Marginalized Order: Apprentices and Crime in Early Modern London

Katherine Payne

In June 1719, Abraham Wood was tried and convicted at London's Old Bailey hearings. He was condemned for assault and highway robbery. The Ordinary of Newgate summarized his life just before Wood was executed. Wood, he noted, "was 19 Years of Age, born at Epping in Essex...the Parish bound him Apprentice for 14 Years to a Shoemaker in Little George-Ally in Spittlefields: That he serv'd 8 Years of his Time, and then went from him, grew very loose...indeed his chief Employment...was that of Pilfering and picking of People's Pockets."[1] This life-in-a-snapshot contains all the components of early modern London society that this paper wants to examine: the link between rural youth and the city, the role of apprenticeship in young lives, and the relation between apprenticeship and crime. Were, for example, apprentices more likely to engage in crime than others? Or were apprentices part of the policing culture, watching for crime? Historians and historical theories of early modern youth, violence, and crime can help answer these questions somewhat. Early modern London saw a rise in economic activity and social disorder. With no enforced education, higher death rates, and little guidance for children of working households, placing youths into an apprenticeship guaranteed them a type of freedom and eventually, if they completed their training, citizenship in their city or borough when they became members of a guild. Many historians have focused on the social and economic transformations that took place in early modern England, associating the rise in crime to a number of different circumstances, all of which affected the apprenticeship system. To test their theories on a focused sample, I will examine apprentices and their involvement in criminal activities in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century London. By using records in "The Proceedings of Old Bailey" between 1675 and1725, I will determine the degree to which apprentices helped maintain public order by apprehending criminals and aiding their masters or became a part of a marginalized group of former apprentices who fell into a form of idleness and despair. The evidence provided suggests that apprentices were respectable youths, usually between the ages of 15 and 25, who still maintained political and social order, unlike those who became marginalized criminals. Indeed, even among the

---

[1] *Old Bailey Proceedings* (www.oldbaileyonline.org,version 6.0, 17 August 2012), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 8th June 1719 (OA17190608).

latter are a large group of "former apprentices," who stole from their masters or committed other felonies after leaving their apprenticeships.

William Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (1747) is a contemporary depiction of two youths who have chosen to train for seven years in order to become a master craftsman in the weaving and cloth industry.[2] One apprentice is a studious learner who does his best to master the skills needed to succeed in the economically challenging world, while "Tom Idle" strays from his duties, and becomes disinterested in his employment pursuits. The former eventually becomes the "Lord Mayor of London" and the idle apprentice is punished for a number of dishonorable deeds. As a result of his disreputable actions the latter is sent to work at sea (not an uncommon punishment), when he returns he lays with a prostitute and travels to a "Night Cellar," is charged for his immoral actions, and, finally hangs at Tyburn for his indiscretions.[3] According to historian Philip Rawlings, "idleness" was a prominent fear in English society. Contemporary authors, such as Daniel Defoe thought "vice was like a disease, and youths, especially male youths, were particularly susceptible to it." [4] Only through a strict apprenticeship would youths be safe from the evils of the world and in order to guide apprentices down a morally correct path. "Conduct books" were created and they outlined the rules of a "regulated apprenticeship"; instructing the apprentice, as well as the master, on appropriate behavior during their seven years of training. [5] Contemporary authors found apprentices to be "'poisonous weeds of pride and arrogance'" and had the ability to subvert the social order.[6] Hogarth's carvings are slightly later than our timeframe, but represent common fears of early modern English society, and London in particular. The apprenticeship system gradually declined as the major cities became more industrialized, but immigrants still traveled to London in search for new economic opportunities.

London in the seventeenth century experienced a dramatic growth in population. Lawrence Stone finds that between 1600 and 1700,

---

[2] William Hogarth, "Industrious and Idleness," from Michael Finney, *Michael Finney: Antique Books and Prints*, http://www.michaelfinney.co.uk/uploads/images/catalogue/5128_Industry-%26-idleness-all_1000.jpg (Accessed August 17, 2012).

[3] Greg and Connie Peters, "The Art of Print," http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/hogarth_william_industrious_1looms_2duty.htm (Accessed August 10, 2012).

[4] Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 19.

[5] Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores, and Idle Apprentices*, 19.

[6] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 17.

London's population grew from 225,000 to 550,000.[7] Death rates usually exceeded the number of births, but in many cases it was not internal growth which prompted the population expansion, but immigration.[8] Mobility increased during this time as well and immigrants, according to Stone, were split into three distinct social groups, "a numerically very large influx of the drifting poor; a substantial but regulated flow of urban artisan apprentices, amounting in 1700 to about 1,900 a year; and a small but highly significant movement, temporary or permanent, of landed and professional classes."[9] In order to be apprenticed the youth had to supply sufficient funds, usually provided by the family, to his potential master. Apprentices were typically "the younger songs of gentlemen, as well as the male offspring of yeomen, merchants and professionals...[who] took up valuable apprenticeships in London's great merchant or banking houses."[10] Many would travel to London for better employment opportunities, some emigrating from other countries or and others coming from as close as the English countryside. Stone believes that London "drained off" the countryside's excess population by taking the poor and young apprentices, allowing for better relations between the urban and rural populations that "facilitated the process of agrarian consolidation and enclosure which were essential preliminaries to the expansion of agricultural output," feeding the city and avoiding famine.[11] These connections were only a step in the overall process of population increase, but they show how apprentices did not only originate from the city proper, but traveled from the outside areas to better their professional opportunities. It became evident through the Old Bailey proceedings that as the population increased, so did crime.

Rawlings makes the useful comment that while London "was a place for crime and disorder and a source of moral corruption, it was also the centre of wealth and power."[12] Apprentices can be difficult group to place in popular social history as they are many times considered, by contemporary and modern historians, as the root of crime and disorder. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos identifies many of the contemporary authors, such as William Fleetwood who believed "the 'humour' of most young people...made them 'grow wanton, insolent and

---

[7] Lawrence Stone, "Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century, " in *After the Reformation: Essays in honor of J.H. Hexter* ed. by Barbara C. Malament (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 168.
[8] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 171.
[9] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 171.
[10] Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[11] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 172.
[12] Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices*, 24.

head-strong."[13] Recent historians have not only looked at youth culture, but the concept masculinity and the increase in violence. The majority of apprentices at this time were male and Garthine Walker finds that violent tendencies might be "symptoms of budding masculinity."[14] This is an accepted theme, but while this might contribute to the rise in crime in other social arenas, my research suggests that apprentices in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are more prone to avoid disorder in fear of the repercussions. Also, many apprentices had to pay their masters in order to be trained in their craft. Perhaps unsurprisingly, those who did not stray from their responsibilities and become "former apprentices" and marginalized criminals were more likely to be successful later in life. Income usually equals less crime, or at least less punished crime. After they join their master's household, the apprentices entered into a "little Great Chain of Being...the master/husband/father (and, usually, guild member) at the head supervising the moral and economic discipline of his family."[15] Failing to successfully become a journeyman would not only bring shame to the individual, but to their master's household as well. Each person looked out for the overall wellbeing of the family, home, and trade, and many of those who abandoned the system due to idleness or misbehavior became part of the marginalized group of criminals.

Tim Hitchcock's *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* blends literary models, intertwining fact and imagination through a historians "admittedly constructed, but convincing, vision of the past." [16] He studies the London poor and illustrates how their lives and struggles helped create a more modern cityscape in a rapidly changing economy. He finds, through extensive research, the poor were "smart, resilient and flexible, and in the process of surviving, forced many changes."[17] This relates to the apprentice research as it shows how even with an industrializing society, the apprenticeship system adapted to the ever-changing economy and maintained their core values in times of economic and political hardship. Hitchcock does not mention apprentices often in his book, but one of the most interesting and prominent examples is their participation in the "culture of Christmas begging," where men, women, and children of all social standings

---

[13] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, 17.

[14] Gunthrie Walker, *Crime, Gender, and Social Order* in Early Modern England[and subtitle?] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 47.

[15] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 102.

[16] Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 234.

[17] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, xvi.

partook in the tradition of "ritual begging."[18] This showed the spirit of giving and allowed the poor to "ask for relief in safety and confidence," demonstrating the cities "shared culture of dependence." [19] London apprentices took part in this custom, but they had a "traditional right to collect this money from all their master's customers...it gave meaning and substance to the season of good will, and embedded every apprentice in an almost universal culture of begging."[20] As mentioned above many of the apprentices usually came from a more prominent social background, but as they earn very little while in their seven years of instruction, this provides them with funds enough to enjoy the city life.

Robert Shoemaker, comparatively, also provides a detailed social history of England, but focuses on the collective action of the people, or what became known as "the mob" instead of solely the London poor. The mob was not limited to one specific group, but instead consisted of all "public disorderly activities, whether committed individually or collectively, and whether with or without official sanction."[21] While he believes that all young men, including apprentices, are prone to violence, he sees an overall decline in criminal activity in the eighteenth century. The secondary literature above is clear, but in some cases is based on literary sources and qualitative summaries. I would like to test those theories by examining specific lives using, largely, Old Bailey records (supplemented where possible with London Lives and other records based on lists and registers).

My research seeks to discover how apprentices participated in crime as perpetrators, witnesses, and victims during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. From data collected from the *Old Bailey Proceedings* focusing solely on apprentices and crime, I find that the majority of active apprentices attempted to keep social order through their actions, such as testifying as witnesses, apprehending the criminals which attacked their masters business, or avoiding criminal activity altogether. In many cases, the testimonies which I found indicated the victims and perpetrators age, sex, and occupation. Those who I have classified as "former apprentices" never truly completed their seven years of training, while "active apprentices" were still in the process of receiving their journeyman status. Due to the high volume of cases involving apprentices, I have limited my time frame to a sample of fifty years (1675-1725) in order to best represent the social significance

[18] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[19] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[20] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[21] Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth century England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), xiii.

of the apprentices and the increased rate of crime in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I have done my best to include cases which represent the apprenticeship system and how important it was in a young person's life. It provided a stable environment in a turbulent society, and my records indicate that in the majority of cases, those who failed to complete their training were more likely to commit a criminal act.

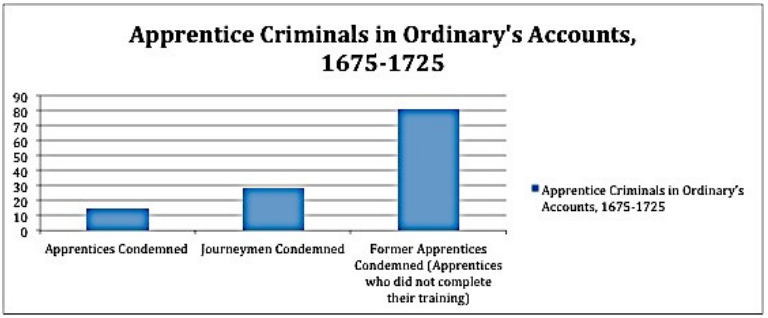
Many of the reports are of "former apprentices" who became part of a marginalized social group of criminals, influenced by "bad company." The study of criminal records has only recently become a large part of the social history. J.A. Sharpe's *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750* (1984), suggests that "crime can no longer be regarded as a trivial, peripheral subject...It is a serious subject which amply repays scholarly attention."[22] By analyzing the Old Bailey database, a new and separate "youth culture" can be identified within the criminal records of London. The most common cases involve burglary, assault, and highway robbery, many of which were perpetrated by young adults in their late teens and early twenties. Apprentices were not immune to this increase in crime, but overall they were less likely to be involved in public disorder. As Figure 1 illustrates, out of 95 cases, there were 124 individuals convicted of a crime. This chart indicates that apprentices actively seeking journeyman status were more than fifty percent less likely to commit criminal acts than "former apprentices." Those who had achieved journeyman status were also less likely to commit crimes than those who had abandoned their training.

Sharpe describes the necessity of criminal and court records and how some liberties must be taken by historians and authors when reviewing data, but overall the data "shows us how power was expressed and conflicts were resolved at the very base of society."[23] If apprentices were disobedient or committed criminal acts, not only did they have to face the possibility of their master terminating their employment, but also punishments such as branding, whipping, transportation out of the country, or even death. Paul Griffiths attempts to answer some of the broad questions surrounding youth and culture, and he explains the benefits and limitations of judicial records. One of his warnings is that they "must be treated with care... [as] court records can tell us much about aspects of youth which adults in place of authority found distasteful, threatening, and in need of reform."[24] In

[22] J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750* 2nd ed. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 269.
[23] Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 270.
[24] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 13.

other words, young people's response to such questions of crime and immorality differ from their elders, many of which probably acted as the judge and jury in these cases.

One of the best ways to find any information about convicted criminals was through the Ordinary of Newgate's accounts. Judicial documentation evolved from limited information on trials, to more widely publicized accounts of criminal biographies and their final words before they were executed at Tyburn. Just as the "conduct books" acted as moral guides for apprentices and masters, the Ordinary's Accounts documented the "convict's lives [and] usually outline their descent down the slippery slope of immorality from minor delinquencies such as idleness and profaning the Sabbath into a life of crime."[25] These were sold by the thousands and acted as a warning to readers to live a devout life and avoid temptations to sin. These accounts are invaluable for historians recording criminal, social, economic, and cultural history. They provide insight into the convicts employment, social life, and past sins. As mentioned above, apprentices were not immune to lives of crime, but the ways in which they were connected to the acts varied. Figure 2 illustrates how out of 120 records of Ordinary's of Newgate accounts, more than half (81/124) of all condemned convicts were "former apprentices." There are a few drawbacks to using these accounts, including what J.A. Sharpe has amply named the "'dark figure,' that body of criminal behaviour never prosecuted or even reported."[26] What is reported through the trial records, or Ordinary's accounts, in all probability, does not match the true degree of crime in London in the early modern era. I have placed the criminal records into three distinct categories, apprentices, journeymen (or master), and former apprentices.



[25] *OBP*, "Ordinary of Newgate's Accounts," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Ordinarys-accounts.jsp (Accessed August 17, 2012).
[26] Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 61.

By separating the information into three categories it makes it easier to trace frequency of when, where, and what apprentices were participating in criminal activities and how, overall, apprentices were less likely to cause a disturbance. I will begin with the Ordinary Accounts of former apprentices. In order to begin an apprenticeship there needed to be a proposal of work and a private agreement between the individual, or their family, and the master. It was not uncommon for these contracts to be broken and in many of the Old Bailey cases, it was the youths who ran away for various reasons. John Winshipp, for example, who was "born in the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden; was put Apprentice to a Carpenter, but was of too roving a Mind to follow that Business."[27] He fell out of service and instead turned to highway robbery, causing a great deal of disorder in his wake until he was convicted of assault.

Apprenticeships are extremely long training periods and it is not unusual for apprentices to become complacent or bored in their work. Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward state that "in fact, most trades hardly required seven years," but many consisted of hard labor that pushed many apprentices away.[28] They also mention how "some 60% in the first half of the period - never completed their terms of service. Some died. Others fled, perhaps...resentment towards a strict master."[29]John Allen was an apprentice to a weaver and was "not willing to take pains in that Employment. He ran away from his Master, and fell into Thieving Company."[30] He was then convicted of robbing and sentenced to death for his sins. Running from a strict master was also prevalent within the accounts. Henry Abbot fled his apprenticeship to a carpenter in White-Chapel due to "the account of his great Severity to him and Hastiness in giving him Blows on the Head."[31] This was not the main reason apprentices abandoned their work, many cases involved the young men and women falling into friendships with people of dishonorable natures.

Highway robbery, assault, and burglary are three of the most prominent acts of crime committed by all three categories of apprentices. October 1684, James Shaw decided to burgle the "House and Goods of John Coghil Esq."[32] Shaw is considered a former apprentice because after his master died, he refused to find a second smithing master in which to complete his studies. After a number of years of thieving, he was finally convicted of burglary and robbery and

[27] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 28 July 1721 (OA17210728).
[28] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 109.
[29] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 109.
[30] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 23 April 1697 (OA16970423).
[31] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 31 October 1718 (OA17181031).
[32] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 17 October 1684 (OA16841017).

sentenced to death at Tyburn. In another instance, Mary Poole was convicted of burglary in May 1702. At twenty-two years old she had served as an apprentice to a "fish-woman," but had left that life six years prior and fell upon "robbing and stealing."[33] She admitted she had loose morals and had fallen into a life of sin. In comparison, John Edwards was an active apprentice to a bricklayer. Just as the contemporary authors feared, many young men (apprentices especially) were easily swayed if they did not follow a morally correct and regulated apprenticeship. Edwards was convicted of burglary and theft and even though he had "never committed any Robbery before... being a little loose, he was easily brought into the Commission of this."[34] Edwards was one of only three active apprentices to have been convicted of burglary. While burglary was common in all three of the apprentice categories, it was most prominent in the "former apprentices" due to the sheer quantity of criminal records. Frequent offenders, such as James Shaw and Mary Poole, fall out of the categorization of a true apprentice and instead formed a marginalized criminal youth culture.

One of the key differences between the former apprentices and the journeymen is their age. While active apprentices and former apprentices range primarily between 15 and 25, journeymen are anywhere from 26 to 30. They are not considered part of the apprentice culture anymore, but they also do not fit into the marginalized youths. They form their own category of professionals and this could be one of the reasons journeymen are less prone to criminal activity than former apprentice. They have a stronger work ethic and have learned discipline over time. Most journeymen "had no desire to spend their most productive years living and working under another man's roof," instead they wanted to open their own shops and start a family.[35] After they completed their apprenticeship they could swear an oath and pay a fee to become a "freeman" and join a guild. They could then be considered citizens and have a right to vote "for all sorts of minor offices."[36] This is important as it supports the argument that apprentices and those who had once been apprentices upheld the order of the city.

While active apprentices had some social power (as they were usually connected to more prestigious families), they had little political power except for the occasional riots. This is not to say that journeymen and masters did not commit any crimes. Two of the most common excuses are falling in with bad company, and having tragedy strike. James Boyce served out his apprenticeship on a ship and as he was

[33] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 29 May 1702 (OA17020529).
[34] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 22 June 1715 (OA17150622).
[35] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 110.
[36] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 110.

serving he fraternized with "several other Men of War; falling into ill Company, and doing ill things, he brought himself under this Condemnation," and eventually being convicted of highway robbery.[37] John Snipe also completed his apprenticeship but instead worked for a "Dyer in Thames-street" and following his completion set up his own trade. Unfortunately "his House and Goods being Burn'd, he was reduced to extream Poverty," after which he was convicted of breaking into a home in order to get money.[38]

Those active apprentices which still served their masters at the time of the crime are split into three subcategories; witnesses, victims, and criminals. Andrew Boswell, an apprentice shoemaker, gave testimony against Henry Harrison, claiming he could recognize his voice, but this was never to occur. Midway through the trial Andrew Bowsell disappeared and it was only his original testimony which the court was able to read. Harrison was eventually found guilty and Bowsell was never found.[39] Another victim to crime was Philip Avery, also an apprentice shoemaker, who was killed by Alice Enterys. Both Avery and Enterys were servants in their masters shop and when the twenty-five year old male ended up "striking her over the Shoulders," she retaliated by stabbing him with a shop knife.[40] Eventually she was acquitted of murder, but charged with man-slaughter of the young man. The final subcategory is the criminality of the active apprentice. As illustrated in both charts, apprentices in training are less likely to be involved in disorder within the city and avoid, at least in part, committing criminal acts.

While apprentices political and social behavior might be best demonstrated by participation in rioting or rebellions, few apprentice riots in the early eighteenth century are reported in Old Bailey. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos does mention prior to the 1640s "London apprentices were indeed notorious for their riotous activities, especially on Shrove Tuesday and to a lesser extent on May Day...they organized wrestling matches, football games, cockfights and other sports, but they also harassed prostitutes, attacked brothels, and assaulted foreign trades or gentlemen and their serving-men."[41] Robert Shoemaker finds that "there was a significant increase in rioting in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries."[42] With only three recorded incidents of apprentices being involved in any type of rioting,

[37] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 29 April 1713 (OA17130429).
[38] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 16 December 1687 (OA16871216).
[39] *OBP*, 6 April 1692, Henry Harrison (t16920406-1).
[40] *OBP*, 20 May 1681, Alice Enterys (t16810520-4).
[41] Ben-Amos, *Apprentice and Youth in Early Modern England*, 183.
[42] Shoemaker, *The London Mob*, 111.

Shoemaker's argument does not seem to hold much ground with this specific group. It would seem plausible as the ascension of the Hanoverians was dramatic political shift and as Ben-Amos has pointed out, apprentices were not unfamiliar with popular action, but due to lack of evidence this would reinforce the idea that apprentices were not ones who were creating disorder in London, but instead keeping order by not participating.

Rioting is considered a criminal act and the first incident reportedly took place on April 21st, 1680. While this account does not give great detail as to why the apprentices were rioting, it is possible it was due to political turmoil that England struggled with at this moment in time. Charles II held the throne and many questioned his rule into the 1670s, wondering who truly held power after the Restoration, the King or Parliament. In a controversial move, Charles decided to disband parliament for the last four years of his reign when they threatened to exclude his natural successor, his brother James, a Roman Catholic convert.[43] Due to this controversial matter, it is possible that the riots revolved around political questions. Those "several apprentices" rioting in April were "turned over to "Gaol Delivery" for Treasonable Intentions of making a Combination to levy War against the King."[44] This did not turn into a full trial and they were let go on bail for good behavior, but as Charles II became more demanding it is not unreasonable that politically active young men (the apprentices and journeymen) would have an opinion on the subject.

The second incident took place on December 6, 1682 when a group of apprentices were charged with breaking the peace and assault of William Spencer. Only three were acquitted, the others found guilty and sentenced to the pillory, and one Thomas Langham punished with a fine for the assault of William Spencer, but acquitted of the riot itself.[45] Unfortunately no further information was given as to why they were rioting. The third and final riot took place "Salisbury-Court, Fleetstreet" on July 24, 1716. William Price, an apprentice to a sword-cutler, had never committed a crime before being caught in the riot.[46] He originally ran there out of curiosity, but eventually "he join'd with others there, and assisted them in demolishing Mr. Read's Mug-house,

---

[43] William B. Willcox and Walter L. Arnstein, *The Age of Aristocracy: 168-1830* 7th ed. (Lexington: Heath and Company, 1996), 3.

[44] *OBP*, "Old Bailey Proceedings supplementary material, 21st April 1680," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=o16800421-1&div=o16800421-1&terms=apprentice|apprentices#highlight (Accessed on August 10, 2012).

[45] *OBP*, "Old Bailey Proceedings supplementary material, 21st April 1680," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16821206-7&div=t16821206-7&terms=apprentice|apprentices#highlight (Accessed August 10, 2012).

[46] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 21 September 1716 (OA17160921).

destroying his Goods, and crying, high Church and Ormond, &c."[47] This is interesting as it shows one of the rare instances in Old Bailey when an apprentice is taking part in both political and religious demonstrations. On their way to the gallows, price and the other convicts of the riot begged forgiveness of both God and the king for their actions.

Following the criminal records chronologically, the last five years of the study presented twenty-eight criminal offenders, somehow linked to apprenticeship, and who had been convicted of various crimes. Of those twenty-eight there were no active apprentices, five journeymen (or masters), and twenty-three former apprentices. The evidence provided supports the hypothesis that former apprentices, or the marginalized criminal youth culture, were the true culprits of disorder in London, while the apprentices acted in a more respectful manner. There could be a number of factors for this behavior, including a declining apprenticeship system in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As the population grew, apprenticeships decreased in number and grew more competitive with the oncoming industrialization. While apprentices usually originated from more affluent families, those who left their service, no matter their status, seemed to find themselves in desperate straits, and while Tim Hitchcock believes the poor influenced changed, they also instigated some of the criminal activity in London.

This is only a brief look into the study of apprentices and their research association to crime as perpetrators, witnesses, and victims. In economic uncertainty, social demographic change, and political upheaval, apprentices adapted to London's diverse culture and survived a slowly industrializing nation. One theory that does not seem to support the idea that apprentices, as part of the youth culture, are more peaceful than others is Garthine Walker's theory of "budding masculinity," which does not support violent tendencies amongst those in an enclosed and structured system, such as an apprenticeship. Apprentices do not always play the main characters, but the authors mentioned above, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, Tim Hitchcock, and J.A. Sharpe all seem to support a strong youth culture and the benefits of a strong apprentice presence. By looking at the trial records and Ordinary's accounts, the reader is able to draw connections to the different aspects of apprenticeship and the multiple channels in which it can be studied; youth, crime, geographic location, politics, economic, etc. There are a number of avenues in which this research can be expanded upon, including this idea of a marginalized group of criminals. I would personally like to look more closely at the "Court of Assistants" records

[47] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 21 September 1716 (OA17160921).

which are mentioned in Bucholz and Ward's, *London: A Social and Cultural History*, in which records of disagreements between masters and their wards are available. There are only a handful of cases involving the questionable cruelty of masters, but it seems to be a debated topic amongst historians. This study was also restricted to a limited time frame and by extending this we could answer if apprentices truly became perpetrators of disorder or advocates for peace, while also studying the overall effects of crime and population growth on the apprenticeship system. To find criminal records which reflect the fears of contemporary authors of idleness and sin and how apprentices acted as the advocates of the youth. In the end, were apprentices more or less likely to engage in crime or keep young Londoners away from crime? I believe the evidence provided points towards the latter. Apprentices were more likely to keep themselves and other young Londoners away from crime due to the systems endurance, professionalism, and structure. Apprentices not only represented the youths, but the larger community of guilds and their political and economic influence within the city.