English Historical Review Vol. CXXI No. 492 doi:10.1093/ehr/cel107

*Summary Justice in Early Modern London**

THE purpose of this note is to elucidate the character and extent of summary jurisdiction in the City of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, using a previously overlooked series of sources.

This was an era in which London grew exponentially in size and significance. In 1600 it had perhaps 200,000 inhabitants; by 1800 there were close to a million.[1] The capital as a whole encompassed several different administrative and political units, each with its own rules and traditions. The main entities for secular government were the City of London, the city of Westminster, and the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, into which the capital's suburbs increasingly sprawled. Historians have long been interested in the role of the law in these large, varied and disproportionately influential communities. And although legal process was used for many purposes, they have been especially concerned to reconstruct London's criminal jurisdictions. How particular offences were treated in the metropolis, how policing and prosecution worked there, and how they changed over the course of this period, are all rightly perceived to be matters of considerable importance. For as the capital grew ever larger and more dominant in national life, its problems of crime and social order, and its methods of dealing with them, took on ever greater scope and consequence.[2]

The simplest type of law in this period, but one of the least studied, was summary justice. Under statute and common law, justices of the peace acting alone or in concert had the authority to deal with a wide variety of administrative, civil and criminal matters, settling them by

*I am indebted to the librarians and archivists of the following institutions for help in locating and examining materials in their collections: All Souls College, Oxford; Balliol College, Oxford; Bethlem Royal Hospital, Beckenham, Kent; the Bodleian Library; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; Christ Church, Oxford; Christ's Hospital, Horsham, West Sussex; the Corporation of London Records Office; Dulwich College, London; Guildhall Library, London; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the National Archives, London; the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland; Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen; Senate House Library, University of London; Worcester College, Oxford.

1. Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion', in A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (1986), 39.

2. Still indispensable are Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act* (9 vols, 1906–29); Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750* (5 vols, 1948–86). Important recent contributions include J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Oxford, 1986); idem, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford, 2001); Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991); Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c.1660–1725* (Cambridge, 1991).

arbitration, adjudication or punishment, without a formal trial.[3] Many of these powers had been introduced under the Tudors. The same was true of houses of correction, which were from the later sixteenth century onwards founded across the country to incarcerate petty offenders who had been summarily convicted.[4] But the real expansion of summary jurisdiction occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the procedure came to be used very extensively. It seems entirely possible that many more men and women were subjected to various forms of summary justice at this time than were ever sent to trial by jury.[5]

To contemporary observers the growth of the practice raised obvious questions of fairness. When Bridewell, the first English house of correction, was established in the City of London, its powers were contentious.[6] One well-known Elizabethan treatise, variously ascribed to William Fleetwood and to the young Francis Bacon, later Lord Chancellor, argued that the whole institution was contrary to Magna Carta. It was unsustainable that men should be without due process examined there, let alone punished, merely 'upon the accusation of whores taken by the Governors'.[7] In this case it was the absence of parliamentary authority for the practice that seemed particularly repugnant. But in the course of the seventeenth century the criticism was extended much further. In the years following the Glorious Revolution, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Holt, repeatedly expressed his suspicions of summary jurisdiction even where its use was introduced by statute. Ultimately, he argued, it was 'contrary to the rights and liberties of Englishmen', even men and women of a very indifferent sort, to be imprisoned merely at the discretion of a magistrate.[8] The same view was enshrined in William Blackstone's great *Commentaries*

3. See, e.g., William Lambarde, *Eirenarcha* (1581 and later edns); Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice* (1618 and later edns); W[illiam] N[elson], *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace* (1704 and later edns); Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace* (2 vols, 1755 and later edns); and for modern summaries, G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1982), 464–8; Norma Landau, *The Justices of the Peace, 1679–1760* (Berkeley, 1984), esp. 6–8, 23–38.

4. Joanna Innes, 'Prisons for the Poor: English Bridewells, 1555–1800', in Francis Snyder and Douglas Hay (eds), *Labour, Law, and Crime: An Historical Perspective* (1987).

5. Cf. Dietrich Oberwittler, 'Crime and Authority in Eighteenth-Century England: Law Enforcement on the Local Level', *Historical Social Research*, xv (2) (1990); Douglas Hay, 'Dread of the Crown Office: the English Magistracy and King's Bench, 1740–1800', in Norma Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and English Society, 1660–1830* (Cambridge, 2002), 24; Paul Griffiths, 'Introduction', in Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (eds), *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500–1900: Punishing the English* (Basingstoke, 2004), 13; Peter King, 'The Summary Courts and Social Relations in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, clxxxiii (2004). I am very grateful to Professor King for advance sight of his important article, and to Ms Joanna Innes for allowing me to read her unpublished paper 'Statute Law and Summary Justice in Early Modern England'.

6. Paul Griffiths, 'Contesting London Bridewell, 1576–1580', *Journal of British Studies*, xlii (2003).

7. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath (14 vols, 1857–74), vii, 505–16; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), 'Francis Bacon', 'William Fleetwood'; *Briefe Collections out of Magna Charta* (1643).

8. *R.* v. *Chandler* (1700): Robert, Lord Raymond, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas* (2nd edn, 1765), 582.

on the Laws of England, first published in the 1760s, which held that summary conviction was 'fundamentally opposite to the spirit of our constitution'.[9] By the end of the eighteenth century, in part due to such concerns, hearings before justices of the peace had become increasingly formal and public. Yet, although historians of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social relations have long debated just how fair and accessible the law really was in this period, and how flexible,[10] the role of summary justice has thus far received only limited attention. In particular, despite a growing interest in the everyday work of local magistrates, and their vital role in resolving civil disputes and preserving order,[11] the scope of their punitive efforts in the heart of the capital, the City of London, remains imperfectly understood.

This is a serious lacuna. For the City remained throughout this period an immensely important entity. Its system of governance and civic participation was uniquely sophisticated; its magistrates included men of great substance and power in the kingdom; its population ranked amongst the richest, most politically active and most influential in national affairs.[12] Moreover, summary justice was particularly prominent in the capital: metropolitan justices appear to have relied upon it very heavily. Most importantly of all, during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the City repeatedly led the way for the rest of the country by introducing major innovations in law enforcement. It was here that were established not just the first house of correction in the British Isles, but also the first permanent magistrates' court and some of the first professional police forces. Despite its mundane appearance, the exercise of summary jurisdiction in the City of London thus lay at the very centre of the system of justice in early modern England.

Two main types of evidence survive of this activity. The first is of the business conducted by the City's justices of the peace. In the early

9. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (4 vols, Oxford, 1765–9), iv, 277–9, 342–4; cf. Landau, *Justices of the Peace*, 343–57.

10. These questions have been especially fiercely disputed for the eighteenth century: Joanna Innes and John Styles, 'The Crime Wave: Recent Writing on Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century England', in Adrian Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570–1920 and its Interpretation* (Manchester, 1993); Peter King, *Crime, Justice, and Discretion in England, 1740–1820* (Oxford, 2000).

11. In addition to works already cited, see *The Deposition Book of Richard Wyatt, J.P., 1767–76*, ed. Elizabeth Silverthorne, Surrey Record Society, xxx (1978); *The Justicing Notebook of William Hunt, 1744–1749*, ed. Elizabeth Crittall, Wiltshire Record Society, xxxvii (1982); *Justice in Eighteenth-Century Hackney: The Justicing Notebook of Henry Norris and the Hackney Petty Sessions Book*, ed. Ruth Paley, London Record Society, xxviii (1991); *The Justicing Notebook (1750–64) of Edmund Tew, Rector of Boldon*, ed. Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, Surtees Society, ccv (2000); Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, 'The Magistrate, the Community and the Maintenance of an Orderly Society in Eighteenth-Century England', *Historical Research*, lxxvi (2003).

12. See, e.g., Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London', *London Journal*, v (1979); Gary Stuart De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688–1715* (Oxford, 1985); Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford, 1989).

seventeenth century this was an office still restricted, as it had been since the middle ages, to the recorder, the current lord mayor and those aldermen who had already held that position. Between 1638 and 1741, under the growing pressure of business, membership of the bench was gradually expanded to include more and more, and finally all twenty-six, of the aldermen.[13] Amongst this varying number of City JPs, the lord mayor of the day appears to have occupied a special position, holding very frequent sittings (often daily) at which he exercised powers of summary jurisdiction as a single magistrate that were, as one early-eighteenth-century commentator observed, 'more than other Justices of the Peace can do'.[14] Records of these sessions survive, with large gaps, for various periods from 1624 onwards.[15] In 1737 a new daily magistrate's court was established at the Guildhall, at which each City justice presided in turn. The lord mayor's sittings were initially incorporated into this, but became a separate forum again in 1753. A parallel series of records, again incomplete, documents the business of the Guildhall sessions from 1752 onwards.[16]

The second type of material describes imprisonment in a house of correction. This was the severest form of summary punishment normally inflicted in the capital. Occasionally it was also used by magistrates at Quarter Sessions; and at various times it came to be imposed experimentally on people accused or convicted of minor felonies. Most men and women who suffered it summarily were first taken before a JP and committed by his warrant. But in the City of London, unlike other jurisdictions, committals could also be made directly by constables and other lower officers, on occasion even by parents, masters and other figures of authority.[17] Inmates were sometimes whipped and usually kept to hard labour, beating hemp, for a few days or weeks. Most were discharged by a justice's warrant, because they were able to find credible sureties and enter into a recognisance, or because their 'friends' testified in person or in writing to their good character. Apart from these individual releases by JPs, houses of correction were also emptied at regular court sessions. In most jurisdictions, including Westminster, Middlesex and Surrey, this happened at the local Quarter Sessions. But the City's original house of correction, Bridewell, was a grand and complex institution, with its own endowment, board of governors, extra-parochial jurisdiction and petty officers; and it held its own

13. *The Corporation of London: Its Origin, Constitution, Powers and Duties* (1950), 57–60; Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 92.

14. John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. John Strype (6 books, 1720), V, 389.

15. C[orporation of] L[ondon] R[ecords] O[ffice], Lord Mayor's Waiting Books (1624–1706) and Lord Mayor's Charge Books (1686–).

16. CLRO, Guildhall Justice Room Minute Books.

17. Such practice was formally ended only in 1785, when it was ordered that henceforth committals should be made only by magistrates: *House of Commons Sessional Papers* 1840 [219], 402.

court.[18] Up until the second quarter of the eighteenth century this was constituted by a regular group of active governors who met every two or three weeks. Thereafter, as the frequency of general meetings declined, business was handled by committee.[19] Aldermen became governors of Bridewell ex officio, and the president of the court was conventionally elected from among their number; but, as at the other City hospitals, there was also an increasingly large number of lay governors.[20]

Bridewell received its charter in 1552. The minutes of its courts survive intermittently from 1559 onwards, and in a continuous series from 1666.[21] Their value as a source for historians of crime and of social relations is considerable. As a number of recent studies have indicated, the minute books are rich in circumstantial detail about the lives of the men, women and children who came before the court of governors.[22] They also appear to provide an index of the overall scale and scope of summary justice in the City. A. L. Beier, the first scholar to attempt to chart this, noted that the number of inmates recorded annually in the Elizabethan and Jacobean court books rose steadily: 445 in 1560–1; 586 in 1578–9; 899 in 1600–1; 1,639 by 1624–5.[23] Subsequent researches have confirmed that in later periods, too, the figures remained very substantial. They have also begun to reveal the comparatively wide range of offences for which men and women were summarily punished in the City. During the reign of Elizabeth, for example, Ian Archer has computed that anything from a third to two-fifths of those committed in any year suffered for sexual transgressions. For the century following the Restoration, John Beattie has drawn particular attention to the fact that many inmates of Bridewell were property offenders who should normally have faced a jury trial, in some cases even the prospect of execution. The character of summary justice in the City was thus distinctive, and in certain respects went well beyond what the letter of the law appeared to allow.[24]

18. *Memoranda, References, and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London* (1836); [Francis Offley Martin], 'Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals', in *House of Commons Sessional Papers* 1840 [219], 385–613; Alfred James Copeland, *Bridewell Royal Hospital Past and Present* (1888); Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital: Palace, Prison, Schools* (2 vols, 1923–9). The publication of Professor Paul Griffiths's book on the early history of Bridewell is eagerly awaited.

19. See G[uildhall] L[ibrary] MSS 33131 (Bridewell Prison Committee Minute Books, 1775–1802) and 33132 (Bridewell Prison Subcommittee Minute Books, 1792–1854).

20. Until 1664 there was one body of governors for all five of the City's hospitals; thereafter separate boards were formed, although the government of Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals remained unified. A useful account is given in Jonathan Andrews et al., *The History of Bethlem* (1997), 156–68.

21. Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives, Beckenham, Kent, Court Books of the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals [hereafter BCB].

22. See, e.g., A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560–1640* (1985); Paul Griffiths, 'The Structure of Prostitution in Elizabethan London', *Continuity and Change*, viii (1993); Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).

23. A. L. Beier, 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, ix (1978), 204, n. 3.

24. Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 239–40; Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 24–32, 97.

Yet alongside this growing realisation of their importance there has emerged a deepening sense that the court books are a seriously defective source, especially for the purpose of quantification. Around the end of the sixteenth century, Dr Archer has hypothesised, perhaps as many as two-thirds of all offenders might be missing from them. During the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, concludes Professor Beattie, after a comparison of Bridewell's records with those of the City's justices, it is simply impossible to say how many men and women were punished by summary incarceration.[25]

The difficulty arises because the minute books of the governors only recorded those prisoners who appeared before them at one of their courts, omitting those who were committed and discharged between such sessions.[26] Yet the problem is not insuperable. The hospital's record-keeping appears to have been fairly sophisticated, and there are other records that can be linked to the data in the minute books.

The most important of these is the tally of the total number of offenders that passed through Bridewell every year. From the court books it appears that a public announcement of this figure was first made, or formalised, in the later 1590s. In April 1597, the governors recorded that 710 vagrants and other disorderly persons had been dealt with over the past three months.[27] From 1599 onwards they issued an annual 'certificate' at Easter, specifying the exact number of poor people 'maintained' over the past year.

These notices were occasionally copied into the court books.[28] But their chief purpose was to inform the large numbers of citizens who attended the City's elaborate services of thanksgiving every year during Easter week. In the later sixteenth century huge crowds gathered at Spital Cross on Easter Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, along with the lord mayor and aldermen, bishops, and other notables, to hear special sermons and appeals for charity.[29] Amongst them were the governors of Bridewell and the other four City hospitals (Bethlem, Christ's, St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's), whose charitable needs evidently played an increasingly prominent role in the proceedings. At some point, probably in the early seventeenth century, it became customary for the children of Christ's to

25. Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 238; Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 30. This difficulty is ignored in the calculations presented by Griffiths, 'Contesting London Bridewell', 313–14, and idem, 'Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, xiii (1998).

26. Except for two surviving rough minute books from the mid-seventeenth century, which include prisoners committed and discharged between sessions, with the dates and names of the officers and magistrates responsible: BCB X (1657–9), BCB XI (1662–4). A few individual warrants of committal and discharge also survive: GL, MS 33137/1 (1691–5).

27. Thomas Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital* (1798), 61n. (the court book no longer survives).

28. See BCB IV, fos. 76r (1599), 154r (1600), 227v (1601); BCB VII, unfoliated first page (1633); BCB VIII, fos. 237v (1639), 375v (1642); BCB IX, 29 (1643), 102 (1644), 190 (1645), 433 (1650), 496–7 (1651).

29. *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society, Old Ser., xlii (1848), 33, 131–2, 231, 254, 304–5.

perform a specially composed psalm of thanksgiving at the event.[30] This in turn inspired the publication of the hospitals' annual 'certificates' in more permanent form. The first such published report to survive dates from 1610; and the tradition continued until 1862.[31] Until 1643, and again from the 1670s onwards, it took the form of a broadside entitled *A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital.* In its top half were printed the music and verses sung by the children; underneath was a report of how many and what kind of people had been received into each hospital over the past year, as well as an appeal for charitable support.[32] Between 1644 and 1668 the psalm was omitted, and the broadsheet was entitled *A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals.* The seventeenth-century accounts of Christ's Hospital reveal that many thousands of copies were printed each year, and that the cost was shared between the hospitals.[33] In addition to being separately printed, the reports were also generally alluded to, and sometimes reprinted, in the sermons preached on these occasions.[34]

These publications have thus far gone largely unnoticed by historians of crime and social policy.[35] This is not surprising. The surviving copies are very rare, and their content brief, stereotyped and almost unchanging. Year after year, they continued to refer to the men and women committed to Bridewell simply, and misleadingly, as 'Vagrants and other indigent and miserable People, all of whom have had Physick, and such other Relief, at the Charge of the said Hospital, as their Necessities required'.[36] Yet the figures they provide are invaluable.

From 1701 onwards, the workhouse of the recently resurrected London Corporation of the Poor operated as a second house of correction for the City.[37] As at Bridewell, most committals to the

30. E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (1901), 217–28; Susi Jeans, 'The Easter Psalms of Christ's Hospital', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, lxxxviii (1962); N. M. Plumley, *The Organs and Music Masters of Christ's Hospital* (1981).

31. No figures are contained in: *Feare God and Honour the King. A Psalme of Prayer and Praise … for the Private Use of the Poore Orphanes in Christs Hospitall* [*c.*1603–9]; *A Psalme of Thanksgiving, to be Sung by the Children of Christs Hospitall, on Tuesday in the Easter Holy-Dayes* (1636 and 1641 edns).

32. Information about Bethlem was included only from 1644 onwards.

33. Jeans, 'Easter Psalms', 52, 55.

34. The earliest such example to survive in print appears to be Thomas Hill, *The Good Old Way, Gods Way* (1644), 43. In the 1680s the service was moved indoors; from the mid-1690s onwards it took place in the parish church of St Bride's.

35. But see Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution, 1640–1660* (1930), 246–7, 399; E. S. de Beer, 'The London Hospitals in the Seventeenth Century', *Notes & Queries*, clxxvii (1939); Valerie Pearl, 'Puritans and Poor Relief: The London Workhouse, 1649–1660', in Keith Thomas and Donald Pennington (eds), *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford, 1978), 212, n. 3; Andrews et al., *History of Bethlem*, 338, 340.

36. The wording underwent slight variations: this example is from the 1748 report.

37. Although the Ordinances of 1647 and 1649 that established the original Corporation of the Poor had given it the power to found and operate new houses of correction in the City, this was not done, and the Corporation's officers had made use of Bridewell to punish vagrants and disorderly persons: Pearl, 'Puritans and Poor Relief', 222–3.

'keeper's side' of the workhouse were made by its own officers, by those of a parish or by a magistrate. Prisoners were discharged by individual warrant or on the authority of the institution's committee 'for managing the affairs of the vagrants', which reported weekly to the court of the president and governors of the Corporation, who met at Guildhall. Only one minute book of these courts has survived, which records committals and discharges between March 1703 and November 1705.[38] But, like the City hospitals, the Corporation published regular reports with statistics of its achievements,[39] which were publicised at Easter and usually referred to in the annual charity sermons.

The new Corporation of the Poor was closely linked to Whig and dissenting interests in the City, and opposed by many prominent Tories. By contrast, in the early eighteenth century the governing body of Bridewell, whose chaplain for many years was Francis Atterbury, was distinctly Tory and High Church.[40] One might have expected this to have influenced the pattern of committals, for the summary punishment of moral offenders by campaigners for a 'reformation of manners' became increasingly politicised at this time. In fact, comparison of the records of both institutions for 1703 and 1704 reveals that during this period, and very probably in later years too, their jurisdictional profile was virtually identical. Moreover, none of the City's most active magistrates appears to have shown any particular bias towards either institution when committing offenders, irrespective of his political outlook.[41] The most likely model of symbiosis between the two houses of correction is therefore one based on geography. The workhouse in Bishopsgate Street was situated at the opposite end of the City to Bridewell: probably justices of the peace issued warrants for committal to one or the other according to the provenance of the offenders and officers who appeared before them.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the fortunes of the Corporation of the Poor declined. In 1751 it stopped taking in poor parish children to be educated in trades, which had been its main philanthropic function. A few years later the keeper's side of the workhouse was closed down and turned into a prison for debtors.

38. CLRO, Minutes of the Court of the President and Governors for the Poor of the City of London. A few warrants of committal to the workhouse survive in CLRO, Misc. MS 331.6 (1725).

39. In the 1650s the original Corporation had done similarly, variously imitating Christ's Hospital's tradition of Easter psalms sung by the children of the foundation, and its broadside annual reports: *The Cities Corporations Poore Their Founders Bless* [1652]; *Poor Out-Cast Childrens Song and Cry Twixt Joy's and Sorrows Extasie* (1653); *These Children Orphans Singing Show, Though God's Above, He Dwels Below* [subtitled *The Report of the Governours of the Corporation for Imploying and Releiving the Poor*] (1655); *The 7 of Aprill 1658. A True Report of the President and Governours of the Corporation for the Poore* [1658].

40. Stephen Macfarlane, 'Social Policy and the Poor in the Later Seventeenth Century', in Beier and Finlay, *London 1500–1700*; Craig Mark Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity in Augustan London, *c.*1680–*c.*1720' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989), 38.

41. BCB XVIII, 128–88; CLRO, Minutes of the Court of the President and Governors for the Poor of the City of London.

All that remained by the 1760s was an institution for employing vagrant children.[42] Thus Bridewell became once more the City's only house of correction. In line with national developments in prison reform, its penal regime was substantially revised from the 1790s onwards, and came to an end (except for the occasional incarceration of disorderly apprentices) in 1855.[43]

The Appendix below collates all the surviving annual totals for the City workhouse and Bridewell (up to 1855) that I have been able to trace, including some known only at second hand from other contemporary publications. Those of the workhouse have been derived in various ways. Its published statistics were complex and not always consistent in presentation from year to year. Sometimes they distinguish between the number of offenders committed and the number discharged in a particular year: in that case wherever possible the former figure is used here. For periods where detailed reports do not survive the annual figures have been taken or computed from the running general totals published by the Corporation of the Poor, which were calculated on a slightly different basis. A superscript plus sign indicates that the Bridewell or workhouse figure is an aggregate whose components are specified in the source cited.[44] In the eighteenth century, details of the annual reports came to be reprinted in general surveys of London as well as in periodical literature. I have cited the original report or Easter sermon whenever possible, and named the fullest or most accessible source when the same data can be found in more than one place. The capitalisation, punctuation and spelling of titles have been regularised, and the place of publication is London unless stated otherwise. Until the early 1770s the figures are for committals during the twelve months *ending* on or around Lady Day (25 March) of the year in question. Thereafter they appear to be for the year running from January to December, although the annual report continued to be published at the following Easter.[45]

What implications, then, can be drawn from the new evidence presented here? To begin with, it establishes for the first time the full

42. Jonas Hanway, *Observations on the Causes of the Dissoluteness which Reigns among the Lower Classes of the People* (1772), 32–4; *The Original Works of William King* (3 vols, 1776), iii, 197n.; *The New, Complete, and Universal History, Description, and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. William Thornton et al. (1784), 320, 394; *Boydell, Mayor. A Common Council holden ...* [on] *the 5th day of October, 1791* [1791].

43. *House of Commons Sessional Papers* 1840 [219], 408–10, 448–59; *General Report of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, and of the House of Occupations* (1845); Susan E. Brown, 'Policing and Privilege: The Resistance to Penal Reform in Eighteenth-Century London', in Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (eds), *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston, 2004).

44. All figures for Bridewell exclude the apprentices who, until the early nineteenth century, were housed and trained at the hospital by its so-called 'arts-masters', and the inmates of the separate 'House of Occupations' later set up by the governors. When such persons are mentioned in the annual reports their number is always specified separately from that of the house of correction.

45. The shift to the calendar year may explain the divergent figures reported for 1772 and 1773, as noted in the Appendix.

magnitude of summary incarceration in the City of London. Every year, it appears, many hundreds of men and women were punished in this way. On a national scale it has been estimated that the number of people who suffered confinement in a house of correction during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was probably quite small, at most perhaps three commitments per year for every thousand inhabitants.[46] The comparable proportion for the City, as for other parts of the metropolis, was very much higher. In most years in the City there were at least nine or ten commitments per thousand inhabitants, at times considerably more.[47] Another measure of the significance of summary imprisonment is that in absolute terms the number of people thus punished in the City appears to have been substantially greater than the number tried formally before a jury.[48]

Of course the figures, like those of many early modern jurisdictions, show considerable fluctuation over time. There is no evident correlation with demographic trends; and in any case the population of the City remained fairly static between 1600 and 1850. But it is possible to see other connections. It is likely that the generally high levels of confinement in the early seventeenth century, and similar upsurges towards the end of the eighteenth century, reflect the incidence of petty crime and vagrancy at times of comparative economic hardship. For example, 1783 and 1784 were years of widespread dearth, as well as the immediate aftermath of war. Such circumstances usually brought a sharp upturn in prosecutions for felony: they also, in this case at least, led to a dramatic peak in commitments to Bridewell.[49] By contrast, the lesser rise around 1700 was probably caused by the campaign for reformation of manners launched in 1689, which made extensive use of summary incarceration in its efforts against street-walkers. The variations from year to year and over the longer term thus echo changes both in the nature and incidence of crime, and in attitudes towards it.

More particularly, the availability of precise totals now makes it possible to establish what proportion of the overall number of offenders is recorded in the Bridewell court books at any point. Between Easter 1600 and Easter 1601, for example, a total of 2,730 men and women were interned, of whom 899 appear in the court books.[50] In the year up

46. Innes, 'Prisons for the Poor', 103–5.

47. Based on a comparison of the figures in the Appendix with the estimates of the City's population at various points between 1600 and 1801 given in Finlay and Shearer, 'Population Growth', 42, and P. E. Jones and A. V. Judges, 'London Population in the Late Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review*, vi (1935), 58–62. Cf. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*, 276.

48. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 17, 41, records the numbers tried by jury for property offences, which made up the majority of all trials in the City. A sizeable further number of offences will have been punished summarily by fine, or by recognisance. Cf. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*, 50–1.

49. Cf. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts*, ch. 5.

50. BCB IV, fo. 227v; Beier, 'Social Problems', 204, n. 3.

to Easter 1671 the equivalent figures were 260 out of 851; for the year ending at Easter 1691 they were 274 out of 689.[51] Roughly speaking, therefore, the seventeenth-century court books contain details of about a third of all committals. The exact proportion recorded in any year depended mainly on the number of times the governors met as a court. From the 1710s onwards the frequency of such sessions declined, from about twenty to between five and ten per annum. The numbers and proportions recorded in the eighteenth-century court books are therefore generally lower. But, as the figures in the Appendix make clear, this creates something of an optical illusion: for the total number of men and women punished summarily in the City remained considerable.

The recovery of the annual totals will also enable scholars in future to use the court books to much greater effect. For it is now feasible, for the first time, to gain a definite sense of the overall numbers of men and women imprisoned summarily year by year for different kinds of crime and disorder. Once it is known what the relationship is between the sample recorded in the court books and the actual total passing through Bridewell in any period, the same extrapolation can be used to estimate the annual number of offenders of various types.

It must be stressed that this kind of computation can never be more than indicative, as it is subject to two main difficulties. The first is that of categorising offenders. The descriptions in the court books reproduce the language of warrants of committal and of hearings before the governors, and are sometimes opaque or impossible to classify. Thus many men and women were confined on very vaguely described grounds, such as behaving 'suspiciously' at night time. Others were punished for a combination of reasons, like Henry Pateman, alias John Goumerye, locked up in August 1695 on suspicion both of being a highwayman and of keeping company with another man's wife.[52] Still others were described only by catch-all legal phrases, such as 'loose, idle, and disorderly' persons,[53] which might be used to cover any one of a multitude of different infractions. The difficulty of cataloguing such information is common, of course, to most historical work on legal sources. In this case it can be eased by dividing offences only into broad categories; by examining longer runs of the court books (which can, for example, throw light on habitual offenders); and by cross-checking for individuals in the records of JPs and Quarter Sessions, where these survive.

The second problem is that of the size and typicality of the sample. As has been noted, the proportion of prisoners registered in the court books declined in the course of the eighteenth century, making

51. BCB XII, 190–279; BCB XVI, 32–108; *A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1671 and 1691 edns).

52. BCB XVII, 2.

53. An expression which derived its force from a 1610 statute concerning houses of correction: 7 Jac. I. c.4; cf. Sir Edward Coke, *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642), 730.

extrapolation from it increasingly uncertain. More generally, any sample would obviously be skewed if certain types of offender were routinely committed for significantly longer than others, making them more likely to appear before a court and in the minute books. This was certainly the case from 1792 onwards, when, in accordance with new national legislation, all inmates at Bridewell were classified either as vagrant paupers, who remained for up to a week, or as disorderly persons, who were usually committed for a month.[54] Yet in earlier times no such fixed tariffs were normally applied, and differences in length of stay appear not to have been very consistent. In the nearest comparable houses of correction, those of Westminster and Middlesex, men and women accused of theft in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries tended on the whole to remain imprisoned for slightly longer than, say, disorderly servants. But so many other factors also influenced the length of sentence that such small differences can only be taken as weakly suggestive of similar practice at Bridewell.[55] Thus, although the court books are doubtless an imperfect guide, there is, at least until the later eighteenth century, little reason to doubt their overall representativeness.

With these caveats in mind it should prove possible henceforth to arrive at a much firmer impression of the nature of summary incarceration in the City during this period. By way of illustration the Table below gives an estimate of how many committals were made to Bridewell for various types of offence between Easter 1690 and Easter 1691. It is extrapolated from the sample of 274 offenders recorded in the court books during

Table: Estimated committals to Bridewell, 1690–91

	Men	**Women**	**Total (%)**
Theft and fraud	126	181	307 (45)
Sexual offences	5	194	199 (29)
Misconduct in service	45	33	78 (11)
Breach of the peace	22	23	45 (7)
Vagrancy	5	10	15 (2)
Miscellaneous or unknown	33	12	45 (7)
Total (%)	236 (34)	453 (66)	689

Sources: BCB XVI, 32–108; *A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1691).

54. 32 Geo. III c.45 (1792), amending 17 Geo. II c.5 (1744); *Reports from Select Committees, Respecting the Arts-Masters and Apprentices of Bridewell Hospital* (1799), 7–9.

55. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*, 189–92.

that time, which represents 40 per cent of the annual total. It is notable that over the same period in the City only about a hundred people, most of them men, were tried by jury for crimes against property.[56]

Summary justice played a major role in the maintenance of law and order in early modern England. Its significance is only beginning to be appreciated. Until now it has not been possible properly to interpret the unusually rich records of its implementation in the City of London, and they have attracted comparatively little attention. Yet our conception of the law and its role in society is necessarily impoverished without an understanding of the most basic levels of jurisdiction. The insights offered here are thus intended not just to unlock the wealth of a particular set of sources, but also as a small contribution to a fuller history of social relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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Appendix
Committals to a house of correction in the City of London, 1597–1854

Year	Source	Bridewell
1597	Thomas Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital* (1798), 61n (this figure is for February to April 1597 only; the court book for the period no longer survives)	710
1598	—	
1599	BCB IV, fo. 76r (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 22)	2043
1600	BCB IV, fo. 154r (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 25)	1952
1601	BCB IV, fo. 227v (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 26)	2730
1610	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1610)	1697
1628	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1628)	2483
1629	—	
1630	—	
1631	—	
1632	—	

(Appendix continued on next page)

56. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, 41, 68.

Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1633	BCB VII, unfoliated first page (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 29–30)	1578
1634	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1634)	1180
1635	—	
1636	—	
1637	—	
1638	—	
1639	BCB VIII, fo. 237v	982
1640	—	
1641	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1641)	711
1642	BCB VIII, fo. 375v (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 30–1)	684
1643	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1643)	957
1644	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Four Hospitals* [1644]	1128
1645	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Four Hospitals* [1645]	793
1646	—	
1647	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Five Hospitals* [1647]	575
1648	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Five Hospitals* [1648]	545
1649	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Five Hospitals* [1649]	521
1650	*A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Five Hospitals* [1650]	725
1651	BCB IX, 496–7 (printed in Bowen, *Extracts*, 33)	1085
1652	—	
1653	*The 11th Day of April, 1653. A True Report of the Great Costs and Charges of the Five Hospitals* [1653]	705
1654	—	
1655	*The 10th Day of April 1655. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1655]	688

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1656	*The 4th Day of April 1656. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1656]	639
1657	—	
1658	*The 9th Day of April. 1658. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1658]	705
1659	—	
1660	*The Twentieth Day of April, 1660. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1660]	990
1661	—	
1662	—	
1663	—	
1664	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1664]	828
1665	*Two Psalms of Thanksgiving to be sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1665]	908
1666	—	
1667	*The 8th Day of April 1667. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1667] ('the number cannot be certainly set down, by reason the Books wherein their names were entred were in the late Fire consumed and burnt')	'very many'
1668	*Easter Monday, the 23 Day of March, 1667/8. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor Children and other Poor People Maintained in the Several Hospitals* [1668]	335
1669	—	
1670	—	
1671	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1671)	851
1672	—	
1673	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1673)	616
1674	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1674)	673

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1675	—	
1676	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1676)	1124
1677	—	
1678	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1678)	1118
1679	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1679)	919
1680	—	
1681	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1681)	896
1682	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1682)	944
1683	George Hickes, *A Sermon Preached at the Church of St Bridget ... upon the Subject of Alms-giving* (1684), 30 (which is apparently a reprint of the 1683 report)	822
1684	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1684)	804
1685	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1685)	1279
1686	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1686)	954
1687	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1687)	1069
1688	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1688)	963
1689	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1689)	973
1690	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1690)	819
1691	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1691)	689
1692	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1692)	781
1693	—	
1694	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1694)	1072
1695	Robert [Grove], *Profitable Charity* (1695), 23	969
1696	—	

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1697	John [Williams], *A Sermon upon the Resurrection* (1697), 25	904
1698	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1698)	1370
1699	—	
1700	Z[acheus] Isham, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1700), 20	1406

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1701	Thomas Whincop, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1701), 22, 25	1277	71	1348
1702	Richard Willis, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor* (1702), 18, 20–1	1212	262+	1474
1703	*London Work-House. Easter, 1703. A True Report* [1703]	—	442+	
1704	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* ('1703', i.e. 1704); John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, ed. John Strype (6 books, 1720), I, 202 (568 committals are recorded in the workhouse minute book between March 1703 and March 1704: CLRO, Minutes of the Court of the President and Governors for the Poor of the City of London)	441	653	1094
1705	Samuel Barton, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor* (1705), 15–16	366	611	977

(Appendix continued on next page)

Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1706	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1706); [Edward Hatton], *A New View of London* (2 vols, 1708), ii, 750	182+	540	722
1707	[Hatton], *New View*, ii, 736 (this figure is given as 272+ in Stow, *Survey*, 1720, I, 191); *London Work-House. A True Report of the Great Number of Poor* [1707]	279+	405	684
1708	Robert Nelson, *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate* (2 parts, 1715), II, 52	290	—	
1709	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1709)	225+	—	
1710	White Kennett, *The Works of Charity* (1710), 29, 31	299+	528	827
1711	Gilbert [Burnet], *A Sermon Preach'd at St Brides* (1711), 24, 26	392+	611	1003
1712	White Kennett, *Doing Good the Way to Eternal Life* (1712), 32, 34	<416+	491	<907
1713	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1713); *London Work-House. A True Account of the Work-House in Bishopsgate-street* [1713], 2	<371+	508	<879
1714	White Kennett, *The Properties of Christian Charity* (1714), 32, 34	332	538	870
1715	—			
1716	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1716); Stow, *Survey*, 1720, I, 202	274	363	637
1717	Stow, *Survey*, 1720, I, 191	350	—	

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1718	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1718)	327	—	
1719	White [Kennett], *Charity and Restitution* (1719), 22	288	—	
1720	—			
1721	James Peller Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century* (1808), 17	—	683	
1722	—			
1723	Joseph [Wilcocks], *A Spital Sermon Preach'd at the Church of St Bridget* (1723), 22; *London Work-House. A True Account (for the Year last past) of the Work-House in Bishopsgate-street* [1723], 2	293	692	985
1724	calculated from the figures given in *London Work-House. A True Account* [1723], 2, and *An Account of Several Work-Houses for Employing and Maintaining the Poor* (1725), 5	—	*c.*750	
1725	calculated from the figures given in *Account of Several Work-Houses*, 5 and *London Work-House. A True Account (for the Year last past) of the Work-House in Bishopsgate-street* [1727], 2	—	*c.*600	
1726	as for 1725	—	*c.*600	
1727	Thomas [Greene], *A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Honourable Sir John Eyles* (1727), 22–3	317	285	602
1728	Roger Altham, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Lord-Mayor* (1728), 20–1	257	478	735

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1729	*A True Report*, 3–4, appended to Robert [Clavering], *Universal Love* (1729)	179	685	864
1730	William Maitland, *The History of London* (1739), 661, 674 (which records workhouse figures for the twelve months *beginning* in the year specified)	331	515	846
1731	*A True Report*, 4, 7, appended to Thomas Mangey, *The Rules of Publick Charity* (1731)	572	305	877
1732	Maitland, *History of London*, 661, 674	673	315	988
1733	Ibid.	612	367	979
1734	Ibid. (perhaps mistakenly reporting the 1735 figure for Bridewell)	325(?)	445	770(?)
1735	Richard [Reynolds], *The Retributions of Charity* (1735), 19, 22	325	250	575
1736	Martin [Benson], *A Sermon Preached before the Lord-Mayor* (1736), 29, 31	465	380	845
1737	calculated from the workhouse figures given in accounts for 1736 and 1740	—	*c.*358	
1738	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1738); and calculated from the workhouse figures given in accounts for 1736 and 1740 (the combined total for 1738 is described as 'Eight hundred' in Thomas [Secker], *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1738), 21)	488	*c.*358	*c.*846
1739	calculated from the workhouse figures given in accounts for 1736 and 1740	—	*c.*358	

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1740	Joseph [Butler], *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1740), 29, 31	380	303	683
1741	Matthias [Mawson], *A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1741), 20–3	372	469	841
1742	*London Work-House. A True Account (for the Year last past) of the Work-House in Bishopsgate-street* (1742)	—	357	
1743	*A True Report* (unpaginated), appended to John [Gilbert], *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1743)	381	265	646
1744	Matthew [Hutton], *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1744), 26, 31	423	207	630
1745	Samuel Squire, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor* (1745), 14–15 (note)	348	205	553
1746	—			
1747	—			
1748	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1748); John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark*, ed. John Strype *et al.* (2 vols, 1754–5), i, 228 (a total of 2,686 committals to the workhouse, 1747–54)	401	*c.*384	*c.*785
1749	Edward Yardley, *Christ's Appearing to Chosen Witnesses* (1749), 20; Stow, *Survey*, 1754–5, i, 228	378	*c.*384	*c.*762

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell	Workhouse	Total
1750	Charles Moss, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1750), 20; Stow, *Survey*, 1754–5, i, 228	322	*c.*384	*c.*706
1751	Stow, *Survey*, 1754–5, i, 228	—	*c.*384	
1752	Ibid.	—	*c.*384	
1753	T[homas] Morell, *The Charitable Disposition of the Present Age* (1753), 30; Stow, *Survey*, 1754–5, i, 228	320	*c.*384	*c.*704
1754	Stow, *Survey*, 1754–5, i, 216, 228	341	*c.*384	*c.*725
1755	—			
1756	—			
1757	—			
1758	Angel Chauncy, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (1758), 20	308	—	
1759	*A True Report* (unpaginated), inserted in James Ibbetson, *The Case of Incurable Lunaticks* (1759)	245	—	

Year	Source	Bridewell
1760	*Annual Register*, iii, 91	346
1761	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1761)	357
1762	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1762)	579
1763	*Annual Register*, vi, 73	634
1764	Ibid., vii, 70	336
1765	Ibid., viii, 78	392
1766	Ibid., ix, 85	570
1767	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1767)	461
1768	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1768)	569

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1769	*Annual Register*, xii, 91	564
1770	—	
1771	*Annual Register*, xv, 95	355
1772	John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (3rd edn, Warrington, 1784), 232 (a figure of 580 is reported in the *Annual Register*, xvi, 94)	1709
1773	Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 232 (a figure of 1,755 is reported in the *Annual Register*, xvii, 108)	777
1774	Jonas Hanway, *The Defects of Police the Cause of Immorality* (1775), xvi	808
1775	Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 232	1084
1776	Ibid.	983
1777	Ibid.	544
1778	Ibid.	1027
1779	East Apthorp, *A Sermon before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor* (1780), 15	681
1780	Howard, *State of the Prisons*, 232	459
1781	Ibid.	484
1782	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1783)	659
1783	John Howard, *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* (Warrington, 1789), 127	1597
1784	Ibid.	2956
1785	Ibid.	612
1786	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1787)	716
1787	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1788)	865
1788	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1789)	711
1789	—	
1790	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1791)	894
1791	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1792)	809
1792	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1793)	1515

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1793	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1794)	1502[+]
1794	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1795)	1224[+]
1795	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1796)	1318[+]
1796	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1797)	1490[+]
1797	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1798)	1371[+]
1798	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1799)	1439[+]
1799	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1800)	1548[+]
1800	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1801)	1989[+]
1801	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1802)	1935[+]
1802	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1803)	1751[+]
1803	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1804)	1480[+]
1804	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1805)	1296[+]
1805	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1806)	1328[+]
1806	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1807)	1239[+]
1807	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1808)	1300[+]
1808	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1809)	1226[+]
1809	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1810)	553[+]
1810	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1811)	615[+]
1811	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1812)	580[+]

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Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1812	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1813)	997[+]
1813	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1814)	1132[+]
1814	—	
1815	—	
1816	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1817)	1610[+]
1817	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1818)	2293[+]
1818	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1819)	1170[+]
1819	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1820)	728[+]
1820	—	
1821	—	
1822	—	
1823	—	
1824	—	
1825	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1826)	451[+]
1826	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1827)	551[+]
1827	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1828)	720[+]
1828	—	
1829	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1830)	664[+]
1830	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1831)	799[+]
1831	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1832)	784[+]
1832	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1833)	691[+]
1833	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1834)	642[+]
1834	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1835)	813[+]

(Appendix continued on next page)

Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1835	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1836)	994+
1836	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1837)	1050+
1837	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1838)	1094+
1838	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1839)	1119+
1839	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1840)	1224+
1840	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1841)	1308+
1841	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1842)	1314+
1842	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1843)	1433+
1843	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1844)	1010+
1844	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1845) (further details are given in *General Report of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, and of the House of Occupations* (1845), 1–6)	1142+
1845	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1846)	1066+
1846	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1847)	1322+
1847	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1848)	1393+
1848	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1849)	1318+
1849	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (1850)	1124+
1850	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1851]	984+
1851	—	
1852	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1853]	833+

(Appendix continued on next page)

Appendix (continued)

Year	Source	Bridewell
1853	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1854]	822[+]
1854	*A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* [1855]	67[+]

[+]Indicates that the Bridewell or workhouse figure is an aggregate whose components are specified in the source cited.