courts were to oversee the bastardy laws and, with the suspension of the ecclesiastical courts in 1641, overseers of the poor and magistrates became the chief actors in ascertaining illegitimate pregnancies and births and in extracting the costs of bastard children from their parents.

Under the laws of affiliation (1576–1810) a woman pregnant with a child likely to be born illegitimate was legally obliged to notify her parish of settlement at least 40 days before the expected date of birth, and submit to a bastardy examination. This was described in 1733: 'any Single woman [who] shall be delivered of a Bastard Child which shall be chargeable or likely to become chargeable' was to be brought by the parish to be examined on oath before two magistrates (although in practice frequently only one) where she was to 'charge any person with having gotten her with Child'.⁸ Many bastardy examinations were in fact taken after birth and the child could not be chargeable until actually born.⁹ In the early seventeenth century around half of unmarried mothers in Somerset were examined at quarter sessions by justices on the paternity of their child.¹⁰

Pregnant single women and unmarried mothers were also examined as to their legal place of settlement.¹¹ If the woman was settled in the parish

then the justices would issue a warrant and summons for the putative father to attend petty or quarter sessions for an affiliation order to be made.¹² If she had no local settlement then parish officers were eager to remove her before the birth back to her parish.¹³ In London moving on ‘great bellied’ women—women without a local settlement and who might be identified as vagrants—was recorded in overseers’ accounts from around 1600.¹⁴ Putative fathers were expected to attend and given an opportunity to refute the claims. If he was adjudged the father then an order for maintenance would be issued, and other costs, including child-birth, backed up by bonds. If the reputed father defaulted after an order had been issued, the parish became liable for the child, such as in St. Katherine Creechurch, Aldgate, whose overseers recorded that they had paid for the lying-in of ‘the whore and her bastard’.¹⁵ Bastardy bonds, orders and examinations are extant from the early seventeenth century in small numbers but more survive as illegitimacy rose after 1660.¹⁶ This proved costly to many parishes. In November 1702, for instance, the parish of St. James Westminster sought to recover the costs of Jane Portwood’s child from the putative father, one ‘Burboe’, of 11s. 6d. a week for four weeks and thereafter 2s. 6d. ‘for So long time as ye Said Female Bastard Child Shall remayne charge able to ye Said p[ar]ish’.¹⁷ The rise of illegitimacy after the Restoration impacted upon the poor law, which proved costly to many parishes. In order to defray at least some of the expense of bastardy, overseers resorted to the system of affiliation and brought putative fathers to the magistrates’ court.

ESTABLISHING PATERNITY IN THE MAGISTRATES’ COURT

As Nutt has highlighted, justices of the peace ‘had the authority to grant affiliation orders, to punish recalcitrant fathers and lewd women, and to ensure that parochial officials carried out their statutory duties as framed under the Old Poor Law’. Yet, historians know very little about the operation of the bastardy laws in the petty and quarter sessions, despite the fact that bastardy could account for one-fifth of the caseload of the Essex petty sessions by the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ In 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners accused unmarried mothers of falsely swearing the names of the fathers of their children, while corrupt overseers would ‘encourage the woman to pick out a “good man” who had the ability to pay. The Commissioners argued that ‘from ignorance and wilful perjury combined *nine bastards in ten are falsely sworn in Towns*’ and they argued strongly for the abolition of the

affiliation system.¹⁹ In St. Mary Newington the contractor of the workhouse, Mr Charles Mott, told the Commissioners in 1834 of cases of false swearing by 'strumpets' to obtain higher maintenance orders but also of married men refusing to admit paternity, fathers bribing beadles and of beadles having a vested interest in the outcome for the parish.²⁰

Certainly, establishing paternity 'was a potentially contentious process'.²¹ The process started when a pregnant woman was examined before justices as to her last legal place of settlement and the putative father's name, who then issued a warrant and summons for the man to attend petty or quarter sessions.²² Reputed fathers might be bound over by recognizance to require them to appear in court; these recognizances were usually deferred until after the birth of the child and not discharged until overseers had informed the court that arrangements had been made to provide for the child.²³ However, before a maintenance order could be issued, paternity had to be established.²⁴ The significance of women's words and the extent of their agency have been given different weightings by historians. Gowing has emphasised that in the seventeenth century 'women's words cannot be trusted, that their stories, even when extracted at the moment of greatest pain [birth], are unreliable'.²⁵ She argues that '[t]he process of extracting a story about paternity from pregnant and newly delivered women could be protracted and episodic' as women's stories were probed by justices of the peace, parish officials, midwives, neighbours, parents, and masters and mistresses.²⁶ Yet evidence from the early nineteenth century has led Nutt to argue that 'mothers could exert power in the courtroom' and that 'the burden of proof was operating against the accused men, who in effect had to disprove the accusation of paternity made against them' in the mothers' bastardy examinations and testimony in court.²⁷ While this might seem to give some validity to the Commissioners' criticisms of the process of affiliation, Nutt also shows that men did successfully dispute allegations of illegitimate fatherhood. Moreover, although the Commissioners thought that the courts did not oblige mothers to provide corroborative evidence—and stipulated that this was a definite requirement after 1834—under the old poor law magistrates could and did call for supporting evidence.²⁸

In Essex, magistrates cross-examined the mother and called witnesses to provide corroborative evidence. The accused man could not only present his defence but also appeal if a decision went against him. If the evidence of the man appeared unreliable then the court usually granted a maintenance order but, likewise, if the evidence of the woman was not

credible then justices would also refuse to grant an order. Witnesses confirmed that couples had had the opportunity to have sex or had been courting, the mother and putative father were interrogated about when they last had sex, and surgeons and midwives were asked about the acceptable length of pregnancies. Magistrates also adjudicated in complex cases of bigamous and adulterine bastardy.²⁹

This was also the case in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century London. In St. Clement Danes in 1739 a summons was issued against John Graham to attend a meeting for the justices, 'to Shew Cause why he should not be adjudged the Reputed Father of a Male Bastard Child Born of the Body of Eleanor Monk Singlewoman'.³⁰ The emphasis might appear to have been upon John Graham to exonerate himself but, equally, the magistrates had to be convinced about the veracity of both the mother's and the father's evidence before making an order.³¹ In a case in 1695 Mary Raven named the father as Hugh Hunter, 'in the Extremuity of her travell [labour]'. The justices heard 'diverse other pregnant proofs and Circumstances upon Oath' sufficiently convincing that they placed an order on Hunter until the child was aged 12 'for and towards ye keeping and Education of the same Child' of 2*s.* 6*d.*, as well as £5 for an apprenticeship when the child turned 12 years old and a bond of £40.³² The evidence of Sarah Fisher given in her examination in St. James Westminster and 'other Convincing Circumstances' persuaded the magistrates in her case to 'hereby adjudge and declare the said Robert Newbury to be the reputed Father' while the Bench for St. Martin in the Fields made up of Benjamin Tebbs J.P. and John Collick J.P. decided that John Brookes 'hath not shewed any sufficient Cause why he should not be Adjudged the respected Father of the said Female Bastard Child'.³³ With the death of the mother, Sarah Wheelwright, Thomas Kiss thought that he could wriggle out of any order. The overseers of St. George the Martyr thought that the law was on their side and prepared a list of documents and witnesses, including Sarah's bastardy examination before her death and witnesses to it, her father, and a woman who had seen the couple together.³⁴

One strategy employed by a small number of putative fathers, so that they might be discharged without a maintenance order against them, was to discredit a women's reputation.³⁵ In St. George the Martyr Southwark for instance, William Langstaff testified that:

It was long before I knew her, her character was such that no modest female would be seen with her. Her house was the rendezvous for all the young

men in the Town. I have seen three or four in her bed room at a time, and have known her being out all hours of the Night with different men; she would give them liquor the take them to her bed room; and yet this lecherous Woman no doubt has made a very plausible story, I know her capable of any thing. If she was in distress there would be some excuse for her but she is supported by almost the whole of her relations who are in affluent circumstances—by many of them she has been persuaded to swear who I had offended on account of my refusing to mar[r]y her, they therefore are determined to distress me as much as possible.³⁶

The outcome is not known in this case but Nutt argues that magistrates in Essex were wary of such attempts to evade affiliation. Instead, the court ‘would examine the question of paternity with a reasonable degree of rigour’.³⁷

THE ‘BASTARDY RECOVERY RATE’ IN LONDON

In 1832, as part of collecting evidence on the administration of the poor laws, a questionnaire was sent out by the Poor Law Commissioners to parishes in England and Wales, known as the ‘Rural and Town Queries’, which contained three questions relating to chargeable bastardy; the survey asked about the level of relief given to unmarried mothers, the frequency with which women were punished as ‘lewd’, the number of chargeable children, the recovery of the costs of their maintenance from putative fathers and mothers in the previous five years (1827–1832), and whether parochial officers could suggest any changes in the bastardy laws.³⁸ Analysis of the Rural Queries by Lyle revealed regional variations in the sums given in bastardy allowances (1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*) with the south-east allocating the most, followed by the Midlands, and then the north-east, while the north-west, East Anglia and the south-west gave the least.³⁹ Weekly allowances varied between 1*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*⁴⁰

Nutt has also analysed the Rural and Town Queries in order to establish the ‘bastardy recovery rate’—the ability of parishes to recoup the costs of illegitimate children from alleged fathers. This is important because ordering a putative father to pay maintenance and actually extracting the money from him were quite different processes. The results revealed a strong north/ south divide in England in the bastardy recovery rate, with the north recovering 83 per cent and the south 41 per cent. The proportion recouped from alleged fathers in London was even lower than in the south

more generally: Middlesex parishes recovered 29.8 per cent of their costs, the City of London Without the Walls reclaimed 24.0 per cent, while the figure for the City of London Within the Walls was just 17.9 per cent. London parishes were remarkably poor at reclaiming the costs of metropolitan bastardy from putative fathers. Nutt also concluded that there were gendered parental roles, with mothers increasingly expected to nurse and care for their children, while putative fathers were to bear the cost of their maintenance.⁴¹

The evidence from the Town Queries shows that the affiliation system was largely failing in London. The great variation at the individual parish level identified by Lyle and Nutt is also evident in the metropolis.⁴² A statistical analysis of this variation revealed that the number of bastard children was not necessarily highly correlated with the population of the parish (Table 5.1) and might well have been due to the abandoning of foundlings in wealthier parishes.⁴³ Both St. James and St. George Hanover Square Westminster were parishes with higher number of illegitimate children than their populations might suggest, while St. Giles in the Fields and St. George Bloomsbury, near Westminster, had fewer, as did St. Matthew Bethnal Green, and St. Leonard Shoreditch, both in the north-east. This suggests that the problem of illegitimacy and its costs—as far as the parochial authorities were concerned—were not spread equally. St. Pancras and St. Marylebone had very substantial numbers of illegitimate children to which to administer allowances: 597 and 606 respectively. In addition, even neighbouring parishes had differential bastardy recovery rates.

There was huge variation in the ability of the metropolitan parochial authorities to recoup the costs of bastard children from putative fathers in London: there were parishes recovering 100 per cent of their maintenance costs (St. Alban Wood Street and St. Bennet Sherehog), while others recouped nothing (Kingsbury, St. Antholin and St. Mary Colechurch). All these parishes had very few chargeable illegitimate children and overseers recovered all or nothing in these cases. However, Limehouse St. Anne had 43 such children and had managed to claim back 80.7 per cent from putative fathers. Those with the largest number of chargeable illegitimate children, St. Pancras and St. Marylebone, recovered 33.2 per cent and 29.3 per cent respectively—higher than Nutt's average for this part of London. Recovery rates were variable in Southwark and Lambeth. St. Thomas's only recovered 8.7 per cent of its bastardy costs, St. George the Martyr 14 per cent and St. Saviour's 35 per cent.⁴⁴ However, Nutt's averages for each

Table 5.1 Population, number of illegitimate children, bastardy recovery rate, and maintenance as a proportion of parish relief, responding London parishes, Town Queries, 1834

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Number of illegitimate children</i>	<i>Bastardy recovery rate (%)</i>	<i>Net cost of chargeable bastardy (% of total parochial expenditure)</i>
St. Alban Wood Street	582	1	100.0	0.2
St. Bennet Sherehog	180	1	100.0	0.8
Limehouse St. Anne	15,695	43	80.7	5.2
Harmondsworth	1276	4	62.8	11.9
Chiswick	4994	3	61.7	3.8
Acton	2453	7	47.4	7.1
Heston	3407	16	42.2	9.2
Paddington	14,540	70	41.4	12.0
St. Mildred, Bread Street	302	7	40.8	37.4
Twickenham	4571	30	36.3	8.3
Clerkenwell St. James	47,634	206	34.9	17.4
Hampstead St. John	31,047	38	33.4	11.1
St. Pancras	1,03,548	597	33.2	13.3
Isleworth	5590	26	29.6	7.3
St. Marylebone	1,22,206	606	29.3	10.5
St. Benedict/St. Bene't Fink	459	4	29.3	5.0
Westminster, St. James	37,053	328	25.4	6.5
Harefield	1285	4	25.0	0.5
St. Dunstan in the West	3443	29	24.0	14.3
Hackney St. John	31,047	118	22.6	7.1
St. Giles in the fields and St. George Bloomsbury	52,907	107	22.4	3.3
Edmonton	8192	46	20.5	5.3
Sunbury	1863	22	20.5	11.1
St. Stephen, Walbrook	281	9	19.9	12.0
Christ Church Newgate Street	2622	15	17.5	8.6
Hendon	3110	22	16.6	5.9
Ratcliffe Hamlet, St. Dunstan, Stepney	9741	54	16.1	5.3
Willesden	1876	9	14.3	4.8

(continued)

Table 5.1 (continued)

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Number of illegitimate children</i>	<i>Bastardy recovery rate (%)</i>	<i>Net cost of chargeable bastardy (% of total parochial expenditure)</i>
St. Stephen, Coleman Street	4014	24	12.7	2.1
Edgware	591	3	12.2	1.6
St. Mary at Hill	773	7	11.3	0.7
Southwark, St. Thomas	1456	6	8.7	5.9
St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury	789	4	6.7	1.8
Little Stanmore	876	4	4.5	0.9
St. Gregory by St. Paul	1456	11	4.2	1.1
Pinner Hamlet	1270	7	4.0	0.6
Kingsbury	463	3	0.0	0.0
St. Antholin	356	3	0.0	0.0
St. Mary Colechurch	274	1	0.0	0.0

Source: 'Answers to Town Queries' (P.P. 1834, XXXVI), pp. 83–187, 225–8, 631–735, 773–6.

area of London are low because so many metropolitan parishes failed to recoup very much. Pinner Hamlet and Little Stanmore only recovered 4.0 per cent and 4.5 per cent respectively of their bastardy costs. Even within the metropolitan geography of bastardy recovery rates, the ability of parishes to recoup costs varied widely. This might reflect the efforts of individual officers at the local level in implementing the affiliation system, the effectiveness of magistrates, or the ability (and inclination) of fathers to pay.

It was in the interests of overseers to recoup the cost of chargeable bastardy and affiliation offered them the opportunity to do so. The final column of Table 5.1 shows maintenance payments recovered as a percentage of total parish spending, and thereby reveals the impact on parish expenses of not recovering bastardy maintenance costs.⁴⁵ The proportions recovered varied between 0.2 per cent and 14.3 per cent, except for St. Mildred, Bread Street, at 37.4 per cent. This parish reported that it managed to recover £124 of £305 maintenance expenses, and raised parish rates of £333.

One important factor affecting the ability of the parochial authorities to recover bastardy costs was the poverty of fathers. The respondent at St. Luke's stated, 'Most of the fathers are of the very lowest description of

people, from whom nothing can be recovered'. The vestry clerk for St. Edmund the King and Martyr had just two bastards chargeable to the parish: the father of one paid 3*s.* per week and the parish paid the mother 4*s.* (and thus the parish recovered three-quarters of the cost in this case), while in the other instance the father was 'too poor to allow it any thing'. In Northolt, 'the loss has generally fallen upon the parish, the putative fathers being unable to pay towards their support'. The vestry clerk of St. Martin, Ludgate, found that one putative father had agreed to pay 4*s.* per week but he had not kept up his payments.

In other cases men named as fathers of illegitimate children deserted in order to avoid affiliation. The officers of Mile End New Town Hamlet (St. Dunstan Stepney Parish) complained that, despite orders being made by the magistrates, 'very little money is collected, the fathers absconding'. In St. Helen near Bishopsgate, the respondent commented that, 'Very little is ever received from the putative fathers, by reason of their being generally servants, and therefore enabled to quit the parish, and elude the officers'. This was certainly one escape route open to men; however, alleged fathers were not always servants.⁴⁶ Another possible escape route was enlisting as a sailor or soldier—and soldiers enjoyed legal immunity from the bastardy laws—but the proportion of putative fathers so employed was not so high here either.⁴⁷

Question 59 also asked, 'And how much [expense has been recovered] from the Mothers?' Pro-forma affiliation orders expected a 6*d.* contribution from mothers', but Nutt argues that in practice it was rare for mothers to contribute.⁴⁸ Almost all parishes responded that nothing was recovered from mothers or 'scarce any' (St. Andrew by the Wardrobe) and 'little or nothing' (Limehouse St. Anne). The responses of just two parishes suggest that at times mothers contributed something: 'The contributions of the mothers go in aid of the parish allowances' (St. Helen near Bishopsgate) and 'if she puts the child out to nurse, which is most frequently done, she must contribute towards its maintenance' (Edgware).

This analysis of the Town Queries shows that bastardy chargeable in the metropolis was a different process to that elsewhere. Bastardy was distinctive in London due to the very real difficulty in recovering the costs of illegitimate children from their putative fathers (and some mothers). The affiliation system, taken as a whole across the capital, was a failing system. Bastardy was both a city-wide concern and a problem at the parish level, but metropolitan bastardy was made from the local level up. This meant that tenacious parishes often achieved successes amongst the general

climate of failures. However, the inability to recoup money from reputed fathers was costly to parish ratepayers. Metropolitan residents were, in effect, subsidising this expense to a far greater degree than in the counties outside Middlesex. Most fathers avoided their financial paternal responsibilities: they were too poor, they defaulted, or they absconded over parish boundaries—it was easy to disappear in a city as large as London.

CHARGEABLE BASTARDY IN CHELSEA, SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH

The Town Queries provide an extremely useful—but static—picture of the recovery of costs from putative fathers. A dynamic picture of the parochial management of the maintenance of illegitimate children can be obtained from a particularly rich set of extant bastardy records for St. Luke Chelsea, St. George the Martyr and St. Saviour Southwark and St. Mary Newington Lambeth between the 1790s and the 1830s. Other useful sources on bastardy survive for the parish of St. Clement Danes Westminster. These provide evidence on what would be termed ‘outdoor relief’—payments made usually to the mother as regular maintenance for her child.

The number of chargeable bastards in these parishes was high. In St. Saviour’s there were over 100 illegitimate children on the parish books in the ten years 1818–1828, between 100 and 250 in St. George the Martyr (and 230 declared in the Town Queries), around 200 in St. Mary Newington, and around 200 in St. Luke Chelsea.⁴⁹ In 1803 St. George the Martyr spent the lowest amount on poor relief at 5*s.* 6*d.* per capita, St. Mary Newington spent 9*s.* 0*d.*, while St. Saviour’s spent the most at 12*s.* 10*d.*⁵⁰ Parish spending rose rapidly over the early nineteenth century: in St. George the Martyr, for instance, expenditure rose almost three-fold from £6025 in 1803 to £17,106 in 1831 and the cost per capita from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* 7*d.*⁵¹ Manufacturing dominated in St. George the Martyr and St. Saviour’s, with 42.1 per cent and 44.6 per cent of men so employed respectively in 1813–20. There were far more ‘labourers’ in St. Saviour’s—17.2 per cent as opposed to 8.3 per cent in St. George the Martyr and 9.2 per cent in St. Mary Newington. In St. Mary Newington a much lower proportion of men were occupied in manufacturing at 26.3 per cent, with 21.0 per cent recorded as titled or ‘gentlemen’, which suggests it was a wealthier parish than the other two. Just 8.8 per cent and 1.7 per cent were titled/gentlemen in St. George the Martyr and St. Saviour’s

(Table 5.2).⁵² Mr Watmore, vestry clerk of Lambeth, told the poor law commissioners that unmarried mothers who received relief were treated harshly: their names were ‘twice published’ and those in the workhouse had ‘a special dress assigned to them’.⁵³

Table 5.2 Occupations of fathers and all men, St. Mary Newington, St. George the Martyr, and St. Saviour

<i>Occupational grouping</i>	<i>St. Mary Newington</i>		<i>St. George the Martyr</i>		<i>St. Saviour</i>	
	<i>All men 1813–20</i>	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>All men 1813–20</i>	<i>Fathers</i>	<i>All men 1813–20</i>	<i>Fathers</i>
Manufacture	26.3	29.5	42.1	26.1	44.6	35.4
Domestic service	1.3	12.6	1.5	3.2	1.1	2.4
Transport	3.1	8.7	4.1	5.2	7.8	18.3
Building	10.3	8.2	12.9	5.2	9.1	8.5
Labourers	9.5	10.3	8.3	0.4	17.2	9.8
Retail/dealing	14.6	9.2	12.6	24.9	11.3	15.9
Armed services and mariners	3.4	2.1	1.7	2.4	1.8	0.0
Public services/ professional	3.6	2.1	3.4	10.4	0.7	2.4
Titled/ gentlemen	21.0	7.9	8.8	14.9	1.7	1.2
Agriculture	1.3	4.6	1.6	5.2	1.7	0.0
Pauper	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Prisoner ^a	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.2
Banking, insurance, accounts, clerical	1.5	3.3	1.3	0.8	1.3	4.9
Other	2.8		1.5		1.6	
<i>Total number of cases</i>	<i>5860</i>	<i>390</i>	<i>5210</i>	<i>249</i>	<i>5104</i>	<i>82</i>

Source: LMA P92/MRY/357, St. Mary Newington Register of illegitimate children, 1802–1835; SL5L 763 St. George the Martyr, Maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835; SL5L 97, St. Saviour, Bastard maintenance book, 1818–1831; ‘All men 1813–20’ data, ‘The occupational structure of Britain 1379–1911’ project

Notes: The occupational groupings are based on the Westminster Historical Database and the Booth/Armstrong classifications but with some modifications. ‘Industrial service’ has been renamed ‘banking, insurance, accounts, clerical’ and labourers have been removed into their own category; ‘armed services and mariners’ have been separated from ‘public services/professional’; ‘rentier’ has been renamed ‘titled/ gentleman’; ‘pauper’ and ‘prisoner’ have been added. W.J. Armstrong, ‘The use of information about occupation, part 1: Basis for social stratification’; ‘Paper 2: An industrial classification, 1841–91’, in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 191–310; C. Harvey, E. Green, and P.J. Corfield, *The Westminster Historical Database: voters, social structures and electoral behaviour* (Bristol: Bristol Academic Press, 1998), pp. 71–117. ‘Other’ included illegible, illegitimate, no occupation specified

^aSince the data 1813–20 are based upon the baptism registers no prisoners will have been recorded; the prisoners in the bastardy records were probably in a house of correction linked to the bastardy process

The sources which have been analysed are affiliation orders and ‘bastardy maintenance books’. Affiliation orders contain the names of the mother, putative father and child, the date and place of birth, and initial costs and the weekly maintenance sum to be paid.⁵⁴ These record what was ordered rather than paid regularly. ‘Bastardy maintenance books’ (sometimes also called ‘registers of illegitimate children’) document the names of the mother, putative father and child, the date and place of birth, whether a lump sum was paid or a weekly amount (sometimes differentiating between the putative fathers and the parish), and the duration of payments.⁵⁵ For St. George the Martyr ‘Illegitimate children individual accounts’ are also extant which give the mother’s name and the allowances paid to her and the amount recovered from the alleged father (who paid in instalments every few months).⁵⁶ Where the sources for any one parish overlap then names have been linked nominally.⁵⁷ These are rich sources and allow for an exploration of the complex dynamics of the maintenance of illegitimate children under the old poor law. They reveal the costs associated with lying-in and the legal expenses that putative fathers were expected to pay, bond sums and bondsmen (and women), the amount of lump sums paid to dispense with the responsibility to pay maintenance, the weekly maintenance sums ordered to be paid by putative fathers (and mothers) by magistrates and the sums actually paid. They also reveal the length of time maintenance sums were paid, and whether mothers or fathers were raising the child.

Before a putative father could be affiliated, a warrant had to be issued, he had to be located and he had to appear in court. On 1 May 1801, for instance, a warrant was issued for Thomas Matthews, a victualler, that he ‘shall be present at the Police Office aforesaid [Union Hall, Southwark], on Thursday next at Eleven o’Clock in the Forenoon, then and there to shew cause why you should not be adjudged the reputed Father of the said Child and an order should not be made upon you for the maintenance of the said Child’.⁵⁸ Some suspected fathers were never found or brought before a magistrate: the bastardy books reveal that in St. George the Martyr, 1797–1809, 9 per cent of men (12 of 135) were ‘never taken’, while in St. Mary Newington, 1802–1835, 8.5 per cent of men (73 of 859) were ‘unknown’, ‘not found’, ‘never taken’ or ‘run away’, such as William Fryer, a victualler, who had ‘run away [from his] creditors’.⁵⁹ The parochial officers of St. Clement Danes paid for information relating to bastardy cases and for the trouble taken when executing a warrant.⁶⁰ Although ratepayers might wish men to be affiliated, others in the

community might intervene to prevent it. In St. Clement Danes in November 1767, for instance, the constable apprehended the putative father John Jakins under a warrant and took him back to his house before taking him to the next sessions. However, Jakins' master rescued him from the constable's house and refused the magistrates' order to surrender him. Warrants were reissued for both Jaskins and his master and the constable indemnified for any consequences. Yet, even by the end of the financial year in April, the case was still not resolved and the vestry was 'seeking the most efficacious methods be pursued to bring the matter to issue'.⁶¹ In St. Mary Newington a small percentage of alleged fathers were described as too 'poor' to pay or were either convicts or had been transported (both 0.6 per cent, 5 of 859).⁶² Indeed, an order was issued for Thomas Matthews (whose warrant is mentioned above) to pay £2 4s. costs and £3 13s. of accrued maintenance payments, plus 4s. 5d. weekly sums thereafter, totalling £5 17s., but Matthews 'said he could not pay it'.⁶³ This was true for other metropolitan parishes, too, such as in St. Clement Danes, where, in 1786, Thomas Vobe, 19 years old, a waiter at the Devil Tavern, Fleet Street, and Margaret Bell, also 19 years old, a former servant, met and started a sexual relationship. Their daughter Harriet was born in St. Clement Danes' workhouse. Harriet was sent at five weeks old to Nurse Chapman in Enfield, the 'Fa[the]. not apprehended'. Later than same year Thomas was accused of theft and transported for seven years.⁶⁴

The bastardy orders of St. Mary Newington record that other men, such as Charles Hemmingsway and Robert Willis, paid the mothers of their children directly rather than through the parochial affiliation system, but these amounted to a minority of orders (0.4 per cent, 2 of 569). These children were initially chargeable which is why they appear in the bastardy orders, but they are a different type of case to those examined here; there would have been many other private arrangements that did not come to the attention of the parochial authorities, in order to avoid publicity and/or because putative fathers were wealthier.⁶⁵ For instance, Susanna Barnard told her old lover William Stebbing that 'I have not mentioned your name to any person yet for I thought you would not wish your name to be mentioned' in the hope that William would 'make it agreeable to me'.⁶⁶ Many aristocratic men and gentlemen had illegitimate children.⁶⁷ One such case slipped into the bastardy orders: of William Pitcher who 'agreed with a nurse to keep the child which is not chargeable to the parish'.⁶⁸ Fathers might also agree to take the child themselves, such as John Metcalf who 'took the child from the mother by consent' in April 1818. Ten men

agreed to do this (1.8 per cent of 569 cases), also including John Jones, gardener to Mr Burne of Marlborough Place, who fathered a child with Elizabeth Eastmead. He took his illegitimate son from the workhouse to his wife and children in the country. Quite what his wife thought of the arrangement is not known.⁶⁹

THE OCCUPATIONS OF PUTATIVE FATHERS

A number of historians have researched the occupations of men named in eighteenth-century metropolitan bastardy examinations, and it is Black's contention that putative fathers were largely representative of the men in the underlying metropolitan parish populations in his study—St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Clement Danes, and St. Leonard Shoreditch.⁷⁰ His argument is supported by Rogers for St. Margaret and St. John Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, and St. Clement Danes, Evans for St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Mary Lambeth and St. Mary Islington, and Trumbach for St. Luke Chelsea, St. Margaret Westminster, and, again, St. Leonard Shoreditch and St. Botolph Aldgate.⁷¹ These studies confirm that fathers were drawn from a range of trades (and were thus not a 'bastardy prone sub-society') within manufacturing and unskilled manual occupations, plus domestic service. However, although the occupations of fathers might broadly reflect the socio-economic composition of the parish, there is a 'lack of quantitative exactness' in these studies due to the nature of the available evidence.⁷² This can be overcome for Southwark and Lambeth (Table 5.2).⁷³ The occupations of putative fathers in the bastardy books can be compared with the wider occupational structure of these parishes from the male occupations given (by law) in the baptism registers (1813–20) in order to ascertain the representativeness of fathers. This more accurate methodology reveals that putative fathers were not necessarily representative of the employment structures of the parishes in which they lived.

Although manufacturing was the largest employer in all three parishes, it was only in St. Mary Newington that the proportion of putative fathers roughly matched that of all fathers, while in St. George the Martyr and St. Saviour's fathers employed in manufacturing were under-represented. In contrast, domestic servants were over-represented in St. Mary Newington, with only 1.3 per cent of all men so employed but 12.6 per cent of fathers. In St. Luke's bastardy examinations an even higher proportion of putative fathers were servants: 30 per cent between the 1730s and the 1760s and

21 per cent in the 1780s and 1790s.⁷⁴ Relationships between servants were common and yet, unless each partner had accrued sufficient savings (perhaps by the age of 25 or 26 years old), such courtships were unlikely to result in marriage. Some of these women might have been expecting a wedding and yet circumstances frustrated their plans, while others 'were swept away by passion'.⁷⁵ Fathers employed in the transport sector were over-represented in St. Saviour's (7.8 per cent of all men and 18.3 per cent of fathers), while fathers employed in retail/dealing were over-represented in St. George the Martyr (12.6 per cent of all men and 24.9 per cent of fathers). These were broad occupational categories and the wages in these employments is not known, but if they were low-paid then this might have contributed to fathers not marrying their lovers. The proportion of all men and fathers employed in the armed services/ mariners was low in all three parishes, and there was little evidence of fathers escaping through this route.⁷⁶

More surprisingly, titled men and gentlemen were over-represented in St. George the Martyr but underrepresented in St. Mary Newington. There were also more men occupied in public service/ professional occupations in St. George the Martyr. The term 'gentleman' is problematic since it is not clear to the historian exactly what a 'gentleman' was. Such differences in the number of 'gentlemen' between parishes might simply reflect inconsistent usage between the parishes. On the other hand, and more importantly, it might be due to the zeal of parochial officers in identifying and affiliating men of the middling sort. Trumbach found that the Societies for the Reformation of Manners closely policed gentlemen in St. Margaret Westminster in the 1710s and 1720s whether the child was likely to become chargeable or not.⁷⁷ It would appear either that many of the titled and gentlemen in St. Mary Newington had made a private settlement with the mother and so evaded being publicly named in the bastardy books, or else that the gentlemen in St. Mary Newington 'usually took their illicit pleasures away from home and in other people's neighbourhoods'.⁷⁸ In St. George the Martyr, on the other hand, overseers attempted stridently to affiliate all gentlemen and those employed in public services and professional occupations. The fact that these occupations are over-represented suggests more than this, however, and either masters were seducing their servants, middling men were engaging in libertine behaviour with women of lower status, or some of these women were prostitutes. The evidence of bastardy examinations suggests that few masters seduced servants in their own households,⁷⁹ but younger gentlemen

and professionals might well have been engaging in casual affairs with servants in the households in which they lodged or in other houses which they visited.⁸⁰ One case in particular stands out, from St. Luke's. Hannah Bradly was a servant in the household in which Thomas Leigh, an attorney's clerk in the Rolls Office in Chancery Lane, lodged. When she went to see him at work, heavily pregnant and requesting help with the expenses of her lying-in '[h]e answered, if one single half penny would save her and the child he would not give it to her, and pushed her out of his office'.⁸¹ However, whilst Rogers and Black chart a decline in the proportion of putative fathers from the professional occupations in the later eighteenth century as, in Black's words, 'dissipation was going out of fashion',⁸² the proportion of such fathers in St. George the Martyr remained relatively high well into the nineteenth century. Dissipation was still in fashion in parts of Southwark. Prostitution is another entirely probable reason for, or contributory factor towards, these figures, even if such encounters are not obvious from the bastardy books. The casual sex described in bastardy examinations between men and women in public houses, bawdy houses, and lodgings suggest prostitution; around 9 per cent of unmarried mothers swearing the paternity of their infant before a magistrate were likely prostitutes in St. Luke Chelsea.⁸³ Trumbach contends that the deployment of the phrase that the woman had had sex with 'no other since' might have indicated prostitution in the bastardy examinations of St. Margaret Westminster.⁸⁴

The evidence presented here on the occupations of putative fathers supports both explanations put forward for bastardy. Firstly, many servants and those employed in particular in manufacturing, transport and retail and dealing occupations needed to save up for marriage and might, therefore, have had their marriage plans thwarted. There is also evidence of a change in sexual culture, by which many more couples were having sex. Some younger servants must have had either unrealistic hopes of marriage, or none at all, while some women engaged in casual sex or were seduced by 'libertine' titled men, gentlemen and young professionals in St. George the Martyr in particular. There is evidence here of local sexual cultures as well as economic ones. Bastard births were also the result of prostitution, which was such a feature of urbanisation and metropolitan culture. The lists of putative fathers in the bastardy books of Southwark and Lambeth are also a product of parish policy and the making of metropolitan bastardy was just as much about the role of overseers as it was the couples engaged in sexual activity. Parochial officers and magistrates

pursued poor men and rich alike to affiliate them, but with marked differences in policy by location, as is shown by the much greater proportion of titled men and gentlemen on the bastardy books in St. George the Martyr than in St. Mary Newington. The clients of prostitutes also found themselves affiliated, as even the children of prostitutes needed maintaining. It is likely that some of the women engaged in sexual commerce ended up in the local house of correction for their 'lewd' and 'disorderly' behaviour (see Chap. 6).

INITIAL EXPENSES

Putative fathers were expected to pay a wide range of initial bastardy expenses, including lying-in costs, initial maintenance, clothing for the infant, funeral costs if the child died, legal fees including warrants, serving warrants, the bastardy examination, bastardy order, enquiring after securities, vestry clerks' attendance, beadles and messengers, discharging bonds, and letter costs.⁸⁵ Fig. 5.1 shows the totals of these costs paid by putative fathers in St. George the Martyr 1792–1808 and the sums imposed upon fathers in the bastardy orders in St. Mary Newington 1808–1836; unfortunately there is no chronological overlap. The most common sum in St. Mary Newington was £1–2 and slightly more in St. George the Martyr at £2–3; however, a larger number of putative fathers were ordered to pay higher sums in St. Mary Newington, with expenses reaching up to £20 10s. 6d. in an order against William Gent in May 1819. In this case the parish did not recover the money from William Gent; he is recorded in the bastardy books as 'gone' and the parish paid the 5s. a week ordered by the magistrates for the maintenance of his daughter.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, these bastardy books do not state whether any initial expenses were actually paid. It is very difficult to tease out the reasons for the differences between these parishes. They might be accounted for by source, since one relates to that charged upon the father (St. Mary's) and the other to that actually paid (St. George the Martyr). Costs were itemised in the accounts for St. George the Martyr, but they were totalled in the St. Mary Newington bastardy adjudications, and so the sources cannot be directly compared. It might be the case that the larger sums in St. Mary's were due to differential costs in apprehending and getting putative fathers to court (at a later date) or due to parochial practices in what was charged to alleged fathers since this was the wealthier parish.

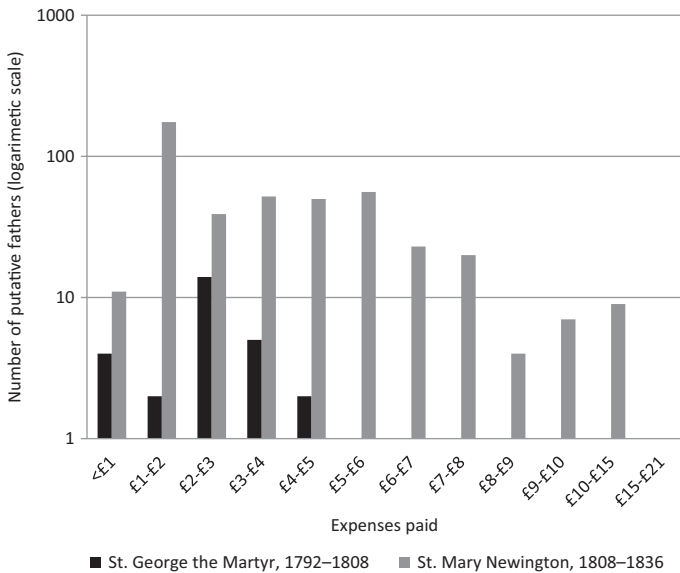


Fig. 5.1 Initial expenses paid by fathers, St. George the Martyr and St. Mary Newington.

Source: SLSL 588, St. George the Martyr, Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808; SLSL 860–865, St. Mary Newington, Bastardy adjudications [orders], 1808–36 (and transcription by P. Shilham)

PAYING A ‘COMPROMISE’: LUMP SUMS

After paying the initial expenses putative fathers could pay lump sums and thereby prevent all further claims on them.⁸⁷ Jonas Hanway disapproved of lump sums, blaming the incidence of them as contributing towards the high mortality rates of parish bastard children since they removed the incentive to keep the child alive. He commented, ‘[i]f the child brought money, it was squandered, or deemed no object ... and the child became a sacrifice’.⁸⁸ He commented that a parish bastard child was likely to be ‘worth no more than eight or ten months’ purchase, and that there is a chance of its being but so many days’.⁸⁹ How many men paid lump sums? The bastardy book of St. George the Martyr, 1797–1809, provides an indication of the proportion of these alleged fathers paying lump sums over maintenance payments.⁹⁰ In the parish 21 per cent (28 of 135) paid a lump sum and 50 per cent (68 of 135) put up a bond which led to

weekly maintenance payments. As stated above, a further 8 per cent of men were 'never taken'. Of the remainder some paid the expenses only. Some men were deemed too poor to pay, such as John Nugent who was 'taken & discharged being poor'. Others promised to or did marry the mother, such as Sarah Monday and Joseph Williamson, or Thomas Masters, 'Gone to Ireland, taken the Woman and Child with him', or the mother married another man, such as Peter Matthews, who was held in custody for three months and only discharged when his pregnant lover, Eleanor Abel, married. This last finding has important implications for the making of metropolitan bastardy: while some couples went on to marry, most did not. St. Luke's bastardy examinations also reveal that the parochial authorities forced the marriages of some couples. In 1782, for instance, Jane Dove 'was married to the above mentioned John Crawford at Chelsea Church on Sunday morning July 7th 1782 at the Expence of the Parish of Chelsea' and in Ann Pitt's case, the overseers 'married her to John Marshall and passed them both together to Pangbourne in Berkshire' thereby ridding the parish of the financial responsibility of the new family.⁹¹ Ann Spond's (her maiden name was not given) is a very sorry story.⁹² The putative father, Thomas Spond, was arrested and put in the cage at Fulham and then in the prison at Clerkenwell. When the overseer asked Ann if she would marry Thomas she told him that she would rather not as she did not like him. Nevertheless, the overseer told her that she 'must have him' and compelled the couple to marry. They spent the night in the workhouse and were then put on the road to St. Luke Chelsea. However, Ann went into labour on the road and she was taken back to the workhouse and had a stillborn child. The overseers of St. Luke's considered Fulham parish to have been criminally negligent.

Parish officers and magistrates could attempt to enforce payment from putative fathers with the threat of imprisonment. In Chelmsford the threat of imprisonment sometimes encouraged men either pay up or to abscond. This forced parish officers to adopt strategic approaches in the pursuit of putative fathers.⁹³ In St. George the Martyr 10 per cent of men were sent to prison for some time (13 of 135), six of whom, it was recorded, subsequently paid lump sums. In other cases the magistrates found against the mother and in favour of the man, with the order discharged, such as 'Browlow Ford—discharged the woman acknowledging she had sworn falsely & not being with child'.⁹⁴

The most common lump sum in St. George the Martyr, 1794–1807 (the only parish for which this information survives), was £20–29 (ten men), but

payments ranged from less than £10 (two men), £10–19 (four men), £30–39 and £40–49 (two men each), £50–59 (six men), up to £60–69 (two men). In St. Clement Danes in the 1720s lump sums varied between £8 and £10.⁹⁵ The lump sums for St. George the Martyr were far short of the £80–£100 pledged in bastardy bonds, but lump sums and bonds worked differently; bonds (and bondsmen and women) were called in upon the failure of the putative father to pay or at his death.⁹⁶ Parish officials of St. George the Martyr visited those giving security for unmarried fathers; Mr George Scott was visited by the overseer and was found to be ‘good in business’. In St. Clement Danes, Edward Williams had seven other bondsmen but Anthony Coleman could only put up himself, ‘who being in Gaol cud. get no other’.⁹⁷ Lump sums were usually less than weekly maintenance payments; an allowance of 2s. 6d. for seven years, for instance, totalled £45 10s. Unfortunately occupations were not given in this source for the men paying lump sums (28 men). However, it is evident that eight of them (29 per cent) had spent some time in custody before paying, while John Ivory’s master, Mr Wrench, paid his lump sum of £21, and John Charles Cooper was only discharged from custody when his father paid 8 guineas.

It was not necessarily expected that lump sums should be paid at once; some men paid in instalments (five men), such as Robert Ward, a farmer (the only man for whom an occupation is given), from Walspoken, Norfolk, who gave £20 at three months, six months and fifteen months, thus totalling £60. Regarding the gaoling of putative fathers in St. George the Martyr in both periods (1797–1809, 1818–1835), it would appear that a spell in the house of correction ‘for want of sureties’ (as the law allowed) triggered the payment of lump sums either by the fathers or those who would assist them. Thomas Matthews, for instance, wrote from the Fleet to his lawyer in July 1801 that, ‘I have no wish to put either myself or the parish to unnecessary offence—if the officers will accept Ten pounds in full in six weeks will make up that Sum—which is all I can do and will readily pay your Charge upon having a full Discharge’.⁹⁸

The proportion of men paying lump sums fell sharply in the period 1818–1835: just 3 per cent (7 of 257) of putative fathers in St. George the Martyr paid lump sums, which ranged between £20 and just £42.⁹⁹ When a warrant was taken out against Henry Haydon, an apprentice grocer, in September 1822, ‘his friends’ agreed to pay, and the committee to accept, £25 ‘without further claim’; likewise, the only other apprentice (to a silversmith), Richard Nicholson’s friends paid £42 ‘no more due’. Joseph Painting was a porter boy at the Blind School and, ‘having neither friends

nor attorney the Committee took which was raised for him & to make no further claim'. In St. Saviours, nine putative fathers (8 per cent, of 114) paid lump sums of between £10 and £45 in the period 1818–1831. The occupations of alleged fathers were given in four cases: a pub landlord gave £6 10s., a cheese shop man paid £10, while a coachman gave £30, and fruitier at Spitalfields market paid £35.¹⁰⁰

It might be thought that putative fathers had some choice in whether they paid lump sums (either up-front or in instalments) or whether they paid maintenance payments for a number of years. It might be speculated that lump sums were less than the total cost of many years of paying maintenance or that better-off men could afford lump sums. On the other hand, parochial officers might have asked for lump sums from those they thought least able to keep up maintenance payments and who were likely to default, either through poverty or desertion. The fact that 29 per cent of men paying lump sums had been gaoled in St. George the Martyr, 1797–1809, and that masters, fathers and friends had to contribute suggests that the latter explanation was far closer to the truth.

WEEKLY MAINTENANCE

The majority of putative fathers paid maintenance rather than a lump sum and the bulk of day-to-day affiliation work was concerned with securing and paying weekly maintenance sums—regular outdoor relief—to mothers and their children. Men did not necessarily pay the parish weekly and might pay in larger instalments, but overseers paid mothers weekly.¹⁰¹ It has already been noted that the Rural and Town Queries recorded weekly allowances of between 1s. and 2s. 6d. in 1834.¹⁰² Nutt found that over 80 per cent of affiliation orders at Chelmsford petty sessions in the period 1814–1834 specified sums of 2s. or 2s. 6d., 10 per cent of sums of 3s., 4.9 per cent of sums between 3s. 6d. and 4s. 6d., with the remainder for sums below 2s.¹⁰³ Jonas Hanway estimated the sum to raise a child, in an earlier period (1750s), at 3s. per week for a child from birth to the age of three, 2s. 6d. per week from the age of four to the age of seven, and 1s. per week for a child aged from eight to thirteen years.¹⁰⁴ Fig. 5.2 shows that 2s. was also the most common sum in St. Luke's, 2s. 6d. in St. Mary Newington and St. Saviours, but St. George the Martyr appears much more generous with 4s. per week paid most often. Other differences are also apparent between the four parishes. Putative fathers in St. Mary Newington, St. George the Martyr, and St. Luke's gave higher sums while men in

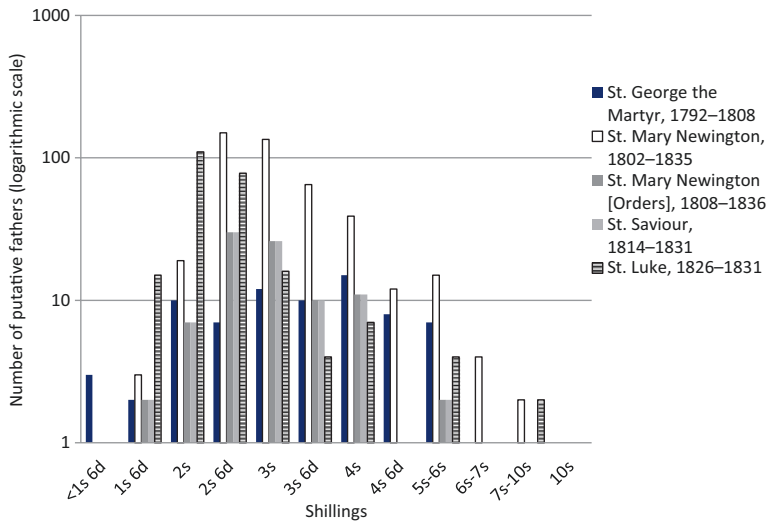


Fig. 5.2 Weekly maintenance sums, St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, St. Saviour and St. Luke.

Source: SLSL, 588, St. George the Martyr, Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808; LMA, P92/MRY/357, St. Mary Newington, Register of bastard children, 1802–35; SLSL 860–865, St. Mary Newington, Bastardy adjudications [orders], 1808–36; SLSL 97, St. Saviour, Overseers' bastard maintenance book, 1814–31; St. Luke, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799, www.workhouses.org.uk, 1800–1837, LMA P74/LUK/112–115

St. Saviour's paid the fewest large sums. Another important point is evident in these figures: although 2s. 6d. was the most commonly given sum in St. Mary Newington and St. Saviour's, and 4s. in St. George the Martyr, there were actually far more payments over these sums. For instance, in St. Mary Newington 50 men paid 2s. 6d. but 273 men paid higher sums.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, in St. Mary Newington 10s. per week was the highest sum (not visible on the graph due to the log scale). The workhouse master, Mr Charles Mott, told the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834 that he did not agree with the discretionary powers of magistrates to vary the sum in the bastardy order. He commented that 'in the Metropolitan parishes the orders vary from 1s. 6d. to 9s. per week' and he compared this unfavourably to allowances of 1s. 3d. per week in Dorset.¹⁰⁶ These findings highlight the fact that focusing upon the most commonly given sum hides the huge range of payments, and most notably the larger payments.

There are two possible reasons for the higher weekly maintenance payments recorded in the Southwark and Lambeth bastardy books. The first and most obvious reason is that respondents to the Rural and Town Queries only reported the most commonly given sum, not the range of weekly maintenance payments. The other is that higher sums might have been expected from alleged fathers in London. Male wages varied considerably in the metropolis and over this period but many historians have thought them to be generally higher than outside London and these higher maintenance sums might reflect the ability of metropolitan men to pay more.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, in his *Handbook for Justices* (1727), Burn stated:

And as for the reputed Father, the two Justices shall do well, (as I conceive) if he be of Ability, to charge him more deeply; which if he refuse, then with Punishment according to Statute of 18 Eliz. ... And if the Reputed Father be of small Ability, and shall not find Friends to yield some reasonable Allowance, then to undergo the more Punishment.¹⁰⁸

The sums ordered by magistrates for St. Mary Newington ('orders', Fig. 5.2) were different to the sums in the bastardy books. This was because the sums decided upon by the magistrates in the orders was not necessarily what was actually paid to the mother. Thus, reliance upon orders only might not always reveal day-to-day practice; bastardy books might be the preferable source. In 10 per cent of cases the parish gave mothers a different sum than was given in the orders: in nine in ten instances mothers and their children were allocated lower weekly sums, usually 6*d.* or 1*s.* less than the order sum, but it could be up to 3*s.* 6*d.* lower. In the other one in ten cases higher sums were actually paid. Unfortunately, the bastardy books do not reveal why. It does not appear that overseers withheld some of the money for their costs; Mr W Selfton, collector of the poor rates in Lambeth reported that, '[i]n cases where the children are affiliated, we pay over to the mothers all the sums we receive from the fathers'.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that allowances were reduced by the parish when alleged fathers did not pay. Nutt has shown that while this was a common response by overseers in West Yorkshire, in Essex women could be effective 'litigants' in court and magistrates could force parochial officers to pay the full amount.¹¹⁰ There is also some evidence to suggest that south London was more like the former. Mr Watmore, vestry clerk in Lambeth, reported that in cases where the child could not be affiliated or the fathers had absconded, 'we give from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a

week only; if the parties are otherwise respectable, we give the higher sums, and to the more abandoned and worthless, the lesser amount'.¹¹¹

In addition, the bastardy books show that in 10 per cent (8 of 78) of cases in St. George the Martyr and in 13 per cent (112 of 859) of cases in St. Mary Newington weekly allowances changed over the duration of maintenance payments as children grew older: usually, sums were reduced by between 6*d.* and 1*s.* (as predicted by Hanway, above), such as that give to Sarah Hope for her daughter, whose allowance fell from 4*s.* per week to 3*s.*¹¹² This most probably reflected a reduction in need as mothers could take on further paid work or children went out to work, thus reducing the cost of raising a child. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the great majority of allowances were not reduced. Thus a range of sources—and the bastardy books in particular—reveal a far more complex picture than the Rural and Town Queries.

MOTHERS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Pro-forma bastardy orders assumed that mothers would pay a low weekly sum (sometimes 6*d.*), usually if they were not nursing or caring for the child themselves, although Nutt argues that this was rarely enforced.¹¹³ However, in the St. Mary Newington adjudications, 1808–1836, 25 mothers (4 per cent, of 569) were ordered to pay specific weekly sums of between 6*d.* and 5*s.*, such as Ann Cook 'she is to pay 2/- weekly instead of the usual 6*d.*' and Sarah Birt, who was ordered to pay 3*s.* weekly.¹¹⁴ Orders were made for women to pay 6*d.* (six women), 1*s.* (three women), 1*s.* 6*d.* (one woman), 2*s.* (five women), 2*s.* 6*d.* (seven women), 3*s.* or more (three women). These data gives the impression that mothers generally paid less than putative fathers or the parish, and they certainly did in 44 per cent of cases (eleven women). But in 52 per cent of instances (fourteen) mothers and fathers were ordered to pay exactly the same amount and thus financial responsibility was shared. In just one case (accounting for the remaining 4 per cent) the mother paid a higher sum—Maria Jennings was ordered to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* per week while John Prince was to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* It also appears that women were asked to contribute in some cases when the putative fathers did not. Peter Harwood 'never could be found', Joseph Evans 'went to sea, said to have died on board ship', the order on William Smallman 'never served', while Gabriel Cook and John Hinton had both 'run away'.

Cases where mothers received such orders were not spread equally over the period but clustered in the years 1805–1809 (six cases), 1815 (one case), 1833–1836 (eighteen cases), suggesting a particular drive by magistrates at certain times to also enforce payment by mothers. These payments were not recorded in the bastardy books, however; the pro forma books had no column for the contributions of mothers, just the men named as the fathers of illegitimate children.¹¹⁵ This makes it difficult to ascertain for certain whether these women actually paid these sums, and how regularly. If they did, then it would mean that some mothers were also contributing financially for the care of their child. The most obvious reason would be their return to work and that their infants were put out to nurse, and other parish documents record this, as do Foundling Hospital petitions.¹¹⁶ Information on whether the mother nursed the child is given in 10 of the 25 cases: exactly half of the children were at nurse and half were nursed by their mothers. Historians have assumed that if mothers nursed the child themselves then the maintenance sum was waived, but these cases suggest that they might still have been ordered to contribute. It is also the case that far more mothers—in London at least—would have been working than the small number ordered to contribute towards maintenance that can be seen here. The bastardy books do not capture what happened to the mothers during the period that their children received allowances, and many of the mothers must have either taken in outwork and kept their children with them, or returned to domestic service, and placed their children with a nurse either themselves or with parish assistance. In the bastardy books for St. Luke Chelsea, 1826–1831, 26 nurses were listed, six of whom took two children, and one of whom took three, while the parish of St. George the Martyr sent their children out to nurses in Sydenham, Norwood and Deptford.¹¹⁷ Although the bastardy books reveal a great deal of the complexities of maintenance payments for putative fathers, they are remarkably silent on the financial and/or nurturing contributions of mothers.

THE DURATION OF PAYMENTS

The bastardy documents do reveal—systematically—the duration of maintenance. The Town Queries only covered the recovery of costs for the five years between 1827 and 1832. Lyle argues that maintenance sums were paid to the mother and child usually until the child reached the age of seven; Nutt also identifies the age of seven as a contested point at which

allowances were reduced or withdrawn; while Crawford cites cases where payments continued until the child was aged between eight and fourteen.¹¹⁸ Although the ‘age of nurture’ was usually until the age of seven, Levene has highlighted the ‘fuzziness’ associated with the concept of childhood for the poor. Legal definitions varied and could be as high as the age of fifteen while in registers of children young people were included up to the age of eighteen or even older. Levene focuses upon children aged thirteen or under, since this was the average age at which poor children were bound out as apprentices in London in the mid eighteenth century.¹¹⁹ As noted above, Hanway estimated the cost of raising a child up to the age of thirteen.¹²⁰ The bastardy books record allowances paid to mothers for their children; they do not make it clear whether the putative fathers were contributing constantly, or whether some defaulted and the parish continued the allowance. There were a few cases where the length of time the alleged father should pay was specified, such as Hugh Jones Owen, who in 1835 was ordered to pay ‘until child is 7 yrs old’.¹²¹ The St. George the Martyr ‘Individual accounts for illegitimate children, 1792–1808’ record the allowances paid by the parish and the instalments paid by the putative father. They reveal that 61 per cent of alleged fathers entered into this book for regular maintenance paid in full.¹²² However, in 1834, when the number of chargeable illegitimate children had trebled, John Fitch, vestry clerk in St. George the Martyr, reported in the Town Queries that only £230 of £1620 (14 per cent) had been recouped from the putative fathers, suggesting that most of what was paid was met by the parish (and would have amounted to 9.5 per cent of parish expenditure, or 8.3 per cent excluding that reclaimed from the putative fathers).¹²³ What the bastardy books do not make it clear, in addition, is whether maintenance payments for bastard children were always paid to the mother. Most mothers would be working and many of these would be back in domestic service. Maintenance payments might be given to workhouses or parish or private nurses. Following Hanway’s Acts in the 1760s parishes were to put out to nurse their charges under the age of four outside London.¹²⁴ Although mother and child might be kept together for nurture (age seven years old), and payments might be longer than this, the necessity for women to work most probably separated them in practice, as the responses to the Town Queries made clear.

Fig. 5.3 shows the duration of weekly maintenance sums in St. Mary Newington, St. George the Martyr, and St. Saviour. The cases where payments were truncated by the death of the child or the putative father have

been omitted.¹²⁵ Parochial diversity is evident once more in these figures. In St. Saviour's the longest duration was 9–10 years, while in St. Mary Newington maintenance continued up to 15 years. The duration alleged fathers paid maintenance lengthened in St. George the Martyr between 1792–1808 and 1818–1835 to up to 13–14 years. Nevertheless, allowances were paid for much longer than seven years.

It might be assumed that men of higher social status—defined by their occupations—paid the largest maintenance sums (over 2*s.* 6*d.*) and/or for the longest durations (over seven years). The figures do not generally support such a conclusion. Fathers paying larger maintenance sums were employed in manufacture, retail/ dealing, and building in St. Mary Newington and manufacture, transport, retailed/dealing, and building in St. Saviour's. Fathers paying for longer durations were occupied in manu-

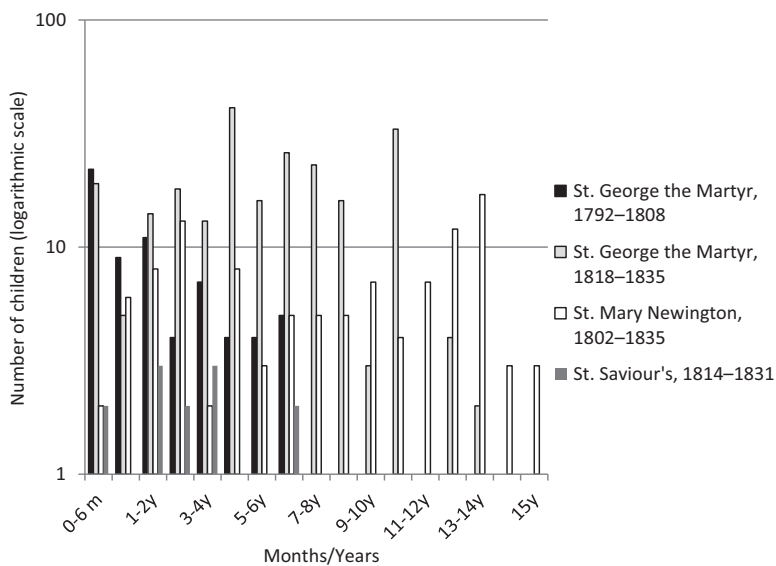


Fig. 5.3 Duration of maintenance payments, St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, and St. Saviour.

Source: SLSL 588, St. George the Martyr, Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808; SLSL 763, St. George the Martyr, Churchwardens and overseers' maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–35 (and transcription by P. Shilham); LMA P92/MRY/357, St. Mary Newington, Register of bastard children, 1802–35; SLSL 97, St. Saviour, Overseers' bastard maintenance book, 1814–31

facture and retail/dealing in St. Mary Newington and manufacture, transport, and retail/dealing in St. Saviour's. However, titled/ gentlemen did account for 13.4 per cent of larger payers and 13.5 per cent of longer payers respectively in St. Mary Newington, a larger figure than of fathers in general (7.9 per cent) but still not in line with all men in the parish (21.0 per cent). However, in St. George the Martyr 7.7 per cent of longer payers were titled/ gentlemen, yet 14.9 per cent of all fathers were in this category. It appears that social status had some limited impact on the sums paid and the durations in some parishes but not all. What is clear is that fathers came from a variety of backgrounds in each parish and that this was not representative of the underlying populations. Social status did not have a significant impact upon the likelihood of fathers paying larger sums or for longer durations.

THE RECOVERY OF COSTS

Recovering the costs from putative fathers was not an easy task for parish officials. The bastardy books reveal the constant and long-term difficulty of recouping the money from men over many years. In St. George the Martyr, for instance, Edward Parr, a broker, paid for almost five years, at which time a 'writ issued but too poor to pay anything: gave promissory note which was dishonoured'. Edward Kilsby, a ship breaker, went bankrupt, as did Thomas Luxford, a victualler and William Stevens, a milkman.¹²⁶ In St. Saviours the debts of 8 per cent (9 of 114) of alleged fathers were written off or their future payments were excused, while John Bowden, a jeweller, had his payments docked by his employers.¹²⁷ This finding has important implications for the making of metropolitan bastardy, too. Many men were indeed too poor to marry and support a wife and child. In two cases in St. George the Martyr, men paid for some years before deciding to take the child themselves. William Lawrence paid for five years, at which point it was recorded that he 'is worth nothing' and 'father will take [the child]', while Joseph Meades, a guard to the Northampton Mail, paid for almost three years and then 'child taken by father'.¹²⁸ Perhaps kin assisted the father in taking care of the child. The motives of those absconding cannot be known, and poverty might have been the impetus to leave, but, equally, men might not have wanted to face up to their paternal and financial responsibilities. Men deserted to the Cape, France, the East Indies, Ireland, Scotland or simply 'abroad'.¹²⁹

Crucially, once an affiliation order had been issued it entitled the mother to receive a weekly allowance whether the alleged father paid or not, and so this had financial implications for the parish of settlement.¹³⁰ For instance, an order for maintenance was made for Ann Lingwood's infant, Joseph, living with his mother in St. George the Martyr 'for nurture', against Christchurch parish for £3 12s. and 5s. 6d. every Monday.¹³¹ Pauper letters reveal the problems mothers faced in securing regular payments from the fathers of their children and parishes, such as Sarah Hall, who struggled for more than five years to obtain maintenance from the father, Charles Ellis, and the parish of St. Botolph, Essex, complaining that 'i want [the money] very bad'. In a very unfortunate case, 'Wm. Musgrave In Cust:, he died in the House of Correction the 24th April 1802'.¹³² With the death of putative fathers the recovery of maintenance payments ceased, unless a bond could be called in, and this was the point of taking a bond alongside an affiliation order. In St. George the Martyr 8 per cent (19 of 251) of men died whilst on the maintenance books; 8 per cent (68 of 859) of men also did so in St. Mary Newington.¹³³ In the case of Daniel Luscombe, who paid weekly maintenance sums for four years until his death, when Mrs Clark (Luscombe's bondswoman) asked her attorney H.P. Curtis to ask the committee to accept £60. The committee agreed to accept £80, 'the penalty in the Bond being only £100'. However, when James Buckett died his bonds-people were not called in, but rather the mother and child were 'put on Thursday list' of weekly pensioners.¹³⁴ Payments also stopped, of course, with the death of the child; 22 per cent of children recorded in the maintenance book of St. May Newington died in the period 1802–1835. Putative fathers were then expected to pay the child's funeral expenses. Costs ranged from 7s. to £1 11s. 6d.¹³⁵ In St. Clement Danes it was recorded in the case of Thomas Rancoe that 'This child is Dead & Parish Satisfied'.¹³⁶ There is evidence, here, to support Roger's contention that frustrated courtship, brought on by unemployment, financial insecurity, or premature death resulted in bastard births.

MAINTENANCE AND THE NEW POOR LAW

This elaborate system of affiliation was overhauled in 1834 and there were further important changes in 1839, 1844, 1868 and 1872 (see Chap. 1). A putative father might be ordered to pay up to 5s. a week for the maintenance of his newborn child, but the payments were to be reduced after the infant reached just six weeks old to a maximum of 2s. 6d. until the child

was an adolescent. The maintenance order had to be secured within twelve months of the baby's birth otherwise the putative father was absolved of all responsibility for the child.¹³⁷ Henriques characterises the Bastardy Clauses of 1834 as 'a swift upheaval' with the 'sudden withdrawal of the easy procedure for obtaining support for an illegitimate child'.¹³⁸ These changes had a negative impact upon the ability of unmarried mothers to secure maintenance for their child. Nutt has shown that the ability of women in Essex to obtain an affiliation order after 1834 was severely circumscribed.¹³⁹ Reay found that around 75 per cent of unmarried mothers in the Blean area of Kent did not seek affiliation through the courts in the later period of 1860–1871.¹⁴⁰ Nationally, there was a decline in affiliation orders in the period 1835–1838.¹⁴¹ This was not the case everywhere, however. Henriques argues that there was a very high number of affiliations in Cheshire and Yorkshire, and reflects a continuation of the previous practice identified by Nutt of northern parishes doggedly recovering bastardy costs through the affiliation system.¹⁴² In the whole of Middlesex the number of affiliations, 1835–38, numbered just 32, while in Westminster the total was a measly 3.¹⁴³ Although these are very small numbers given their populations, the bastardy recovery rate (which is not quite the same thing as the ability to secure an affiliation order) in London had been very low indeed in the period 1827–1832, and these figures reveal continuation in the failure of parish policy to recover costs in the metropolis before and after the Poor Law Amendment Act.

What did the overall reduction in affiliation orders mean for the well-being of unwed women and their infants? Nutt argues that the impact must have been negative. He argues that, 'The new poor law represented a radical and significant disjunction in the history of illegitimacy and the administration of the poor law'.¹⁴⁴ His pioneering study has not been repeated for other places and so we still know far too little about the impact of the new laws in the courts and upon the long-term maintenance of bastard children.¹⁴⁵ With a reduction in affiliation orders and a new emphasis upon the workhouse as the fitting place for destitute unmarried mothers, it is likely that many more women were admitted to new poor law union workhouses in England and Wales, as has been shown in Chap. 4. What is less clear is the impact the decline had upon unmarried mothers in the metropolis. Gillis has argued, 'Despite the horror they provoked, workhouses were used with greater frequency as a place where children could be both born and abandoned'. He found that mothers applying to the London Foundling Hospital were 24 times more likely to have used

the workhouses after 1850 than before.¹⁴⁶ Given how many women had chosen domestic deliveries under the old bastardy clauses, the reduction in both affiliation orders and outdoor relief undoubtedly restricted their choices.

CONCLUSION

By the late eighteenth century a substantial legal and administrative mechanism had developed for the recovery of the costs by the parochial authorities of illegitimate children from their putative fathers and, on occasion, their mothers; yet the ability of parishes to actually recoup these costs varied widely. This was a complex system, variable at the parochial and regional level—as was the wider poor law—but one which ran in parallel with the poor law and offered tenacious overseers a way of reducing the parish rates. Yet this was a period in which illegitimacy was rising sharply and the increased costs of chargeable bastardy impacted upon rapidly escalating parish expenditure, generating alarm about economic and moral costs among political thinkers such as Malthus, and politicians—including Nassau Senior and Edwin Chadwick, the architects of the Poor Law Report—and contributing towards a hardening of attitudes towards unmarried mothers. The affiliation system in London was distinctive in its failure to recover costs at a time when the poverty problem was growing in the capital. This meant that the bulk of the costs associated with illegitimacy fell upon parish rate-payers, not putative fathers. The parish paid for the high level of breakdown in plebeian courtships. It is possible that the factors that prevented couples from marrying, such as poverty and geographical mobility for work, also prevented fathers from paying. Why was the recovery rate so low in London? Poverty and mobility must have played a part. Fathers defaulted or went bankrupt, or they were servants or apprentices and could not yet afford to marry. However, some men undoubtedly abandoned their lovers. The great diversity of experiences across London was also reflected at the local level of St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, St. Saviour's, and St. Luke's, indicating, perhaps, that factors outside the control of magistrates were more important; most notably, the wealth of alleged fathers and the ability of the parish to support mothers with illegitimate children in terms of weekly allowances and the duration of maintenance. The influx of migrants into St. George the Martyr, St. Mary Newington, and St. Luke's in particular, must have made the administration of the poor law and the implementation of the affiliation system much more difficult. These were high-cost

decades for metropolitan parishes, and rising illegitimacy simply compounded urban poverty.

NOTES

1. T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61, at pp. 336–7; T. Nutt, 'Bastardy', in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain, I: Voices of the poor: poor law depositions and letters* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 127–203, at p. 127.
2. P. Slack, *Poverty and policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988), p. 124; P.A. Fideler, *Social welfare in pre-industrial England: the old Poor Law tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 97–8.
3. Slack, *Poverty and policy*, p. 130.
4. L. Gowing, 'Ordering the body: illegitimacy and female authority in seventeenth-century England', in M.J. Braddick, and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 43–62, at p. 45.
5. Except for deserted wives and children, for whom affiliation orders could also be issued.
6. Nutt, 'Paternal financial liability', p. 337.
7. M. Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 262.
8. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 336–7; T. Hitchcock and J. Black (eds), 'Introduction', *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999), pp. x–xi, at p. xi.
9. S. Williams, 'The maintenance of bastard children in London, 1790–1834', *Economic History Review*, 69:3 (2016), pp. 945–971, pp. 949–50.
10. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 52; L. Gowing, 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate: single mothers in the early modern city', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 137–52, at pp. 140–42.
11. T. Nutt, 'Bastardy', pp. 127–34; Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea settlement examinations*, pp. vii–xiii.
12. See Southwark Local Studies Library [SLSL] 4563/1–2, St. George the Martyr bastardy warrants, 1776–1832.

13. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 303–4; A. Levene, ‘Poor families, removals and “nurture” in late Old Poor Law London’, *Continuity and Change*, 25:2 (2010), pp. 233–262, at pp. 236–7; S. Williams, *Poverty, gender and life-cycle under the English poor law* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp. 107–8; A. Eccles, *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 88, 108–9; Gowing, ‘Ordering the body’, pp. 43–4; P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 59–64.
14. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 56–9.
15. Nutt, ‘The paradox and problems of illegitimate paternity in old poor law Essex’, in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 102–21; S.H. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 148.
16. SLSL 1121-2, St. George the Martyr bastardy bonds, 1628–1756; St. Mary Newington extant bastardy bonds 1659–1756. TNA on-line catalogue lists bastardy documents from Sussex from 1608. Shepard argues that the intervention of the parish authorities became more routine over the seventeenth century: A. Shepard, ‘Brokering fatherhood: illegitimacy and paternal rights and responsibilities in early modern England’, in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 41–63, at pp. 59–60.
17. www.londonlives.org, Middlesex sessions papers, LMSMP500860014, 9 Nov 1702.
18. Nutt, ‘Bastardy’, p. 128; Nutt, ‘Paradox and problems’, p. 107. King cites figures as high as 58% in Tyne and Wear: P. King, ‘The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England’, *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 125–172, at Table 1, p. 137; F. Dabhoiwala, ‘Summary justice in early modern London’, *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 796–822; D.D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the City of London in the late eighteenth century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 20–22, 117, 132–4.
19. Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, p. 338; Nutt, ‘Paradox and problems’, p. 105.
20. (1834) Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, p. 454.
21. Nutt, ‘Bastardy’, pp. 130–1.
22. SLSL, 4563/1-2, St. George the Martyr Bastardy Warrants, 1776–1832.
23. R.B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

- 1991), p. 55. And see www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes Vestry Minutes, 02/10/1703.
24. Nutt, 'Bastardy', p. 130.
25. Gowing, 'Ordering the body', p. 60.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 53. Also see A. Shepard, *Accounting for oneself: worth, status, and the social order in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 136, 138.
27. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', pp. 109, 121; Nutt, 'Bastardy', p. 131.
28. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', *passim*; Nutt, 'Bastardy'; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 105 n39.
29. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems'; Nutt, 'Bastardy'. For the seventeenth century see Gowing, 'Ordering the body', pp. 52–62 and Shepard, *Accounting for oneself*, pp. 25, 54.
30. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes parish vestry minutes, WCCDMV362060089, 9 March 1739.
31. See R. Burn, *Justice of the peace* (London, 1727), p. 45.
32. www.londonlives.org, City of London sessions papers, LMSLPS150060033, 23 March 1695.
33. www.londonlives.org, Westminster sessions papers, LMWJPS653290003, 1 July 1709, LMWJPS655090037 October 1794 www.londonlives.org/. See also <http://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=LMWJPS65509PS655090037&terms=workhouse#highlight> June 2015, Westminster Sessions.
34. SLSL 4563/1-2, Bastardy warrants [this document was tucked in with bastardy bonds], January 1817.
35. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', pp. 112–13; Nutt, 'Bastardy', cases 20–23, pp. 171–4.
36. SLSL 4563/1-2 1809.
37. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', pp. 112–13.
38. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 343–4.
39. M.A. Lyle, 'Regionality in the late old poor law: the treatment of chargeable bastards from Rural Queries', *Agricultural History Review*, 53 (2005), pp. 141–57, at p. 146; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 337.
40. Lyle, 'Regionality', p. 146; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 337.
41. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'; Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', p. 104.
42. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 346–7; Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', p. 104; Lyle, 'Regionality', p. 157.
43. The R^2 is 0.8593, but with St. Pancras and St. Marylebone excluded it is R^2 0.7532. On foundlings see Griffin, *Lost Londons*, pp. 182–3, 260, 267;

- Levene, *Childhood of the poor*, pp. 33–4, 56; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 163–4.
44. ‘Town Queries’ (P.P. 1834, XXXVI). St. George the Martyr and St. Saviour’s did not give sufficiently full answers and so their data is not included in Table 5.1. St. Mary Newington did not respond.
 45. ‘Town Queries’ (P.P. 1834, XXXVI), rates raised in 1831, bastardy recovery evidence 1832 (referring to 1827–1832).
 46. J. Black, ‘Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?’, in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy*, pp. 50–65, at p. 54; T. Evans, ‘*Unfortunate Objects*: lone mothers in eighteenth-century London’ (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 36, 40, 117–18.
 47. Evans, *Unfortunate*, pp. 36, 40, 117–19, 158; Black, ‘Putative fathers’, p. 54.
 48. See, for example, SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1843; Nutt, ‘Paternal financial responsibility’, pp. 337.
 49. SLSL 97 St. Saviour’s Overseers’ Bastardy Maintenance Book, 1818–1831; SLSL 763 St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and Overseers’ Maintenance Accounts on Affiliation Orders, 1818–1835; SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1843; P74/LUK/63, St. Luke Chelsea, bastardy cases, names of parents and children and payments made and received, 1826–1831.
 50. *Abstract to expense of the poor* (P.P. 1803–04, XIII.I), pp. 502–3, 509–10.
 51. ‘Town Queries’ (P.P. 1834, XXXVI).
 52. Data from L. Shaw Taylor and E.A. Wrigley, ESRC-funded project ‘The occupational structure of Britain 1379–1911’.
 53. ‘Appendix to the first annual report’ (P.P. 1835, XXXV), pp. 112–16.
 54. SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1836; SLSL 762 St. George the Martyr Relief and Filiation Orders, 1822–1832.
 55. SLSL 603 St. George the Martyr Register of illegitimate children, 1794–1807; SLSL 763 St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseers maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835; London Metropolitan Archives [LMA] P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington Register of bastard children, 1802–1835; SLSL 97 St. Saviour’s Overseers’ bastard maintenance book, 1818–1831.
 56. SLSL 588 St. George the Martyr, Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.
 57. LMA St. Mary Newington Register of illegitimate children, 1802–1835 and SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1843; SLSL 603 St. George the Martyr Register of Illegitimate

- children, 1794–1807 and SLSL 588 St. George the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.
58. SLSL 4563/1-2, St. George the Martyr Bastardy warrants.
59. SLSL 603 St. George the Martyr Register of illegitimate children, 1794–1807; LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington Register of bastard children, 1802–1835.
60. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes Miscellaneous Accounts Books, 11/04/1721; St. Clement Danes Vestry Minutes, 01/04/1779.
61. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes Vestry Minutes, 05/11/1767, 05/04/1768, and see also 03/02/1785 for another case of indemnity for an overseer. For similar cases in the seventeenth century see Shepard, ‘Brokering fatherhood’, pp. 53–4.
62. LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington Register of bastard children, 1802–1835.
63. SLSL 4563/1-2, St. George the Martyr Bastardy warrants.
64. <https://www.londonlives.org/static/VobeThomas1788.jsp#toc2>.
65. See, for instance, Gowing, ‘Ordering the body’, pp. 55–6; Hubbard, *City women*, pp. 88, 90–92.
66. Nutt, ‘Bastardy’, case 1, pp. 135–6.
67. F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin 2012), pp. 22, 41. See also M. Finn, ‘The Barlow Bastards: romance comes home from the Empire’, in M. Finn, M. Lobban and J. Bourne Taylor (eds), *Legitimacy and illegitimacy in nineteenth-century law, literature and history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 25–47.
68. SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington, Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1843.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, pp. 35–45; N. Rogers, ‘Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster’, *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–375, at pp. 358–61, and Table 2 p. 359; R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (London: University of Chicago, 1998), ch. 8; Black, ‘Putative fathers’, p. 54.
71. Rogers, ‘Carnal knowledge’; Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, ch. 2; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, ch. 8.
72. Black, ‘Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?’, in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy*, pp. 50–65, at p. 53.
73. In the St. Mary Newington Register of Bastard Children occupations are given in 45% of records; St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications in 75% of cases; St. George the Martry 1818–1828/35 82%; and St. Saviours 72%. There is no occupational data in the Register of bastard children for St. George the Martyr 1797–1809.

74. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 235.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
76. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, p. 52.
77. In the bastardy examinations for St. Margaret Westminster 23% of putative fathers were gentlemen 1712–19, 16% in the 1720s and 6–8% in the 1730s and 1740s, while in St. Leonard Shoreditch the figure was 6%, it was 3% in St. Botolph Aldgate, and it was just 2% in St. Luke Chelsea, c.1750–1800 (although Hitchcock and Black claim that 10% of putative fathers came from the middling sort): Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 250–1; Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea settlement examinations*, p. xviii.
78. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 251.
79. *Ibid.*; Black, 'Putative fathers', p. 63; J. Black, 'Illegitimacy, sexual relations and location in metropolitan London, 1735–85', in T. Hitchcock and H. Shore (eds.), *The streets of London: from the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram, 2003), pp. 101–18, p. 116.
80. Black, 'Putative fathers', p. 64.
81. Hitchcock and Black, *Chelsea examinations*, examination 396, pp. 125–6; Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 240–1.
82. Rogers, 'Carnal knowledge', pp. 358–9; Black, 'Putative fathers', p. 63.
83. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 239–40, 247, 251–5; Black, 'Sexual relations', pp. 107–8.
84. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 253.
85. www.londonlives.org St. Clement Danes Misc Accounts Books, for instance 13/11/1723; SLSL 588 St. George the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.
86. SLSL 860–865 St. Mary Newington, Bastardy Adjudications [orders], 1808–1836.
87. Payment of a large sum cancelled a bond; see www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes Vestry Minutes, 4 January 1776.
88. J. Hanway, *An earnest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor* (London, 1766), p. 69.
89. Hanway, *Earnest Appeal*, p. 29.
90. SLSL 603 St. George the Martyr, Register of illegitimate children, 1794–1807.
91. LMA P74/LUK/123.
92. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 246; J.S. Taylor, 'The impact of pauper settlement 1691–1834', *Past & Present*, 73 (1976), pp. 42–74, at p. 61.
93. T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61, at p. 351.

94. SLSL 603 St. George the Martyr, Register of illegitimate children, 1797–1809.
95. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes Miscellaneous Accounts Books, for instance 23/05/1720, 24/05/1720, 31/05/1720, 11/04/1721, 11/04/1721, 15/04/1721.
96. £80 in St. George the Martyr (SLSL 4580 Bastardy bonds, 1730–1830); £100 in St. Clement Danes (List of securities for the maintenance of bastard children, Registers of bastard children, 1775–1779, www.londonlives.org last accessed 29 August 2014).
97. www.londonlives.org.
98. SLSL 4563/1-2 5/1801 a, 11 July 1801.
99. SLSL 763, St. George the Martyr maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835.
100. SLSL 97, St. Saviour's Bastard maintenance Book, 1818–1831.
101. SLSL 588, St. George the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.
102. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 337; Lyle, 'Regionality', p. 146.
103. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy', pp. 155–6.
104. Hanway, *An Earnest appeal*, pp. 72–3.
105. St. Saviour's 2s. 6d. = 30, >2s. 6d. = 49, St. George the Martyr 4s. = 15, >4s. = 16.
106. Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, p. 454.
107. L.D. Schwarz, 'The standard of living in the long run: London, 1700–1860', *Economic History Review*, XXXVIII (1985), pp. 24–41; L.D. Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); E.H. Hunt, 'Industrialization and regional inequality: wages in Britain, 1760–1914', *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986), pp. 935–66; R.C. Allen and J.L. Weisdorf, 'Was there an "industrious revolution" before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c. 1300–1830', *Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), pp. 715–29. But see J. Stephenson, '"Real" wages? Contractors, workers, and pay in London building trades, 1650–1800', *Economic History Review*, early view on-line, 2017.
108. R. Burn, *Handbook for justices* (1727), p. 46.
109. *Poor law report* (P.P. 1834, XXVII), pp. 95, 116.
110. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy', ch.s 4, 5, 6.
111. *Appendix to First Annual Report* (P.P. 1835, XXXV), p. 116.
112. SLSL 588 St. George the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808; LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington register of bastard children, 1802–1835.

113. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', pp. 336–7; Nutt, 'Bastardy', p. 128.
114. SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy Adjudications.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Guildhall Library, Annual Register of Poor Children, 1767 (I would like to thank Alys Levene for her transcription of this); SLSL 764 St. George the Martyr Annual register of the parish poor children until they are apprenticed out, 1789–1805; SLSL 1619 St. Olave Annual register of the parish poor children until they are apprenticed out, 1785–1813; S. Williams, 'That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune': unmarried mothers' petitions to the Foundling Hospital and the rhetoric of need in the long eighteenth century', in A. Levene, T. Nutt, and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 86–101.
117. LMA P74/LUK/63; SLSL 764 St. George the Martyr.
118. Nutt, 'Paradox and problems', p. 104; Nutt, 'Illegitimacy', pp. 175–6; Lyle, 'Regionality', p. 145; P. Crawford, *Parents of poor children*, p. 101.
119. A. Levene, *Childhood*, pp. 16–17.
120. Hanway, *An Earnest appeal*, pp. 72–3.
121. SLSL 860-865 St. Mary Newington Bastardy adjudications [orders], 1808–1843.
122. SLSL 588 St. George the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.
123. *Poor law report* (P.P. 1834, XXVII), p. 224; Town Queries for St. George the Martyr.
124. Levene, *Childhood*, pp. 12–14, ch. 3; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 290–5.
125. It is possible that some allowance durations have been truncated due to the duration of data availability: St. George the Martyr 1792–1808 (16 years), 1818–1835 (17 years), St. Saviour's (17 years), but this is less likely for St. Mary Newington 1802–1835 (33 years). Nevertheless, there were no allowances given for longer than 14 years in St. George the Martyr or 10 years in St. Saviour's.
126. SLSL 763, St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseers maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835.
127. SLSL 97 St. Saviour's Overseers' bastard maintenance book, 1818–1831.
128. SLSL 763 St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseers maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–1835.
129. LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington, Register of Bastard Children, 1802–1835; P74/LUK/63.

130. Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility', p. 337; Lyle, 'Regionality', p. 144.
131. SLSL 4563/1-2, St. George the Martyr bastardy warrants.
132. LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington, Register of Bastard Children, 1802-1835.
133. SLSL 763 St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseers maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818-1835; LMA P92/MRY/357 St. Mary Newington Register of bastard children, 1802-1835.
134. SLSL 763 St. George the Martyr Churchwardens and overseers maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818-1835.
135. SLSL 588 St. Geo the Martyr Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792-1808.
136. www.londonlives.org, St. Clement Danes List of securities for the maintenance of bastard children, 10 December 1776.
137. A.-M. Kilday, *A history of infanticide in Britain c.1600 to the present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 162.
138. U.R.Q. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103-29, at p. 125.
139. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy and the poor law', ch. 4, and especially pp. 181-4, 187-90.
140. B. Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 198.
141. P.P. XXXVIII, 1837-8, 'Return to the House of Commons of the Number of Affiliations made under the provisions of 4 & 5 Will. IV, c.76, s.72, at each Sessions of the Peace in England and Wales subsequent to the said Act etc', pp. 413-42.
142. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', p. 121; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'. And see PP 1837-8 XXXVIII.
143. PP 1837-8 XXXVIII, p. 420.
144. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy and the poor law', p. 191.
145. There has been a focus on particular groups of inmates within the literature on workhouse populations, such as the elderly and children, but far less is known about unmarried mothers. This is in large part due to the sources allowing for relatively easy analysis of the age and sex profiles of inmates, but not for the marital status or illegitimacy of paupers (which is not necessarily given in the records).
146. J.R. Gillis, *For better, for worse: British marriage, 1600 to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 24, 367-8 n52.



CHAPTER 6

Punishment

The parents of illegitimate children were liable to punishment by the church courts, as a spiritual sin, and the secular courts, as an offence against order.¹ Under canon law, church courts could hear sexual offences—‘incontinence’ presentments—including fornication and associated cohabitation and bastardy. The pregnancies of single, deserted and widowed women could rarely evade detection in London as elsewhere.² Bastardy cases, of all forms of sexual offences, were the most likely to be reported by the churchwardens to the ecclesiastical authorities.³ Unmarried parents were also punished by J.P.s, either by whipping or commitment to a house of correction under the bastardy laws.⁴ With the decline of the church courts with the Civil War, prosecutions for bastardy were taken up in greater numbers by the secular courts.⁵ Dabhoiwala has argued that the decline of moral policing and the punishment of illicit sexuality from the early eighteenth century, particularly in London, was one factor in the ‘first sexual revolution’ that he locates as flourishing from the later eighteenth century.⁶ This chapter explores the trends in punishment in the ecclesiastical and magistrates’ courts between the seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries, in terms of numbers prosecuted and the range of offences for which they were convicted. The extent to which the decline in punishment heralded a sexual revolution might still be debatable, but the decline in punishment was certainly evident in London.

To date there has been little quantitative research on the regularity with which men and women were brought before the London church courts,

although Dabhoiwala argues that ‘large numbers ... must have been dealt with by the capital’s ... church courts’⁷ and initial research by Fox and Ingram also suggests that ‘large numbers’ of bastardy cases were reported in the early seventeenth century, but that many of those presented either absconded or failed to appear and were therefore excommunicated.⁸ The Civil War severely weakened the authority of the ecclesiastical courts. They were suspended in 1641 and not restored until 1661.⁹ Although the Consistory Court of London returned to prosecuting cases of fornication and bastardy, far more bastardy cases were prosecuted at quarter sessions; after the Act of Toleration in 1689, ecclesiastical cases were largely restricted to those for defamation.¹⁰

SECULAR PUNISHMENT

The Act of 1576 not only sought to relieve the parish of the cost of chargeable bastards by placing their parents under legal orders to do so but, argues Nutt, the payment was also intended to act as a punishment.¹¹ The failure of both parents to maintain their child could result in much worse—commitment to gaol.¹² The Bastardy Act of 1610 was even more severe in the punishment it intended for unmarried mothers, who could be committed to a house of correction for one year.¹³ Second offenders were not to be discharged from the house until they had provided sureties for their good behaviour.¹⁴ Two justices of the peace could convict unwed parents summarily without a jury and without referring the case to quarter sessions.¹⁵ In the City of London committals could also be made by constables and other officers.¹⁶ Putative fathers might be bound over by recognizance for good behaviour and to appear in court and receive orders for the maintenance of the child, while those who could not pay surety might be held in a house of correction.¹⁷ Parents could be committed to a house of correction to await trial at sessions.¹⁸

In his seventeenth-century manual Michael Dalton instructed justices:

Every lewd woman which shall have a bastard, which may be chargeable to the Parish, the Justices of Peace shall commit such woman unto the house of correction, there to be punished daily, for therefore she is sent thither (as I conceive) and set on work for one year, and to live of her own labour.¹⁹

This was to be ‘after the childe be born, and that it be living; for it must be such a childe as may be chargeable to the Parish’.²⁰ A later manual of

the early seventeenth century by Richard Burn stated that mothers could only be punished after the birth of the child, in case of miscarriage.²¹ Both Dalton and Burn wrote that the child was not supposed to go with her to the house of correction but should be supported either by the labour of its mother or by its reputed father, but in practice, he said, infants, especially those where the 'Child sucketh on the mother', did go with them.²² In the early nineteenth century in Southwark infants inside the house of correction were breastfed by their mothers or were fed a pap of bread and sugar.²³ In other cases the parish maintained the child, and churchwardens and inhabitants might even petition the justices to release the mother to care for her child. In these circumstances magistrates ordered her to be whipped and discharged.²⁴ Commitment to a house of correction might also depend upon the settlement status of the mother. Under the 1744 Vagrancy Act section 25 a magistrate could commit a chargeable woman who had given birth in a parish that was not her own to a house of correction until the next quarter sessions after which they might be further detained.²⁵ The establishment of houses of correction offered justices an alternative to whipping, although inmates might be whipped.²⁶ Mothers were supposed to be either whipped or gaoled, although Gowing argues that in practice both punishments were often used.²⁷

The parents of chargeable bastard children were variously punished by magistrates in London in the seventeenth century. Fox and Ingram have found instances of the Westminster Court of Burgesses carting, whipping, and banishing unmarried parents in the period 1610–1616, while with regard to the Westminster quarter sessions, Middlesex quarter sessions, and City of London sessions, 'issues of bastardy and paternity are a regular feature of their business in the early seventeenth century'.²⁸ For instance, in 1613 Joan Lea was ordered by the Middlesex justices to be 'openly whipte at a cartes tayle in St. Johns Streete vpon Saturday next vntill her body be all bloodye'.²⁹ The threat of commitment to Bridewell was also used in order to get women to leave the parish, such as in St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1619 where 'the churchwardens threatning her to have her punished shee toke her goods & her child & went into the p[ar]lish of St. Georgeis & sie I hard noe more of her'.³⁰ Whipping declined in the eighteenth century; the justices' notebooks of Henry Norris and William Hunt in the first half of the eighteenth century did not record any instances of the parents of bastard children being whipped.³¹

Houses of correction were established from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as places for the punishing and setting to work of

poor people who had committed petty offences. The statute 7 Jac. 1 c. 4 (1609) authorised the creation of houses of correction for the punishment of 'rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and other idle and disorderly persons'.³² The first was Bridewell Hospital in the City of London (1553), located on the banks of the Fleet River in the City of London. There followed the foundation of a national network of urban and county houses (generically termed 'bridewells') between 1575 and 1630, followed by a second wave of establishments between 1690 and 1720.³³ The Middlesex house of correction at Clerkenwell opened in 1616 and was rebuilt in 1774–1775. In 1794 it was replaced by Cold Bath Fields house of correction. It held many more prisoners than the county gaol, New Prison, often more than one hundred at a time.³⁴ The Westminster house, Tothill Fields, St. Margaret's parish, was built in 1618 and enlarged in 1655. Above the gateway was written, 'Here are several sorts of work for the poor of this parish of St. Margaret's Westminster. As also this county according to law and for such as will beg and live idle in the said City and Liberty of Westminster'. In 1776, when the Gatehouse Prison closed, Tothill Fields became a gaol. In 1777 there were 110 prisoners inside.³⁵ Southwark house of correction, on the White Lion or Hangman's Acre in St. George's Fields, had belonged to Surrey since 1654. It was rebuilt in 1773 and remained in use until 1798 when its inmates were moved to Horsemonger Lane Gaol.³⁶ Kingston house of correction opened in 1762 and one in Brixton in 1819.³⁷ Summary justice was used particularly heavily by justices in the metropolis and commitment to a house of correction was the severest form of summary punishment used in London.³⁸ Commitments to the Middlesex and Westminster houses increased by 86 per cent between 1680 and 1725 and the rise was even greater in the Middlesex house at Clerkenwell, at 165 per cent over the period 1660–1725.³⁹ In contrast, use of houses of correction in the punishment of petty crime declined from mid-century and houses were increasingly used to accommodate more serious offenders.⁴⁰ There was a distinct geography of summary justice and committals to the houses of correction based on proximity, particularly for the Middlesex house of correction, with far more committals to the Clerkenwell house of correction from the western and northern urban parishes than those in the east end.⁴¹

This chapter takes a three-pronged approach to examining the secular punishment of unmarried parents: committals to Bridewell and the Westminster and Middlesex houses of correction for bastardy offences from the 1560s to the 1770s;⁴² an estimation of the number of fathers

recorded as gaoled in the bastardy books of Southwark and Lambeth (for details of the bastardy books see Chap. 5); and an examination of the views expressed by parochial officials on the punishment of unmarried parents in their responses to the Town Queries of 1834.⁴³ Such methods provide insight on punishment over a long chronology and from different sources of evidence, revealing that both mothers and fathers of bastard children spent some time in these 'bridewells', and that unmarried fathers were also committed to New Prison and the Gatehouse, the gaols for Middlesex and Westminster. Furthermore, there were significant differences in the number of unmarried mothers and putative fathers committed to the different houses. There was a sharp decline in the number of illegitimacy cases from as early as the 1610s. Nevertheless, the threat of imprisonment or commitment to the local house of correction was used by parish overseers to extract maintenance or to make an example of an unmarried mother.

TRENDS IN COMMITMENTS

Bastardy offences prosecuted at Bridewell declined sharply after 1610, as did cases of fornication, and slightly later, prostitution, incontinent living, and lewd behaviour (see Fig. 6.1).⁴⁴ Archer found that all sexual offences declined as a proportion of convictions from a high point of 60.25 per cent in 1576–1577 to 32.7 per cent in 1600–1601 and Griffiths notes the continuation of this contraction to a low point of 3.3 per cent for bastardy in 1648–1652.⁴⁵ 'Sex', he argues, 'was disappearing from the court-books'.⁴⁶ Moreover, there is little evidence that sexual cases were re-routed to the wardmotes, City quarter sessions or the church courts, but instead City policy shifted to dealing with the problems associated with City growth: 'keeping watch on the streets, night lights, hygiene, tatty buildings, and the seemingly never-ending downpour of inmates'.⁴⁷ Cases totalled fewer than ten in the periods 1643–1647, 1648–1652 and 1653–1657 and this low number of prosecutions largely continued, remaining under ten except for 1695–1699 (totalling 27), with just one case in 1740–1749 and none thereafter.⁴⁸

Punishment in the other metropolitan houses of correction for bastardy offences was also rare at the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. Indeed, finding bastardy cases is like looking for a needle in a haystack; hundreds of inmates are listed in every calendar but very few were committed for bastardy offences. Shoemaker found that poor law cases (bastardy as well as failure to support a wife and/or chil-

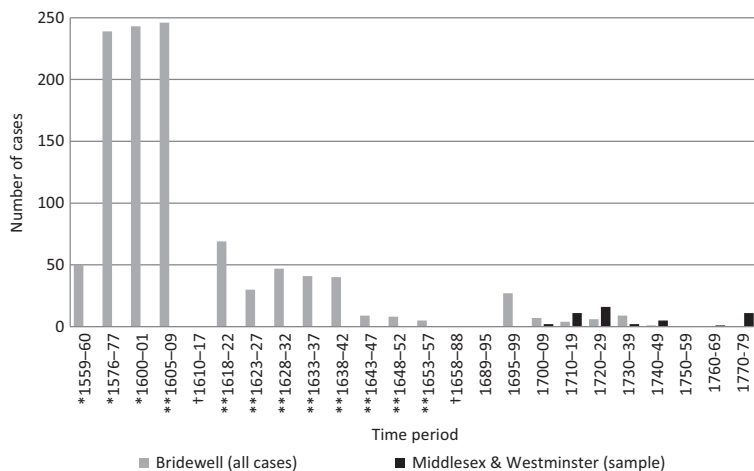


Fig. 6.1 Committals to Bridewell, Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction for bastardy, 1559–1779.

Source: † No data; * I. Archer: ‘fornication/adultery’, *The Pursuit of Stability Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Table 6.1 p. 239; ** P. Griffiths: ‘bastardy’, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Table 2a, p. 451; LMA MJ/SR/1940–1958, 2143–2160, 2180–2194, 2340–2356, 2360, 2526–2546, 2556, 2561, 2566, 2728–2746, 2932–2950, 3095–3108, 3221–3236, Sessions papers, House of correction calendars, 1700–1770

dren and settlement offences) accounted for just 1.2 per cent of a sample of committals to the Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction between 1670 and 1721. There were two cases in 1670–1680, ten in 1693/1697, twenty-one in 1712, and eighteen in 1721.⁴⁹ More specifically, Fig. 6.1 shows the very small numbers of men and women in the Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction for bastardy offences in the eighteenth century, fluctuating between none and sixteen. Outside London, the number of commitments to houses of corrections in Wiltshire and Essex was also small, though, in contrast, in the county houses of correction of Gloucestershire 1790–1810 there were 277 commitments for bastardy, which placed this cause for commitment as sixth, after breach of contract of service, vagrancy, petty theft, suspicion of felony, and to await trial.⁵⁰ Eccles reports resort to the 1744 Vagrancy Act for women ‘lying in Upon the Road’: Lancashire and Dorset committed a high proportion of

women, while Cambridgeshire did not. Lancashire and Hampshire ordered women to be whipped.⁵¹ Regional disparities in the punishment of bastardy are clearly evident, but the metropolitan pattern of low prosecution rates was not completely atypical. Dabhoiwala argues that the decline in sexual policing contributed to the 'first sexual revolution' in the eighteenth century.⁵² The decline located in this evidence was a century earlier than that suggested by Dabhoiwala; the difference due, perhaps, to this book's focus on illegitimacy rather than all sexual crimes, and particularly prostitution.

TYPES OF BASTARDY OFFENCES: BRIDEWELL

The cases resulting in summary punishment in Bridewell in the eighteenth century fell into five broad, and sometimes overlapping, categories: mothers committed for having a bastard child, some of whom refused to name the father, while others were also prostitutes; fathers committed for 'begetting a bastard child', and, frequently (but not invariably), for lack of sureties; women for lying about the identity of the father; women for naming a man the father of a bastard child for the purposes of blackmail and fraud; and those accused of 'dropping' (abandoning) a bastard child.

The largest number of those committed for bastardy and bastardy-related offences to Bridewell 1690–1749 were unmarried mothers (30 or 55 per cent). Mothers could be charged with having an illegitimate child under the 1576 statute, such as Elizabeth Bishopp, '[s]he confessing to have lately had a Bastard child'.⁵³ A further offence was the child becoming chargeable to the parish, such as Ann Hall alias Ambler, who was 'charged by the Church Wardens of St. Buttolph Aldersgate for haveing her Bastard Child past upon the said parish where it was borne'. She was ordered to 'find Security to Indemnifye the said parish from the Charge of the said Child'.⁵⁴ In another case, Frances Mumford was charged in March 1735 by the 'overseer of the poor of the parish of St. Andrew Holborn London for being brought to bed of a male bastard child in the said Parish and become a Charge thereto, and being a disorderly idle person'.⁵⁵ Cases of being 'idle', 'disorderly', or 'loose, idle, and disorderly' were common in committals to houses of correction; using the language in the statute 7 Jac. 1 c. 4, more than one-fifth of the commitments to the Middlesex and Westminster houses in the early eighteenth century state only that the defendant was accused of being 'idle', 'disorderly', or 'loose, idle, and disorderly': offences which were broadly defined but often related

to vagrancy, theft, prostitution, and offences against the peace.⁵⁶ Prostitution was specified alongside having a bastard in just three of the Bridewell cases. Anne Moor, alias Harris, was 'charged to be a Comon Whore and to have had a Bastard by Wm: Hewett as by her own confession'.⁵⁷ In the other two cases which mentioned prostitution, one concerned lying about the identity of the father and the other 'dropping' a bastard child in the street; both of these categories of offence are discussed further below.

Of the thirty cases where women were charged, nine had refused to name the putative father, such as Elizabeth Prefrey, charged for 'being with child of a Bastard and refusing to discover the father thereof'.⁵⁸ Almost all of the bastardy cases mention only a single illegitimate child, but Frances Rycroft, alias Peate, was charged by Elizabeth Peate for 'having had two Bastard children by her Husband' and Katherine Busrine had had three bastard children and was 'bigg with anstnr and refuseth to tell who is the father'.⁵⁹ Mary Adresse not only refused 'to give an Acct. of ye. Father' but she committed a settlement offence against St. Sepulchre by 'bringing into ye sd. Parish her Bastard child'.⁶⁰ In a further nine cases (17 per cent) charges were brought for 'dropping' illegitimate children. Elizabeth Stringar was in Bridewell in October 1736 for abandoning her child and leaving it chargeable. The churchwarden of Allhallows charged her 'for unlawfully leaving her male Bastard Child charge on the said parish been on her body there and for refusing and neglecting to maintain or provide for the same and being disorderly idle person'.⁶¹ As mentioned above, Ann Ward was charged both with dropping a child and being a prostitute, being brought before Bridewell's governors 'on suspicion of dropping a Male Bastard Child in the parish of St. Maguns by London Bridge she being a Comon Night walker and a loose idle and disorderly person'.⁶²

Men were brought before the governors for fathering bastard children, or they used the court to their own advantage to defend themselves against accusations of illegitimate paternity. Just three men (five per cent) were charged with fathering a bastard; this is in marked contrast to the 29 women who were charged with having a bastard child, and would appear to suggest a sexual double standard in the punishment of unmarried parents.⁶³ All three men were committed 'for want of sureties', indicating that the charge was motivated as much as from the economic imperative of indemnifying the parish as any moral ones. In the first case, in 1698, William Godden was charged on oath by Joan Sadler 'For begetting her

wth. Child of a Bastard wth. when born is likely to be a charge to the parish of St. Margt. Westmr'.⁶⁴ In the other two instances, overseers of the poor brought the cases, and again the child was likely to become chargeable, such as that against Frar Lessall, charged by the overseers of St. Botolph Billingsgate, for 'begetting Meriam Petit (single woman) with child of a female Bastard child chargeable to the said Parish'.⁶⁵

Other men used the court of Bridewell to defend themselves against such accusations, as they did in the many defamation cases heard in the seventeenth-century church courts.⁶⁶ As Shepard suggests, this might well have been a strategic attempt to deflect claims for maintenance, but charges of illegitimate paternity could also have a damaging impact on men's reputations—not just in terms of their social status and reputation, but also their relationships with parents and kin, and their credibility in court, while offices, livelihoods and inheritances could be at stake.⁶⁷ There were nine cases (17 per cent) at Bridewell where men defended themselves against women's accusations of fathering illegitimate children. Deborah Burgess was charged in 1698 by Edward Burt (a gentleman at the Registers Office on Tower Hill) 'for laying a Female Child to him', Alice Williams was charged by Thomas Troughton 'for laying a Female Bastard Child to him and giving him day by disturbance about it', and Mary Coulthroppe was charged by Abraham Rootlidge '[f]or being an idle person and suspected to have falsely charged him wth. begetting her of a Bastard Child'.⁶⁸ Alice Roberts pretended to be pregnant with an illegitimate child until she was found out 'on Examination by a midwife was not soe'.⁶⁹ As mentioned above, in one case a woman charged with making such an accusation and for being a prostitute: Eleanor Harvey was charged by Mr John Goodall 'for being a whore and charging him for being the father of a Bastard Child born of her body in St. Andrew Holborne'.⁷⁰ Accusations of prostitution would have discredited her story. Despite the fact that Elizabeth Wilks had had one illegitimate child by 'One Trinquan' before, she was still charged 'for laying a bastard child to him'.⁷¹

Women were also charged with making false accusations of paternity in order to blackmail and defraud men: there were four such cases (7 per cent of committals). Rebecca Blackwell, for instance, was charged by 'Geo. Senosick Venetian for laying a Bastard child to him wth. he knows no thing of and offering to cleare him of the charge for five guynes'.⁷² Mary Dunn was charged with accusing Thomas Cole with being the father of another woman's child and 'falsly pretending the child was a Bastard child', while both Mary Howard and Deborah Jones tried to extort money

from men ‘under pretence of swearing a Bastard Child’ upon each of them.⁷³ Griffiths also found such cases in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁷⁴

TYPES OF BASTARDY OFFENCES: WESTMINSTER AND MIDDLESEX

That far more women than men were committed to Bridewell for bastardy offences is in stark contrast to the Westminster and Middlesex houses of correction and gaols. Of a sample of calendars between 1700 and 1770 there were far more fathers committed for bastardy than mothers, which undermines any general notion of the sexual double standard with regard to punishment.⁷⁵ Bastardy cases fell into the same five categories identified for Bridewell.⁷⁶ Fathers were also committed to New Prison and the Gatehouse, the gaols for Middlesex and Westminster.⁷⁷ Benjamin Lucas, for example, was ‘com^d by B. Tillard Esq^r [to New Prison] charged on oath & his own confession of begetting Eliz: Valsan with child of a bastard child which was born in the hamlet of Spittle Fields & which has been & is chargeable to the said hamlet & refusing to give sufficient security Dat[e] the 5th [January 1720]’.⁷⁸ New Prison was smaller than the Middlesex house of correction; it was intended to hold prisoners awaiting trial in Middlesex, those accused of petty and serious crimes. The Gatehouse also held those accused of felonies and petty offences who were awaiting trial in [Westminster](#), as well as some state prisoners, due to the presence of the royal palace and Parliament nearby.⁷⁹ While just eight mothers were committed for bastardy offences, thirty-one fathers were. In fourteen of the cases of fathers, the men were committed for begetting a bastard child and for want of sureties, such as in 1712 when the churchwardens and overseers of St. Mary Whitechapel brought a case against George Stayton, alias Stoton, ‘with begetting Sarah Stiles Singlewoman with a Bastard child and for want of sureties to Indemnify the s^d parish’.⁸⁰ In the other cases the lack of sureties was not mentioned, although presumably that was why they were committed.

Fathers were committed in almost every sample decade, but the eight mothers were committed only in 1720, 1730, and 1770. Mary Davis was committed by the justice R. Dennet Esquire on the complaint of the churchwardens and overseers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, ‘appearing to be a loose Idle & Disorderly person and Bigg with Child or Children

supposed to be a Bastard or Bastards and refusing to give any Account of the father thereof or the place of her Legall Settlement and having behaved herself in a rude and Disorderly manner before me and affronted me in the Execocon'.⁸¹ Four cases were brought by parish overseers, while in one instance, Isabella Hatchfield was committed on the oath of Charles Hambleton, Jane Brown, Alice Browne, and Sarah Rutt for being a Comon Lewd woman & Seducing one George Gurley to keep her Company in a Lewd manner and having Severall Confessed she hath had lately a Bastard by him the said Gurley and writing very Immodest and Impudent Letters to the said Gurley to Seduce him to leave his wife and family by which the said Gurleys wife is in a poor & almost distracted Condition.⁸²

It was shown in Chap. 4 that the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, sent unmarried mothers from their workhouses to the Tothill Fields houses of correction in the 1720s and 1730s. Eccles found that magistrates could be sympathetic. Mary Burgen, for instance, gave birth to an illegitimate child in Little Sheir Lane in St. Clement Danes in 1749. After her month's lying-in she was taken before William Jones Esq. under the 1744 Vagrancy Act. After checking that the parish did not object, he wrote to the court, 'I shall be glad if you will discharge her tomorrow and not let her be confined till the day of Gaol Delivery'.⁸³ In another case, Tam Doland had been in Clerkenwell Bridewell since April 1764 as an 'incorrigible rogue'. When she was heavily pregnant, combined with becoming infirm though her imprisonment, the bench decided that 'her continuing longer in Prison in that Situation may be of ill Consequence to her in her Health' and to order her release.⁸⁴

Numbers committed for the other offences were very small: just two women were charged with falsely naming men as the fathers of bastards and, as at Bridewell's court, defendants were charged with naming men as fathers for extortion (four cases).⁸⁵ There were just two cases of dropping a child. In 1731 Ann Willcox allowed and assisted James Healey to drop a male bastard child in St. Margaret's Westminster, leaving the child chargeable, while in 1740 Christian Bayley was charged with 'Bringing & Dropping 3 Bastard Children (to wit) Sarah Hadley aged 7 years, Mary aged 5 years & Robert Hadley aged 2 years w:th are now a Charge'.⁸⁶ City of London sessions papers also contain cases of dropping of bastard children.⁸⁷ There were also slight differences between the Bridewell and the

Westminster and Middlesex cases for extortion—whereas only women were charged with extortion in Bridewell, in the other two houses one woman alone was charged, but in two cases a man and a woman were charged together, while in the last case four people, including Charles Durbott, were accused of falsely charging a man ‘to have begotten a bastard child’ to extort a ‘considerable sum of money’.⁸⁸

PUNISHMENT AND CONDITIONS INSIDE

The fates of those in Bridewell were determined by the governors. Inmates could be discharged, whipped or set to hard labour, usually beating hemp, as Moll Hackabout was in William Hogarth’s *A Harlot’s Progress* (1732), to continue resident in the house, to be re-examined, or to be removed back to their parish of settlement.⁸⁹ For many unmarried parents committed to Bridewell did not merely mean a nasty but short stay; unwed parents were also frequently punished, either by whipping or by being set to hard labour. Of the mothers, eight (26 per cent) were sentenced ‘to labour’ or ‘to be kept to labour’ and all three of the fathers of bastard children were set to labour, the last, Frar Lessall, ‘till he give security’.⁹⁰ Mary Cannon was ‘Cont to Labor & to eat no more than she Earns’.⁹¹ Thus, although far more women were charged than men, both could face a period of hard labour. However, only mothers were whipped: four mothers faced this punishment (13 per cent), such as Ann Pigott, who was not only whipped but also passed back to her parish of settlement, St. Olaves Hart Street, since she had been delivered of her bastard child there despite having ‘been legally past away’.⁹² However, the majority of unmarried mothers (16 or 53 per cent) were simply discharged from Bridewell when the governors met. For them, Bridewell was an unpleasant, but short, incarceration.

There was a similar range of fates for those accused of other offences. Of the four women charged with falsely naming fathers with the intent of blackmail and fraud, Mary Dunn was set to labour, Deborah Jones was continued on labour, Rebecca Blackwell was whipped, and only Mary Howard was not punished, instead being passed back to her place of settlement, Islington.⁹³ Of those committed for lying about the identity of the father, two were discharged, three set to hard labour, two whipped, and two referred to Sir Robert Gefferey, one of the governors, while Margaret Wallis was sent to Newgate ‘for falsless chargeing of one John House wth a bastard Child’.⁹⁴ The last category of offence was dropping

an illegitimate child. Most were simply discharged (seven), while just one woman was continued to labour and another, Elizabeth Neale, was whipped, perhaps because it was not her own bastard child but that belonging to Dorothy Smart.⁹⁵

Most inmates of the Westminster and Middlesex houses of correction were committed by a magistrate for an unspecified period but were usually discharged within a few days. Over half of prisoners left within a week.⁹⁶ Many were discharged by the same justice who committed them, either because they were able to find sureties or because their friends, parish officers or even plaintiffs testified to their good character. Houses of correction were also emptied at regular court sessions.⁹⁷ The length of stay in the houses of correction and gaols can be difficult to ascertain. In the 47 bastardy cases found here length of stay was rarely given. It is likely that fathers were imprisoned only until they provided sureties. The most important group to establish length of stay is the mothers, since the law stated that they should be committed for one year. As we have seen, this was not the case in Bridewell, and it was not necessarily the case in the Westminster and Middlesex houses either. Of the eight mothers committed to the house, three were discharged, there was no information for four mothers, but in May 1770 Mary Turmney was indeed committed 'for one Whole Year'.⁹⁸ However, the source is such that it would be very difficult indeed to find out whether she really did stay for a whole year.

Conditions within houses of correction could be harsh and squalid, particularly in the early eighteenth century before the reforms that were implemented towards the end of the century, when bedding and medical care were improved and regular inspections introduced.⁹⁹ In the early eighteenth century, half of all prisoners in London houses of correction were whipped and most were put to hard labour, beating hemp, for eleven hours a day using a beetle weighing about twelve pounds, or picking oakum, usually for a few days or weeks. Poor prisoners were allowed a pound of bread and water at county expense, but nothing else unless they earned it.¹⁰⁰ Ironically given the high proportion of prisoners committed for sexual offences, male and female inmates were not separated but lived in a 'scene of debauchery'.¹⁰¹ There were complaints by prisoners and others about overcrowding, disease and mistreatment by keepers in houses of correction.¹⁰² In the Clerkenwell house inmates slept on the floor on the open wards or paid extra for beds in the close wards.¹⁰³ Prisoners were expected to pay discharge fees of up to 6s. 2d., although in 1720 five-sixths of inmates could not pay and were held up to two weeks longer in

the hope that they would produce the money. In practice prisoners paid 1-2s.¹⁰⁴ Bridewell provided rather better medical facilities—with a surgeon, a physician and infirmaries—and the prisoners were regularly inspected for disease.¹⁰⁵ The 1774 Health of Prisoners Act required prisons to set up sick wards and employ surgeons. In the late eighteenth century whipping for women was abolished and the whipping and/or putting in irons of men was restricted. Magistrates preferred restricted diet and segregation as punishments.¹⁰⁶

PUNISHMENT IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The calendars for Bridewell and the Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields houses of correction reveal very low levels of incarceration of unmarried parents. Bastardy books from early nineteenth-century Southwark and Lambeth suggest higher levels south of the river at a slightly later date. This source provided evidence only about whether putative fathers, and not mothers, were gaoled in Kingston or Brixton houses of correction. Kingston house of correction opened in 1762 in Wheelbarrow Court. In 1823 it was reported that there had been 1840 commitments to the house in the period 1820–1823. By mid-century there was a governor, surgeon, chaplain, matron, secretary and five turnkeys.¹⁰⁷ In 1818 justices of the peace decided to enlarge the prison at Kingston and build a new house of correction at Brixton, which was opened in 1819. In 1824 there were 142 inmates, four-fifths of whom were men. As in Kingston, there was a regime of high turnover and short stays, with 1840 commitments in the period 1820–1823.¹⁰⁸ It acquired the first treadmill in London in 1821. There were ten treadmills with 24 steps each which could accommodate six men at a time, taking 48 steps per minute, for ten hours a day. They were connected to the mill-house that ground corn. Seven visiting magistrates reported that ‘no injurious effects have been experienced that can be attributed to the labour on the Tread Mill’.¹⁰⁹

One-fifth of fathers issued with affiliation orders in St. George the Martyr, Southwark, 1822–1832, were sent to Brixton or Kingston houses of correction either for want of sureties (20 per cent) or for refusal to pay lying-in costs and/or weekly maintenance sums (80 per cent).¹¹⁰ The standard sentence was three months, and men were put on the treadmill. These sentences were often effective in either getting the men to pay up (eight men) or to marry the mothers of their children (three men) or both (John Baugust). In 1824 David Byron was committed to the house

of correction in Brixton for refusal to pay the bastardy expenses for his child Alfred with Susannah Turell. But he 'got sick of the mill & paid the bill'. However, he fled to America leaving five illegitimate children behind him 'so they say'.¹¹¹ The mill had the same effect on Michael Connor, David Edwards and James Forrist.¹¹² William Perring Mehew did not pay up for his three children but instead he 'ran away'.¹¹³ Friends rallied around men locked up for such debts: when William Pegg was committed to Brixton house on 18 July 1827 for want of sureties, 'in the evening a friend called & paid', and when Thomas Carcy could not pay 10s. expenses he had to suffer 14 days in the house of correction before a friend paid the sum on his behalf.¹¹⁴

Evidence on the punishment of unmarried mothers in London is also available for the early nineteenth century from the Town Queries of 1834. Question 58 asked, '[I]s the existing Law for the Punishment of the Mother whose Bastard Child becomes chargeable often executed for the first or for the second Offence?' and question 60 asked, 'Can you suggest any and what Change in the Laws respecting Bastardy?' Of the 156 metropolitan respondents to the questionnaire,¹¹⁵ 18 parish officials (11.5 per cent) answered that they knew of cases where mothers had been punished. Nevertheless, even in these positive cases, punishment was usually only inflicted in the second offence or extremely infrequently. In Edgware, for instance, there was an instance of punishment but 'once within this hundred during the last 20 years', while in Paddington the vestry clerk knew of only one instance of punishment. Ten parishes responded that mothers were punished only for the second offence. Unfortunately the respondents did not indicate how many women this applied to, although St. Sepulchre commented that, 'The existing law is never executed for the first and very rarely for the second offence'. St. Mary Woolnoth was more forthcoming: 'We seldom punish the Mother for the first offence, but in one or two instances have punished her for the second'. Richard Smith, of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, described one particular case:

I have been Vestry Clerk for 25 years, and recollect but one instance in which the Mother was punished; and that was in a strong case, where a woman of bad character had burdened the Parish with 3 or 4 Bastards where little or nothing could be recovered from the Fathers.

Her committal had as much to do with the inability of the parish to recover the costs as with her repeated moral 'offences'. Bad behaviour was

also given for the reason for punishment by St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Botolph without Aldergate, St. Marylebone, and by a second respondent in St. Sepulchre. The rector of St. Marylebone commented that, '[t]he law is not enforced on the first offence, nor sometimes the second, but in cases of gross misconduct'. The assistant overseer of St. Sepulchre wrote that 'only one woman has been punished since I have been in office (3½ years), and her punishment was so slight that she begged it might continue; she had had eight bastard children, four of whom were chargeable to this parish'. The assistant overseers' comment that her punishment was 'slight' suggests only a short stay in the house of correction and perhaps a welcome break from caring for eight children.

There could be conflict between different actors in the legal process. Many of the parish respondents complained that it was the magistrates, rather than the parish officials, who were at fault for the lack of punishment of unmarried mothers. The vestry clerk of St. Dunstan in the West stated, '[t]he Magistrates will never punish the mother, even after three instances of bastardy in the same woman'. When asked how the bastardy laws might be improved he answered, '[t]here is great room for alteration in the laws of bastardy; we find it an increasing evil in this parish, as there is no check for the repetition'. The respondents for Westminster, St. George, Hanover Square, complained that 'the Magistrates always appear disinclined to put the law in force', for Fulham that, '[m]agistrates seem rather unwilling to assist the Overseers in this respect' and for St. Dunstan in the West that, '[t]he Magistrates will never punish the mother'. Bethnal Green, St. Matthew, stated that, '[w]e know of no instance where the Magistrates have exercised their discretional power by punishing the mother of two and even three or four bastard children'. Ratcliffe Hamlet, St. Dunstan Stepney, replied that, 'the existing law for the punishment of the mother is sufficiently lenient, but even that is seldom or never put into force'. The clerk to the churchwarden and overseers in Westminster, St. Martin in the Fields, answered that, '[t]he Magistrates are too humane to commit'. These answers suggest that some parish officers would have favoured punishment but were thwarted by justices.

However, other parish respondents did not feel that the punishment of mothers was efficacious. The vestry clerk of Poplar All Saints wrote, '[t]he law is not enforced, as we consider, if such a course was adopted, the only sufferer would be the parish' since the parish would become responsible for the care of the infant while the mother was in the house of correction. The respondent in Bromley, St. Leonard was explicit about this, writing

that, 'as for punishing the mother, it would be punishing the parish, as we must put the child in the workhouse, where it would cost double that sum'. Two other parishes had moral objections rather than economic ones. The respondent for St. Andrew by the Wardrobe wrote that, '[t]he punishment is never inflicted; it might have unwholesome effect if it was', while St. Vedast Foster and St. Faith the Virgin answered that, '[i]t is apprehended that too great severity would induce Child-murder'.

Question 58 asked about punishment of the mother but not the father, so little is known about the extent of gaoling of fathers in the affiliation process. However, Poplar All Saints did also comment on the punishment of the fathers, replying that, '[w]hen apprehended before the birth the usual course is to have them committed, or make them find bail for their appearance at the sessions'.

CONCLUSION

Once again, chargeable bastardy in London can be seen to have been distinctive in two regards. Firstly, despite ecclesiastical and secular law, punishment for bastardy through penance, whipping or incarceration in a house of correction contracted sharply in the earliest years of the seventeenth century, and the number of cases remained low throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This warns against any assumption that law and practice were aligned. Even when summary justice expanded in the capital, it contracted for bastardy offences. The decline of sexual policing was a result not only of the rapid expansion of the metropolis and its suburbs but continued with the upheaval of the Civil War, over the Interregnum and beyond. The decline in public punishment for bastardy in the metropolis commenced more than a century earlier (1620s) than that for all sexual offences, as argued for by Dabhoiwala (1730s). This evidence destabilises his thesis of the timing of a 'sexual revolution' somewhat, but there must have been some loosening of sexual attitudes in the capital with low punishment rates and a reduction in sexual policing, plus mass migration into the city. To some extent parish officers and magistrates took on the role of the surveillance of single women's bodies, as was shown in St. Martin in the Fields in Chap. 3, although here, too, illegitimacy continued to rise.

Secondly, gender was important but uneven in the construction of criminal chargeable bastardy. By the eighteenth century Bridewell and the Middlesex and Westminster houses of correction punished men and

women very differently. In Bridewell—this most famous metropolitan bastille for the punishment of the criminal poor—women predominated, committed for having a bastard child and/or refusing to name the father. The last case was in 1749, concerning Mary Dobeing ‘for being a loose disorderly person delivered of a female Bastard Child in the parish of St. Botolph Without Aldgate London which is chargeable thereto’.¹¹⁶ Fathers predominated in the houses of correction located in Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields (as well as New Prison and the Gatehouse) for want of sureties, while putative fathers were also incarcerated in Brixton and Kingston gaols and could be set on the treadmill to enforce compliance to bastardy maintenance orders. Thus, Nutt was correct to emphasise that the bastardy laws sought to associate illegitimate fatherhood with financial responsibility.¹¹⁷ Punishment was increasingly masculinised in London. This is the opposite of what might be expected from the questions in the Rural and Town Queries, which asked about the punishment of mothers as lewd women. Parochial officers and J.P.s were prepared to punish men who did not pay for their illegitimate offspring. The process of affiliation was, however, a failing system in the capital. It might be that the two were linked. Men were not imprisoned in large numbers in an attempt to force compliance with bastardy orders, and therefore little was recovered from them. Alternatively, or even additionally, men absconded in order to avoid both a bastardy maintenance order and gaol.

NOTES

1. L. Gowing, *Common bodies: women, touch and power in seventeenth-century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 117.
2. L. Gowing, ‘Giving birth at the magistrate’s gate: single mothers in the early modern city’, in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 137–52; M. Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 261. See also R.B. Outhwaite, *The rise and fall of the English ecclesiastical courts, 1500–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007 online ed.); K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 125–7; B. Reay, *Popular cultures in England 1550–1750* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 29–30.
3. Ingram, *Church courts*, Table 2, p. 68, pp. 261–2.
4. Gowing, *Common bodies*, p. 117; R.B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 36–7.

5. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 20–21; F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin 2012), pp. 51–4.
6. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, ch. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 16 (quote), 19–11, 41. On the London church courts in general see: R.M. Wunderli, *London church courts and society on the eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1981, online edn), chs IV, 2. These records have been used but they are difficult to use systematically due to the nature of source survival; see E. Hubbard, *City women: money, sex, and the social order in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 86–110; E. Fox and M. Ingram, ‘Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy in early seventeenth-century London’, in R. Probert (ed.), *Cohabitation and non-marital births in England and Wales, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 10–32; T. Reinke-Williams, *Women, work and sociability in early modern London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
8. Fox and Ingram, ‘Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy’. See also A. Macfarlane, ‘Illegitimacy and illegitimates in English history’, in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), pp. 71–85, at pp. 81–3.
9. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, p. 46; Outhwaite, *Rise and fall*, pp. 78–9.
10. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 20–21. Roughly equal numbers of cases for fornication (not bastardy) were prosecuted in church courts and quarter sessions, 1660–1689. See also T. Meldrum, ‘A women’s court in London: defamation at the Bishop of London’s Consistory Court, 1700–1745’, *The London Journal*, 19:1 (1994), pp. 1–20.
11. T. Nutt, ‘The paradox and problems of illegitimate paternity in old poor law Essex’, in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 102–21, p. 103.
12. 18 Eliz c.3 s.1, *An Act for the setting the poor on work and for avoiding idleness*; 7 Jac. 1 c.4; M. Dalton, *The countrey justice, conteyning the practise of the justices of the peace out of their sessions* (London, 1618/1655), pp. 31–2; T. Nutt, ‘Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new’, *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61, pp. 336–7; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 36–7; J. Innes, ‘Prisons for the poor: English bridewells, 1555–1800’, in F. Snyder and D. Hay (eds), *Labour, law, and crime: an historical perspective* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1987), pp. 42–122, at pp. 42–77.

13. R. Burn, *Justice of the peace* (London, 1727), p. 32; P. King, 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 125–172, at pp. 132, 143; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'.
14. Burn, *Justice of the peace*, p. 32; P. King, 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 125–172, p. 132, 143; Nutt, 'Paternal financial responsibility'.
15. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 35–6, 48n; A. Shepard, 'Brokering fatherhood: illegitimacy and paternal rights and responsibilities in early modern England', in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 41–63, p. 50.
16. F. Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice in early modern London', *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 796–822; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 26.
17. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 26, 55, 169, 174; W. King, 'Punishment for bastardy in early seventeenth-century England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 10:2 (1978), pp. 130–151, p. 133.
18. Innes, 'Prisons for the poor', p. 101.
19. M. Dalton, *The Countrey justice, conteyning the practise of the justices of the peace out of their sessions* (1655), p. 41.
20. Dalton, *The countrey justice*, pp. 41–2.
21. Burn, *Justice of the peace*, pp. 45–6.
22. Dalton, *The countrey justice*, pp. 41–2; Burn, *Justice of the peace*, p. 46. See also P. Crawford, *Blood, bodies and families in early modern England* (London: Routledge, 2004, 2014 edn), p. 87.
23. 'Correspondence between Secretary of State and Visiting Magistrates of Prisons on Tread-Wheels in Gaols and Houses of Correction', P.P. 1824, 45, p. 15.
24. King, 'Punishment for bastardy', p. 139.
25. A. Eccles, *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 14, 88, 90–95.
26. King, 'Punishment for bastardy', pp. 140–1; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 166–7, 187–8.
27. Dalton, *The countrey justice*, pp. 39–40; Gowing, *Common bodies*, pp. 117–18. And see King, 'Punishment for bastardy', pp. 133–5; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 14, 88, 90–95.
28. Fox and Ingram, 'Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy', p. 24.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
31. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 48n. See also King, 'Punishment for bastardy', pp. 142–3.

32. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 166–8; P. Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
33. Innes, ‘Prisons for the poor’, pp. 42–101; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, ch. 7.
34. <http://www.londonlives.org/static/HousesOfCorrection.jsp> Sept 2013.
35. *Ibid.*
36. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol25/pp9-21#h2-000>, accessed 7 October 2016; Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, p. 329.
37. D. Kennedy, ‘A local prison for the poor. A study of the Kingston house of correction’, 20 Aug 2016, www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk, accessed Oct 2016; *Return of Persons committed under Vagrant Laws to Prisons in England and Wales; Sums paid for Apprehension and Maintenance of Vagrants, 1820–23*, p. 94; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol26/pp100-105#h3-0011>, accessed October 2016.
38. Dabhoiwala, ‘Summary justice’, p. 805; Innes, ‘Prisons for the poor’, pp. 103–5.
39. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 166–7.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 279–80.
42. Minutes of the Court of Governors, Bridewell Prison, www.londonlives.org accessed August 2013; sample of Middlesex and Westminster calendars, London Metropolitan Archives [LMA] MJ/SR/1940–1958 (1700), 2143–2160 (1710), 2180–2194 (1712), 2340–2354 (1720), 2360 (1721), 2529–2538 (1730), 2728–2736 (1740). Not all of the Middlesex and Westminster calendars could be viewed per year due to many being unfit for production.
43. ‘Answers to Town Queries’ (P.P. 1834, XXXVI).
44. I. Archer, *The pursuit of stability social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Table 6.11, p. 239; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 201–3, Table 2a p. 451.
45. Archer combines fornication and adultery, as well as bigamy, rape and child abuse, and Griffiths includes 28 different categories of sexual offence: Archer, *Pursuit of stability*, Table 6.11, p. 239; Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, pp. 201–3, Table 2a p. 451.
46. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, p. 202.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
48. *Ibid.*, Table 2a p. 451.
49. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, Table 7.1, p. 169. Of Shoemaker’s sample (1670–80, 1693/1697, 1712, 1721) many of the

house of correction calendars are no longer fit to be seen by researchers at London Metropolitan Archives.

50. D.D. Gray, *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the City of London in the late eighteenth century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 133; P. King, 'Summary courts', Table 4, p. 159; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 156–7; Innes, 'Prisons for the poor', p. 99.
51. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 102.
52. Dabhoiwala, *Origins of sex*, ch. 1.
53. www.londonlives.org, Bridewell prison, 15/01/1697.
54. *Ibid.*, 02/03/1711.
55. *Ibid.*, 23/03/1735.
56. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 168–70.
57. www.londonlives.org, Bridewell prison, 23/08/1695.
58. *Ibid.*, 27/07/1694.
59. *Ibid.*, 13/01/1692, 14/05/1697.
60. www.londonlives.org, 06/05/1698.
61. *Ibid.*, 20/10/1736.
62. *Ibid.*, 14/10/1731.
63. K. Thomas, 'The double standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20:2 (1959), pp. 195–216; B. Capp, 'The double standard revisited: plebeian women and sexual reputation in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 162 (1999), pp. 70–100; Gowing, *Domestic dangers*, chs. 2–4; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 173.
64. www.londonlives.org, Bridewell prison, 15/11/1698.
65. *Ibid.*, 27/03/1696.
66. Shepard, 'Brokering fatherhood', pp. 51–2.
67. *Ibid.*
68. www.londonlives.org 12/08/1698, 20/05/1698, 18/08/1698.
69. *Ibid.*, 30/07/1697.
70. *Ibid.*, 08/11/1691.
71. *Ibid.*, 02/03/1694.
72. *Ibid.*, 18/03/1698.
73. *Ibid.*, 09/09/1692, 05/04/1728, 09/10/1729.
74. Griffiths, *Lost Londons*, Table 2a, p. 451.
75. There were usually 12 calendars per year for Middlesex and Westminster. For this chapter a sample was taken of the calendars, the first year of each decade 1700–1770: MJ/SR/1940–1958 (1700), 2143–2160 (1710), 2340–2356 (1720), 2526–2546 (1730), 2728–2746 (1740), 2932–2950 (1750), 3095–3108 (1760), 3221–3236 (1770), plus also additional calendars MJ/SR/2180–2194 (1712), 2360 (1721), 2556, 2561, 2566 (1730/1), except for those rolls which were unfit to be seen or were so poor that they were illegible (around one-third of calendars).

76. Mothers committed for having a bastard child, some of whom refused to name the father, while others were also prostitutes; fathers committed for 'begetting a bastard child', and, frequently (but not invariably), for lack of sureties; women for lying about the identity of the father; women for naming a man the father of a bastard child for the purposes of blackmail and fraud; and those accused of 'dropping' (abandoning) a bastard child.
77. See LMA MJ/SR/1950, 2180, 2340, 2351.
78. LMA MJ/SR/2340.
79. <https://www.londonlives.org/static/Prisons.jsp#toc16>, Nov 2017.
80. LMA, MJ/SR/2180. There were additional cases in 1712 (3 fathers) and 1731 (1 case of dropping).
81. LMA, MJ/SR/2351.
82. LMA, MJ/SR/2351.
83. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 102.
84. *Ibid.*
85. Shoemaker argues that many persons were bound over for making false accusations of paternity of bastard children: Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, pp. 98–9, 129.
86. MJ/SR/2556, 2744, 3225.
87. See, for instance, www.londonlives.org LMSLPS150050092, 23 April 1694; LMSLPS150100167 3 June 1699; LMSLPS150100168 03/06/1699; LMSLPS150050092, 6 Dec 1704.
88. LMA, MJ/SR/2153, 2155, 2158.
89. www.londonlives.org/static/MG.jsp October 2013.
90. www.londonlives.org (Frar Lessall 27/03/1696).
91. *Ibid.*, 26/02/1749.
92. *Ibid.*, 06/05/1698.
93. *Ibid.*, 09/09/1692; 09/10/1729; 18/03/1698; 05/04/1728.
94. *Ibid.*, 27/03/1702.
95. *Ibid.*, 05/04/1695.
96. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, Table 7.5 p. 189.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 91; Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice'.
98. LMA, MJ/SR/3230.
99. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 87; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, p. 169.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 187–8, 194; Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice'; Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 164–71.
101. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 195.
102. <http://www.londonlives.org/static/HousesOfCorrection.jsp>, Nov 2017.
103. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and punishment*, p. 194.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 195 and n.101.
105. <http://www.londonlives.org/static/Bridewell.jsp#toc5>, Nov 2017.

106. Eccles, *Vagrancy*, pp. 164–71.
107. Kennedy, ‘A local prison for the poor’; BPP XIX 1824, ‘Vagrant laws’, p. 94.
108. BPP 1824, ‘Vagrant laws’, p. 94; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol26/pp100-105#h3-0011> Oct 2016.
109. ‘Tread-Wheels in Gaols and Houses of Correction’, pp. 10, 15–17.
110. 199 orders on 152 fathers, of whom 29 were imprisoned for want of sureties or refusal to pay bastardy costs.
111. Southwark Local Studies Library 762 St. George the Martyr, Relief and filiation orders, 1822–1832.
112. SLSL 762.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. Middlesex (68 parishes), City of London within the Walls (73 parishes), City of London Without the Walls (11 parishes), and Southwark (4 parishes).
116. www.londonlives.org Minutes of the Court of Governors Bridewell Prison, 26/02/1749.
117. See also T. Nutt, ‘Illegitimacy and the poor law in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England’ (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2005), pp. 72–3, 148–54.

Conclusions

This book has concerned itself with the making of metropolitan bastardy. London was precocious not only in its urbanisation but also in its welfare policy. It was the largest city in Europe and migrants and visitors alike poured into the capital attracted by its employment prospects as well as its high and low cultural delights and the London season.¹ There was an extraordinary patchwork of institutional and private provision for motherhood, much of which unmarried mothers might take advantage of. Moreover, social policy and sexuality were ‘mutually constitutive’.² Rapidly rising illegitimacy forced the church, parish and charitable authorities to respond in terms of maternity care, the affiliation process, and maintenance for bastard children. In return, ecclesiastical law, the poor law, and the vagrancy laws sought to shape plebeian sexuality and courtship through penance and punishment, forced marriages or, at the very least, financial responsibility by unmarried parents for their children. The bastardy laws were aimed squarely at the poor in order to defray the costs of illegitimacy as well as to deter bastardy and ‘reform’ plebeian sexual behaviour. However, bastardy increased over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the system of affiliation was failing in the capital, and unmarried parents were rarely punished. The decline in punishment for fornication and bastardy came in London a century before the wider decline in moral policing and the punishment of illicit sexuality identified by Dabhoiwala.³

In London there was a distinctively metropolitan flavour to courtship. The rise in illegitimacy was due to a multiplicity of factors. Much of the

evidence supports the model of 'frustrated courtship': levels of illegitimacy and bridal pregnancy rose together and unmarried mothers were usually the same age as women giving birth to their first legitimate child.⁴ A greater number of couples were engaging in sexual activity as part of courtship with the expectation of marriage. There were more women than men in the city, and a large number of women were employed in increasingly precarious service. Unmarried mothers and fathers were frequently those for whom unemployment, the eighteenth-century's frequent wars and impressment into the army and navy, insufficient wages or savings, falling real wages, terms of apprenticeship, death or desertion of the father frustrated their wedding plans. What is still not clear is why so many couples had such high expectations of marriage given that the economic environment was unfavourable. Bastardy was most certainly a 'compound phenomenon'.⁵ One factor accounting for its rise must have been that courtship in the capital was freer. Two-thirds of unmarried mothers were migrants: being at a distance from family and friends both loosened sexuality while also thwarting the supervision of relationships and the enforcing of promises of marriage.⁶ Men repeatedly reneged on betrothals the minute a pregnancy was apparent. Margaret Fisher, for instance, petitioned the Foundling Hospital in 1763 stating that she 'hath not since seen or heard anything of the said John Tayler, but upon Inquiry hath been Informed and verily Beleives that he went abroad as a Gentleman's Servant soon after your Petitioner Quitted her said Service'.⁷ In other instances, women might have hoped for a wedding but they had started sexual relationships without a promise of marriage.⁸ As Trumbach argues, the male servants in St. Luke Chelsea and other West End parishes 'must have known that they were not financially in a position to marry their fellow servants after they had seduced them, no matter what the women may have hoped'.⁹ In St. George the Martyr 'dissipated' gentlemen and professionals continued to seduce local women and have sex with prostitutes. There is some evidence here to support ideas of a libertine sexual culture that benefited men more than women. Men could be duplicitous; some sexual relationships were 'incautious'; others were sexual commerce.¹⁰ The bastardy books are crammed full of men who were affiliated for the maintenance of their children, but who could not or would not marry their lovers.

There was also a distinctively metropolitan flavour to welfare. Parish administration was increasingly sophisticated and bureaucratic but administered by over 170 separate bodies.¹¹ The system of affiliation generated

bastardy and settlement examinations, removals, warrants, appeals, bonds, maintenance orders, and bastardy books. Illegitimacy created a high level of bastardy-related administration and legal activity. The number of workhouses in London was also unique; workhouses spread across the capital and became a regular feature of provision, with outdoor relief frequently running in parallel. Jonas Hanway's powerful critique of parish overseers and plebeian parents resulted in the Acts of 1762 and 1768 which reshaped London's poor relief provision for poor children and enshrined a new regulatory framework.¹² A principal finding of this study is that, while workhouses and lying-in hospitals provided an alternative venue for delivery from the early eighteenth century onwards, and that this was particularly a metropolitan initiative, most unmarried women actually gave birth in a domestic setting, either at their parents' house or that of friends, sometimes in the homes of their employers, that of a midwife or nurse, or, most frequently, in their lodgings. Parish provision was only one facet of the patchwork of the capital's institutional, charitable and private provision. There were nursing homes, the lying-in hospitals, the Foundling Hospital, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, the Lock Hospital, and Ladies' Associations and other local charities for unmarried mothers. This 'new reproductive regime', argue Hitchcock and Shoemaker, resulted in 'collective oversight of the state and elite men over pauper women's bodies and their children'.¹³ Indeed, as this study has shown, these men might hold this collective oversight over unmarried mothers, fathers and bastard children for very many years. At all levels of society, officials became 'civic fathers' to poor children.¹⁴

The 'collective project' of affiliating putative fathers did not, in fact, save the parish ratepayers' money, London having a notably low bastardy recovery rate. Overseers could not recover more than around one-fifth of costs from putative fathers, underscoring the uniquely failing system of metropolitan bastardy. Although the bastardy laws assumed a gendered division of responsibilities, most men failed to provide financially for their children, and many mothers did not necessarily raise their children themselves, nor did they contribute to their maintenance. The gendered division of parental responsibility enshrined in the affiliation system did not reflect the reality of unmarried parenthood in the city. The costs of bastardy fell to the parish instead, and rising illegitimacy inflated parish expenditure by around one-fifth over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This book began with the story of Mary Roberts's entry into St. Luke's workhouse; throughout, it has endeavoured to recover the experience of

unmarried motherhood and single women's encounters with the poor law authorities. Ann Harding and Jane Lomax expressed deep shame at their predicament; Ann Hullock faced a gruelling ordeal when she delivered herself and then was found guilty on a charge of infanticide; Mary Turmney was the only woman sentenced to a full year in the house of correction; Sarah Monday married her lover, while Eleanor Abel married another man. The history of unmarried mothers is full of conflicting evidence. Londoners at all levels of the social hierarchy had to negotiate the economic and moral contradictions associated with bastardy. Unmarried mothers and fathers were defamed by fellow inhabitants, they faced stigma and social opprobrium, and they were harassed by parish watchmen and beadles, overseers and magistrates, but they were also offered material and emotional support by masters and mistresses, neighbours and friends, philanthropists, and those same overseers and magistrates.

Motherhood was an embodied gendered experience. Unmarried mothers shared many of the experiences of poor married women, but the threat they posed to the social order also translated into differing experiences. Single women without marriage prospects would have felt despair at discovery of their pregnancies. Married women would have worn their changing shape with a pride that unwed women could not share. Single women might have experienced a comparable, though pared down, ceremony of childbirth to married women, at home with a midwife, gossips, borrowed childbed linen and baby clothes, and being put to bed to suckle their infant, but they may well have faced delivery in the workhouse instead, insisted upon by the overseer and based upon parish policy, as in St. Martin's. Delivery in a workhouse disrupted the domestic ceremony of childbirth; this ideal was something that had to be given up upon entry. Parish officials hoped to deter applicants with rules and regulations, the provision of distinctive uniforms, and the expectation of hard work, such as the coarse needlework, cotton-winding, and the sorting of hairs at St. Mary Newington workhouse.¹⁵ Those women who had extended stays and who were in and out of the house led particularly impoverished lives with few choices.

Shame of an illicit pregnancy could have led to disguise, deceit and a secret birth. Sarah Hunter's voluminous skirts hid her changing shape despite close surveillance of her mistress and fellow servants. While all women had in common the pain and duration of labour, unassisted delivery was accompanied by real risks to mother and baby. The contradictions inherent in unmarried motherhood are again apparent when they charged

a man with getting them with child before the justice, since at this point the pregnancies of unwed women became far more public than those of married women. If the man appealed then the marshalling of witnesses on both sides made establishing paternity an even more public—and contentious—affair.¹⁶ Given the sheer number of extant bastardy documents, this must have been the route that most women undertook, some of whom charged their lovers while others were taken to the magistrate by the parish overseer when their condition became known. These mother and child families were particularly fragile; the bonds between them were easily broken—by high rates of infant mortality, by abandonment on the streets, by the child staying in the workhouse or being put out to nurse while the mother returned to service, or by removal through the settlement laws. There was alternative female employment in London, such as taking in washing or needlework, which would allow women to keep their child with them, but such work was poorly paid and the lives of such women and their children would have been particularly impoverished.¹⁷

The year 1834 was an important watershed for the experience of unmarried motherhood and fatherhood. The new Bastardy Clauses of 1834, 1839 and 1844 were a more subtle but no less effective method of instilling shame and ‘restoring female and the renewed emphasis on shame that they enshrined no doubt contributed to the fall in the illegitimacy ratio in the Victorian period.¹⁸ Affiliation was restricted, and men could no longer be gaoled for the failure to pay maintenance; the only poor relief on offer to women was in the union workhouse. Charitable relief blurred the distinction between girls ‘at risk’, unmarried mothers and prostitutes.¹⁹ Charities sought to assist women while at the same time indicating the shame associated with their situation and, once again, that their transgression was a great sexual sin. It would be difficult indeed for women to ignore these powerful discourses that shaped the welfare provision that was made available to them.

The extent to which poor unmarried mothers could express agency is disputed by historians. Most are cautiously optimistic. Nutt has argued that women could exert some power in the courtroom in the naming of their child’s father.²⁰ Evans believes strongly that friends and kin provided ample support, even in London. Women used their networks to gain a ticket of admission to one of the lying-in hospitals, and they petitioned the Foundling Hospital for the admission and reclamation of their children.²¹ Most recently, Hitchcock and Shoemaker contend that many young women made use of this metropolitan provision in order to establish their

infant's settlement through birth in a workhouse, to secure parish relief through the affiliation system, and that they helped to medicalise the workhouse.²² Certainly, these strategies reveal agency and some limited power on the part of plebeian women. Hitchcock and Shoemaker are keen to stress the agency with which the poor helped shape social policy and the making of a modern city. They also, however, recognise how the expansion of provision for maternity in the capital produced procedures that 'excluded the unsettled, the unmarried and the desperate'.²³ The fact that it was far easier for married women to access the lying-in hospitals 'pushed [unmarried] mothers towards parish provision ... [and] reinforced the association of parish relief with extreme poverty and moral turpitude'.²⁴ At certain times and in certain places women's bodies were under heavy surveillance and their options limited, such as in St. Martin's and in St. George the Martyr, where gentlemen were routinely affiliated. It was extremely difficult for unmarried women in the capital to combine work and motherhood. Trumbach argues, in contrast to other historians, that '[t]hese pregnancies were disastrous for young women'.²⁵ After 1834, welfare avenues for unmarried mothers were even more circumscribed and the new bastardy clauses effectively curtailed the affiliation system. While I recognise that women had some limited agency and that they exploited the survival strategies at their disposal, the conclusion of this book is cautiously pessimistic. While women certainly helped to shape the making of metropolitan bastardy, there is more evidence of limited choices and agency. Unmarried mothers and their children were the casualties of a metropolitan sexual culture and a frequently unsympathetic welfare system. Unwed women faced very significant difficulties in their pregnancies, during childbirth and in raising their children.

NOTES

1. J. Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, II 1540–1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 315–46, at pp. 315–16; L. Schwarz, 'London 1700–1840', in Clark, *Cambridge urban history*, II, pp. 641–672, at p. 643.
2. J. Carabine, 'Constituting sexuality through social policy: the case of lone motherhood 1834 and today', *Social and Legal Studies*, 10:3 (2001), pp. 291–314, abstract.
3. F. Dabhoiwala, *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin, 2012).

4. P. Laslett, 'Introduction; comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), pp. 1–68, Tables 1.1(a) and 1.1(b), figure 1.2, pp. 14–18, pp. 20–24; Laslett, 'Illegitimate fertility and the matrimonial market', in J. Dupaquier, E. Helia, P. Laslett, M. Levi-Bacci (eds), *Marriage and remarriage in populations in the past* (London: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 461–71, at pp. 466–8; E.A. Wrigley, 'Marriage, fertility and population growth in eighteenth-century England', in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (London: Europa Publications, 1981), pp. 137–85, at pp. 155–63.
5. D. Levine and K. Wrightson, 'The social context of illegitimacy in early modern England', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy*, pp. 158–75, at p. 169.
6. R. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London, I* (London, University of Chicago, 1998), Table 8.4, p. 244.
7. A. Levene, 'Institutional responses: the London Foundling Hospital', in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, III (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), petition 148, p. 179.
8. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, pp. 244, 259–60, Table 9.3, p. 279; T. Evans, 'Unfortunate Objects': lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 188; S. Williams, "That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune": unmarried mothers' petitions to the Foundling Hospital and the rhetoric of need in the long eighteenth century, in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 86–101, at p. 94.
9. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 274.
10. E. Griffin, 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain', *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 139–161.
11. T. Hitchcock '“Unlawfully begotten on her body”: illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke's Chelsea', in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 70–86, at p. 19.
12. T. Hitchcock and R. B. Shoemaker, *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 291–4.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
14. P. Crawford, *Parents of poor children in England, 1580–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

15. Appendix to the First Report from the Commissioners of the Poor Laws, pp. 444, 449.
16. T. Nutt, 'Bastardy', in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, I: *Voices of the poor: poor law depositions and letters* (Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 127–203.
17. S. Williams, "'I was Forced to Leave my Place to Hide my Shame': the living arrangements of unmarried mothers in London in the early nineteenth century", in J. McEwan and P. Sharpe (eds.), *Accommodating Poverty: the housing and living arrangements of the English poor, c. 1600–1850* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 191–218.
18. D. Nash and A.-M. Kilday, *Cultures of shame: exploring crime and morality in Britain 1600–1900* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 110, 176; U.R.Q. Henriques, 'Bastardy and the new poor law', *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29.
19. P. Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000).
20. T. Nutt, 'The paradox and problems of illegitimate paternity in old poor law Essex', in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 102–21, at p. 109.
21. Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, ch.5 passim, ch.7 passim, pp. 193–200.
22. Hitchcock and Shoemaker, *London lives*, pp. 299, 304.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Trumbach, *Sex and the gender revolution*, p. 232.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

- A/FH/A08/001/002/010-049, A/FH/A08/001/003/009-015, Petitions to the Foundling Hospital, 1801–1840.
- MJ/SP/1760/03/013-1769/05/037, Middlesex Coroners' reports.
- MJ/SR/1940-1958, 2143-2160, 2180-2194, 2340-2356, 2360, 2526-2546, 2556, 2561, 2566, 2728-2746, 2932-2950, 3095-3108, 3221-3236, Sessions papers, House of correction calendars, 1700–1770.
- P74/LUK/3, St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse committee minutes, 1735/6.
- P74/LUK/63, St. Luke Chelsea, bastardy cases, names of parents and children and payments made and received 1822–1835.
- P74/LUK/112-115, St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1800–1837.
- P74/LUK/123-139, St. Luke Chelsea, Settlement and bastardy examinations, 1782–1838.
- P74/LUK/140-147, St. Luke Chelsea, Removal orders, examinations, and bastardy orders, 1799–1837.
- P92/MRY/334, St. Mary Newington, Inventory of the workhouse, 1835.
- P92/MRY/335/1, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse and infirmary admission and discharge register, 1797–1799.
- P92/MRY/336, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse admission and discharge register, 1851–1852.
- P92/MRY/356, St. Mary Newington, Register of workhouse births, 1841–1861.
- P92/MRY/357, St. Mary Newington, Register of illegitimate children, 1802–1835.

P92/MRY/408, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse admission and discharge register, 1809–1814.

P92/GEO/132, 137, St. George the Martyr, Examinations and Removals, 1814–1816, 1833–1842.

SO/BG/24, St. George the Martyr, Examinations and visits, 1844–1860.

SOUTHWARK LOCAL STUDIES LIBRARY

588, St. George the Martyr, Illegitimate children individual accounts, 1792–1808.

603, St. George the Martyr, Register of illegitimate children, 1794–1807.

702, St. George the Martyr, Workhouse admission and discharge register, 1802–04.

762, St. George the Martyr, Relief and filiation orders, 1822–32, and transcriptions by P. Shilham.

763, St. George the Martyr, Churchwardens and overseers' maintenance accounts on affiliation orders, 1818–35.

764, St. George the Martyr, Annual register of the parish poor children until they are apprenticed out (transcription by Peter Shilham).

4563/1–2, St. George the Martyr, Bastardy warrants, 1776–1832.

844–859, St. Mary Newington, Settlement and bastardy examinations (transcription by Peter Shilham).

860–865, St. Mary Newington, Bastardy adjudications [orders], 1808–36, and transcription by P. Shilham.

932 St. Mary Newington, Minutes, 1816.

1121–2, St. Mary Newington, Bastardy bonds, 1628–1756, and transcript by C. Powell.

1108, St. Mary Newington, Workhouse Inspection Report Book, 1819–1836.

4580, St. Mary Newington, Bastardy bonds, 1730–1830.

1619, St. Olave Annual register of the parish poor children until they are apprenticed out, 1785–1813.

97, St. Saviour, Overseers' bastard maintenance book, 1814–31 (transcription).

CITY OF WESTMINSTER ARCHIVES CENTRE

C871–2, St. George Hanover Square, Workhouse Committee Minutes, 1732–33.

E2632–3, St. Margaret, Workhouse Committee Minutes, 1728–29.

E3382, St. Margaret, Overseer's Vouchers, 1727–1729.

G1030, St. Mary Le Strand, Workhouse Matron's Accounts, 1793.

G1021, St. Mary Le Strand, Table of Diet in the Workhouse, January 1826.

Miscellaneous Overseer's Bills, E Unlisted 1041.

GUILDHALL LIBRARY

Annual Register of Poor Children, 1767.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENT ROOM

Records of the Coroner's Court for Westminster, 1761–1799.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES, ON-LINE

WWW.ANCESTRY.COM

Bermondsey admission orders, 1861.

WEBG/SM/039/001 St. Martin in the Fields, Castle Street admission and discharge workhouse book, 1834–1835.

WWW.LONDONLIVES.ORG

Coroners' reports for the City of London, Middlesex, and the City of Westminster.

Minutes of the Court of Governors, Bridewell Prison.

Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers – Justices' Working Documents.

Registers of poor children under age 14 years in parish care, 1762–1766.

St. Botolph Aldgate, Churchwardens and overseers of the poor account books.

St. Botolph Aldgate, Minute books of the parish vestry sub-committee.

St. Botolph Aldgate, Minutes of parish vestries.

St. Botolph Aldgate, Workhouse admissions register.

St. Clement Danes, Miscellaneous Parish Account Books.

St. Clement Danes, List of securities for the maintenance of bastard children.

St. Clement Danes, Registers of bastard children, 1775–1779.

St. Clement Danes Vestry Minutes.

St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799.

St. Martin in the Fields, Bastardy examinations, 1750.

WWW.NATIONALARCHIVES.GOV.UK

TNA on-line catalogue, bastardy documents from Sussex from 1608.

WWW.OLDBAILEYONLINE.ORG

Proceedings of the Old Bailey, infanticide cases.

WWW.VISIONOFBRITAIN.ORG.UK

1851 Census of Britain, Populations Tables 2, Chelsea, St. Martin in the Fields.

WWW.WORKHOUSES.ORG.UK

St. Luke Chelsea, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1743–1769, 1782–1799.

OTHER MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Illegitimacy ratios, Southwark, and male occupational structure, Southwark, L. Shaw Taylor and E.A. Wrigley, ESRC-funded project, ‘The occupational structure of Britain 1379–1911’, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge (RES 000-23-0131, RES-000-23-1579).

St. Martin in the Fields, Workhouse admission and discharge registers, 1725–1824, Pauper Lives project, <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>, database funded by the ESRC (RES-000-23-0250).

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Abstract of returns made pursuant to an act passed in the 16th year of the reign of his majesty King George the Third by the overseers of the poor within several parishes, townships and places within England and Wales, House of Lords Papers, P.P. 1776.

Abstract of answers and returns under act for procuring returns relative to expense and maintenance of the poor in England, P.P. 1803–4.

Abridgement of abstract of answers and returns relative to expense and maintenance of poor in England and Wales, P.P. 1818.

Correspondence between Secretary of State and Visiting Magistrates of Prisons on Tread-Wheels in Gaols and Houses of Correction, P.P. 1824.

Return of Persons committed under Vagrant Laws to Prisons in England and Wales; Sums paid for Apprehension and Maintenance of Vagrants, 1820–23, P.P. 1824.

Royal commission of inquiry into administration and practical operation of poor laws, P.P. 1834, appendix B (2), ‘Answers to Town queries’, pts I–V.

Eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General, 1845.

First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commission for England and Wales, P.P. 1835.

Return to the House of Commons of the Number of Affiliations made under the provisions of 4 & 5 Will. IV, c.76, s.72, at each Sessions of the Peace in England and Wales subsequent to the said Act etc., P.P., 1837–8.

- Eighth Annual Report of the Registrar General*, P.P. 1845.
Report of the Capital Punishment Commission, P.P. 1866.
Forty-fifth Annual report of the Registrar General, P.P. 1884.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

- Acton, W., 'Observations on illegitimacy in the London parishes on St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, and St. George's, Southwark, during the year 1857; deduced from the returns of the Registrar-General', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* (1859), pp. 491–505.
- Brownlow, J., *Hans Sloane: a tale illustrating the history of the Foundling Hospital in London* (London, F. Warr, 1831).
- Brownlow, J., *The history and design of the Foundling Hospital, with a memoir of the founder* (London, W. and H.S. Warr, 1858).
- Burn, R., *Justice of the peace* (London, 1727).
- Dalton, M., *The country justice, conteyning the practise of the justices of the peace out of their sessions* (1618, 1655).
- Hanway, J., *An earnest appeal for mercy to the children of the poor* (London, 1766).
- Hitchcock, T. and Black, J. (eds), *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999).
- Malthus, T.R., *An essay on the principle of population* (London, 1798, 1888 edns.)
- Malthus, T.R., *An essay on the principle of population*, D. Winch, ed. (Cambridge, 1992).
- Rogers, J., M.D., *Reminiscences of a Workhouse Medical Officer*, ed. with preface by Prof Thorold Rogers (London, T Fisher Unwin, 1889).
- Webb, C. and West Surrey Family History Society (ed.), *City of London Settlement Examinations, I, St. Botolph Aldgate 1742–1868* (2007, CD 14).

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abelove, H., 'Some speculations on the history of sexual intercourse during the long eighteenth century in England', *Genders*, 6 (1989), pp. 125–30.
- Adair, R., *Courtship, illegitimacy and marriage in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Allen R.C. and Weisdorf, J.L., 'Was there an "industrious revolution" before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c.1300–1830', *Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), pp. 715–29.
- Andrew, D., *Philanthropy and police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- Andrew, D., 'Two medical charities in eighteenth-century London: the Lock Hospital and the Lying-in Charity for Married Women', J. Barry and C. Jones

- (eds), *Medicine and charity before the welfare state* (Routledge: London, 1991), pp. 82–97.
- Archer, I., *The pursuit of stability social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Armstrong, W.J., ‘The use of information about occupation, part 1: Basis for social stratification’; ‘Paper 2: An industrial classification, 1841–91’, in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 191–310.
- Arnot, M.L., ‘Infant death, child care and the state: the baby-farming scandal and the first infant life protection legislation of 1872’, *Continuity and Change*, 9:2 (1994), pp. 271–311.
- Bailey, J., ‘“Think wot a mother must feel”: parenting in English pauper letters, c. 1760–1834’, *Family and Community History*, 13:1 (2010), pp. 5–19.
- Barret-Ducrocq, F., *Love in the time of Victoria: sexuality and desire among working-class men and women in nineteenth-century London*, translated by J. Howe (New York: Penguin, 1991).
- Bartley, P., *Prostitution: prevention and reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Bashar, N., ‘Rape in England between 1550 and 1700’, in London Feminist History Group (ed.), *The sexual dynamics of history* (London: Pluto Press, 1983).
- Beattie, J.M., *Crime and the courts in England, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- Beier, A.L., and Finlay, R., (eds), *London 1500–1700: the making of the metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986).
- Behlmer, G.K., ‘Deadly motherhood: infanticide and medical opinion in mid-Victorian England’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 34 (1979), pp. 403–427.
- Black, J., ‘Illegitimacy, sexual relations and location in metropolitan London, 1735–85’, in T. Hitchcock and H. Shore (eds.), *The streets of London: from the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (London: Rivers Oram, 2003), pp. 101–18.
- Black, J., ‘Who were the putative fathers of illegitimate children in London, 1740–1810?’, in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 50–65.
- Blaug, M., ‘The poor law reexamined’, *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964), pp. 229–45.
- Blaug, M., ‘The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new’, in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Essays in social history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 123–53.
- Boulton, J., *Neighbourhood and society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

- Boulton, J., 'London 1540–1700', in Clark, *Cambridge urban history*, pp. 315–46.
- Boulton, J., 'Welfare systems and the parish nurse in early modern London, 1650–1725', *Family and Community History*, 10:2 (2007), pp. 127–51.
- Boulton, J., 'Double deterrence: settlement and practice in London's West End, 1725–1824', in S. King and A. Winter, (eds), *Migration, settlement and belonging in Europe, 1500–1930: comparative perspectives* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 54–80.
- Boulton J., and Black, J., 'Paupers and their experience of a London workhouse: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824', J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins, and R. Preston (eds.), *Residential institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: inmates and environments* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), pp. 79–92.
- Boulton, J., Davenport, R., and Schwarz, L., 'These ANTE-CHAMBERS OF THE GRAVE?: Mortality, medicine and the workhouse in Georgian London (1725–1824)' in Reinartz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the workhouse*, pp. 58–85.
- Boulton, J., and Schwarz, L.D., "'The comforts of a private fireside'? The workhouse, the elderly and the poor law in Georgian Westminster: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824', in McEwan and Sharpe, *Accommodating poverty*, pp. 221–245.
- Boulton, J., and Schwarz, L.D., 'The medicalization of a parish workhouse in Georgian Westminster: St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824', *Family & Community History*, 17:2 (2014), pp. 122–140.
- Bourne Taylor, J., "'Received, a Blank Child': John Brownlow, Charles Dickens, and the London Foundling Hospital – archives and fictions', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 56:3 (2002), pp. 293–63.
- Bourne Taylor, J., "'Bastard to the time": legitimacy as legal fiction in Trollope's novels of the 1870s', in M. Markwick, D. Denenholz Morse and R. Gagnier (eds), *The politics of gender in Anthony Trollope's novels* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 45–60.
- Brundage, A., *The English poor laws, 1700–1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Butler, J., *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (London: Routledge, 1990).
- Capp, B., 'The double standard revisited: plebeian women and sexual reputation in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 162 (1999), pp. 70–100.
- Capp, B., *When gossips meet: women, family, and neighbourhood in early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Carabine, J., 'Constituting sexuality through social policy: the case of lone motherhood 1834 and today', *Social and Legal Studies*, 10:3 (2001), pp. 291–314.
- Chaplin, *My autobiography* (London: Penguin, 1966).

- Chaytor, M., 'Husband(ry): narratives of rape in the seventeenth century', *Gender and History*, 7:3 (1995), pp. 378–407.
- Clark, A., *Women's silence, men's violence: sexual assault in England, 1770–1845* (London: Pandora, 1987).
- Clark, A., 'Whores and gossips: sexual reputation in London 1770–1825', in A. Angerman, G. Binnerna, A. Keunen, V. Poels, and J. Zirkzee (eds), *Current issues in women's history* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 231–48.
- Clark, P. (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, II 1540–1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- Charlesworth, L., *Welfare's forgotten past: a socio-legal history of the poor law* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Clayton, M., 'Changes in Old Bailey trials for the murder of newborn babies, 1674–1803', *Continuity and Change*, 24:2 (2009), pp. 337–359.
- Crawford, P., 'The construction and experience of maternity in seventeenth-century England', in Fildes, *Women as mothers*, pp. 3–38.
- Crawford, P., *Blood, bodies and families in early modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004).
- Crawford, P., *Parents of poor children in England, 1580–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Cressy, D., *Birth, marriage and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Crowther, M.A., *The workhouse system, 1834–1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen, 1981, 1983 edn).
- Croxson, B., 'The public and private faces of eighteenth-century London dispensary charity', *Medical History*, 41:2 (1997), pp. 127–49.
- Croxson, B., 'The foundation and evolution of the Middlesex Hospital's Lying-in service, 1745–86', *Social History of Medicine*, 14: 1 (2001), pp. 27–57.
- D'Cruze, S., *Crimes of outrage: sex, violence and Victorian working women* (London: UCL Press, 1998).
- D'Cruze S., and Jackson, L.A., *Women, crime and justice in England since 1660* (Basingstoke. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Dabhoiwala, F., 'Summary justice in early modern London', *English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 796–822.
- Dabhoiwala, F., *The origins of sex: a history of the first sexual revolution* (London: Penguin 2012).
- Darwen, L., 'Workhouse populations of the Preston Union, 1841–61', *Local Population Studies*, 93 (2014), 33–53.
- Davidoff, L. and Hall, C., *Family fortunes men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Dennis, R., 'Modern London', in M. Daunt (ed.), *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, III 1840–1950 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 95–132.

- Digby, A., *Pauper palaces* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).
- Earle, P., 'The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 42:3 (1989), pp. 328–353.
- Earle, P., *A city full of people: men and women of London 1650–1750* (London: Methuen, 1994).
- Eastwood, D., *Governing rural England: tradition and transformation in local government, 1780–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- Eccles, A., *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
- Englander, D., *Poverty and poor law reform in nineteenth-century Britain, 1834–1914: from Chadwick to Booth* (London: Longman, 1998).
- Evans, T., 'Unfortunate Objects': lone mothers in eighteenth-century London (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Evenden, D., 'Mothers and their midwives in seventeenth-century London', in H. Marland (ed.), *The art of midwifery: early modern midwives in Europe* (Routledge, London, 1993), pp. 9–26.
- Fairchilds, C., 'Female sexual attitudes and the rise of illegitimacy: a case study', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1978), pp. 627–67.
- Feinstein, C., 'Pessimism perpetuated: real wages and the standard of living in Britain during and after the industrial revolution', *Journal of Economic History* 58:3 (1998), pp. 625–58.
- Fideler, P.A., *Social welfare in pre-industrial England: the old Poor Law tradition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Field, J.F., 'Domestic service, gender, and wages in rural England, c.1700–1860', *Economic History Review*, 66:1 (2013), pp. 249–272.
- Fildes, V.A., *Breasts, bottles and babies: a history of infant feeding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986).
- Fildes, V., 'Maternal feelings reassessed: child abandonment and neglect in London and Westminster, 1550–1800', in Fildes, *Women as mothers*, pp. 139–178.
- Fildes, V. (ed.), *Women as mothers in pre-industrial* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990).
- Finlay, R., *Population and metropolis: the demography of London 1580–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- Finlay R., and Shearer, B., 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500–1700: the making of the metropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 37–59.
- Finn, M.C., 'Law's empire: English legal cultures at home and abroad', *Historical Journal*, 48 (2005), pp. 295–303.
- Finn, M.C., *The character of credit: personal debt in English culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- Finn, M., 'The Barlow Bastards: romance comes home from the Empire', in M. Finn, M. Lobban and J. Bourne Taylor (eds), *Legitimacy and illegitimacy in nineteenth-century law, literature and history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 25–47.
- Finn, M., Lobban M., and Bourne Taylor, J., 'Introduction: spurious issues', in M. Finn, M. Lobban and J. Bourne Taylor (eds), *Legitimacy and illegitimacy in nineteenth-century law, literature and history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1–24, at pp. 5–7.
- Fissell, M.E., 'The "sick and drooping poor" in eighteenth-century Bristol and its region', *Social History of Medicine*, 2 (1989), pp. 35–58.
- Fissell, M.E., *Patients, power, and the poor in eighteenth-century Bristol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Forman Cody, L., 'The politics of illegitimacy in an age of reform: women, reproduction, and political economy in England's new poor law of 1834', *Journal of Women's History*, 11:4 (2000), pp. 131–156.
- Forman Cody, L., 'Living and dying in Georgian London's lying-in hospitals', *Bulletin for the History of Medicine*, 78:2 (2004), pp. 309–348.
- Forman Cody, L., *Birthing the nation: sex, science, and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 176–83.
- Fox E., and Ingram, M., 'Bridewell, bawdy courts and bastardy in early seventeenth-century London', in Probert, *Cohabitation and non-marital births*, pp. 10–32.
- Froide, A.M., *Never married: single women in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Frost, G., *Promises broken: courtship, class, and gender in Victorian England* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1995).
- Frost, G., "'The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep': illegitimacy in the English working class, 1850–1939', *Journal of Social History*, 37:2 (2003), pp. 293–322.
- Frost, G., *Living in sin: cohabiting as husband and wife in nineteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).
- Frost, G., "'When is a parent not a parent?' Custody and illegitimacy in England, 1860–1930', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 6:2 (2013), pp. 236–262.
- Frost, G., 'Under the guardians' supervision: illegitimacy, family, and the English poor law, 1870–1930', *Journal of Family History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 122–139.
- Frost, G., "'Your mother has never forgotten you": illegitimacy, motherhood, and the London foundling hospital, 1860–1930, *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1 (2014), pp. 45–72.
- George, D., *London Life in the eighteenth century* (3rd ed., London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1951).

- Gillis, J., 'Servants, sexual relations and the risks of illegitimacy in London, 1801–1900', in J.L. Newton, M.P. Ryan and J.R. Walkowitz (eds), *Sex and class in women's history* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 114–145.
- Gillis, J. R., *For better, for worse: British marriage, 1600 to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Goose, N., 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 52–69.
- Gowing, L., *Domestic dangers: women, words, and sex in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Gowing, L., 'Secret births and infanticide in seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 156 (1997), pp. 87–115.
- Gowing, L., 'Ordering the body: illegitimacy and female authority in seventeenth-century England', in M.J. Braddick, Michael and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 43–62.
- Gowing, L., *Common bodies: women, touch and power in seventeenth-century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).
- Gowing, L., 'Giving birth at the magistrate's gate: single mothers in the early modern city', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, identities and communities in early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 137–52.
- Gray, D.D., *Crime, prosecution and social relations: the summary courts of the City of London in the late eighteenth century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Green, D.R., 'Medical relief and the new poor law in London', in O.P. Grell, A. Cunningham and R. Jütte (eds), *Health care and poor relief in eighteenth and nineteenth-century northern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 220–45.
- Green, D.R., '"Icons of the new system": workhouse construction and relief practices in London under the Old and New Poor Law', *The London Journal*, 34:3 (2009), pp. 264–84.
- Green, D.R., *Pauper capital: London and the poor law, 1790–1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
- Griffin, E., 'Sex, illegitimacy and social change in industrializing Britain', *Social History*, 38:2 (2013), pp. 139–161.
- Griffiths, P., *Youth and authority formative experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Griffiths, P., *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Gritt, A., and Park, P., 'The workhouse populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp. 37–65.

- Harvey, C., Green, E., and Corfield, P.J., *The Westminster Historical Database: voters, social structures and electoral behaviour* (Bristol: Bristol Academic Press, 1998).
- Healey, J., 'The development of poor relief in Lancashire, c.1598–1680', *Historical Journal*, 53 (2010), pp. 551–72.
- Henderson, T., *Disorderly women in eighteenth-century London: prostitution and control in the metropolis, 1730–1830* (London: Longman, 1999).
- Henriques, U.R.Q., 'Bastardy and the new poor law', *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 103–29.
- Higginbotham, A.R., 'Respectable sinners: Salvation Army rescue work with unmarried mothers, 1884–1914', in G. Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the lives of English women, 1760–1930* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 216–33.
- Higginbotham, A.R., 'Infanticide and illegitimacy in Victorian London', *Victorian Studies*, 32 (1989), pp. 319–39.
- Higginbotham, A.R., "'Sin of the age": infanticide and illegitimacy in Victorian London', in K.O. Garrigan (ed.), *Victorian scandals* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1992), pp. 257–88.
- Hilton, B., *The age of atonement: the influence of evangelicalism in economic and social thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- Hinde A. (ed.), special issue on the new poor law, *Local Population Studies*, 99 (2017).
- Hinde, A., and Turnbull, F., 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses, 1851–1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61 (1998), pp. 38–53.
- Hindle, S., 'The shaming of Margaret Knowsley: gossip, gender and the experience of authority in early modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 9:3 (1994), pp. 391–419.
- Hindle, S., 'A sense of place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550–1650', in A. Shepard and P. Withington, *Communities in early modern England: networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- Hindle, S., *The state and social change in early modern England, 1560–1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Hindle, S., *On the parish The micro-politics of poor relief in rural England c. 1550–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).
- Hitchcock, D., *Vagrancy in English culture and society, 1650–1750* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
- Hitchcock, T., 'Redefining sex in eighteenth-century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), pp. 73–90.
- Hitchcock, T., "'Unlawfully begotten on her body": illegitimacy and the parish poor in St. Luke's Chelsea', in T. Hitchcock, P. King and P. Sharpe (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640–1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997) pp. 70–86.

- Hitchcock, T., 'Demography and the culture of sex in the long eighteenth century' in J. Black (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 69–84.
- Hitchcock, T., *Down and out in eighteenth-century London* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004).
- Hitchcock, T., *English Sexualities, 1700–1800* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 39–41.
- Hitchcock T., and Black, J., (eds), 'Introduction', *Chelsea settlement and bastardy examinations, 1733–1766* (London: London Record Society, 1999), pp. x–xi.
- Hitchcock T. and Shoemaker, R.B., *London lives: poverty, crime and the making of a modern city, 1690–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Hoffer, P.C., and Hull, N.E.H., *Murdering mothers: infanticide in England and New England, 1558–1805* (New York: New York University Press, 1981).
- Hollis, P., *Ladies elect: women in English local government 1865–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
- Honeyman, K., *Child workers in England, 1780–1820: parish apprentices and the making of the early industrial labour force* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Hubbard, E., *City women: money, sex, and the social order in early modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Hudson, P., and King, S., 'Two textile townships, c. 1660–1820: a comparative demographic analysis', *Economic History Review*, 53:4 (2000), pp. 706–741.
- Humfrey, P., (ed.), *The experience of domestic service for women in early modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
- Humphries, J., *Childhood and child labour and the British industrial revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Hunt, E.H., 'Industrialization and regional inequality: wages in Britain, 1760–1914', *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986), pp. 935–66.
- Hurl-Eamon, J., "'The lowest and most abandoned trull of a soldier": the crime of bastardy in early modern London', in R. Hillman and P. Ruberry-Blanc (eds), *Female transgression in early modern Britain: literary and historical explorations* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2014), pp. 163–90.
- Hurren E., and King, S., 'Courtship at the coroners' court', *Social History*, 40:2 (2015), pp. 185–207.
- Ikegami, E., 'Emotions', in U. Rublack (ed.), *A concise companion to history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Ingram, M., *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Ingram, M., 'Cohabitation in context in early seventeenth-century London', in Probert, *Cohabitation and non-marital births*, pp. 33–50.

- Innes, J., 'Prisons for the poor: English bridewells, 1555–1800', in F. Snyder and D. Hay (eds), *Labour, law, and crime: an historical perspective* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1987), pp. 42–122.
- Innes, J., 'The "mixed economy of welfare" in early modern England: assessments of the options from Hale to Malthus (c. 1683–1803)', in M. Dauntton (ed.) (1996), *Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 139–80.
- Innes, J., 'Managing the metropolis: London's social problems and their control, c.1660–1830', in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds), *Two capitals: London and Dublin 1500–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 53–79.
- Jackson, D.G., 'Kent workhouse populations in 1881: a study based on the census enumerator's books', *Local Population Studies*, 69 (2002), pp. 51–66.
- Jackson, D.G., 'The Medway Union Workhouse, 1876–1881: a study based on the admission and discharge registers and the census enumerators' books, *Local Population Studies*, 75 (2005), pp. 11–32.
- Jackson, M., *New-born child murder: women, illegitimacy and the courts in eighteenth-century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).
- Jackson, M. (ed.), *Infanticide: historical perspectives on child murder and concealment 1550–2000* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002).
- Jones, P., and King, S. (eds), *Obligation, entitlement and dispute under the English poor laws* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).
- Kent, D.A., 'Ubiquitous but invisible: female domestic servants in mid-eighteenth century London', *History Workshop*, 28 (1989), pp. 111–128.
- Kidd, A., *State, society, and the poor in nineteenth-century England* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1999).
- Kilday, A.-M., *A history of infanticide in Britain c.1600 to the present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- King, P., 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 183 (2004), pp. 125–172.
- King, P., 'The rights of the poor and the role of the law: the impact of pauper appeals to the summary courts 1750–1834', in Jones and King, *Obligation, entitlement and dispute*, pp. 235–262.
- King, S., 'The bastardy prone sub-society again: bastards and their fathers and mothers in Lancashire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, 1800–1840', in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 66–85.
- King, S. and Tomkins, A., (eds), *The poor in England 1700–1850: an economy of makeshifts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
- King, W. 'Punishment for bastardy in early seventeenth-century England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 10:2 (1978), pp. 130–151.

- Landau, N., *The justices of the peace, 1679–1760* (London: University of California Press, 1984).
- Landau, N., 'The laws of settlement and the surveillance of immigration in eighteenth-century Kent', *Continuity and Change* 3:3 (1988), pp. 391–420.
- Langford, P., *A polite and commercial people: England 1727–1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Langton, J., 'Urban growth and economic change: from the late seventeenth century to 1841', in Clark, *Cambridge Urban history*, pp. 453–90.
- Laqueur, T., 'Sex and desire in the industrial revolution', in P. O'Brien and R. Quinault (eds), *The industrial revolution and British society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 100–23.
- Laslett, P., *Family life and illicit love in earlier generations: essays in historical sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Laslett, P., 'Introduction; comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy and its comparative history*, pp. 1–68.
- Laslett, P., 'The bastardy prone sub-society', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy and its comparative history*, pp. 217–46.
- Laslett, P., 'Illegitimate fertility and the matrimonial market', in J. Dupaquier, E. Helia, P. Laslett, M. Levi-Bacci (eds), *Marriage and remarriage in populations in the past* (London: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 461–71.
- Laslett, P., Oosterveen K. and Smith R.M. (eds), *Bastardy and its comparative history: studies in the history of illegitimacy and marital nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1980).
- Longmate, N., *The workhouse: a social history* (London: Temple Smith, 1974, 2003).
- Lees, L. H., *The solidarity of strangers: the English poor laws and the people, 1700–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Levene, A., 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration', *Continuity and Change*, 18:2 (2003), pp. 201–235.
- Levene, A., Nutt, T. and Williams, S. (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Levene, A., Nutt, T. and Williams, S., 'Introduction', in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1–17.
- Levene, A., 'The mortality penalty of illegitimate children: foundlings and poor children in eighteenth-century England', in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 34–49.
- Levene, A., *Childcare, health and mortality at the London Foundling Hospital: 'Left to the mercy of the world'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

- Levene, A., 'Children, childhood and the workhouse: St. Marylebone, 1769–1781', *The London Journal*, 33:1 (2008), pp. 41–59.
- Levene, A., 'Parish apprenticeship and the old poor law in London', *Economic History Review*, 63:4 (2010), pp. 915–941.
- Levene, A., *The childhood of the poor: welfare in eighteenth-century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Levene, A., 'Institutional Responses: the London Foundling Hospital', in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain*, III (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006).
- Levene, A., 'Poor families, removals and "nurture" in late Old Poor Law London', *Continuity and Change*, 25:2 (2010), pp. 233–262.
- Levine, D., *Family formation in the age of nascent capitalism* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 127–45.
- Levine D., and Wrightson, K., 'The social context of illegitimacy in early modern England', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy*, pp. 158–75.
- Levine-Clark, M., 'Engendering relief: women, ablebodiedness, and the new poor law in early Victorian England', *Journal of Women's History*, 11.4 (2000) pp. 107–130.
- Lloyd, S., '"Pleasure's Golden Bait": prostitution, poverty and the Magdalen Hospital in eighteenth-century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), pp. 51–70.
- Loudon, I., *Death in childbirth: an international study of maternal care and maternal mortality, 1800–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- Lyle, M.A., 'Regionality in the late old poor law: the treatment of chargeable bastards from Rural Queries', *Agricultural History Review*, 53 (2005), pp. 141–57.
- McClure, R., *Coram's children: the London Foundling Hospital in the eighteenth century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).
- McDonagh, J., *Child murder and British culture, 1720–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- McEwan, J., and Sharpe, P., (ed.), *Accommodating poverty: the housing and living arrangements of the English poor, c. 1600–1850* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- McLaren, A., *Reproductive rituals: the perception of fertility on England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries* (London: Methuen, 1984).
- Macfarlane, A., 'Illegitimacy and illegitimates in English history', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy*, pp. 71–85.
- MacKay, L., 'A culture of poverty? The St. Martin in the Fields' workhouse, 1817', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 26:2 (1995), pp. 209–231.
- Malcolmson, R.W. 'Infanticide in the eighteenth century', in J.S. Cockburn (ed.), *Crime in England, 1550–1800* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 187–209.

- Marchant, R.A., *The church under the law: justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Marks, L., ‘Medical care for pauper mothers and their infants: poor law provision and local demand in east London, 1870–1929’, *Economic History Review*, 46:3 (1993), pp. 518–542.
- Marland, H., *Dangerous motherhood: insanity and childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- Mason, M., *The making of Victorian sexual attitudes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Meldrum, T., ‘A women’s court in London: defamation at the Bishop of London’s Consistory Court, 1700–1745’, *The London Journal*, 19:1 (1994), pp. 1–20.
- Meldrum, T., *Domestic service and gender, 1660–1750: life and work in the London household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).
- Mendelson, S., and Crawford, P., *Women in early modern England 1550–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Muldrew, C., *Food, energy and the creation of industriousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Munt, S. R., *Queer attachments: the cultural politics of shame* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Nash, D., and Kilday, A.-M., *Cultures of shame: exploring crime and morality in Britain 1600–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Newman, A., ‘An evaluation of bastardy recordings in an east Kent parish’, in Laslett, *Bastardy*, pp. 141–57.
- Negrine, A., ‘The treatment of sick children in the workhouse by the Leicester poor law union, 1867–1914’, *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 34–44.
- Nichols R.H., and Wray, F.A., *The history of the Foundling Hospital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935).
- Nielsen, C., ‘Disability, fraud and medical experience at the Royal Hospital of Chelsea in the long eighteenth century’, in K. Lynch and M. McCormack (eds), *Britain’s soldiers: rethinking war and society, 1715–1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 183–201.
- Nutt, T., ‘The paradox and problems of illegitimate paternity in old poor law Essex’, in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 102–21.
- Nutt, T., ‘Bastardy’, in A. Levene (ed.), *Narratives of the poor in eighteenth-century Britain, I: Voices of the poor: poor law depositions and letters* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 127–203.
- Nutt, T., ‘Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new’, *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), pp. 335–61.

- Obelkevich, J., 'Religion', in F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750–1950*, III *Social agencies and institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 311–56.
- Oosterveen, K., Smith, R.M., and Stewart, S., 'Family reconstitution and the study of bastardy: evidence from certain English parishes', in Laslett et al, *Bastardy*, pp. 86–140.
- Ottaway, S.R., *The decline of life: old age in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Outhwaite, R.B., *The rise and fall of the English ecclesiastical courts, 1500–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007 online ed.).
- Page, S., 'Pauperism and the Leicester workhouse in 1881', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 63 (1989), pp. 85–95.
- Paxman, J., *The Victorians: Britain through the paintings of the age* (London: BBC Books, 2010).
- Perkyns, A., 'The admission of children to the Milton Union Workhouse, Kent, 1835–1885', *Local Population Studies*, 80 (2008), pp. 59–77.
- Pollock, L., 'Childbearing and female bonding in early modern England', *Social History*, 22 (1997), pp. 286–306.
- Pollock, L., 'Little commonwealths I: the household and family', in K. Wrightson (ed.), *A social history of England, 1500–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 60–83.
- Poos, L., 'Sex, lies and the church courts of pre-reformation England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 25 (1995), pp. 585–607.
- Porter, R., *London: a social history* (London: Penguin, 1994).
- Price, K., *Medical negligence in Victorian Britain: the crisis of care under the English poor law, c.1834–1900* (Bloomsbury: London, 2015).
- Probert, R., *Marriage law and practice in the long eighteenth century: a reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Probert, R. (ed.), *Cohabitation and non-marital births in England and Wales, 1600–2012* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Prochaska, F.K., 'Philanthropy', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge social history of Britain, 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 357–394.
- Reay, B., *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Reay, B. (ed.), *Popular cultures in England 1550–1750* (London: Longman, 1998).
- Reid, A., 'The influences on the health and mortality of illegitimate children in Derbyshire, 1917–1922', in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 168–189.
- Reinartz, J., and Schwarz L. D., (eds), *Medicine and the workhouse* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

- Reinarz J., and Schwarz, L., 'Introduction', in *Medicine and the workhouse*, pp. 1–16.
- Reinke-Williams, T., *Women, work and sociability in early modern London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Richmond, V., *Clothing the poor in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Rogers, N., 'Carnal knowledge: illegitimacy in eighteenth-century Westminster', *Journal of Social History*, 23:2 (1989), pp. 355–375.
- Rose, L., *The massacre of the innocent: infanticide in Britain 1800–1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).
- Sauer, R., 'Infanticide and abortion in nineteenth-century Britain', *Population Studies*, 32 (1978), pp. 81–93.
- Schwarz, L.D., 'The standard of living in the long run: London, 1700–1860', *Economic History Review*, XXXVIII (1985), pp. 24–41.
- Schwarz, L.D., *London in the age of industrialisation: entrepreneurs, labour force, and living conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Schwarz, L.D., 'London 1700–1840', in Clark, *Cambridge Urban history*, pp. 641–672.
- Schwarz, L., review of Evans, *Unfortunate objects*, *Economic History Review*, LIX, 4 (2006), pp. 847–9.
- Seal, C., 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions, 1851–1911', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp. 83–100.
- Seligman, S.A., 'The Royal Maternity Charity: the first hundred years', *Medical History*, 24 (1980), pp. 403–18.
- Sharpe, J.A., *Defamation and sexual slander in early modern England: the church courts at York* (York: University of York, Borthwick IHR, Borthwick Papers, 58, 1980).
- Sharpe, P., 'Parish women: maternity and the limitations of maiden settlement in England 1662–1834', in Jones and King, *Obligation, entitlement and dispute*, pp. 168–92.
- Sheetz-Nguyen, J.A., *Victorian women, unwed mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* (London: Continuum, 2012).
- Shepard, A., 'Brokering fatherhood: illegitimacy and paternal rights and responsibilities in early modern England', in S. Hindle, A. Shepard and J. Walter (eds), *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 41–63.
- Shepard, A., *Accounting for oneself: worth, status, and the social order in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Shoemaker, R.B., *Prosecution and punishment: petty crime and the law in London and rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

- Shorter, E., 'Illegitimacy, sexual revolution and social change in modern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, II:2 (1971), pp. 237–72.
- Siena, K., *Veneral disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600–1800* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004).
- Siena, K., 'Hospitals for the excluded or convalescent homes?: Workhouses, medicalization and the poor law in long eighteenth-century London and Pre-Confederation Toronto', *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History/Bulletin Canadien D'histoire de la Médecine*, 27:1 (2010), pp. 5–25.
- Siena, K., 'Contagion, exclusion and unique medical world of the eighteenth-century workhouse', in Reinartz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the workhouse*, pp. 19–39.
- Slack, P., *Poverty and policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988).
- Slack, P., 'Hospitals, workhouses and the relief of the poor in early modern London', in O.P. Grell and A. Cunningham (eds), *Health care and poor relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 234–51.
- Snell, K.D.M., 'Pauper settlement and the right to poor relief in England and Wales', *Continuity and Change* 6:3 (1991), pp. 375–415.
- Snell, K.D.M., *Parish and belonging: community, identity and welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Sokoll, T., (ed.), *Essex pauper letters, 1731–1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Stephenson, J., "'Real" wages? Contractors, workers, and pay in London building trades, 1650–1800', *Economic History Review*, early view on-line, 2017.
- Szreter, S., *Fertility, class and gender in Britain, 1860–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Tadmor, N., 'The settlement of the poor and the rise of the form in England, c.1662–1780', *Past & Present*, 236 (2017), pp. 43–97.
- Tanner, A. 'The casual poor and the city of London poor law union, 1837–1869', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp. 183–206.
- Taylor, J.S., 'The impact of pauper settlement 1691–1834', *Past & Present*, 73 (1976), pp. 42–74.
- Thane, P., 'Women and the poor law in Victorian and Edwardian England', *History Workshop*, 6 (1978), pp. 30–51.
- Thane, P., and Evans, T., *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried motherhood in twentieth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Thomas, K., 'The double standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20:2 (1959), pp. 195–216.
- Tilly, L.A., Scott J.W., and Cohen, M., 'Women's work and European fertility patterns', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6:3 (1976), pp. 447–76.

- Tomkins, A., *The experience of urban poverty, 1723–82* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
- Trumbach, R., *Sex and the gender revolution: heterosexuality and the third gender in Enlightenment London*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Walker, G., ‘Rereading rape and sexual violence in early modern England’, *Gender and History*, 10:1 (1998), pp. 1–25.
- Walker, G., *Crime, gender and social order in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Walker, G., ‘Rape, acquittal and culpability in popular crime reports in England, c.1670–c.1750’, *Past & Present*, 220: 1 (2013), pp. 115–142.
- Walkowitz, J., *Prostitution and Victorian society: women, class, and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- Wallis P., and Webb, C., ‘Leaving home and entering service: the age of apprenticeship in early modern London’, *Continuity and Change*, 25:3 (2010), pp. 377–404.
- Weisbrod, B., ‘How to become a good foundling in early Victorian London’, *Social History*, 10 (1985), pp. 193–209.
- White, J., *A great and monstrous thing: London in the eighteenth century* (2012).
- Williams, S., “That the Petitioner Shall have Borne a Good Character for Virtue, Sobriety, and Honesty Previous to her Misfortune”: unmarried mothers’ petitions to the Foundling Hospital and the rhetoric of need in the long eighteenth century, in Levene et al, *Illegitimacy in Britain*, pp. 86–101.
- Williams, S., “I was Forced to Leave my Place to Hide my Shame”: the living arrangements of unmarried mothers in London in the early nineteenth century’, in McEwan and Sharpe, *Accommodating poverty*, pp. 191–218.
- Williams, S., ‘The experience of pregnancy and childbirth for unmarried mothers in London, 1760–1866’, *Women’s History Review*, 20: 1 (2011), pp. 67–86.
- Williams, S., *Poverty, gender and life-cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760–1834* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011).
- Williams, S., ‘Unmarried mothers and the new poor law in Hertfordshire’, *Local Population Studies*, 91 (2013), pp. 27–43.
- Williams, S., “They lived together as Man and Wife”: plebeian cohabitation, illegitimacy, and broken relationships in London, 1700–1840’, in R. Probert, *Cohabitation and non-marital births*, pp. 65–79.
- Williams, S., ‘The maintenance of bastard children in London, 1790–1834’, *Economic History Review*, 69:3 (2016), pp. 945–971.
- Wilson, A., ‘Illegitimacy and its implications in mid-eighteenth-century London: the evidence of the Foundling Hospital’, *Continuity and Change*, 4: 1 (1989), pp. 103–164.
- Wilson, A., ‘The ceremony of childbirth and its interpretation’, in Fildes, *Women as mothers*, pp. 68–107.

- Wilson, A., 'The perils of early-modern procreation: childbirth with or without fear?' *British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, 16:1 (1993), pp. 1–19.
- Wilson, A., *The making of man-midwifery: childbirth in England, 1660–1770*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Wilson, A., *Ritual and conflict: the social relations of childbirth in early modern England* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).
- Woods R., and Galley, C., *Mrs Stone and Dr Smellie: eighteenth-century midwives and their patients* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014).
- Wrigley, E.A., 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy, 1650–1750', *Past & Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 44–70.
- Wrigley, E.A., 'Marriage, fertility and population growth in eighteenth-century England', in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (London: Europa Publications, 1981), pp. 137–85.
- Wrigley, E.A., 'British population during the "long" eighteenth century, 1680–1840', in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), volume I *Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, pp. 57–95.
- Wrigley, E. A., Davies, R. S., Oeppen, J. E., and Schofield, R. S., *English population history from family reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Wrightson, K., and Levine, D., *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- Wunderli, R.M., *London church courts and society on the eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1981, online edn).

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- Black, J., 'Illegitimacy and the urban poor in London, 1740–1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1999).
- Davenport, R., Boulton J., and Black, J., 'Neonatal and maternal mortality in the workhouse of St. Martin in the Fields, 1725–1824' (unpublished paper given at European Social Science History Association Conference, Glasgow, Saturday 14 April 2012, available at the Pauper Lives in Georgian London and Manchester project website, <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/pauperlives/>).
- Gammon, G., 'Defining reputation: negotiating gender and power in the long eighteenth-century court room' (unpublished paper presented at the Exeter Early Modern England Workshop, University of Exeter, 10–12 July 2003).
- Higginbotham, A.R., 'The unmarried mother and her child in Victorian London, 1834–1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Indiana, 1985).
- Hitchcock, T.V., 'The English workhouse: a study in institutional poor relief in selected countries 1696–1750' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1985).

- Humphries, J., 'Eve also delved: gendering economic history', The Ellen McArthur Lectures, lecture 3 'History from underneath: women and girls' experience in the era of industrialisation', 1 March 2016, University of Cambridge.
- Nutt, T., 'Illegitimacy and the poor law in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005).
- Sandy, E., 'Lone motherhood in late-Victorian and Edwardian Poplar' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2011).
- Seleski, P., 'The women of the labouring poor: love, work and poverty in London, 1750–1820' (unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1989).

OTHER ON-LINE SOURCES

- Census of Britain, Populations, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>.
- Kennedy, D., 'A local prison for the poor. A study of the Kingston house of correction', 20 Aug 2016, www.kingstonhistoryresearch.co.uk.
- <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol26/pp100-105#h3-0011>.

INDEX¹

A

Abandoned children, 2, 17, 33n80,
45, 88, 134, 135, 137, 195, 213,
214, 229n76

Abortifacients, 86

Abortion, 85, 86, 103n71

Act for the keeping regular, uniform
and annual registers of all Parish
poor infants (1762), 137, 138

Age of marriage, *see* Marriage

Annual registers of poor children,
161n172, 161n175, 204n116

Apprenticeship, 13, 16, 25, 37n136,
169, 232

Art, 21, 22, 49

B

Baby-farming, 19

Ballads, 49, 58, 134

Bastardy examinations, 2, 4, 8, 10–13,
16, 19, 22, 79, 80, 91, 117–120,
128, 135, 154n56, 156n91,

157n98, 166, 168, 169,
179–182, 184, 202n77, 233
Bastardy laws, 1, 2, 10, 52, 63, 166,
167, 170, 174, 207, 222, 224,
231, 233

Bastardy prone sub-society, 8, 179

Betrothal, 8, 83, 232

Bigamy, 169, 227n45

Breastfeeding, 79, 93, 94, 134, 136,
161n177

C

Childbirth

complications associated with, 89
concealment of, 2, 19, 50, 51, 89,
90

fatalities related to, 118, 131, 147

lactation test (breast milk), 18

maternal mortality, 131, 132, 138,
144

mental illness associated with (*see*
Insanity)

¹Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

Childbirth (*cont.*)

secret births, 2, 4, 22, 26, 50, 88,
91, 94, 234

self-delivery, 88–90

Childcare, 93, 137

Child mortality

in London Foundling Hospital, 89

in workhouses, 61, 113, 131, 135,
137, 139, 147, 161n174, 183,
235

Church courts, *see* Ecclesiastical courts

Cohabitation, 16, 59, 83, 93, 101n36,
207

Concealment of birth, 2, 19, 50, 51,
89, 90

Concealment of pregnancy, 4, 50, 51,
88, 97, 126

Convictions for infanticide at the Old
Bailey, trends in, 22, 51, 86, 89,
90, 130

Coram, Thomas, 53, 65, 89

Coroners, 22, 88, 89, 130

Courtship, 4–9, 25, 54, 66, 79–84,
96, 97, 98n4, 119, 120, 180,
194, 196, 231, 232

D

Dabhoiwala, Farametz, 8, 26n2, 27n4,
32n58, 32n62, 37n132, 38n149,
42n193, 42n194, 50, 52, 66,
68n32, 69n37, 70n48, 70n49,
70n51, 71n62, 71n66, 71n68,
71n71, 83, 151n8, 198n18,
201n67, 207, 208, 213, 223,
225n5, 225n6, 225n9, 226n16,
227n38, 228n52, 229n97,
229n100, 231, 236n3

Domestic service, 18, 25, 51, 57, 65,
80, 82, 96, 121, 139, 179, 190,
191

servants, 18, 20, 24, 25, 37n139,
80, 85, 87, 90, 113, 179

E

Eccles, Audrey, 13, 28n24, 33n75,
34n91, 34n95, 34n96, 35n105,
35n109, 35n110, 39n156,
39n157, 39n158, 88, 104n89,
104n91, 198n13, 212, 217,
226n25, 226n27, 228n50,
228n51, 229n83, 229n99,
229n100, 230n106

Ecclesiastical courts, 17, 30n35, 49,
50, 87, 166, 207, 208

Evans, Tanya, 19, 27n8, 27n9,
28n25, 31n53, 37n136,
38n150, 39n151, 40n171,
40n172, 40n173, 40n174,
40n175, 40n178, 45, 53, 54,
67n1, 67n2, 67n3, 72n75,
72n79, 72n80, 72n82, 72n84,
73n87, 83, 87, 92, 97n3, 98n4,
98n5, 98n6, 98n7, 98n10,
99n15, 100n32, 101n39,
101n42, 104n88, 106n130,
107n131, 107n133, 107n136,
107n146, 107n148, 150n1,
150n3, 153n51, 154n54,
155n68, 160n158, 179,
200n46, 200n47, 201n70,
201n71, 202n76, 235, 237n8,
238n21

F

Filiation, 230n111

Foundlings, 10, 65, 135, 158n126,
171

G

Gossips, 18, 68n32, 90, 94–96, 149,
234

Gowing, Laura, 17–19, 26n2, 27n11,
32n73, 33n75, 34n95, 38n143,
38n145, 38n146, 38n147,

38n148, 38n149, 39n151,
39n152, 39n154, 39n157,
39n158, 39n159, 39n160,
39n162, 39n165, 49, 69n41,
69n42, 69n44, 70n51, 71n53,
71n59, 71n60, 85–88, 90, 95,
97n1, 97n2, 98n4, 100n22,
101n38, 101n39, 102n47,
102n48, 102n52, 102n54,
102n62, 102n65, 102n66,
102n67, 103n75, 103n76,
103n78, 103n81, 103n83,
103n84, 104n89, 104n92,
104n93, 104n100, 105n107,
105n109, 107n147, 107n154,
107n157, 108n160, 108n162,
108n165, 108n167, 165, 168,
197n4, 197n10, 198n13,
199n25, 199n29, 201n65, 209,
224n1, 224n2, 224n4, 226n27,
228n63

H

Hanway, Jonas, 15, 36n127, 53, 61,
72n78, 137, 149, 160n165, 183,
186, 189, 191, 202n88, 202n89,
203n104, 204n120, 233
Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 83
Hitchcock, Tim, 8, 11, 20, 21,
27n7–9, 28n20, 28n23–25,
31–32n57, 32n58–60, 32n62,
33n80, 33n82, 33n83, 33n88,
34n92, 34n99, 37n134, 37n138,
37n139, 39n150, 40n172,
40n176, 40n179, 41n186,
41n188, 42n198, 43n210,
43n211, 55n, 69n39, 71–72n75,
71n74, 73n89, 74n114, 88,
98n6, 98n10, 99n19, 100n25,
101n40, 103n79, 103n82,
104n88, 106n129, 108n166,

112–115, 117, 118, 132, 135,
150n1, 150n7, 150n8, 151n9–11,
151n14–16, 151n20, 152n22,
152n23, 152n27, 152n29–31,
153n32, 153n35, 153n36,
153n39, 153n41, 153n43,
153n44, 153n46, 153n50,
153n52, 153n53, 154n55,
154n57, 154n64, 154n66,
155n72, 155n77, 156n85,
156n86, 157n101, 157n103,
157n104, 158n122, 158n127,
158n130, 158n131, 159n134,
159n142, 159n146, 159n148,
159n151, 159n152, 160n154,
160n156, 160n158, 160n163,
160n164, 160n167, 160n169,
164n224, 169n170, 197n8,
197n11, 198n13, 200n43,
202n77, 202n79, 202n81,
204n124, 227n36, 233, 235,
236, 237n11, 237n12, 238n22
Humphries, Jane, 40n171, 84,
101n41

I

Illegitimacy ratios, 5, 6, 9, 49, 60, 66,
150, 235
Imprisonment, 10, 11, 14, 15, 86, 90,
184, 211, 217, 219, 224,
230n110
Infanticide, 2, 18, 19, 22, 48, 50, 51,
53, 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 130, 165,
234
Insanity, 89

J

Jackson, Mark, 39n153, 50, 53,
68n30, 69n42, 71n54, 71n55,
72n77, 102n47, 102n70,

103n71, 103n78, 103n86,
104n94, 144, 162n188,
163n215, 163n216

Justices of the peace (J.P.s),
magistrates, 1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 20,
23, 50, 51, 55, 61, 82–84, 88,
95, 119, 130, 134, 137, 141,
165–170, 173, 174, 177, 178,
181, 182, 184, 187, 188, 190,
196, 207–209, 217, 219, 220,
222–224, 225n12, 226n13,
226n14, 226n19–22, 234, 235

K

Kin and friends, support by, 10, 54
Knatchbull's Workhouse Act (1723),
see Workhouse Act

L

Laslett, Peter, 7, 8, 29n27, 29n28,
29n29, 29n33, 29n34, 30n41,
30n42, 31n45, 31n49, 31n55,
32n58, 154n66, 155n69, 225n8,
237n4, 237n5

Levene, Alys, 3, 6, 8, 14, 28n18,
28n21, 28n22, 28n25, 30n35,
30n37, 30n41, 31n52, 31n53,
31n54, 31n55, 31n56, 32n74,
33n77, 33n80, 34n93, 34n95,
34n99, 35n111, 35n114,
38n147, 40n170, 40n175,
40n178, 41n188, 54, 67n6,
72n76, 72n79, 72n80, 73n98,
73n99, 98n4, 98n8, 100n33,
104n87, 104n99, 113, 137,
151n20, 152n21, 152n25,
154n61, 155n75, 158n126,
158n127, 159n153, 160n154,
160n155, 160n158, 160n159,
160n163, 160n164, 160n168,
160n170, 161n171, 191, 197n1,

198n13, 198n15, 200n43,
200n46, 201n72, 204n116,
204n119, 204n124, 225n11,
237n7, 237n8, 238n16, 238n20
Lock Hospital, 20, 53, 72n75, 140,
150n5, 233
London Foundling Hospital
‘General Reception’ (1756–1760),
6, 20, 135, 137
petitions, 4, 14, 19, 22, 46, 54, 80,
83, 84, 92, 100n33, 105n116,
190, 204, 232, 235

London parishes

Acton, 162n195, 172
Chiswick, 172
Christ Church Newgate Street, 172
Edgeware, 221
Edmonton, 172
Harefield, 172
Harmondsworth, 172
Hendon, 172
Heston, 172
Isleworth, 172
Kingsbury, 171, 173
Limehouse St Anne, 171, 172, 174
Little Stanmore, 173
Paddington, 172, 221
Pinner Hamlet, 173
St Alban Wood Street, 171, 172
St Antholin, 171, 173
St Benedict/St Bene't Fink, 172
St Bennet Sherehog, 171, 172
St Clement Danes, 13, 14, 82, 91,
105n115, 106n122, 114, 120,
121, 137, 141, 169, 175,
177–179, 185, 194, 199n23,
199n30, 201n60, 201n61,
202n85, 202n87, 203n96,
205n136, 217
St Dunstan in the West, 52, 172,
222
St Dunstan, Ratcliffe Hamlet, 172,
222

St George the Martyr Southwark,
21, 25, 36n124, 86, 117,
162n195, 169, 220

St Giles in the Fields and St George
Bloomsbury, 131, 171, 172

St Gregory by St Paul, 173

St James Clerkenwell, 12, 13, 172

St James Westminster, 121, 132,
167, 169

St John Hackney, 91, 172

St John Hampstead, 172

St Luke Chelsea, 1, 14, 21, 23,
26n1, 34n93, 34n97, 113,
114, 116–123, 129, 140, 145,
154n56, 175, 179, 181, 184,
190, 200n49, 202n77, 232

St Margaret Westminster, 82, 91,
114, 117, 122, 130, 132, 136,
141, 179–181, 202n77

St Martin in the Fields, 6, 21, 24,
30n39, 87, 92, 97, 106n129,
113, 115–117, 120, 123–127,
130–132, 145, 152n21,
152n22, 153n38, 169, 179,
217, 222, 223

St Mary at Hill, 173

St Mary Colechurch, 171, 173

St Marylebone, 36n124, 64, 113,
131, 142, 143, 151n20,
162n195, 171, 172, 222

St Mary Newington Lambeth, 12,
91, 117, 175

St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury,
91, 173

St Mildred Bread Street, 172, 173

St Olave Southwark, 24, 204n116

St Pancras, 13, 36n124, 142, 143,
162n195, 171, 172, 199n43

St Saviour Southwark, 17, 91, 175

St Stephen, Coleman Street, 173

St Stephen Walbrook, 172

St Thomas Southwark, 173

Stepney, 87, 147, 172

Sunbury, 172

Twickenham, 172

Willesden, 172

Lying-in hospitals

British Lying-in Hospital, 54, 92,
96, 111

City of London Lying-in Hospital,
54, 92, 111, 210, 217

General Lying-in Hospital, 40n178,
54, 92, 93, 111, 120

Middlesex Lying-in Hospital, 54,
72n75, 92, 93, 106n130,
107n145, 111, 134, 150n1
6th, 111

Store Street Lying-in Hospital, 54,
92, 111

M

Magdalen Hospital for Penitent
Prostitutes, 20, 53, 57, 66, 233

Maintenance for bastard children, 21,
30n41, 136, 191, 195, 231

Male occupational structure, 24

Malthus, T.R., 2, 28n14, 55, 60–62,
75n133, 75n134, 75n135,
75n136, 76n147, 196

Man-midwives, 54, 92, 95, 111, 130

Marine Society, 53

Marriage

age of, 5

Married women

and lying-in hospitals, 54, 55, 126,
236

and workhouses, 23, 25, 65, 91, 92,
114, 128, 133, 134, 148, 233

Master/servant relationships, 18, 80

Maternal nurture, 136

Midwives, 15, 18, 19, 51, 84–87,
90–97, 111, 123, 130, 131, 144,
148, 149, 168, 169, 215, 233,
234

Migrants to London, 16

Miscarriage, 85, 123, 209

Mothers, 1–8, 10–15, 17–21, 25, 26,
34n99, 35n111, 35n113,
38n141, 41n183, 45, 46, 48–66,
79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 87–96,
104n100, 105n116, 111, 112,
114–125, 127–136, 138–149,
154n56, 155n69, 155n70,
156n91, 156n93, 157n102,
159n153, 161n175, 162n190,
165–171, 174–178, 180, 181,
184, 186, 188–191, 194–196,
205n145, 208, 209, 211, 213,
216–224, 231–236
working, 21, 53, 58, 60

N

New poor law, 2, 3, 5, 9, 14, 15, 21,
22, 28n19, 35–36n120, 36n122,
60–66, 82, 90, 113, 141–148,
194–196

Non-settled poor, 23

Nutt, Thomas, 3, 8, 10, 11, 28n18,
28n19, 28n21, 29n26, 30n35,
32n72, 32n74, 33n78, 33n81,
33n84, 33n86, 33n88, 34n93,
35n117, 36n120, 36n124,
39n151, 42n193, 61, 63, 67n6,
73n92, 75n137, 75n139,
75n140, 75n141, 75n142,
75n143, 76n147, 76n155,
76n157, 76n158, 98n4, 101n39,
102n68, 108n166, 158n126,
167, 168, 170, 171, 174, 186,
188–190, 195, 197n1, 197n6,
197n8, 197n11, 198n15,
198n18, 198n19, 198n21,
199n24, 199n27, 199n28,
199n29, 199n35, 199n37,
199n38, 199n39, 199n40,
199n41, 199n42, 200n48,

201n66, 202n93, 203n102,
203n103, 203n110, 204n113,
204n116, 204n118, 205n130,
205n139, 205n142, 205n144,
208, 224, 225n11, 225n12,
226n13, 226n14, 230n117, 235,
237n8, 238n16, 238n20

O

Outdoor relief, 2, 4, 15, 20, 22, 25,
63, 112–114, 117, 118, 121,
136, 139, 141–143, 148, 149,
165, 175, 186, 196, 233

P

Parish nursing, children, 65, 92, 114,
189, 190
Parish nursing homes, 92, 112, 114,
148
Parish settlement, 1, 14, 122, 139,
166, 194, 218
Paternity, 10, 14, 15, 28n18,
166–170, 181, 198n15, 209,
214, 215, 225n11, 229n85, 235,
238n20
Placenta, 89
Place of birth
lodgings, 105n116, 233
lying-in hospitals (*see* Lying-in
hospitals)
workhouse, 6, 64, 88, 89, 91, 92,
105n116, 112, 115–126, 128,
129, 142, 145, 236
Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), 3,
21, 90, 113, 141, 165, 167
Poor Law Commissioners 1834 Town
Queries, 25, 61, 167, 168, 172,
187, 211, 221
Pregnancy, 4, 5, 7–9, 18, 19, 22, 25,
35n111, 49–51, 57, 59, 66, 67,

79–82, 84–90, 93, 94, 97,
113–115, 118, 120–122, 124,
126, 130–132, 135, 148, 166,
169, 207, 232, 234–236
Prenuptial pregnancy, 5, 8, 49, 50, 85,
88, 89, 148
Promise of marriage, 7, 25, 65, 83,
84, 87, 232
Prostitution, 4, 21, 25, 52, 57, 59, 64,
66, 81, 82, 97, 181, 211,
213–215
Puerperal insanity, *see* Insanity
Punishment
 house of correction, 2, 11, 25, 26,
 50, 52, 53, 66, 90, 139, 149,
 185, 207–213, 216, 217,
 219–224, 234
 whipping, 2, 13, 48, 50, 207, 209,
 213, 218–220, 223

R

Rape, 58, 83, 84, 97, 227n45
Registers of poor children, 137,
 161n173, 161n175, 204n116
Religious context, 58, 64, 132, 143
Reputation, 9, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59,
 70n52, 169, 215
Royal Maternity Charity, 54, 111, 130

S

Sexual harassment, 83, 84
Sexual revolution, 7, 8, 49, 52, 66,
 207, 213, 223
Shame, 3, 4, 18, 21, 22, 26, 45–77,
 89, 90, 115, 119, 132, 234, 235
Shoemaker, Robert, 11, 20, 27n5,
 27n7, 27n8, 27n9, 28n20,
 28n23, 33n83, 34n92, 34n99,
 37n134, 40n172, 40n176,
 40n179, 41n188, 42n193,

42n195, 43n210, 43n211, 55,
71n67, 71n74, 72n75, 73n89,
98n6, 99n19, 100n25, 112, 115,
135, 150n1, 150n7, 151n8,
151n9, 151n10, 151n11,
151n16, 152n23, 152n27,
152n29, 152n30, 153n32,
153n35, 153n39, 153n41,
153n44, 153n50, 156n85,
156n86, 157n101, 159n148,
159n151, 159n152, 160n154,
160n156, 160n158, 160n164,
160n167, 160n169, 160n170,
198n13, 198n23, 199n28,
200n43, 204n124, 211, 224n4,
225n5, 225n10, 225n12,
226n15, 226n16, 226n17,
226n26, 226n31, 227n32,
227n33, 227n36, 227n39,
227n49, 228n56, 228n63,
229n85, 229n96, 229n99,
229n101, 229n103, 233, 235,
236, 237n12, 238n22
Still-birth, 1, 90, 94, 121, 131, 147,
 184

T

Trumbach, Randolph, 8, 16, 28n25,
 29n33, 30n35, 32n58, 32n59,
 32n63, 36n128, 37n131,
 37n138, 54, 67n7, 69n39,
 72n80, 72n81, 72n83, 81–83,
 98n6, 98n10, 99n15, 99n21,
 100n24, 100n27, 100n30,
 100n32, 101n42, 104n88,
 154n66, 155n67, 155n68,
 156n89, 179–181, 201n70,
 201n71, 202n74, 202n77,
 202n78, 202n81, 202n83,
 202n84, 202n92, 232, 236,
 237n6, 237n8, 237n9, 238n25

W

Wet-nursing, 139, 147, 161n177

Widows, 14–16, 21, 51, 85, 115, 142, 147, 207

Wilson, Adrian, 8, 27n8, 27n10, 30n36, 32n58, 32n59, 32n61, 37n130, 69n39, 72n75, 74n114, 94, 103n75, 103n77, 104n89, 107n145, 107n146, 107n150, 107n152, 107n153, 108n168, 108n169, 135, 150n1, 150n3, 157n110, 160n154, n6

Workhouse Act (Knatchbull's) (1723), 20

Workhouses, 1–6, 14, 15, 17, 19–23, 25, 26, 38n141, 52, 53, 55, 61–66, 82, 87–89, 91, 92, 96, 97, 105n116, 106n129, 108n171, 111–164, 168, 176, 178, 179, 184, 187, 191, 195, 196, 205n145, 217, 223, 233–236