



# 'Train them in Habits of Morality': Did Boarding out Deter Poor Law Children from Getting Married?

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# ‘TRAIN THEM IN HABITS OF MORALITY’: DID BOARDING OUT DETER POOR LAW CHILDREN FROM GETTING MARRIED?

BY RACHEL PIMM-SMITH

*How prevalent was marriage for children who were removed from their birth community by the poor law authorities? This article investigates whether children who experienced intervention from the Islington poor law authorities during the late nineteenth century were deterred from marrying and having children as adults. To answer these questions two samples of children were assembled and traced through various records. The first sample consisted of children who were sent to foster homes in rural communities and the second consisted of siblings of the first group who were not boarded out. Although the sample sizes were relatively small due to the extensive archival research needed to answer these questions, the analysis suggests there is a possibility that relocation had an impact on marital formation and childbearing but did not necessarily sever a child's connection to their birth community. Children who were boarded out were less likely to marry, or have children, compared to those who stayed in Islington. However, they often retained strong connections to their birth community and/or biological family members. This article also explores instances of irregular family arrangements including illegitimate births, possible cohabitation, marital separation and one instance of a potentially bigamous marriage.*

KEYWORDS: *Marriage; boarding out; poor law; poverty*

## *Introduction*

Victorian social commentators often referred to the informal and immoral nature of the intimate relationships of the poor. In his groundbreaking 1858 study of prostitution, William Sanger remarked that ‘in the poor districts of London, the east end for example, it is notorious that numbers live in a state of concubinage [...] and away from the dense population of towns, a woman of immoral habits may often be found who has had two or three illegitimate children by different men with whom she has cohabited’.<sup>1</sup> Social reformers believed that the poor not only led immoral lives outside the bonds of marriage, but that they also drifted between partnerships with little regard for formal commitment or stability. Congregationalist minister and pamphleteer Andrew Mearns, for example,

claimed that ‘those who appear to be married are often separated by a mere quarrel, and they do not hesitate to form similar companionships immediately’.<sup>2</sup>

Statements of this nature fueled beliefs within the middle classes that the poor were a world apart and in desperate need of civilisation. Contemporary literature discussing the need to reform the poor tended to focus on the need to tackle problems of indolence, intoxication, violence, and state dependency because reformers perceiving these issues to be endemic within the working classes.<sup>3</sup> Concerns of this nature led most social reformers during the mid-nineteenth century to adopt a ‘survival of the fittest’ approach to child welfare. As poverty was perceived to be hereditary, many felt the best option was to let it naturally die out. However, concerns about the role of the working classes in the future of English society began to emerge as the Imperial Army and Navy struggled to recruit toward the end of nineteenth century. More worryingly, when they did recruit, the men enlisted were often too malnourished to serve.<sup>4</sup>

This prompted reformers to reconsider their approach to child welfare, with calls made for poor children to be incorporated into the body politic to preserve the security of the Empire. Fears emerged that if poor children continued to receive minimal care it might lead to the decline of the English race. This led reformers to take an interest in caring for poor children and their ability to marry and produce future English citizens. A group of female reformers specifically expressed concerns about the impact of poor law policy on the marital prospects for poor children. In 1875 Jane Nassau Senior conducted a study of a group of 650 working-class girls who were cared for in poor law institutions to see what became of them in adulthood. Most were unmarried and did not hold occupations deemed respectable by middle class reformers. The study concluded that a ‘lack of suitable mothering’, which was inherent to the institutional setting, prevented poor children, particularly girls, from learning the habits necessary to become respectable wives.<sup>5</sup>

Modern scholars have analysed these fears in various ways. George Behlmer suggested the middle classes were afraid the poor would go on to ‘propagate their disabilities’ if they continued to have children without some form of intervention.<sup>6</sup> Behlmer went on to defend practices such as ‘philanthropic kidnapping’ on the basis that the English legal system did not yet allow for children to be lawfully removed from parental care.<sup>7</sup> His analysis accepts justifications for this practice that were advanced by children’s charities from the time. For example, Dr Barnardo asserted his organisation was morally compelled to kidnap poor children because their parents were unfit to raise them to become respectable adults.

Other historians have adopted a different view. Harry Hendrick asked why the middle classes perceived poor children from this period as ‘threats to the sanctity of the family’.<sup>8</sup> Like Behlmer, Hendrick also identified an underlying threat to middle class values, but connects this fear to an increasingly nationalist concern about the security of the Empire during the late-nineteenth century. Hendrick suggests children’s philanthropists were initially motivated by classist desires to

reform poor children, but ultimately became inspired by patriotism and a desire to secure imperial dominance.<sup>9</sup> However, Lydia Murdoch took the nationalist argument even further. She argued philanthropists from this period deliberately misrepresented children as suffering so that they could be made available for a conversion experience from 'street-arabs' into English citizens.<sup>10</sup> She suggests the concept of 'imperial citizenship' gave poor children a direct link to their country along with an enduring responsibility that they never had before.<sup>11</sup> By allowing poor children who were no longer under parental care to become 'imperial citizens', they became equal bearers of the nation's future. Murdoch rightly comments that this was a substantial departure from being viewed as an underclass that was riddled with the physical and moral diseases associated with pauperism.

Public educators such as James Kay Shuttleworth specifically targeted children of the poor on the basis that removal from their birth communities would improve their adult prospects. Reformers believed that once poor children were separated from their origins, they could be retrained in desirable habits that aligned with middle-class values. They referred to this process as 'juvenile de-pauperisation' and there were numerous debates about how it could best be achieved. Some advocated for the removal of poor children to district schools outside London where children could learn traditional trades and be educated in the ways to conform with middle-class ideals of domesticity.<sup>12</sup> Others insisted true reformation could only be learned in a family environment and advocated for children to be boarded out to rural communities outside London.<sup>13</sup> Although there was considerable disagreement about the best way to reform poor children, there was firm consensus that they had to be removed from their birth communities to succeed.

Both sides of the debate fiercely defended their method as the best way to improve the overall health of poor children, and thus, English society. Reformers considered this an essential social project because they longed to produce a working class of high moral calibre who would form marital unions and give birth to future generations of industrious citizens. It was hoped these efforts would not only solve perceived problems of immorality and indolence, but also improve the defence of the realm. This meant that the successful reformation of poor children was not only the key to preserving the future of English society, but also, the security of the Empire.

There is a considerable scholarship that explores middle-class anxieties about the future of the Empire and the role of poor children in securing its dominance.<sup>14</sup> There is also a rich literature exploring the experiences of children under the care of the poor law authorities from this period.<sup>15</sup> However, far less attention has been given to the question of whether reformers achieved their objectives to convert poor children into adults who formed marriages and produced future generations of citizens away from their birth communities.<sup>16</sup> This is the gap that this article seeks to fill.

Despite numerous claims that the poor failed to follow the formalities of marriage during this period there is emerging evidence that suggests this is not true.<sup>17</sup>

A recent case study of 100 couples whose children were admitted to London poor law authorities revealed there were only three couples where a marriage certificate could not be traced. The sample was drawn from my PhD project, which focused on the efforts of the poor law authorities to ‘de-pauperise’ the children admitted to their care. Moreover, as my co-author and I explained in that piece, ‘it is entirely plausible that [two of the couples] married outside England and Wales and that a record of their marriage either has not survived, has not been digitised, or that the names of the parties have been translated, or transcribed in such a way as to elude detection’.<sup>18</sup> This study concluded that the working classes most likely did follow the formalities of marriage and there is no evidence their marriages were marked by fragility or instability despite contemporary assumptions to the contrary.<sup>19</sup> Instead most children entered poor law institutions following the death of a parent, or some other misfortune, rather than marital breakdown as was often assumed.

Understanding the impact of relocation on marital formation and childbearing for those children who were removed from London by the poor law authorities deserves further investigation for two chief reasons. First, because these were critical objectives of poor law policy at the time and there is no published scholarship about whether they were achieved. And second, because answering these questions makes a meaningful contribution to the growing body of research about the lived experiences of poor children from this time.<sup>20</sup> This body of scholarship explores various aspects of poor children’s lives during this period but none of it engages empirically with questions about the impact of childhood relocation on adult life.

To answer these questions, I start by explaining how the two samples of children were assembled. Then I explore the context of the English boarding-out scheme and the reasons the children from this study were admitted to the poor law authorities and selected for relocation. Next, I analyse information drawn from poor law records, along with marriage and census records, in order to explore the impact of relocation on marriage and childbearing. Finally, I investigate the limited evidence of illegitimacy, cohabitation and marital separation from the boarded-out group. This type of archival work is very labour intensive and that is why the samples for this study are so small. Although the boarded-out sample was drawn from my PhD, considerable archival research was involved in creating the non-boarded-out sample and tracing both groups through extensive subsequent records. Obviously, a project with larger samples would be able to draw more robust conclusions. However, given there is currently nothing known about the adult lives of boarded-out children, and there are no published studies about the success of reformation efforts on poor law children, this study can provide the first indication of a possible link between child welfare policy and adult outcomes. With these constraints in mind, this article will argue that it must be considered a possibility that relocation played a role in deterring boarded-out children from marrying and having children compared to their siblings who were not

removed. Interestingly, the evidence from this study also suggests relocation did not always sever connections to the birth community.

### *The sample of children*

Both samples of children were drawn from my PhD thesis, which explored the consequences of de-pauperisation efforts on poor children during the late-nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> The first sample was composed of 50 children who were boarded out by the Islington poor law union to foster families in the English countryside.<sup>22</sup> The second sample was composed of 50 biological siblings of the first sample who were not removed from Islington because they were too old to be boarded out when the events occurred that triggered intervention. Both samples of children were drawn from a total of 23 families (see Table 1).

Eligibility criteria for boarding out in late-nineteenth century England was strict. In order to be considered, children had to be orphaned or deserted or have both parents imprisoned, incapacitated, or abroad.<sup>23</sup> Despite lawmakers' disapproval of working-class parents, they were strongly opposed to boarding out children who had on-going parental relationships. This was not out of respect for familial bonds, but rather a deep-seated fear that relaxed criteria would encourage working-class parents to abandon their children safe in the knowledge they would be sent to family homes instead of the workhouse.<sup>24</sup> The law also imposed age restrictions. Children under two years of age, or over 10 years, were prohibited from boarding out. Infants under two were deemed too young to benefit from

*Table 1. Families included in the study.*

<i>Family surname</i>	<i>Boarded-out siblings</i>	<i>Not boarded-out siblings</i>
1. Lees	Maud, Lillian, Florence	John
2. Mascall	Walter, Dorothy, Ernest	Edith, Thomas
3. Grant	Gertrude, Ethel	Henry, Albert, Ada, Ernest
4. Hull	Arthur, Charles, Ernest	Henry, Ada, William, George
5. Compton	William, Charles, Emily	Amy, Ada, George
6. Dennis	Henry, Emily, Nellie	Reuban, William
7. Pilkington	Gertrude, Blanche	Bertha, Mabel
8. Felstead	Sophia, Alice	Ada
9. Westbrook	Walter	Alfred, Ernest
10. Panther	Minnie	Joseph, Francis, William
11. Beasley	George, Alfred, Walter, William	Clara, Emma, Alice
12. Ridlington	Artemus, Percy	Alexander, Daisy
13. Howard	Florence, Alice, William	James, Lillian, Ada
14. Thomas	Leonard, Bertie, Emily	Winnifred, Horace
15. Woolley	Alexander, Albert, Francis	George, Florence, Caroline
16. Fairhurst	Edward, George	Jane, Henry
17. Fritz	Walter	Daniel, Florence, Eleanor
18. Hudd	Florence	Arthur
19. Cook	Minnie, Charles	John, Mary, Ellen
20. Plant	George, Charles	Edward
21. Osborne	Frederick	William
22. Weed	Edward, Frederick	John
23. Perryman	Cyril	Gordon

reformation training, while it was assumed older children already had ‘formed habits’ which could not be improved.<sup>25</sup> Reformers also believed that children under the age of 10 would elicit more affection from their foster parents and were less likely to abscond back to London.

The original source data for the boarded-out sample were drawn from the Islington boarding-out registers from 1889–1899.<sup>26</sup> These records were selected because Islington was one of the most prolific London poor law unions to participate in the boarding-out scheme. In 1889, of the approximately 1,300 children who were sent to foster homes in the countryside from London workhouses, over 400 of them came from Islington.<sup>27</sup> Although five other London poor law unions took part in the boarding-out scheme, they sent far fewer children beyond their borders than Islington.<sup>28</sup> In addition, records from these unions either failed to survive, have yet to be digitised, or provided very limited information. By contrast, Islington’s records provided rich information for large numbers of children with details that made it easier to trace the children in pre-intervention records.

The source data for the non-boarded group were drawn from census records of the families from the boarded-out sample before intervention took place.<sup>29</sup> Using the detailed information provided in the boarding-out registers, it was possible to trace children from the first sample into earlier census records when they still lived with their biological families. Children from the second sample were assembled from these census records. The second sample have three unique characteristics that are relevant to this study: 1) they were not removed from their birth community; 2) they too experienced the crisis that prompted poor law intervention within the family (e.g. parental death, desertion or imprisonment) and; 3) they were raised by their biological parents, not foster parents.

Islington’s boarding-out registers provided unexpected details about the children’s lives which made locating pre-intervention records of the biological families possible. For example, they often disclosed the reason the child was admitted to the workhouse including the name and address of the parent who had died, deserted, or been institutionalised or imprisoned. These details facilitated sourcing pre-intervention census records whereby information about biological parents and siblings for the non-boarded group could be found. Details about biological parents were critical for tracing children from both groups because it allowed information from census, birth and marriage records to be verified so that questions of marital formation and childbearing could be captured. This information was drawn from a mixture of the digitised records available from the online provider Ancestry and the 1921 census available at the National Archives.

Islington was an area of mixed socio-economy diversity during the late-nineteenth century. Some areas were classified by Charles Booth as ‘the lowest class – a mixture of the vicious and semi-criminal’ whereas other streets were classified as ‘fairly comfortable – good ordinary earnings’.<sup>30</sup> It is worth noting that all the fathers of the children in this study had working-class occupations in pre-intervention census records. None were unemployed or in the workhouse. However, it

must also be stressed that only families who could be verified in pre-intervention records who *also had siblings that were not relocated* were selected. This meant families with large numbers of children were overrepresented in the study. We can infer from the fact these large families experienced poor law intervention following some form of crisis that these were families on the verge of extreme hardship. It is perhaps unsurprising that they were vulnerable to a system whereby the only option for survival was one that put the youngest members at risk of forcible relocation.

### *Boarding out in England*

Very little has been written by modern historians about the practice of sending poor law children to rural communities. Exceptions to this include Olwen Purdue who investigated papers from an inquiry into the Irish boarding-out system from 1872.<sup>31</sup> She discovered most foster families were subjected to suspicion and surveillance from welfare authorities and their own communities. This is unsurprising for reasons I will explain below. Another exception was Helen MacDonald who sought to understand why the Scottish system of boarding out had very little influence on the English regime.<sup>32</sup> She drew two main conclusions. First, English poor law officials preferred district schools or cottage homes where they had more oversight of the children. And second, the Scottish system allowed for children with on-going parental relationships to be boarded out if the family sought relief from the poor law authorities. As explained above, English lawmakers were uneasy about such relaxed eligibility criteria in case it encouraged the poor to evade their parental duties.

But for one exception, there is a dearth of modern scholarship about the English boarding-out system. Chapter 7 of Rosemary Steer's *Children in Care 1834–1929: The Lives of Destitute, Orphaned and Deserted Children* provides a much-needed insight into the workings of the system and the parallel efforts of the Society for Waifs and Strays (now the Children's Society) to provide foster care for destitute children.<sup>33</sup> Steer reassembles numerous examples of children's lived experiences from charitable records and local archives to uncover a mixture of successful and failed foster placements. However, she also observes, 'details [of boarding out] can be found amongst charity records and in any surviving records of local boarding-out committees, but there are few first-hand accounts of fostering by the children themselves, even after they reach adulthood'.<sup>34</sup>

The lack of scholarship surrounding the English boarding-out regime might be partly attributable to its limited success. Poor law unions were only allowed to send children beyond union borders after 1870.<sup>35</sup> Before that, they had to keep chargeable children within the boundary of the union. The system reached its height in the early twentieth century with just over 2,000 children living in foster families.<sup>36</sup> Given there were over 70,000 children chargeable to the poor law at that time it is fair to say boarding out never became the preferred setting for



reformation by the poor law guardians.<sup>37</sup> Most chargeable children lived in institutions, such as workhouses or district schools, for the reasons argued by MacDonald. However, it must also be considered that the lack of research into this area might be attributable to the limited sources regarding the administration of the system. Steer is right that there is some information about the system in official reports from the time, but they are ingrained with political bias which makes any empirical investigation impossible.<sup>38</sup> There are a limited number of records from the local committees responsible for placing and supervising children in England, but these are held in local archives and have yet to appear in published scholarship.

We know from the political sources of the time that one of the main arguments against the boarding-out scheme was that foster parents would be motivated to offer to care for children for the wrong reasons. Foster parents received weekly maintenance payments and quarterly allowances for clothes for the children in their care. Critics of the English system argued that having a guaranteed income from the state would encourage agricultural labourers to abandon their occupations and therefore have catastrophic consequences for the economy.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps this helps to shed light on why the Irish system was shrouded in scepticism. Distrust of the rural working classes pervaded discourses against boarding-out in England and was instrumental in limiting its success. Critics also feared foster parents would exploit their boarders and that local volunteers would fail to detect abuses.<sup>40</sup> However, advocates of the system insisted the benefits of a child being raised within a family environment, in a community far from their birth origins, would far outweigh any challenges posed by the occasionally avaricious foster parent.<sup>41</sup>

Historians have often reflected on the ineffectual nature of welfare provision from this period and its connection with poor law intervention. Research suggests this correlation was particularly real for women and children. Kim Price explains how easily a respectable woman could fall into destitution following a crisis due to the severe constraints on welfare.<sup>42</sup> For example, in the 1870s widows and the wives of the infirm were entitled to assistance outside the workhouse, but by the 1880s poor law policy required that all able-bodied people be directed to the workhouse. Price explains how political opinion evolved such that many people felt access to welfare would discourage the working classes from saving money for future misfortune or retirement. She argues that by the 1880s policy in England had become obsessed with notions of thrift and self-reliance, which primarily affected women, children, the sick, and the disabled.<sup>43</sup> My research produced similar findings. After investigating admissions records from district schools during the 1880s, it became increasingly clear that widowed and deserted mothers disproportionately relied on these institutions as survival mechanisms in order to navigate severe welfare restrictions.<sup>44</sup>

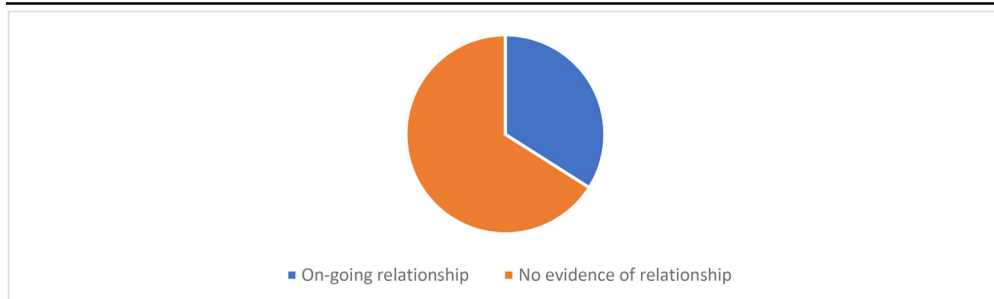
The idea that harsh welfare policies could be justified on the basis that the respectable poor save enough money to survive a crisis is entrenched in class bias.

Some policymakers went so far as to argue that boarding out effectively rewarded failed parenting.<sup>45</sup> Hardliners of this persuasion insisted the only appropriate location for destitute children whose parents could not care for them was the workhouse. Boarding-out policy discussions in England were steeped in class conflict and misunderstandings about the causes of child poverty. Despite Victorian commentators assuming that most children entered the care of the state off the back of inadequate parenting, most of the children from this study were admitted to the poor law authorities after both parents died or some other substantial misfortune. Although classist narratives are misleading, they do provide some context for the unapologetic approach to removing poor children from their birth origins in the hopes of moral reformation during the late-nineteenth century.

### *Causes for admission to the poor law authorities*

After exploring a range of sources connected to the families from this study, it became clear that the reasons children were admitted to the poor law authorities were complex. Most children did not have on-going ties with a biological parent, but that did not mean they lacked biological connections. For example, George Beasley was admitted to the Islington workhouse with his three brothers after their widowed mother deserted them.<sup>46</sup> The brothers were sent to a rural home in Toddington in Bedfordshire in April 1897.<sup>47</sup> However, their four older sisters were old enough to avoid the workhouse by gaining employment. Despite being removed from Islington as a young child, George appeared in later census records living with one of his sisters who stayed in Islington.<sup>48</sup> Findings of this nature were not unusual. There were seven other instances where a child from the first sample was found living with an adult sibling from the second sample in a subsequent census record.<sup>49</sup> Considering commentators assumed the poor had very little regard for notions of family or commitment, it is relevant that 34 per cent of the families in this study experienced enduring sibling relationships despite deliberate intervention by the state (see [Table 2](#)).<sup>50</sup>

*Table 2. On-going relationship between boarded-out sibling and non-boarded sibling.*

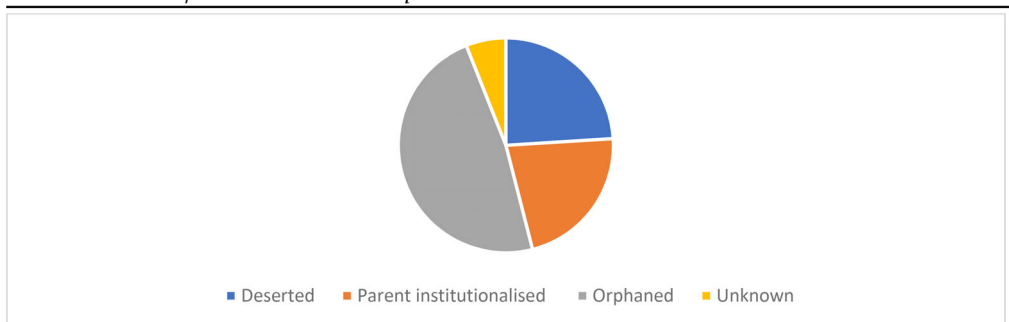


In some instances, it appears older siblings were even able to delay admission to the poor law authorities as evidenced by the case of the Dennis children. Emily, Nellie and Henry Dennis were under the age of seven when their father died in 1888.<sup>51</sup> The children lived with both parents in the 1881 census, but there are no records of their mother after this time. By 1891, all the Dennis children lived in a household led by the oldest brother William who was 19 at the time.<sup>52</sup> Emily, Nellie and Henry entered the workhouse later that year with William listed as their next of kin.<sup>53</sup> Although we cannot say for certain, it appears from these records that their admission was delayed by William. This is significant because Victorian commentators failed to acknowledge the possibility of sibling interdependence as a means of children avoiding welfare dependency.

Unsurprisingly, the most common reason children from this study entered the workhouse was if they were orphaned (see Table 3). Fifty-six per cent of the first sample had no living parents when they came to the Islington workhouse. This made them prime candidates for boarding out. Interestingly, most children were admitted following the death of a widowed father rather than a widowed mother. This fits with existing scholarship which shows widowed and deserted mothers struggled significantly to maintain their children outside the workhouse after harsh welfare policies were introduced during this period.<sup>54</sup> The low incidence of admission following the death of a widowed mother from this investigation supports the notion that fathers were better equipped to survive the loss of a spouse, and keep their children out of the workhouse, than mothers.

Thirty-four per cent of the children from the first sample were admitted to the Islington workhouse after one parent died and the other was institutionalised (see Table 3). In all but two families the children came to the attention of the poor law authorities when they accompanied their widowed mother into the workhouse. Most of these mothers were sent straight to the infirmary and the children became eligible for boarding as soon as their mother died. The two exceptions to this trend were the Compton and Ridlington families. Three children from the Compton family were admitted to the workhouse after their widowed father was

Table 3. Causes for admission to the poor law authorities.



convicted of raping his teenage daughter.<sup>55</sup> He was sentenced to ten years in prison, which made the children eligible for boarding due to the duration of his imprisonment. Two sons from the Ridlington family were also made eligible for boarding after their widowed mother was declared a lunatic and sent to the London County Lunatic Asylum.<sup>56</sup> Contemporary lunacy reforms meant a person who was declared a pauper lunatic did not have the same rights of appeal as privately funded patients. This meant most pauper lunatics remained incarcerated indefinitely because they were unable to go before the Commissioners to plead a case for discharge, which is most likely why the Ridlington children became eligible.

The last 10 per cent of the sample were children from the Dennis and Grant families. We know the Dennis children were admitted by their older brother William three years after the death of their father. However, there are no available sources that provide an indication why the Grant children were admitted to the poor law authorities. Gertrude and Ethel Grant were boarded out by the Islington guardians to Henfield West Sussex in January 1890.<sup>57</sup> There are no traceable records of their admission to the Islington workhouse, but subsequent census records show the girls lived with their biological parents in later years.<sup>58</sup> It is possible the parents were abroad, or institutionalised, and these records escaped detection. Whatever the cause for their admission we know their relationships with their parents endured because the sisters continued to live with their parents in further census records and Ethel acted as their caretaker in later life.<sup>59</sup>

### *Marital status and the impact of relocation*

Assumptions that the poor failed to follow marriage formalities were heavily leveraged against the urban working classes. Historians have often reflected on the correlations drawn by Victorian commentators between overcrowding in cities and immoral intimate relationships.<sup>60</sup> But there is conflicting evidence about whether the rural poor were perceived to be more virtuous than the urban poor by their contemporaries. Frederick Engels described the typical working-class marriage in a rural community as follows:

The young people grow up in idyllic simplicity and intimacy with their playmates until they are married: even though sexual intercourse before marriage almost unfailingly took place, this happened only when the moral obligation of marriage was recognised on both sides, and a subsequent wedding made everything good.<sup>61</sup>

Depictions of this nature suggest some of the middle class believed the rural working classes adopted a positive approach to marital formality, even if after a brief period of cohabitation.

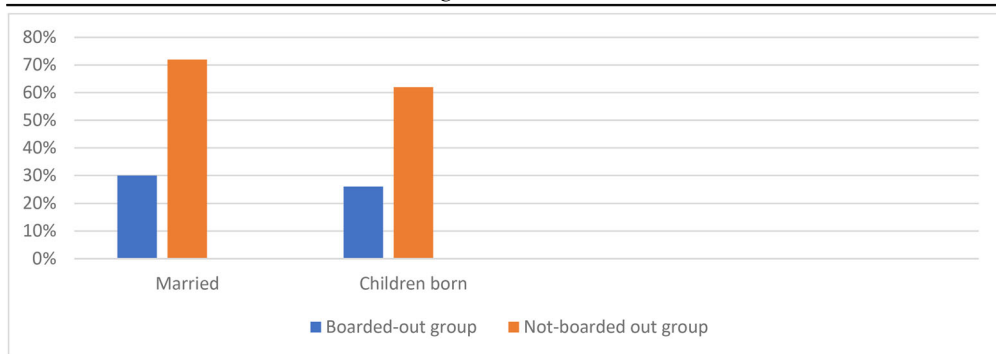
However, other accounts from the time present very different images of marital commitment in the countryside. The diary of a rural parson named Reverend William Holland described a man in his parish who 'keeps a Strumpet in his house and her sister' and another who 'has got a woman with him by whom he

has a child and is parted from his wife’.<sup>62</sup> An account by a different rural parson described similar depictions of illicit unions. English clergyman Francis Witt explains ‘Merach Lock [illegitimate and did not know his father] ... was recently married to his wife with whom he had cohabited twenty years, having by her six children’.<sup>63</sup> These images conflict with Engels’ description of a broadly conformist approach to marital formality and birth legitimacy in nineteenth-century rural England. Considering these contrasting images, it was important to empirically investigate the marital status and birth legitimacy of the boarded-out group as adults and compare it with the non-boarded out group in order to see if there were differences.

The evidence from this study shows there were different experiences between the two groups (see [Table 4](#)). Only 30 per cent of the boarded-out group had a marriage certificate that could be traced, compared to 72 per cent from the sample who grew up in Islington. There were also similar disparities in childbearing. Only 26 per cent of the boarded-out group had children compared to 62 per cent of the non-boarded group. The available birth records suggest all births from the non-boarded group were legitimate, whereas there were two cases of illegitimacy from the boarded-out group. These cases will be discussed in more detail later. It is worth noting that 16 per cent of the boarded-out group lived abroad as adults, which rendered some marital, birth or census records untraceable. Most of these were young men who served abroad with the Imperial Army or Navy, aside from two cases of emigration to Canada.

The substantial differences in marital formation and childbearing between the two groups suggest the possibility of two important considerations. Invariably, innumerable factors contribute to decisions to marry, or not, and/or have children. Given the sizes of the samples from this study, it is even more difficult to assert correlations between the experience of boarding out and patterns of marriage and childbearing. However, there is no published scholarship about the adult lives of the people who were boarded out in England, which makes this study the first to empirically investigate questions about the adult lives of boarded-out children. So,

*Table 4. Marital statuses and childbearing.*



while the study cannot conclusively say there is a connection, the evidence indicates we must consider the possibility that efforts to remove children from Islington negatively impacted patterns of marriage and the production of future English citizens. The second consideration is that it appears from the evidence that poor parents were perfectly capable of raising children who conformed with marital formalities and bore legitimate children. It is telling, but perhaps not surprising, that misguided assumptions about the causes of child poverty meant policymakers' solutions were also misguided and might not have achieved their desired aims.

These findings also tell us that forcible relocation did not sever connections between children and their birth community. Over two thirds of the boarded-out sample who did marry returned to London for their marriage (see Table 5). Ten per cent married in Islington specifically. There were only two cases from the boarded-out sample where the couple married in the foster community. In 1891 Emily Dennis was sent with two siblings to Croxton in Cambridgeshire to live with Charles Byatt and his family.<sup>64</sup> As adults, her sister Nellie left Croxton to become a housekeeper in Essex while her brother Henry returned to Islington where he later married. But Emily remained in Croxton and married the nephew of her foster mother, Thomas Byatt Thompson.<sup>65</sup> They settled in a village just outside Croxton and had two children by 1911.<sup>66</sup> The other case was Blanche Pilkington. Blanche arrived in Graffam in West Sussex in 1889 with her sister Gertrude after both their parents died.<sup>67</sup> Gertrude went on to become a housekeeper in a household in Croxton, while Blanche married a local agricultural labourer named Clement Oakley with whom she had six children.<sup>68</sup> Records show both women remained in the foster community until they died.

It was not unusual that Emily and Blanche stayed in their boarding-out communities. Within my sample, however, it was unique that they married and established families there. In total, 28 per cent of the boarded-out group stayed in their foster communities as adults, whereas 38 per cent returned to various parts of

*Table 5. Marital locations for the boarded-out sample.*

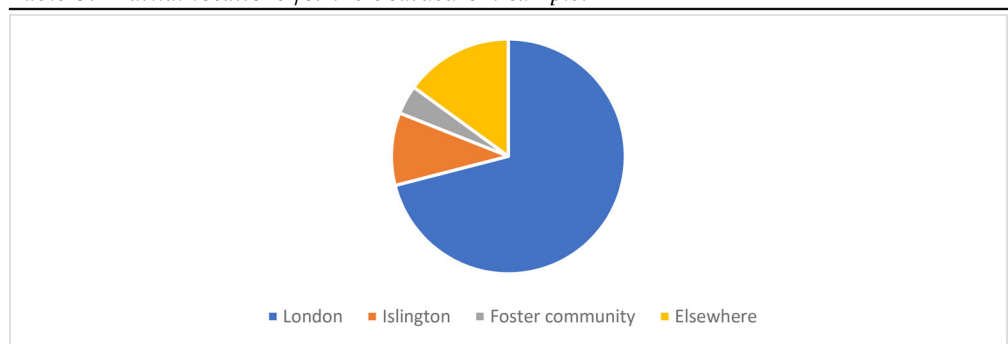
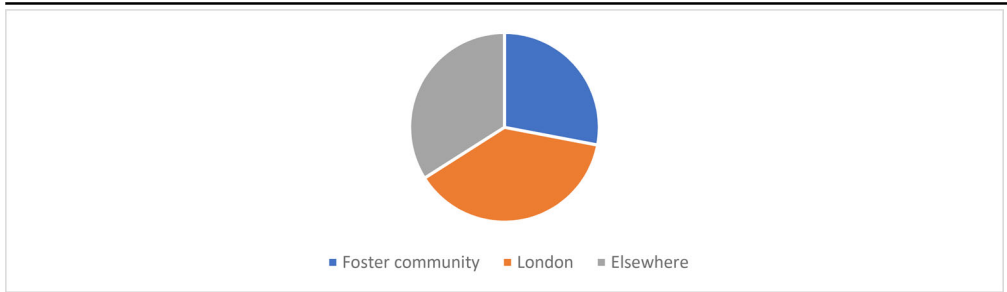


Table 6. *Adult locations of the boarded-out sample.*Table 7. *Adult locations for the non-boarded out sample.*

London including Islington (see Table 6). The remainder lived abroad or settled elsewhere in England. Some lived with employers, a limited number continued to live with foster parents, but most rented rooms as boarders in adulthood. For example, Minnie Panther became a primary school teacher and stayed in the Honiton area renting rooms in various households until her death in 1959. Initially, she rented with a family in Combe Raleigh a few streets away from her foster home. She later moved to Ide, and then to Crediton, where she eventually died.<sup>69</sup> Minnie’s experience was typical of children who remained in their boarding-out communities as adults. Aside from Blanche Pilkington and Emily Dennis, who both married local men, those who stayed in their foster communities remained unmarried, childless and in temporary accommodation.

This stands in stark contrast to the adult lives of the children who were not removed from Islington (see Table 7). Over 76 per cent of this group established households in London, of which 42 per cent were in Islington. The vast majority had valid marriage certificates that could be traced, which suggests they were not opposed to the formalities of marriage despite accusations from commentators. They were also much more likely to have legitimate children than their boarded-

out siblings. This is important because in addition to the criticisms against the urban working classes about indifference to marital commitment lay widespread assumptions that they were almost exclusively responsible for the social problem of illegitimacy. Contemporary commentators blamed factors such as widespread prostitution and moral laxity amongst poor women for this problem.<sup>70</sup> However, modern historians have pushed back on those assumptions to reveal a much more complex reality behind the correlation between illegitimacy and poverty.<sup>71</sup> Legal problems such as the limitations of the Bastardy Laws, punitive poor law policies and rules against future legitimation meant virtually any unmarried mother could be forced into destitution if they did not have help from family or the father of the child.

*Irregularities: illegitimacy cohabitation and marital separation*

The evidence from this investigation shows most children who were not removed from their birth community married and bore legitimate children. Those that did not marry usually lived with biological family members in adulthood or established their own households. Only eight per cent of the non-boarded group rented rooms in non-family households. It is also worth noting there is no evidence that any of this group cohabited before marriage, experienced marital instability or bore illegitimate children. This is a significant finding because boarding-out policies during this period were justified on the basis that children from poor communities would grow up to be morally defunct adults who were incapable of complying with middle-class expectations of marital commitment and birth legitimacy.<sup>72</sup> However, it appears boarding out not only failed to achieve these aims, but also that working-class children who were raised in their birth community were more likely to marry and have children.

It is clear the children who were removed from Islington experienced significantly more disruption, both in childhood and in adulthood. As children, they not only experienced the family crisis that prompted their admission to the Islington workhouse, but they were also forcibly relocated to small communities throughout England to be raised in foster homes. The evidence from this study suggests most of them struggled to form marriages or have children compared to their non-boarded siblings. Furthermore, even within the constraints of the limited sources available for this study, there is evidence that a small number of the boarded-out sample bore illegitimate children, cohabited before marriage or experienced marital separation.

These findings matter because of the inaccurate and paternalistic notion that poverty was a learned behaviour, which was used to justify boarding-out policies in England. One reformer lamented 'where failures do occur [in reformation], they are almost entirely among the non-orphan children, who are led astray by their own families'.<sup>73</sup> Biological ties were demonised by reformers who argued orphans were the ideal candidates for boarding out because it was presumed



orphans lacked ongoing biological relationships. One reformer concluded ‘the orphan children, having no such connexions, are preserved from this source of contamination’.<sup>74</sup> However, it appears this was yet another misplaced assumption. Most of the children from this study were orphans and many retained ties to biological siblings, and yet, very few achieved what reformers wanted. Less than a third married. Those that did, largely returned to London. In two of these cases an illegitimate child was born prior to marriage.

Illegitimacy was viewed by many as the lowest form of moral depravity.<sup>75</sup> This was particularly true for unmarried mothers who were often the only parent whose biological status could be proved. It should therefore be no surprise that both cases of illegitimacy from this study involved women. The first was Emily Compton who was four years old when she was sent to Honiton with two brothers. Although she stayed in the area as a teenager, she later returned to London to find employment. While working as a domestic servant in Wandsworth in her early 20s Emily gave birth to a daughter named Kathleen Swann Compton.<sup>76</sup> Unusually, the birth records named the father as Henry Charles Swann who was working in the area as a domestic gardener. It is impossible to tell from the available sources if the couple cohabited around the time of the birth, but we do know that by the following year Emily lived with her employer, Henry lived with his parents and Kathleen lived with a child nurse in Wandsworth.<sup>77</sup> The sources are unable to reveal if there was a broken engagement, but they do confirm that Emily and Henry did not go through a valid marriage ceremony. However, eight years later Emily married a man named John Burrell in Islington and described her marital condition as ‘spinster’ on the banns.<sup>78</sup> By the subsequent census, Kathleen was reunited with her mother and used the surname Burrell.<sup>79</sup>

The other case of illegitimacy was Sophia Felstead who was sent to Marston Moretaine in Bedfordshire at the age of eight with her sister. Sophia left Bedfordshire as a young woman to attend a training home for servants in Hampshire, then went to London for employment.<sup>80</sup> A few years after arriving in London she gave birth to a son named Edward George Felstead in Islington.<sup>81</sup> Birth records provide no information about the father. However, census and poor law records reveal that Edward lived in the Islington infirmary as an infant and was later admitted to the Islington workhouse while Sophia was sent to St Pelagia’s Mother and Baby Home.<sup>82</sup> St Pelagia was an institution for women who were pregnant with their first illegitimate child, which provided accommodation for up to one year after the birth. Edward’s illegitimacy can be inferred both from the absence of a marriage certificate and Sophia’s admission to St Pelagia. In 1918, Sophia married William Patterson at St Olave’s in London and the couple emigrated to Canada taking Edward with them.<sup>83</sup>

The sources that provide this information provide no insight into the lived reality of being known as an unwed mother, or an illegitimate child. But the fact that both women went on to marry, and their illegitimate children used their married surname, is significant. Frost explains how children from this period who used a

maternal surname were inevitably viewed as illegitimate in the eyes of Victorian society.<sup>84</sup> She describes how a mother's subsequent marriage could often resolve this stigma by allowing what would otherwise be telling 'blank spaces' on important documents, such as school records or marriage banns, to be filled. However, Frost also goes on to explain that a mother's subsequent marriage was not always a panacea if the stepfather rejected the child, or the community already knew the true nature of the child's birth. Perhaps it is therefore unsurprising that Kathleen used the surname Swann Compton on her marriage certificate when she married in Islington in 1937.<sup>85</sup> There is ample evidence from this study that numerous Compton family members remained in Islington so the likelihood of erasing the circumstances of her birth were probably more limited. By contrast, records from Canada indicate Edward Felstead used his stepfather's surname Patterson for the remainder of his life and passed it onto his children.

Although cohabitation was also considered a moral failure it could be more readily disguised than an illegitimate birth. There are several examples throughout the boarded-out group of women living as housekeepers or visitors of widowed men and their children in various census records. However, without a subsequent marriage certificate, or a birth certificate indicating a child was born of a relationship, it is difficult to say if these were instances of cohabitation or mere accommodation or employment. However, records of Alice Felstead, Sophia's sister, provide the strongest evidence of cohabitation within the study. Alice was five years old when she was relocated to Marston Moretaine. When she became an adult, she took up a service position in Bedford. The records show that Alice married William Thomas Alderman on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1907, in Acton and that their first son Maurice was born two months later in Bedford.<sup>86</sup> It is impossible to know for sure if William was the biological father or if the couple cohabited before the wedding. But the fact the marriage took place so far from Bedford is telling, along with the fact Alice would have been heavily pregnant at the time. However, even though these records establish pre-marital intimacy, and possible cohabitation, the fact Maurice was born to a legally married couple meant problems of illegitimacy or legitimation were avoided.

There was only one case from the study that suggested marital breakdown and a potentially bigamous subsequent marriage. Emily Compton's younger brother Charles stayed in the region where he boarded as a young man and married a local woman named Caroline Frances Hellyer in 1902 in East Stonehouse Devon.<sup>87</sup> There are no records that explain what happened in the intervening years but Charles appears in the 1911 census as a boarder in Islington working odd jobs and described his marital condition as 'single'.<sup>88</sup> However, there is also a marriage certificate from 1908 showing Caroline Frances Compton marrying George Gibbons in East Stonehouse Devon.<sup>89</sup> Caroline described her marital condition as 'spinster' on the marital certificate but used Charles' surname rather than her maiden surname. There are no criminal records that indicate Caroline was charged with bigamy, so it is difficult to conclusively establish if the marriage

to George Gibbons was bigamous. However, the fact Charles was still alive in 1908, and there is no evidence he obtained a divorce, suggests it was. Either way, we can conclude this was a case of marital breakdown which was not observed in the non-boarded sample.

### Conclusion

The findings from this study suggest working-class children went on to comply with middle-class family norms in adulthood far more than Victorians commentators anticipated. Arguments that poor parents would raise children to have unstable, or immoral family structures, appear to be vast oversimplifications because the children who were raised by their biological parents in Islington had more stable marriages than children who were forcibly removed to foster homes in the countryside. Given the primary objective of the boarding-out regime in England was to create a virtuous working class who wed and produced industrious English citizens the findings from this study are important because they suggest the system might not only have failed to achieve its goals, but there is a real possibility it disrupted marital formation and undermined childbearing.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> William Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects Throughout the World* (New York: The Medical Publishing Co, 1898), 337.
- <sup>2</sup> Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (London: James Clarke & Co, 1883), 7.
- <sup>3</sup> Henry Fawcett MP, *Pauperism: Its Causes and Remedies* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1871); Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1910); Louisa Twining, *Recollections of Workhouse Visiting and Management* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1880).
- <sup>4</sup> *The Poor Law Board: Twenty-third Annual Report 1870-71* (C (1st series)), 206-7.
- <sup>5</sup> Jane Nassau Senior, “Education of Girls in Pauper Schools,” in *Boarding-Out and Pauper Schools Especially for Girls Being a Reprint of the Principal Reports on Pauper Education in the Blue book 1873-4*, ed. Menella Bute Smedley (London: Henry S King & Co, 1875), 62-4.
- <sup>6</sup> George Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and its Guardians, 1850-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.
- <sup>8</sup> Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England 1872-1989* (London: Routledge, 1994), 7.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.
- <sup>10</sup> Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London 1870-1914* (New Brunswick (NJ): Rutgers University Press, 2006), 96-107.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.
- <sup>12</sup> James Kay Shuttleworth, *The Training of Pauper Children* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1839); Carleton Tufnell, “Education of Pauper Children,” *Boarding-Out and Pauper Schools*, ed. Bute Smedley.
- <sup>13</sup> See Nassau Senior, “Education of Girls in Pauper Schools”; Florence Davenport-Hill, *Children of the State* (London: Macmillan, 1889).
- <sup>14</sup> Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Shurlee Swain and Margaret Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourses, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Peter Yeandle, *Citizenship, Nation, Empire: The Politics of History Teaching in England 1870-1930 (Studies in Imperialism)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

- <sup>15</sup> Hendrick, *Child Welfare*; Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870–1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Behlmer, *Friends of the Family*; Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998); Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*.
- <sup>16</sup> For an exception to this claim see Rachel Pimm-Smith, ‘Juvenile De-pauperisation: The Journey from Public Childcare to English Citizenship 1884–1900’ (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2018).
- <sup>17</sup> See the literature reviewed in Rebecca Probert, *The Legal Regulation of Cohabitation: From Fornicators to Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- <sup>18</sup> Rachel Pimm-Smith and Rebecca Probert, “Evaluating Marital Stability in Late-Victorian Camberwell,” *Family and Community History* 21 (2018): 38–50, 41.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.
- <sup>20</sup> See works such as Steven J. Taylor, “Poverty, Emigration and Family: Experiencing Childhood Poverty in Late-Nineteenth-Century Manchester,” *Family and Community History* 18 (2015): 89–103; Laura Mair, “‘Give Them My Love’: Community and Companionship among Former Ragged School Scholars,” *Family and Community History* 21 (2018): 166–79; Ginger Frost, “‘Your Mother Has Never Forgotten You’: Illegitimacy, Motherhood, and the London Foundling Hospital 1860–1930,” *Annales De Demographie Historique* 127 (2014): 45–72; Olwen Purdue, “Nineteenth-Century NIMBYS, or What the Neighbours Saw? Poverty, Surveillance, and the Boarding-out of Poor Law Children in Late-Nineteenth Century Belfast,” *Family and Community History* 23 (2020): 119–35.
- <sup>21</sup> Pimm-Smith, “Juvenile de-pauperisation.”
- <sup>22</sup> London, England, Poor Law Board of Guardians Records 1738–1926, Islington, Register of Children, Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899: Reference Numbers ISBG/306/01; ISBG/306/02.
- <sup>23</sup> General Order for the Boarding Out of Pauper Children 1870 together with letters of instruction from the Local Government Board by Arthur Peel (25th Nov 1870); *The Poor Law Board: Twenty-third Annual Report 1870–71*.
- <sup>24</sup> A core policy of the new poor law established in 1834 was to deter poor people from seeking public assistance by ensuring most assistance was only provided within institutional settings.
- <sup>25</sup> General Order for the Boarding Out of Pauper Children 1870, Article V.
- <sup>26</sup> Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899.
- <sup>27</sup> *The Local Government Board: Eighteenth Annual Report 1888–89* (C (2<sup>nd</sup> series)), 98.
- <sup>28</sup> These unions included St George’s, Lambeth, Paddington, St Pancras and Wandsworth. See William Chance, *Children under the Poor Law: Their Education, Training and After Care Together with a Criticism of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools* (London: Sonnenschein & Co, 1897), 214–5.
- <sup>29</sup> UK Census Collection for England and Wales 1881 & 1891.
- <sup>30</sup> Charles Booth, *Life and Labour in London: Maps of London Poverty Districts and Streets* (London: Macmillan, 1902): Sheet 3 Northern District.
- <sup>31</sup> Purdue, “Nineteenth-Century NIMBYS.”
- <sup>32</sup> Helen J. MacDonald, “Boarding-Out and the Scottish Poor Law, 1845–1914,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 75 (1996): 197–220.
- <sup>33</sup> Rosemary Steer, *Children in Care, 1834–1929: The Lives of Destitute, Orphaned and Deserted Children* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2020), 140–65.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.
- <sup>35</sup> General Order for the Boarding Out of Pauper Children 1870.
- <sup>36</sup> T.J Macnamara, *A Report to the President of the Local Government Board on Children under the Poor Law* (Cd 3899, 1908), 7.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>38</sup> J.J. Henley, *The Boarding Out of Pauper Children*, 1875; John Mundella, *A Report of the Departmental Committee Appointed by the Local Government Board to Inquire into the Existing Systems for Maintenance and Education of Pauper Children Under the Charge of the Board of Guardians* (C (2<sup>nd</sup> Series)).
- <sup>39</sup> Fawcett, *Pauperism*, 82.
- <sup>40</sup> “Report of a public meeting to promote the extension of this system” (Birmingham 3 December 1870).
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> Kim Price, “A Crusade against Out-relief: A Nudge from History,” *The Lancet* (2011): 988–98.

- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Rachel Pimm-Smith, “District Schools and the Erosion of Parental Rights under the Poor Law: A Case Study from London (1889–1899),” 34 *Continuity and Change* (2019): 401–23.
- <sup>45</sup> Fawcett, *Pauperism*, 84.
- <sup>46</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Reference Number: ISBG/272/001.
- <sup>47</sup> Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899, 28.
- <sup>48</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1921; Archive Series: RG15; Piece: 23034; Schedule 197; Code: E; District Reference RD 510 RS 4 ED 1.
- <sup>49</sup> These children included Henry Dennis, Walter Mascall, Gertrude and Ethel Grant, Ernest Hull, Albert Woolley, Minnie Cook, and George Plant.
- <sup>50</sup> Sanger, *The History of Prostitution*, 325.
- <sup>51</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; London Church of England Parish Registers; Reference Number: STBG/ME/123/01.
- <sup>52</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891; Class: RG12; Piece: 166; Folio: 35; p. 1; GSU roll: 6095276.
- <sup>53</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Poor Law School District Registers, 1852–1918; Reference: ISBG/315/01.
- <sup>54</sup> Pimm-Smith, “District schools.”
- <sup>55</sup> The National Archives; Kew, London, England; MEPO 6: Metropolitan Police: Criminal Record Office: Habitual Criminals Registers and Miscellaneous Papers; Reference: MEPO 6/10; The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Lunacy Patients Admission Registers; Class: MH 94; Piece: 37.
- <sup>56</sup> The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Lunacy Patients Admission Registers; Class: MH 94; Piece: 36.
- <sup>57</sup> Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899, 16–7.
- <sup>58</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901*; Class: RG13; Piece: 89; Folio: 81; p. 18.
- <sup>59</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1921*; Class: RG15; Piece: 02045; Sch: 249; District Reference: RD 25 RS 2 ED 30.
- <sup>60</sup> Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*, 90–1.
- <sup>61</sup> Frederick Engels, *Condition of the Working Classes* (London: The Electric Book Company, 2000), 56.
- <sup>62</sup> William Holland, *Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland: A Somerset Parson, 1799–1818*, ed. Jack Ayres (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003), 271, 282.
- <sup>63</sup> Francis Edward Wits, *The Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. David Verney (Gloucester: Allan Sutton, 1986), 18.
- <sup>64</sup> Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899, 20.
- <sup>65</sup> England, Select Marriages, 1538–1973, Mary Ann Byatt, 27 Nov 1874, Croxton, Cambridge, FHL Film Number 885598; England, Select Marriages, 1837–1915; Thomas Byatt Thompson, Apr–May–June 1907 Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire, vol 3b; p. 1261.
- <sup>66</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911; Registration District Number: 186; Sub-registration District: Whittlesey; Piece: 9272.
- <sup>67</sup> Register of Children Boarded Out 1889–1899, 11.
- <sup>68</sup> West Sussex Record Office; Brighton, England; Sussex Parish Registers; Reference: Par 93/1/3/2.
- <sup>69</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901; Class: RG13; Piece: 2021; Folio: 59; The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 192; Archive series: RG 15; Piece: 10777; Sch: 309; The National Archives; Kew, London, England; 1939 Register; Reference: RG 101/6815d; Death Index, 1916–2007; General Register Office; United Kingdom; Volume: 7a; p. 401.
- <sup>70</sup> Sanger, *The History of Prostitution*; Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*.
- <sup>71</sup> Ginger Frost, *Illegitimacy in English law and society, 1860–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
- <sup>72</sup> Shuttleworth, *The Training of Pauper Children; The Poor Law Board: Twenty-third Annual Report 1870–71*.
- <sup>73</sup> Nassau Senior, “Education of Girls,” 149.
- <sup>74</sup> *The Poor Law Board Twenty-third Annual Report 1870–71* (C (1st series)), 207.
- <sup>75</sup> Frost, *Illegitimacy*.

- <sup>76</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; London Church of England Parish Registers; Reference Number: P85/ALL1/007.
- <sup>77</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911; Registration District Number: 26; Sub-registration District: Streatham; ED: 52; Piece: 2337; The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911; Registration District Number: 37; Sub-registration District: Reigate; ED: 21; Piece: 3228; The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911; Registration District Number: 25; Sub-registration District: Stockwell; ED: 04; Piece: 2010.
- <sup>78</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; London Church of England Parish Registers; Reference Number: P83/STE2/015.
- <sup>79</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1921; Archive Series: RG 15; Piece: 00807; Sch: 213; Sch Type: E; Registration District Number: RD 9 RS 4 ED 22.
- <sup>80</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901; Class: RG13; Piece: 1041; Folio: 19; p. 30.
- <sup>81</sup> England & Wales, Civil Registration Birth Index, 1837–1915; vol 1b, p. 159.
- <sup>82</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Reference Number: ISBG/327/03.
- <sup>83</sup> England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index 1916–2005; Oct 1918; St Olave Greater London; vol 5d; p. 270.
- <sup>84</sup> Frost, *Illegitimacy*.
- <sup>85</sup> General Register Office; United Kingdom; Volume: 1b; p. 668.
- <sup>86</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; London Church of England Parish Registers; Reference Number: DRO/056/015; England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index 1837–1915; Jul 1907; vol 3b; p. 303.
- <sup>87</sup> England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index 1837–1915; 1902; East Stonehouse Devon; vol 5b; p. 673.
- <sup>88</sup> The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1911; Registration District Number: 87; Sub-registration District: Midhurst; ED: 02; Piece: 5416.
- <sup>89</sup> England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index 1837–1915; 1908; East Stonehouse Devon; vol 5b; p. 677.

### *Biographical Note*

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