

Loose, Idle and Disorderly: Vagrant Removal in Late Eighteenth-Century Middlesex.

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Abstract

This article uses a sample of 14,000 individuals removed through the hands of the vagrant contractor for Middlesex, Henry Adams, between 1777 and 1786, to evidence the workings of the vagrant removal system and the wider ecology of migration to and from the capital. It concludes that individual Middlesex justices used arrest and removal under the vagrancy laws as a tool in their active management of local communities; targeting women in particular. It also evidences the presence, from 1783, of a distinct subgroup of predominately male vagrants, removed from London by the Lord Mayor. The parish of settlement of each of these women and men has been identified, exposing gender-specific migration, with women undertaking predominantly short-distance migration, originating in South East England, while long distance migration, including from Ireland, was dominated by men. Finally, this article explores the relationship between vagrant and poor law removal to suggest that by the 1780s, the system of legal settlement had become increasingly ineffective in regulating plebeian migration. In the process it substantially modifies our understanding of the history of migration, settlement and poor relief.

*This article forms one of the outcomes of a larger collaborative project between the three authors, *Vagrant Lives: An Analysis of Late Eighteenth Century London's Vagrant Poor*. For this article, Hitchcock was primarily responsible for drafting the text and contextualising the discussion; Crymble analysed and regularised the data including visualisation and quantitative analysis; and Falcini cleaned the underlying data set, generated the geo-referencing and wrote and researched elements reflecting the workings of the Middlesex bench.

On the 22nd of December 1785, nineteen year old Rebecca Gough and her friend Mary Brown were arrested by John Atkinson, the beadle of St Martin in the Fields, 'wandering abroad in a loose and idle... manner'. Rebecca was initially taken to St Martin's workhouse, where she spent a couple of days in the 'Shed' – the casual woman's ward – before being examined by justice Thomas Bullard sometime on Christmas Eve. Bullard determined that Rebecca fell within the ill-defined boundaries of the 1744 Vagrancy Act and should be punished and removed to her parish of settlement. From the workhouse she was sent to Tothill Fields house of correction in Westminster, probably for two to three days' hard labour, before being passed into the hands of Henry Adams, the vagrant contractor for Middlesex.¹ Riding in the back of Adams' covered cart, she was then delivered directly from the house of correction to the vagrant contractor for Buckinghamshire at his house at Denham, just on far side of the Middlesex/Buckinghamshire border, prior to being sent on to Chalfont St Giles – Rebecca's parish of settlement.²

Henry Adams and his father, James Sturges Adams before him, were responsible for managing the removal of vagrants on behalf of the county.³ These men sped on their way the undesirable, the intolerable, and the simply inconvenient men and women who slipped through the local system of poor relief and attracted sufficient attention to themselves – normally by begging or prostitution – to warrant the notice of the beadle or constable during the day or the watchmen at night. Each week, Adam's cart went from lock-up to prison, to house of correction, to either his own 'House' at Islington, or directly to pre-determined passing sites on the county boundaries. Rebecca was one of three hundred vagrants transported by Adams between 8 December 1785 and 5 January 1786. 105 were taken directly to the county border and passed in to the hands of Adams' equivalent figure in the adjoining county, and a further 195 were housed for between one and three nights in one of Adams' own vagrant stations at a cost of 3 pence per night, before they too were passed on to the next county.⁴

Adams was bound by the terms of the original contract, agreed between the Middlesex Justices and his father, in which he was charged to secure horses and a covered cart:

... and clear the Bridewells of all such Vagabonds whose Passes are there lodged, as well as those other Vagrants whose Destination is through this County... twice every Week; that is to say, those whose Destination is to the North, on one Day every Week; and those to the South and West, on some other Day every Week, [later increased to four times a week] ... for the Sum of Ten pounds a Month,

As part of this same contract, Adams was also obliged to:

... deliver, on the County Day of every Sessions in Middlesex,... a true List of the Names of such Vagabonds who have been conveyed by him between Session and Sessions, distinguishing the Bridewell or other Place from whence such Vagabonds were taken, the Date of the Pass, the Place where delivered, Place of Settlement of Such Vagrants, and the Name of the Magistrate who signed the Pass...⁵

For almost four decades, between July 1756 and January 1795, first James Sturges Adams and from April 1774, his son, Henry, submitted a list as described. These documents survive in a relatively coherent series, including 42 out of a possible 65 items submitted in the nine years between January 1778 and April 1786. A measure of the relative completeness of this series can be found in a report to the Middlesex bench submitted by Adams in the autumn of 1785. In this he claimed to have processed 11,183 vagrants in the preceding three years, while the surviving lists for the same period contain details of 8,365.⁶ Each list is also associated with a bill for the costs incurred. For the vagrants removed with Rebecca Gough in the winter of 1785/6, for instance, Adams charged expenses to a total of £12 1s. 3d., including ten shillings for coals, and ten more for straw, and five shillings for 'cleaning and laying out the bodies of Robert Kelvington and Robert Johnson'. There

were costs for medical care, and for 'Blank Certificates and filling up', a total of 134, at two pence per form (£1. 2s. 4d).⁷

In total these surviving lists include 14,789 removals, and comprise a unique record of the workings of the vagrancy removal system in late eighteenth-century Britain.⁸ This article uses Henry Adams' lists to explore the character of the system of removal and punishment as it was experienced by vagrants. In particular, it looks at the characteristics of vagrants removed from Middlesex and from the City of London through Middlesex, and the nature of their encounters with the justices who examined and condemned them. And by tracing a subset of vagrants in to the system of poor relief through the detailed workhouse registers for St Martin in the Fields, this article will also suggest that by the 1780s vagrancy removal acted as an important route into the system of parochial relief.

The lists submitted by Henry Adams are unique, but they are not perfect. As well as gaps reflecting the happenstance of historical survival, they also evidence a distinct subset of all vagrants arrested and removed in the county or passed through it.⁹ In Middlesex, vagrants with a nearby settlement might be returned directly to their parish, and as a result would not appear on Adams' lists. While in the City no commercial contractor was involved, and local vagrants were probably escorted to their parish of settlement by the arresting constable or beadle, following punishment in Bridewell or the City Compters.¹⁰ Of the 5,001 vagrants processed through the Middlesex houses of correction at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields, only 668 are listed as having a settlement in Middlesex, and of these, the majority were from the rural parishes outside the metropolis. Only 12 vagrants can be found punished and passed from the Middlesex houses of correction to the large urban parish of St Clement Danes, from which one might expect many more. Similarly, vagrants removed from Westminster or the East End towards East Anglia or the counties to the south and east of London

could be passed directly from the houses of correction to either the City of London and from there to Surrey or Kent, or else eastward to Essex. Some vagrants appear on Adams' lists as passed on to the City's vagrant depots in St Andrew Holborn, St Dunstan in the West and St Botolph Aldgate, but not enough to suggest that this route was the one taken by most vagrants passed through the City of London. As a result vagrants passed to the south and east and East Anglia are under-represented in the lists. At the same time and for the same reason the lists tend to consistently record the vagrants from the South West and Ireland. Both main routes from London to Ireland, for instance, required removal to the north and west, and hence removal through the hands of Henry Adams.

Nevertheless, and with these caveats, the lists include the vast majority of vagrants passed through the greater metropolitan area; including those either arrested to the south or east of London and passed north or west; and those arrested to the north and west, and passed to the south and east.¹¹

On average over the course of the decade covered by the lists Adams processed just under 8 vagrants per day.¹²

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In Middlesex by the 1770s there was a substantial infrastructure for the removal of vagrants, including houses of correction, gaols, Adams' own holding centre at Islington, and a further series of vagrant depots on either side of the county boundary and in the City. These institutions were part of a nation-wide network managed by the counties from 1700 onwards, designed to create a conveyor belt for passing vagrants from county to county, and from wherever they were arrested to their home parish.¹³ This infrastructure of removal can be divided up by the role of each institution, and the character of the vagrant population processed through them. The county's two houses of correction, at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields, comprised the point of origin for 35% of all vagrants, amounting to 5,001 individual removals. For the most part, these were vagrants like Rebecca Gough, arrested in urban Middlesex or Westminster and removed to a parish in southern England.

The House of Correction at Clerkenwell sat on the northern edge of urban Middlesex, roughly 30 minutes' walk north of St Paul's Cathedral. It was part of a group of judicial institutions, which included the 'New Prison' next door, and the Middlesex Sessions House, rebuilt and re-opened in July 1782, a few hundred yards south on Clerkenwell Green.¹⁴ The House of Correction at Clerkenwell is listed as the point of origin for 3,006 vagrants that were primarily committed for offences in the heavily populated and disorderly parishes that circled the old City. Vagrants arrested in St Giles in the Fields, St Andrew Holborn and St Botolph Aldgate were likely to find themselves here. In total 194 different justices of the peace committed vagrants to Clerkenwell, but most vagrants who spent time there had passed through the courts of only a small handful of justices.

By the 1780s the justices of the peace, who collectively managed Middlesex and Westminster were coming under increasing pressure. Conspicuous by their lack of effective intervention during the Gordon Riots in 1780, the whole system of justice-led county governance was beginning to crack and show signs of wear. Several very active justices died during the first few years of the 1780s, leaving an ever smaller circle of experienced men to cope with rising workloads. And, despite repeated attempts to recruit new men of a higher social class, the Middlesex and Westminster Benches remained stubbornly dominated by merchants, who many considered corrupt. At the same time, their simple number, and the urban character of Middlesex and Westminster, ensured that they continued to provide a comparatively flexible resource available to a wide range of Londoners.

David Walker, whose house in Hyde Street, was located just on the limits of respectability in St George Bloomsbury, was responsible for 864 vagrant committals – nearly 6 per cent of all vagrants in this study.¹⁵ To the north of his house were the new and expanding terraces of the Southampton

estate with a large, ever-changing, female servant population and to the south the poor neighbourhoods of St Giles and St Andrew Holborn. The parishes of St Giles and St George were united for both poor law and night watch purposes and it is here that Walker found a great deal of his work, regulating those individuals brought in by the watch or admitted to the workhouse. While Philip Dyot, one of the longest serving justices in Middlesex, and working from Dyot Street at the heart of the poorest corner of St Giles in the Fields was responsible for 251.¹⁶ Seven magistrates sent in over 100 vagrants each. Middlesex justices were notoriously territorial and keen to protect their own judicial business. It was considered 'unacceptable' to intervene in another magistrate's business and on several occasions this so called interference merited intervention by the Middlesex Bench.¹⁷ Hence, the gender balance of vagrants a justice committed to an institution was likely to reflect the economy and gender make-up of the neighbourhood he served.

Tothill Fields Bridewell at the southern edge of Westminster was the point of origin for a smaller number of vagrants (1,995, or 13.5 per cent of the total). The top seven magistrates committing vagrants to Tothill Fields are responsible of 40 per cent of all commitments to the prison. Edward Bindloss, for example, committed all of the 71 vagrants processed at his house in Smith Street, in St Margaret Westminster a few hundred yards away, to Tothill Fields. These were vagrants committed by a gradually narrowing subset of urban magistrates (though not for the most part by magistrates at the office at Bow Street, for offences on the streets of Westminster).¹⁸

Overall, these house of correction vagrants were arrested in Middlesex and Westminster, and comprised a large proportion of the disorderly poor of the capital.

A very different population of 'vagrants' could be found at Henry Adams' depot, termed in the lists as 'House', at Islington, a mile or so north of Clerkenwell and the built up area of greater London. In 1791 a committee of inspection described the accommodation:

a small Room of about 12 Feet by 9, about 4 feet underground, and part of [a] Loft over his Stable at the bottom of a Yard about 50 Yards from his House. ... the first is Flagged and very damp and the Plaistering about the chimney Piece is very much broken and decayed, the Brick Walls all very dirty. There is a Platform raised a few Inches from the Ground on one side of the Room covered with Straw which will with great difficulty contain 8 or 9 Persons. There is a small Grate in the Fire Place with a Fire with 2 or 3 small Benches. That the way to the Loft over the Stable is down a Dirty Yard, through the Stable and up a slender Ladder, the bottom of which is placed in a Manger so that a Person in good health must have difficulty in getting up into the Loft. ... Men and their Wives ... lay together and that other Females lay there with them. That he had frequently from 20 to 30 Persons at a time ... That they were not allowed any Covering and that they had never had any other Accommodation than straw to lye upon since he had the Contract.¹⁹

Almost half of all vagrants included in Adams' lists passed through his 'House' – 7,350 individuals. But these vagrants were different to those found at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields. The vast majority either came through the City on their way north and west with a pass issued by the Lord Mayor, or more uncommonly via the City Bridewell. In 1791 the committee of the Middlesex bench interviewed five vagrants being held at Islington:

being asked of the manner of their having obtained Passes Three of them the only ones from the City (who appeared in good health) declared respective homes [and] were advised to go to the Lord Mayor for Passes which they did and had them of course.²⁰

The extent to which 'House' provided travelling accommodation for those moving through the City is reflected in the role of the Lord Mayor sitting as a magistrate. Richard Clark, for instance, was Lord Mayor from October 1784 to October of the following year. In this period, Adams' lists record him as having signed passes for 976 vagrants, of which all but 10 were recorded as passing through 'House'. During his mayoralty Clark claimed to spend between three and four hours every day working at 'petty sessions' business, including issuing passes to vagrants.²¹ Of the 1,492 people who stayed at Adams' House in this period, 65 per cent did so on the basis of a pass signed by the Lord Mayor sitting in regular session as a magistrate at London's Mansion House. The vast majority of the remainder were there on a pass signed by active justices involved in City government and were probably issued at the Guildhall Justice Room. The courts at both the Mansion House and the Guildhall Justice Room sat six days a week, ensuring that a pass could be obtained any day but Sunday. From 'House' the overwhelming majority of vagrants were then conveyed to one of the vagrant depots that ringed the borders of the county. For the purpose of this article, vagrants passed through Adams' 'House', are characterised as 'City vagrants'.

In addition to the houses of correction and Adams' own 'House' at Islington, he also maintained three further holding locations, and collected vagrants from an additional four depots maintained by the adjoining counties. Adams' Middlesex depots were at Enfield to the north east, at South Mimms to the north on the border of Hertfordshire, and at Staines to the south west on the Berkshire border (See Figure 1). Vagrants were delivered by the contractor for the surrounding counties, or by the constables and Adams collected them on his rounds, for delivery either to their settlement in Middlesex, or else onwards to the next jurisdiction. Once in his charge, Adams took them to the City holding stations, or else directly to an adjoining county (Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Essex). He then delivered the vagrants either from the City (having been held overnight at House), or else from one of the Middlesex houses of correction, to his counterparts'

depots at Stratford in Essex, Cheshunt or Ridge in Hertfordshire, Denham or Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, or Egham in Surrey, and Lambeth across the river to the south.²² Additionally there were at least three depots in the City, on its Western border at St Andrew Holborn and St Dunstan in the West, and to the East at St Botolph Aldgate, where Adams dropped vagrants who were normally heading across the river to the south.²³

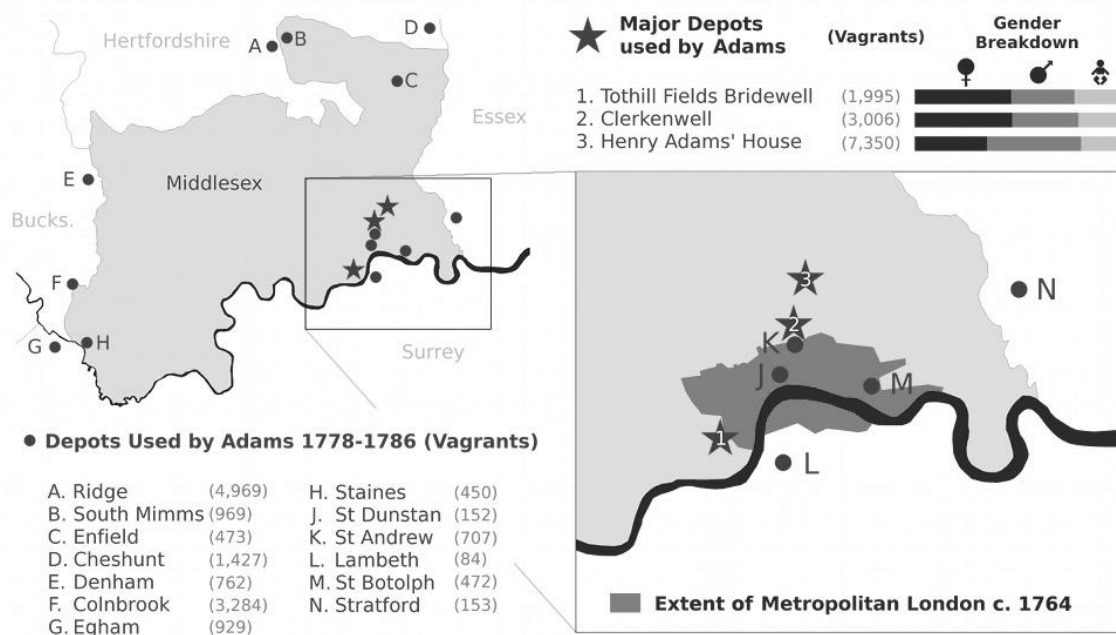


Figure 1: Map of Middlesex County and the depots used by Henry Adams to remove vagrants to other counties and to bring in vagrants bound for Middlesex or counties beyond Middlesex from elsewhere.

Like the Adams' House at Islington these vagrant depots provided squalid and insecure accommodation and there was only limited pretence of securing them overnight. Vagrants were probably 'locked in' for the evening but not otherwise confined.²⁴ The 404 vagrants (2.7 per cent) recorded as having 'Ran' from one of the depots or the cart itself, suggests both that escape was relatively easy, and that most vagrants were content to stay in custody.²⁵ Each depot sat on one of the major routes in to and out of London, and paired depots, in particular at South Mimms and

Ridge to the north, and Staines and Egham to the West, provided an infrastructure for the exchange of humanity that facilitated pauper travel and migration. Not all counties maintained a comprehensive system of contracted removal, with its 'covered cart' and system of depots.

Berkshire, for example did not employ vagrant contractor, and from Egham, except for the ill and disabled, most vagrants were expected to make their own way homewards with a 'walking pass'.²⁶

The precise route of a vagrant's journey is normally impossible to reconstruct.

But the journey of Lever Maxey was recorded on the back of his removal order, and preserved among the overseers' papers of his parish of settlement, Wallingford in Oxfordshire.²⁷ Arrested in St Giles in the Fields as a 'rogue and vagabond' on the 17th of February 1784, and examined by local Justice, David Walker, Maxey, his wife and their child were initially committed to the Clerkenwell House of Correction, for one or two days, before being passed in to the hands of Henry Adams. From Clerkenwell, Adams brought them to Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, where they were given over to the constable, who endorsed the back of the removal order, before escorting them onwards some eighteen miles to Maidenhead, where a Justice Cambell took responsibility for them. The next day, on the 20th of February, Lever Maxey and his family went on a further 12 miles to Henley on Thames, where the mayor, Thomas Divas, signed their pass. Their next stop was Bix just a mile or so down the road, from whence the constable took them the final 10 miles to Wallingford.²⁸

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With this wider infrastructure of removal in mind, Henry Adams vagrant lists allow us to separate out and assess the very different groups of people caught up in the system. On one hand, there were the several thousand women, men and children removed through the houses of correction at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields. They represent the subset of 'vagrants' whose removal can be directly associated with anti-social behaviour. These were 'house of correction vagrants', arrested on the

streets of urban Middlesex and Westminster, brought before a magistrate who committed them and directed their subsequent removal – usually preceded by two or three days of hard labour, and possibly a private whipping in prison.²⁹ These were vagrants of the sort Jacob Ilive describes as imprisoned at the House of Correction at Clerkenwell a couple of decades earlier:

a great number of dirty young wenches, intermixed with some men; ... sitting on the ground against a wall, sunning and lousing themselves; others lying round asleep; some sleeping or lying with their faces in men's laps, and some men doing the same by the women. I found on enquiry that these wenches, most of them were sent hither by justices as loose and disorderly persons.³⁰

In contrast those passed through House – 'City vagrants' – or across the county from north to south or east to west were not put to hard labour, or whipped, and do not seem to have been sent to either the City's house of correction at Bridewell or compters.³¹ Like James Dawson Burn a couple of decades later, most simply applied to the Lord Mayor for a pass as a kind of license to travel. In around 1810 Burn accompanied his mother to the Mansion House:

My mother took the whole of the children into her charge, and made application at the Mansion House for a pass to Hexham, in Northumberland, ... which she had no difficulty in obtaining; with this pass we visited nearly all the towns and villages on the east coast of England between London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As my mother preferred taking the journey at her ease, and her own time, she frequently had the benefit of the cash that the overseers would have had to pay for sending us forward in a conveyance, and at the same time she had the advantage of the intermediate relieving officers, who were often glad to get clear of us at the expense of a shilling or two.³²

If those passed through Adams' 'House' were vagrants in the sense of the law, their crime was either committed in some distant community, or in the case of City vagrants, they had applied to the Lord

Mayor as a means of securing passage to and from harvest work, across the water to Ireland, or as a way of following husbands to war. Most seemed to be travelling on a 'pass' issued at their own request. Some may have been beggars and prostitutes, or one of the categories of the undesirable listed in the 1744 Vagrancy Act: 'Fencers and bear wards ... Common players of interludes ... All minstrels, jugglers ... All persons pretending to be Gypsies, or wandering in the habit or form of Egyptians...', and so on.³³ But, the vast majority were probably seeking to get home, or to find some work.

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Vagrants removed from the houses of correction at Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields conform closely to the broad patterns identified by Nicholas Rogers on the basis of a sample of vagrancy examinations for Middlesex, and that experienced by Jacob Ilive in 1757.³⁴ Both houses of correction were dominated by women; of the 5,001 vagrants in these institutions, just over half were women and thirty per cent men. An additional 20 per cent were children, the vast majority of whom were accompanying their mother. The dominance of women in this vagrant population remains consistent throughout the decade.

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1777	18	45	15	23.1	57.7	19.2	78
1778	109	355	181	16.9	55.0	28.1	645
1779	15	20	5	37.5	50.0	12.5	40
1780	78	157	64	26.1	52.5	21.4	299
1781	125	302	110	23.3	56.2	20.5	537
1782	143	279	112	26.8	52.2	21.0	534
1783	195	269	145	32.0	44.2	23.8	609

1784	314	367	144	38.1	44.5	17.4	825
1785	405	562	165	35.8	49.6	14.6	1,132
1786	111	140	40	38.1	48.1	13.8	291
TOTAL	1,513	2,496	981	30.3	50.0	19.7	4,990

Table 1: Vagrants passed from Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields Houses of Correction, 1777-1786.³⁵

A further distinct characteristic of the vagrant population removed from the houses of correction is the relatively small number of family groups involved. In contrast to 'City vagrants', the majority of the 5,001 house of correction vagrants were travelling alone. In total 64.6 per cent (3,230) listed were solo men and women. A relatively small number were designated as groups, or families, within which women with dependents predominate; appearing 448 times. Family units including a man as a group leader, wife, and children appear 98 times. Men with their wives and no children are uncommon, appearing only 54 times. Likewise, men with children but no wife are vanishingly rare, with only 38 cases. Just over 70 per cent of all groups originating in the houses of correction were led by women.

The parishes of settlement listed in relation to these vagrants were predominately in Southern England, within 200 miles of the centre of London (measured from the Old Bailey), and include relatively few long distant migrants. Women are even more dominant among short distance migrants (up to 200 miles), while men become the majority when looking solely at smaller number of long distance migrants (over 200 miles).

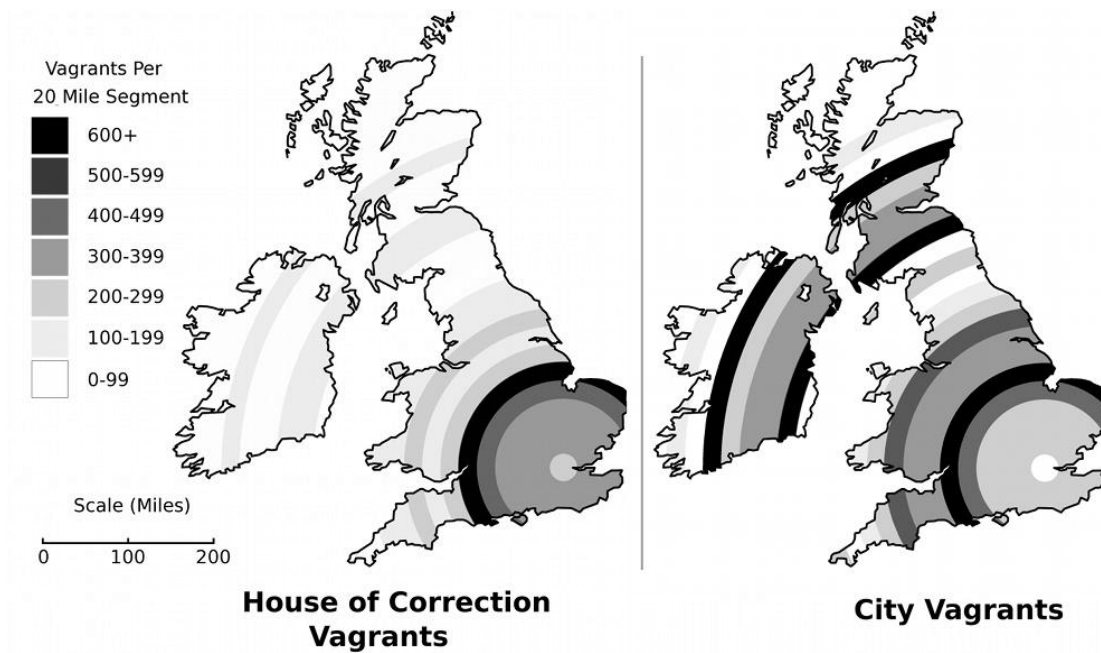


Figure 2: Number of vagrants by distance travelled to parish of home settlement, shown in segments of twenty-miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, 1778-1786 and separated by Houses of Correction and City vagrants.

Examining this same population in relation to the magistrates who committed them also allows us to tentatively comment on how different parts of London contributed to this characteristic whole.

Most of the more active magistrates sent the majority of the vagrants they processed to one or the other of the houses of correction. David Walker, working from St Giles in the Fields and St Andrew Holborn in the north west of Urban Middlesex committed 853 people to Clerkenwell, including Lever Maxey and his family. Among them were 195 men and 521 women (23 per cent and 61 per cent respectively). In contrast, John Staples who worked from Whitechapel to the east of the City until spring 1786, committed 100 men and 60 women (52 per cent and 31 per cent respectively).

Overall, the picture that emerges from an analysis of house of correction vagrants is that they are primarily made up of women, and include a relatively small number of family groups, most of which were also led by women. These were, as Jacob Ilive suggests, people caught up in begging and

prostitution and committed to the local house of correction. The predominance of women, and the

pattern of short distance migration that characterises their experience suggest that many were the drawn by relatively high wages in domestic service and casual employment, and had support networks relatively close at hand if necessary – or at least were within walking distance in an emergency. The dominance of this pattern of gendered migration among vagrants – failed migrants – reflects both the financial and employment insecurity suffered by women in domestic service, and the failure of the parochial poor relief system to cater fully for casual and emergency poverty and relief.³⁶

Over twenty-five years ago, and on the basis of a very different source and methodology, David Souden argued that:

...the growth of the metropolis bit deeply into the population of its hinterland, and large numbers of women in particular were attracted to eighteenth-century London... [creating] an efflux of women, who were able to command relatively higher wages...³⁷

Souden evidenced this claim on the basis of an analysis of John Rickman's early nineteenth-century abstracts of parish registers. Henry Adams' lists confirm the existence of this pattern, but also provide clues to a more granulated and localised series of distinctions among those subject to forced migration homewards through vagrant removal. Different neighbourhoods expelled and attracted different sorts of migrants. As importantly, Adams' lists also suggest the continuing relevance of a pattern of long distance migration that Souden's evidence could not be expected to reveal.

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An analysis of City vagrants removed through 'House' reveals a distinct and different picture. By the 1780s the system of policing and punishing vagrants in the City was changing and growing increasingly complex. Bridewell, Wood Street Compter, Poultry Compter, and Ludgate Prison all accommodated, and at times punished vagrants. In the Spring of 1781 the Keeper of Wood Street

compter, for instance, submitted a bill for supporting vagrants in his care. In 1780 he claimed recompense for 165 vagrants, mainly boys and women.³⁸ At Bridewell, the City's largest house of correction, almost 10,000 men and women were committed during the period covered by Adams' lists, most for idle and disorderly behaviour and other forms of 'vagrancy'.³⁹ And yet none of the people listed by Kirby, and only a handful of those punished in Bridewell can be identified as having subsequently been removed as vagrants via the Middlesex vagrant contractor.

The 1780s in particular witnessed a crisis in punishment in the City, driven in part by the destruction of much of the infrastructure of incarceration during the Gordon Riots. There was also a substantial transition in the policy of issuing passes to vagrants that came in to effect in early 1783. Though no explicit policy statement survives, this transition led to an on-going dispute between the City and Middlesex, with Henry Adams in the centre. The character and chronology of this transition has been detailed elsewhere by Tim Hitchcock, but for the purpose of this discussion the important observation is that the vast majority of City vagrants removed from London through Henry Adams' House at Islington, did so on the basis of a pass from the Lord Mayor or Aldermen sitting in petty sessions at the Mansion House and Guildhall, and that such passes were largely available on demand.⁴⁰ From 1783, the outcome was to turn the vagrancy removal system in to an accessible way of both legitimating long distance migration, and gaining subsidised accommodation and transport along the way.

The impact of the City's change in policy can be seen in the transition in the gender make-up of City vagrants removed through 'House' before and after the beginning of 1783. The list for the period 20 February to 24 April 1783, suggests that of 147 vagrants whose gender can be identified were passed from the City. Among them, men substantially outnumbered women, for the first time, with

59 per cent men (87), to 40 per cent women (59).⁴¹ In the five years up until the end of 1782, the proportion of men and women being removed conformed closely to the pattern observed among house of correction vagrants, with an average of twice as many women as men, and a similar proportion of women to children (see Tables 2 and 3). City vagrants in this early period were significantly more likely to be part of a group than those passing through the houses of correction: 25.2 per cent versus 16.5 per cent, but as with house of correction vagrants these groups were overwhelmingly led by women (78 per cent).

But between February 1783 and 1786 a distinct and different pattern is apparent. In this period, the proportion of adult men removed as vagrants doubles to 54 per cent, compared to only 30 per cent adult women and 16 per cent children. The ratio of women to children, however, remained essentially unchanged. At the same time, the overall number of male vagrants travelling alone grows dramatically from 21 per cent of all City vagrants prior to 1783, to 48 per cent in subsequent years.

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1777	6	20	3	20.7	69.0	10.3	29
1778	65	257	151	13.8	54.3	31.9	473
1779	4	26	11	9.8	63.4	26.8	41
1780	171	344	179	24.6	49.6	25.8	694
1781	287	352	171	35.4	43.5	21.1	810
1782	72	168	124	19.8	46.1	34.1	364
1783	299	249	133	43.9	36.6	19.5	681

1784	969	411	242	59.8	25.3	14.9	1,622
1785	1,227	646	315	56.1	29.5	14.4	2,188
1786	199	165	84	44.4	36.8	18.8	448
TOTAL	3,299	2,638	1,413	44.9	35.9	19.2	7,350

Table 2: Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from 'House' by year, 1777-1786.

Period	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1776-82	605	1,167	639	25.1	48.4	26.5	2,411
1783-86	2,694	1,471	774	54.5	29.8	15.7	4,939
Change	+2,089	+304	+135	+29.4	-18.6	-10.8	+2,528

Table 3: Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from 'House', 1777-1786, split into two periods: 1777-1782, and 1783-1786.

In part, this transition reflects the impact of demobilisation following the American War. Douglas Hay estimates that some 130,000 soldiers and sailors were discharged in 1783.⁴² And while the resulting influx of young men has traditionally been deployed as part of a carefully demarcated discussion of patterns of criminal prosecution – primarily for theft – demobilisation also undoubtedly increased the number of young single men on the roads of Britain in 1783 and in subsequent years. London almost certainly drew an unfair proportion of these men, and without recourse to even its traditional, pre-Gordon Riots set of gaols and prisons, it is perhaps unsurprising that the City authorities decided to use the system of vagrant removal to speed them on their way.⁴³ At the same time the continued dominance of male vagrants travelling alone amongst these City vagrants suggests that this transition was quickly regularised among the poor seeking a pass from the Mansion House.⁴⁴ The crisis of the early 1780s appears to have created a new system of circulation

and mobility that allowed men, in particular, to use the infrastructure of vagrant removal to facilitate migration.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the distinctive character of post 1783 removal through the City can be found in measures of the distance travelled by these men. While women removed from Middlesex overwhelmingly travelled under 200 miles to the place of settlement. The men removed from the City after 1783 were aiming much further afield, with significant groups giving Dublin and Cork as their final destination.

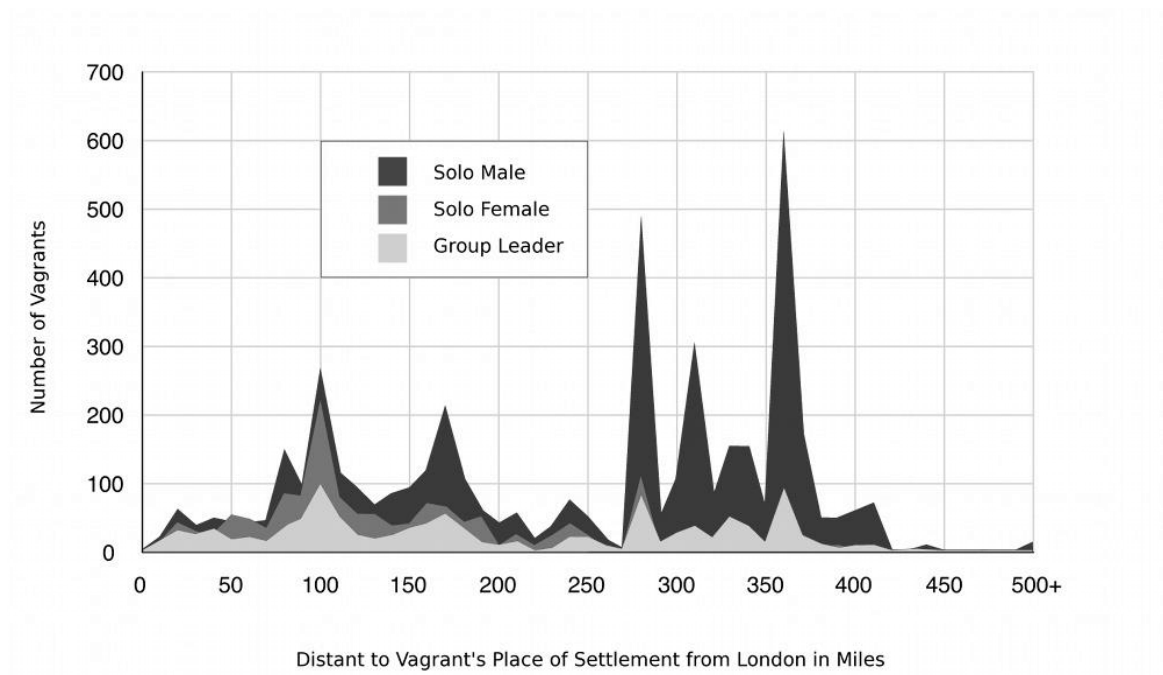


Figure 3: Distance travelled by vagrants in miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, City vagrants only, 1783-1786.

In part, demobilisation can again be pointed to as a part of the overall explanation for this pattern. But Ireland contributed relatively few recruits to the British military prior to the 1790s, suggesting that a more complex and on-going system of travel and removal linked to seasonal labour is in operation here.⁴⁵

In his seminal work on migration based on church court depositions Peter Clark has argued that the eighteenth century witnessed a decline in long-distance migration brought about in part by the workings of the Old Poor Law and the system of settlement – implying with Adam Smith, that settlement effectively discouraged migration.⁴⁶ Studies based on poor law removals have tended to confirm his findings.⁴⁷ But from at least 1777, parishes were legally obliged to accept vagrants removed under the order of a single magistrate, and following only a cursory examination. Unlike a settlement removal under the poor law, a vagrant order could not be subject to an appeal.⁴⁸ Removal via a vagrancy pass as a City vagrant effectively established an incontrovertible settlement in whichever parish was named on the pass. And while there is no evidence to demonstrate that the poor substantially manipulated this system to circumvent the old poor law and system of settlement, the City's policy decision to issue vagrant removal orders on request, effectively undermined any pretence of controlling migration. Adams' lists suggest that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century long-distance migration away from London was being actively facilitated by the vagrant removal system.

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The complex relationship between the system of vagrant removal and the workings of the Old Poor Law can be further tested by examining the experience of the subset of vagrants passed through Adams' hands, and returned to the Westminster parish of St Martin in the Fields. Building on the work of Leonard Schwarz and Jeremy Boulton and the digitisation of the workhouse registers and settlement examinations of St Martins, it is possible to trace the subsequent experience of two thirds of the vagrants included on Adams' lists and removed to St Martin's. In total 131 individuals were ascribed a settlement in St Martins, of whom 85 can be identified in the St Martin's workhouse registers. This subset includes fifteen family groups, eleven of which were composed of a mother and her children. Overall, vagrants removed to St Martin's and admitted to the workhouse were

dominated by adult women between the ages of 20 and 40, many of whom had children in tow, and who carried the burden of a complex history of interactions with both the parish and the system of vagrant removal. In most respects this age and gender distribution looks remarkably similar to the population of London's workhouses as explored by historians such as Alysa Levene, Jeremy Boulton, and Alannah Tomkins, who have argued that the patterns of admissions to workhouses reflect an 'economy of makeshift' in which the workhouse forms part of a more complex equation.⁴⁹ The addition of vagrancy removals to this body of evidence helps to make more sense of patterns of workhouse admissions.

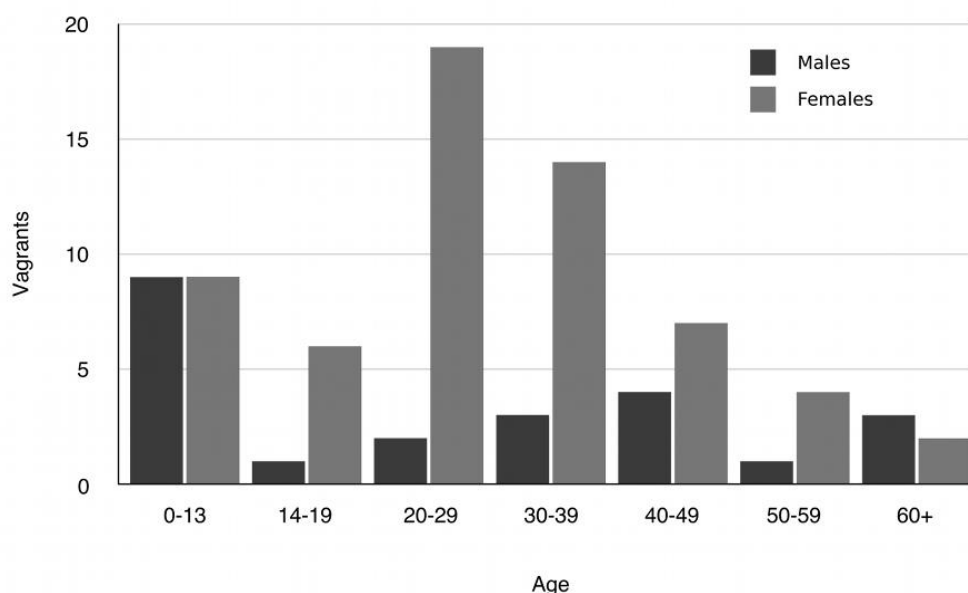


Figure 4: Age and gender distribution of 84 vagrants removed to St Martin in the Fields Workhouse and who appear in both Adams' lists, and in the parish workhouse register.

Representative, if not typical, was Ann Crossland (nee Healey). She first came to the attention of the parish authorities, aged 40, when she was admitted to the workhouse on the 20th of June 1780, with two children, Edward, aged four, and Benjamin aged 2, 'passed as a vagrant from the parish of Dorking in the County of Surry'. Her examination and life history makes it abundantly clear that her legal settlement was actually in Huddersfield rather than St Martin. She was probably born in

Rochdale and married James Crossland in Manchester in 1759.⁵⁰ Two decades later, James Crossland was serving in the Sussex Militia, but had been apprenticed to a staymaker in Huddersfield for seven years. Ann clearly tried to make a case for a London settlement, claiming her husband had worked for three weeks in the parish as a journeyman, but this was legally untenable, and the examination was never completed or signed. Nevertheless, Ann and her two children were allowed to remain in the workhouse for just under a year. The parish had no choice in the matter and could not lodge an appeal against the removal order because it was a vagrancy rather than poor law removal.

Three months after being discharged from the St Martin's workhouse, Ann was once again arrested as a vagrant – on this occasion in the City of London. Under an order from Henry Kitchner, an Alderman, this time she was removed to Huddersfield, spending a couple of nights in Adams' House in Islington en route through the vagrant depot at Ridge.

By December of the same year, however, she was back at St Martin's – the parish apparently unaware that she had been removed to Yorkshire – and was readmitted with her children. She stayed for seven months, during which time Benjamin died, and Ann was separated from her older son, Edward. The husband does not reappear in the records. With the exception of a short period during which Edward was re-united with his mother in 1785, he remained in the workhouse until he was apprenticed in 1787, aged 11, to Peter Atherton, to work at his cotton mill in Holywell, in Flintshire, in North Wales.⁵¹ There is no evidence he ever saw his mother again.

Ann was removed by a vagrant pass one more time. In April 1786, she was arrested once again, probably in Derbyshire, and sent as a vagrant to St Martins on the order of Joseph Bradshaw. In the

next ten years Ann entered the workhouse on nine further occasions, and was usually either 'discharged' in the Spring, or else simply 'Absented' herself. She then normally re-entered the house in the late autumn. She died in the April of 1797 aged 57.⁵²

Ann Crossland and her family were expensive. But the parish had no real choice but to assent to her repeated admission to the workhouse. They were legally obliged to accept the settlement specified in the removal order and had no right of appeal. At the same time, they simply could not know about orders made elsewhere. Ironically, Ann Crossland could have presented herself in either St Martin's or Huddersfield, with an equally watertight claim to parish relief. If Adams' lists suggest the existence of a complex pattern of short- and long-distance migration, they also reflect the extent to which poor law settlement under the old poor law could and was frequently subverted, with paupers such as Ann Crossland able to exercise a substantial element of choice in the process.

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In an article published in 1992, Nicholas Rogers' characterised London's vagrant population as predominately young and female on the basis of a small sample of vagrancy examinations and removal orders found among the records of the Middlesex bench. This article has suggested that while this is true, it forms only a partial account of a complex system. A comprehensive analysis of removals listed by Henry Adams suggests three substantial revisions to Rogers' conclusions. Firstly, that different parts of London and different magistrates (and constables), used the system of vagrant removal in ways that reflected their specific interests. The relatively large number of men removed from Whitechapel by John Staples, for instance, reflected the nature of the parish. Whitechapel was home to many of the maritime trades servicing vessels on the Thames, and there was a thriving manufactory for tin glazed wares together with sugar refining – all drawing in a workforce dominated by men.⁵³ In contrast, the much higher proportion of women removed as vagrants in

Westminster, reflects the very different economy of the area, with its large numbers of domestic servants.

Secondly, the overwhelming dominance of men travelling alone amongst City vagrants, particularly after 1783, reflects the extent to which the City came to rely on vagrant removal, and to administer it in a new way. In effect, the City shifted the cost and burden of moving long distant migrants such as the Irish through the capital to the rate payers of Middlesex, and the counties en route to Bristol and Liverpool where ships would take them across the Irish Sea.

And finally, the lists help to reveal the complex relationship between vagrant removal and parish poor relief. By vesting a largely unchallengeable authority for assigning a settlement in a justice with no interest in preserving the interests of the parish of settlement, vagrant removal essentially undermined the ability of the settlement system to effectively police migration.⁵⁴

Figures and Tables (also reproduced in the text)

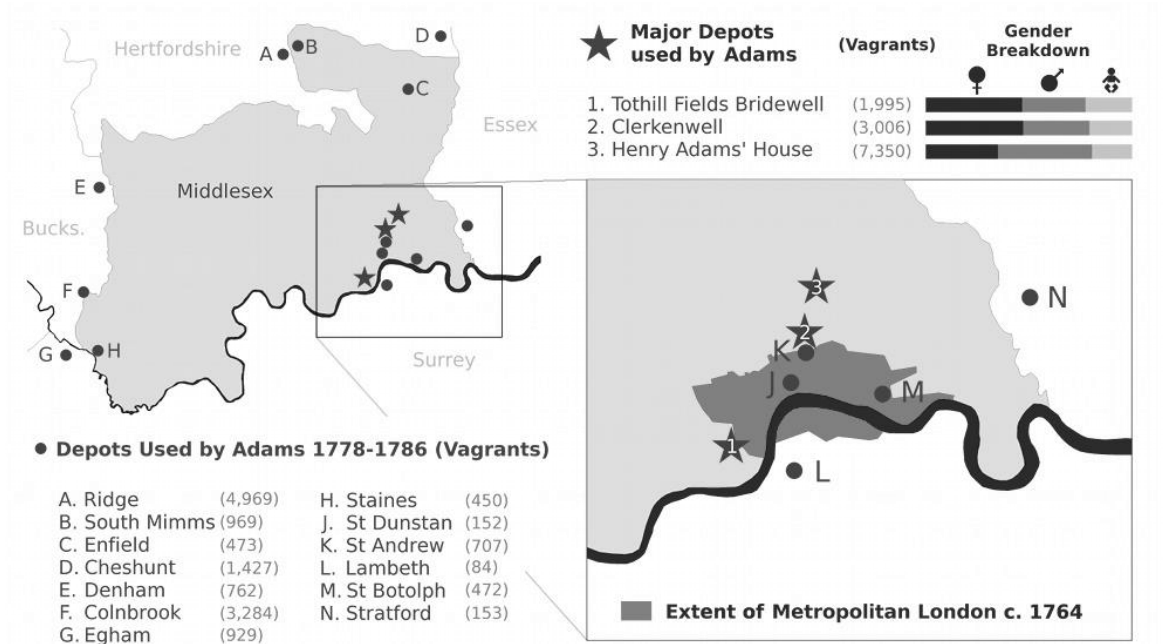


Figure 1: Map of Middlesex County and the depots used by Henry Adams to remove vagrants to other counties and to bring in vagrants bound for Middlesex or counties beyond Middlesex from elsewhere.

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1777	18	45	15	23.1	57.7	19.2	78
1778	109	355	181	16.9	55.0	28.1	645
1779	15	20	5	37.5	50.0	12.5	40
1780	78	157	64	26.1	52.5	21.4	299
1781	125	302	110	23.3	56.2	20.5	537
1782	143	279	112	26.8	52.2	21.0	534
1783	195	269	145	32.0	44.2	23.8	609
1784	314	367	144	38.1	44.5	17.4	825
1785	405	562	165	35.8	49.6	14.6	1,132
1786	111	140	40	38.1	48.1	13.8	291

TOTAL	1,513	2,496	981	30.3	50.0	19.7	4,990

Table 1: Vagrants passed from Clerkenwell and Tothill Fields Houses of Correction, 1777-1786

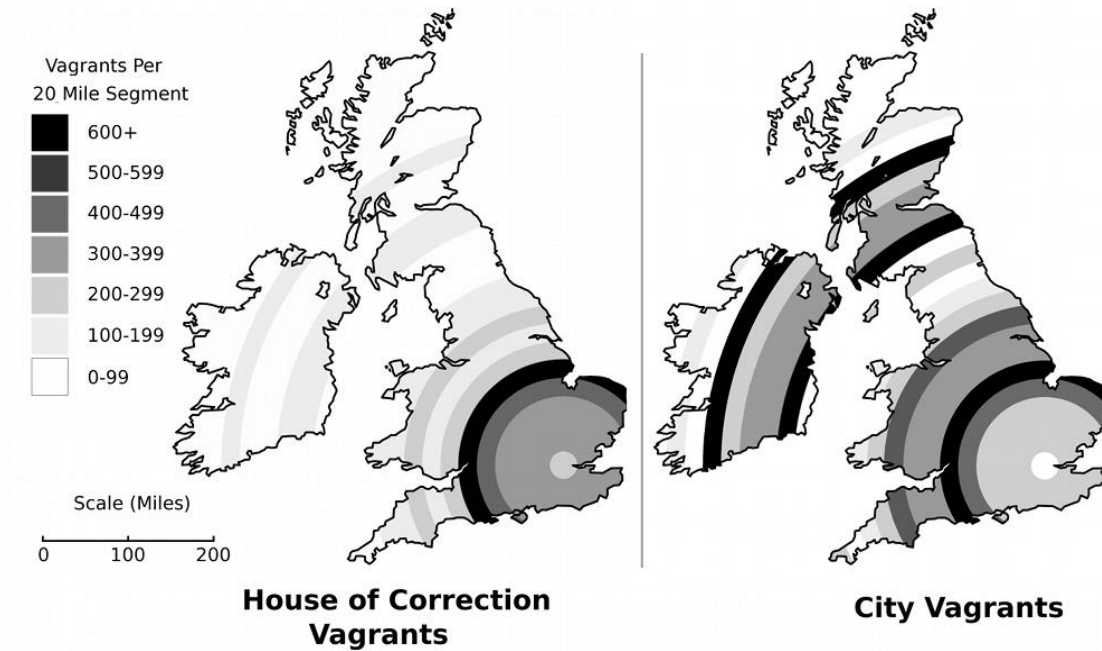


Figure 2: Number of vagrants by distance travelled to parish of home settlement, shown in segments of twenty-miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, 1778-1786 and separated by Houses of Correction and City vagrants.

Year	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1777	6	20	3	20.7	69.0	10.3	29
1778	65	257	151	13.8	54.3	31.9	473
1779	4	26	11	9.8	63.4	26.8	41
1780	171	344	179	24.6	49.6	25.8	694
1781	287	352	171	35.4	43.5	21.1	810
1782	72	168	124	19.8	46.1	34.1	364
1783	299	249	133	43.9	36.6	19.5	681

1784	969	411	242	59.8	25.3	14.9	1,622
1785	1,227	646	315	56.1	29.5	14.4	2,188
1786	199	165	84	44.4	36.8	18.8	448
TOTAL	3,299	2,638	1,413	44.9	35.9	19.2	7,350

Table 2: Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from 'House' by year, 1777-1786.

Period	Male	Female	Child	% Male	% Female	% Child	TOTAL
1776-82	605	1,167	639	25.1	48.4	26.5	2,411
1783-86	2,694	1,471	774	54.5	29.8	15.7	4,939
Change	+2,089	+304	+135	+29.4	-18.6	-10.8	+2,528

Table 3: Demographic breakdown of vagrants passed from 'House', 1777-1786, split into two periods: 1777-1782, and 1783-1786.

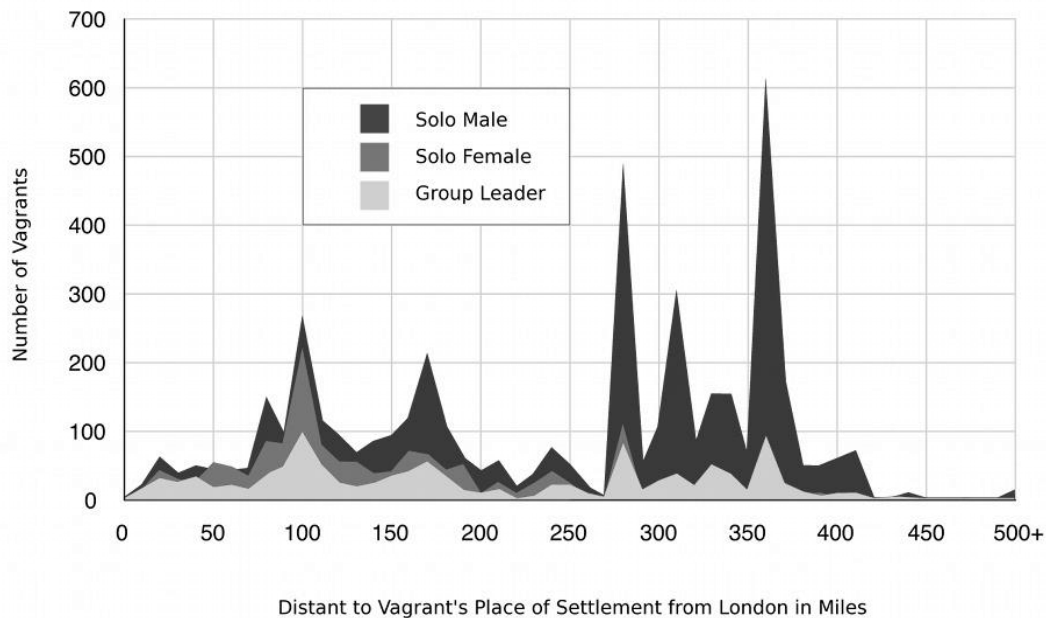


Figure 3: Distance travelled by vagrants in miles, measured from the Old Bailey courthouse, City vagrants only, 1783-1786.

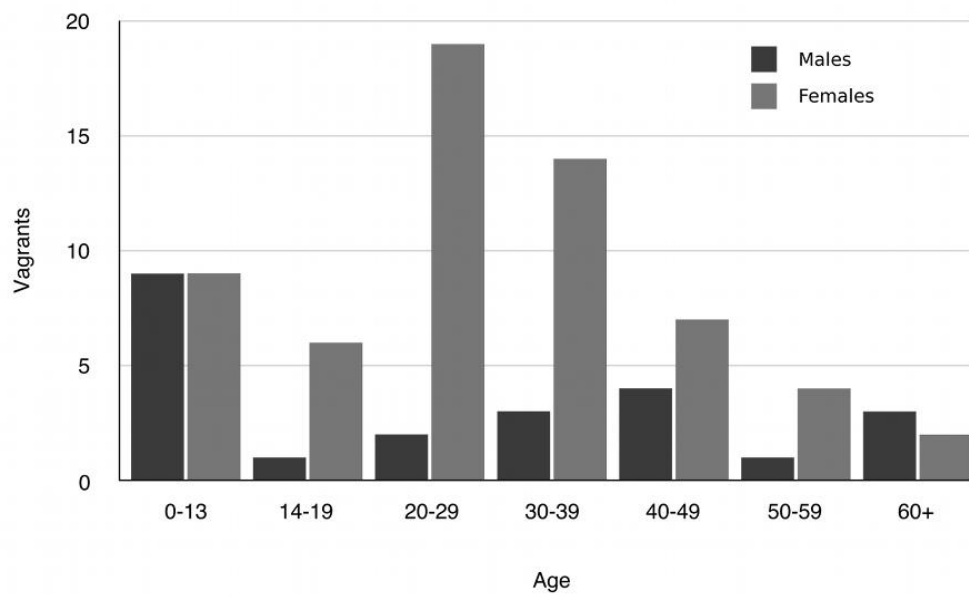


Figure 4: Age and gender distribution of 84 vagrants removed to St Martin in the Fields Workhouse and who appear in both Adams' lists, and in the parish workhouse register.

Endnotes

¹ For Rebecca Gough see *London Lives, 1690-1800*, St Martin's Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, 22nd December 1785 - 24th December 1785, (smdswhr_604_60454), www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 28 April 2013: London Metropolitan Archives; LL, St Martin's Settlement Exams: St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725-1793, 24th December 1785, (smdsset_7_795): LMA; LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, January 1786, (LMSMPS508060091): LMA. Some counties, such as Berkshire, simply issued 'walking passes' directing vagrants along a standard route. See Mark Neuman, *The Speenhamland County: Poverty and the Poor Laws in Berkshire, 1782-1834* (Garland Publishing, 1982), pp.112-3. On the basis of a detailed survey of seven counties, Audrey Eccles has concluded that most used a system of contractors by the second half of the eighteenth century. Audrey Eccles, 'The eighteenth-century vagrant contractor', *Local Population Studies*, 85 (2010), 46-63. See also, Audrey Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law and Practice under the Old Poor Law* (Farnham, Surrey, 2012).

² The legal and cultural notion of 'settlement' under the Old Poor Law, and of pauper removal has been subject of an extensive literature focussing on whether a 'settlement' created a 'right to relief', on the impact of pauper removal on migration and economic development, on English and Welsh exceptionalism and on parish identity. There is no equivalent literature treating removal as a vagrant. For a recent detailed review of the literature on poor law removal see Anne Winter and Thijs Lambrecht, 'Migration, poor relief and local autonomy: Settlement policies in England the southern Low Countries in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present*, no. 218 (Feb. 2013), 91-101. See also Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c.1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004) and K.D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006). For vagrancy see Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*; Nicholas Rogers, 'Policing the poor in eighteenth-century London', *Histoire Sociale/Social History*,

47 (1991), 127-47; and Tim Hitchcock, 'The London vagrancy crisis of the 1780s', *Rural History*, vol.24 (1), April 2013, 59-72.

³ Audrey Eccles, 'The Adams' father and son, vagrant contractors to Middlesex, 1757-94', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 57 (2006), 83-91.

⁴ These figures were calculated by comparing Adams' bill for maintaining vagrants, against his list of vagrants removed. See *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, January 1786, (LMSMPS508060088) and (LMSMPS508060097): LMA.

⁵ *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, April 1786, (LMSMPS508090272): LMA.

⁶ In terms of dates covered this same period saw a survival rate of only 66.6%, compared to the 75% of listed vagrants included. This reflects the extent to which longer lists involving more costs were disproportionately likely to have survived. For Adams' report see *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers, April 1786 (LMSMPS508090268): LMA.

⁷ *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers, January 1786 (LMSMPS508060102): LMA.

⁸ The spreadsheet detailing the contents of all Adams' lists between these dates and associating them with geo-referenced locations can be consulted and downloaded at: [?????](#). All subsequent figures and tables are based on this spreadsheet. Only 193 repeat removals can be securely identified in these lists, in addition to a further 111 who may have been subject to multiple removals. This represents a recidivism rate of between 1 and 2 per cent across all 14,789 entries.

⁹ The records that survive are spread unequally across the year and across the decade, and for example, provide much more consistent detail of removals in October than in May or August.

¹⁰ There is no full study of vagrant removal from the City of London or of policing and punishment, but see Andrew Harris, *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780-1840* (Columbus, OH, 2004), ch. 1 & 2; and Drew D. Gray, *Crime, Prosecution and Social Relations: the Summary Courts of the City of London in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp.148-

56. See also Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Summary justice in early-modern London', *English Historical Review*, 121, no. 492 (2006), 796-822.
- ¹¹ The lists record a slightly different population of vagrants to that reflected in the removal orders and surviving vagrancy examinations of the sort used by Nicholas Rogers for his 1991 study. While surviving removal orders and examinations are likely to privilege local vagrants, and to include those returned directly to their parish of settlement following arrest or punishment, Adams' lists more fully document long-distance vagrancy. Rogers, 'Policing the poor', *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 47 (1991), 127-47.
- ¹² The lists were submitted eight times a year, but each list covered a slightly different period and number of days. The figure given here is calculated according to the total number of days covered by all surviving lists. By comparison, in 1784 the large urban parish of St Martin in the Fields (population approximately 25,000) passed or removed just 38 individuals as poor law paupers during the course of the year. See *LL*, St Martin's Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, 1 January 1784 - 31 December 1784 (smdswhr_730): WAC.
- ¹³ See Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*, ch. 1-3; and Joanna Innes, 'Prisons for the poor: English Bridewells, 1555-1800' in Snyder, F. and Hay, D. eds, *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective* (London, 1987), pp. 42-122.
- ¹⁴ See Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2nd edn, 2007), pp.151-180.
- ¹⁵ For a list of Middlesex Justices organised by precinct, see *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, June 1780 (LMSMPS507260085): LMA. For David Walker's Hyde Street residence see *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, June 1781 (LMSMPS507410004): LMA

¹⁶ *General Evening Post* (London, England), November 17, 1792 - November 20, 1792; Issue 9229.

Dyot Street was named after Philip Dyot's grandfather, who developed the area in the late 17th century.

¹⁷ For the regulation of Middlesex magistrates see Norma Landau, 'The trading justice's trade' in Norma Landau, ed., *Law, Crime and English Society* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 46-70.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that the magistrates' court at Bow Street was little involved in the system of removal, with the three stipendiary magistrates responsible during the period covered by Adams' lists, John Fielding, Sampson Wright and William Addington being responsible for only 92 removals - 7, 59 and 26 respectively.

¹⁹ *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: General Orders of the Court, 28th October 1789 - 5th December 1795 (LMSMGO55610GO556100108 and LMSMGO55610GO556100109): LMA.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, (LMSMGO55610GO556100109): LMA.

²¹ Harris, *Policing the City*, p.28; citing LMA, MS 3385, 'Lord Mayor Clark's Diary, &c.1784-1785'.

Clark's diary also suggests he was very conscientious in ensuring that another justice was on hand to conduct petty sessions business, when he could not attend.

²² Colnbrook has since been transferred from Buckinghamshire to Berkshire; and in the eighteenth century Egham straddled the border between Surrey and Berkshire.

²³ The precise organisation of City vagrant removal remains opaque. There is little overlap between vagrants punished in Bridewell and those removed by Adams; and it is not clear who was responsible for accepting vagrants delivered to the City depots, and where precisely they were then taken.

²⁴ Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*, p. 43.

²⁵ Some escapes were more problematic than others. In September 1786 Bryan Cassidy, a repeat offender legally defined as a 'rogue', ran off from the vagrant cart at Barnett, while the driver was otherwise engaged in a 10 minute dispute with a local parish officer. This led to an enquiry by

the bench, but between nine and ten other vagrants were in the cart at the time, on their way to South Mimms, and none of them took the opportunity to run. *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, December 1786 (LMSMPS50816PS508160004): LMA.*

²⁶ See Neuman, *The Speenhamland County*, pp.112-3. Justices could also specifying carriage, either in a cart or on horseback, if the vagrant's circumstances demanded it.

²⁷ Prior to 1974 Wallingford was in Berkshire.

²⁸ *Berkshire Overseers Papers*, (Berkshire Family History Society, CD, 2005), vol. 9, Wallingford St Mary, 'Lever Maxey'.

²⁹ According to statute, they should have been committed to the house of correction for a week's hard labour and a whipping. But a typical accommodation bill for vagrants at the House of Correction at Clerkenwell for autumn of 1781, lists 109 vagrants (106 of whom were passed directly on to Henry Adams and appear in his lists). Of these, seven were passed on the same day they were committed, 9 on the next day, 56 after two days, and 37 after three days. No one was held as long as a week. *LL, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, October 1781 (LMSMPS50745PS507450079): LMA.*

³⁰ [J. Ilive], *Reasons offered for the Reformation of the House of Correction in Clerkenwell* (London, 1757), p.10.

³¹ The precise nature of the system as it worked in the City itself is opaque. The compters (Wood Street, Ludgate and Poultry) all held vagrants, and charged the City accounts for their upkeep. Likewise, Bridewell had dedicated 'pass' rooms for vagrants, and also punished beggars and prostitutes in the City. But, only a small number of the vagrants held in these institutions appear to have been sent onwards through Henry Adams' hands. When, for instance, in 1781, the keeper of Wood Street Compter was confronted by: 'five soldiers widows whose husbands were killed in America & ...5 young children', with settlements in Dublin, Cork and Scotland, he was simply, 'ordered to get them there in the best manner ...[he] could & provide them in the

meantime.¹ None of their names (Mary Dodson, Ann Jarvis, Susan Holdsworth, Peggy Came and Judith Howard) appears on Adams' lists.

³² James Dawson Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy*, ed. David Vincent (1978), p. 58.

³³ 13 Anne. c. 26, 13 George I. c.24 and 17 George II. c.5. This same list was then reproduced in every justicing manual produced through the end of the century. See for example, Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* (18th edn, London, 1797), iv, p. 410–411.

³⁴ Rogers, 'Policing the poor', *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 47 (1991), 127-47.

³⁵ Eleven vagrants passed through the houses of correction were of indeterminate gender are not included in these figures.

³⁶ It should be noted that workhouse populations in the capital conform to almost precisely the same pattern of gender distribution, suggesting that both vagrant removal and parochial relief were addressing the needs of the same groups of people. [See below p. ??](#).

³⁷ David Souden, "'East, west - home's best'? Regional patterns in migration in early modern England' in Peter Clark and David Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, (Totowa, NJ, Barnes & Noble Books, 1988), p.307

³⁸ CLRO, Misc Mss/288/8, Mr Kirby's bill for subsistence money &c for poor vagrants &c went to Wood Street compter by the Lord Mary & Aldermen. 109.2s.7d. Kirby also claims to have sent many of the boys to the 'Marine Society', but again, detailed searches on Marine Society Records undertaken by Dianne Payne, has not revealed any connections. When in October 1780, Kirby was confronted by four widows and their children, of men who had recently died in the American war, he spent £1.s on a wagon to take one family to Bristol, and a further £4.4s on a further wagon journey to Liverpool. See Dianne Payne, 'Rhetoric, reality and the Marine Society' *The London Journal*, 30(2) October 2005, 66-84.

³⁹ Dabhoiwala, 'Summary Justice', *English Historical Review*, 121, no. 492 (2006), Appendix (committals).

⁴⁰ Tim Hitchcock, 'The London vagrancy crisis of the 1780s', *Rural History*, 21, no.1, April 2013, 59-72;

Tim Hitchcock, 'Re-negotiating the bloody code: the Gordon riots and the transformation of popular attitudes to the criminal justice system', in Ian Heywood and John Seed, eds, *The Gordon Riots*, (Cambridge, 2012), pp.185-203.

⁴¹ Men also slightly outnumber women (98 men to 90 women) in the list covering the period 9 July to 10 September 1781.

⁴² Douglas Hay, 'War, dearth and theft in the eighteenth century: The record of the English Courts', *Past and Present* (1982) 95(1), p.139. For a detailed discussion of the relationship crime and demobilisation see also John Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* (Princeton NJ, 1986) ch.5 *passim*. The country-wide character of this phenomenon is suggested by the bulge in expenditure on vagrant removal recorded in the West Riding of Yorkshire in these same years (1782: £729, 1783: £921; 1784: £1478; 1785: £1123; 1786: £877). Our thanks to Joanna Innes for these figures.

⁴³ Rogers suggests that in 1779 'London provided 31.5 per cent of all new recruits to the navy' on demobilisation this would see a significant number of men in the metropolis almost certainly displacing much of the itinerant and less experienced labour in the port. He also suggests that the summer of 1779 the need was so great that statutory exemptions were ignored and 'just about every seaman or riverside worker from the quayside' was pressed into the navy, again suggesting that established and skilled workers were likely to return to their place of work. See Nicholas Rogers, *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and Its Opponents in Georgian Britain* (London, 2007), p.56, and Nicholas Rogers, 'Impressment and the law in eighteenth-century Britain' in Landau, Norma, ed. *Law, Crime and English Society, 1660-1830* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 92.

⁴⁴ Thirty years later, a parliamentary committee heard that as a matter of policy the City freed itself of unwanted paupers by 'passing them as vagrants, knowing that there is no appeal against a

vagrants pass, they pass them on the most vague examinations'. *Parliamentary Papers* 'Report from Committee on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis', 1814-15 (473), p.69.

⁴⁵ Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, *A Military History of Ireland*, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 12.

⁴⁶ Peter Clark, 'Migration in England in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', in Peter Clark and David Souden, eds., *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, (Totowa, NJ, 1988), p.240. See also Winter and Lambrecht, 'Migration, poor relief and local autonomy', *Past and Present*, no. 218 (Feb. 2013), 91-101.

⁴⁷ E.G. Thomas, 'The poor law migrant to Oxford, 1700-1795', *Oxoniensia*, xlv (1980), pp.300-5.

⁴⁸ There is some confusion about when and if appeals to vagrancy orders could be taken to quarter sessions; but according to Audrey Eccles such appeals were legally impossible following the judgement in *Rex v. Ringwould* in 1777. See Eccles, *Vagrancy in Law*, p. 56 (citing M. Nolan, *A Treatise of the Laws for the Relief and Settlement of the Poor*, 4th edn. (London, 1825), vol.2, 238-40). Other historians have concluded that, as such removal orders formed an order by a justice in a different jurisdiction, they could not be overturned at any point following 1744. Peter King, *Crime and the Law in England, 1750-1840* (Cambridge, 2006), p.31.

⁴⁹ Alysa Levene, 'Children, childhood and the workhouse: St Marylebone, 1769-81', *London Journal* 33:1 (2008), pp. 37-55; Jeremy Boulton and John Black, J., 'Paupers and their experience of a Georgian workhouse: St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, 1725-1830', in Hamlett, J., Hoskins, L., Preston, R, ed. *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1950: Inmates and Environments* (London, 2013, forthcoming); and Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, *The Poor in England, 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003).

⁵⁰ *IGI*, 'Ann Healey' was christened at St Chad, Rochdale on 22 October 1739, and recorded as having married James Crossland at the 'Cathedral', Manchester on 10 February 1759.

⁵¹ Edward was one of 25 boys and girls sent north to Atherton's mill by the parish in that year alone. *LL*, St Martin's Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers, 13th

December 1785 - 18th July 1787, (smdswhr_738_73849): WAC. Honeyman, Katrina, *Child Workers in England, 1780-1820: Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Labour Force, 1780-1820* (Aldershot, 2007), Table 4.5, pp.65-6.

⁵² Ann Crossland appears twice in Adams' lists, *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, September 1781 (LMSMPS507440009): LMA and *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, April 1786 (LMSMPS508090217): LMA. For her encounters with St Martin's, see *LL*, St Martin's Workhouse Registers: Workhouse Admissions and Discharge Registers (smdswhr_554_55445, smdswhr_555_55550, smdswhr_555_55555, smdswhr_595_59570, smdswhr_736_73684, smdswhr_738_73885, smdswhr_756_75653, smdswhr_768_76901, smdswhr_771_77139, smdswhr_773_77378, smdswhr_774_77425, smdswhr_775_77545, smdswhr_776_77641, smdswhr_776_77662 and smdswhr_869_86945): WAC. For her examination see *LL*, St Martin's Settlement Exams: St Martin in the Fields Pauper Examinations, 1725-1793, 20th June 1780 (smdsset_42_51628): WAC. For her stay at 'House' see *LL*, Middlesex Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents, September 1781 (LMSMPS507440080): LMA.

⁵³ Breweries and distilleries were common in the immediate area as were slaughterhouses and associated leather and glue-making. The parish however, was dominated by the Whitechapel Road, the major east west thoroughfare linking the City with the eastern counties. Marriott, John. *Beyond the Tower: A History of East London*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011. 48-56.

⁵⁴ There is an extensive literature on the role of settlement and removal in managing migration, including an extended debate between K.D.M. Snell and Norma Landau. See K.D.M. Snell, 'Pauper Settlement and the right to poor relief in England and Wales', *Continuity and Change* 6 (1991) pp. 375-415 and Norma Landau's reply in the same volume, pp.417-39; Norma Landau, 'The Laws of Settlement and the surveillance of immigration in eighteenth century Kent',

Continuity and Change 3 (1988) pp. 391-420; Norma Landau, 'The regulation of immigration, economic structures and definitions of the poor in eighteenth-century England', *Historical Journal* 33 (1990) pp. 541-72. For a more recent overview, see K.D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700–1950* (Cambridge, 2006). See also David Feldman, 'Migrants, Immigrants and Welfare from the Old Poor Law to the Welfare State', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1 January 2003): 79–104.