

THE ADAMS' FATHER AND SON, VAGRANT CONTRACTORS TO MIDDLESEX 1757–94

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SUMMARY

This paper gives a brief account of the work of the Middlesex vagrant contractors in the second half of the 18th century. Many counties employed salaried contractors from the early 18th century; Buckinghamshire and Warwickshire appointed vagrant contractors soon after 1699 when passing vagrants was made a county rather than a parish charge (Clark 1979, 85), Hertfordshire had one by 1743, and the West Riding by 1750, to name only a few, but Middlesex waited until 1757.

The contractors are somewhat shadowy figures and little is known of their work. The work of the Middlesex contractors was not typical, in that Middlesex itself was not typical, having far higher numbers of vagrants to deal with than less urbanised counties. It is, however, unusually well documented, and may serve as a model of the contractors' work at its most highly developed.

INTRODUCTION

The first legislation against vagrancy dates back to the reign of Richard II, and Tudor measures were draconian, driven by fear of the masterless men and disbanded soldiers who, free of the social constraints on settled persons and lacking other means of survival, might become thieves and robbers (Beier 1985; Slack 1974). Elizabethan vagrants were to be committed, and if convicted at the next Sessions, 'grievously whipped and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch across'. A third offence was to be felony without benefit of clergy.¹

The Middlesex contractor was appointed in 1757, after the Vagrant Act of 1744² came into

force. This Act required rogues and vagabonds found wandering and begging, or committing a range of offences, including lodging in ale-houses, barns and outhouses, fortune-telling, playing unlawful games, and deserting their dependants, to be taken before a magistrate and examined; if an act of vagrancy had been committed, the magistrate was required to order them to be whipped or committed to bridewell at his discretion, and then passed by the most direct route county to county until they reached their settlement and became the responsibility of the parish overseers of the poor. The 1744 Act remained in force until a new Vagrant Act was passed in 1792.

THE MIDDLESEX CONTRACTORS

Middlesex appointed a contractor in 1757, when the justices became concerned that the 1744 Vagrant Act was not being enforced consistently and that the problem of beggars was increasing. Middlesex, they declared, was 'greatly pestered with Numbers of Beggars... which are a public Nuisance [*sic*], and bring great Burthen and Expence upon this County'.³

Hitherto parish constables had passed the vagrants in Middlesex, claiming a mileage allowance and subsistence for the vagrants, but the justices felt this system was not working; they decided to tighten up compliance, but were equally anxious to minimise the cost to the county. It was reported that between July 1756 and July 1757 Middlesex had paid £668 11s 9d for 1,951 orders for conveying vagrants, and £240 0s 0d for rewards. This 'most extraordinary and growing

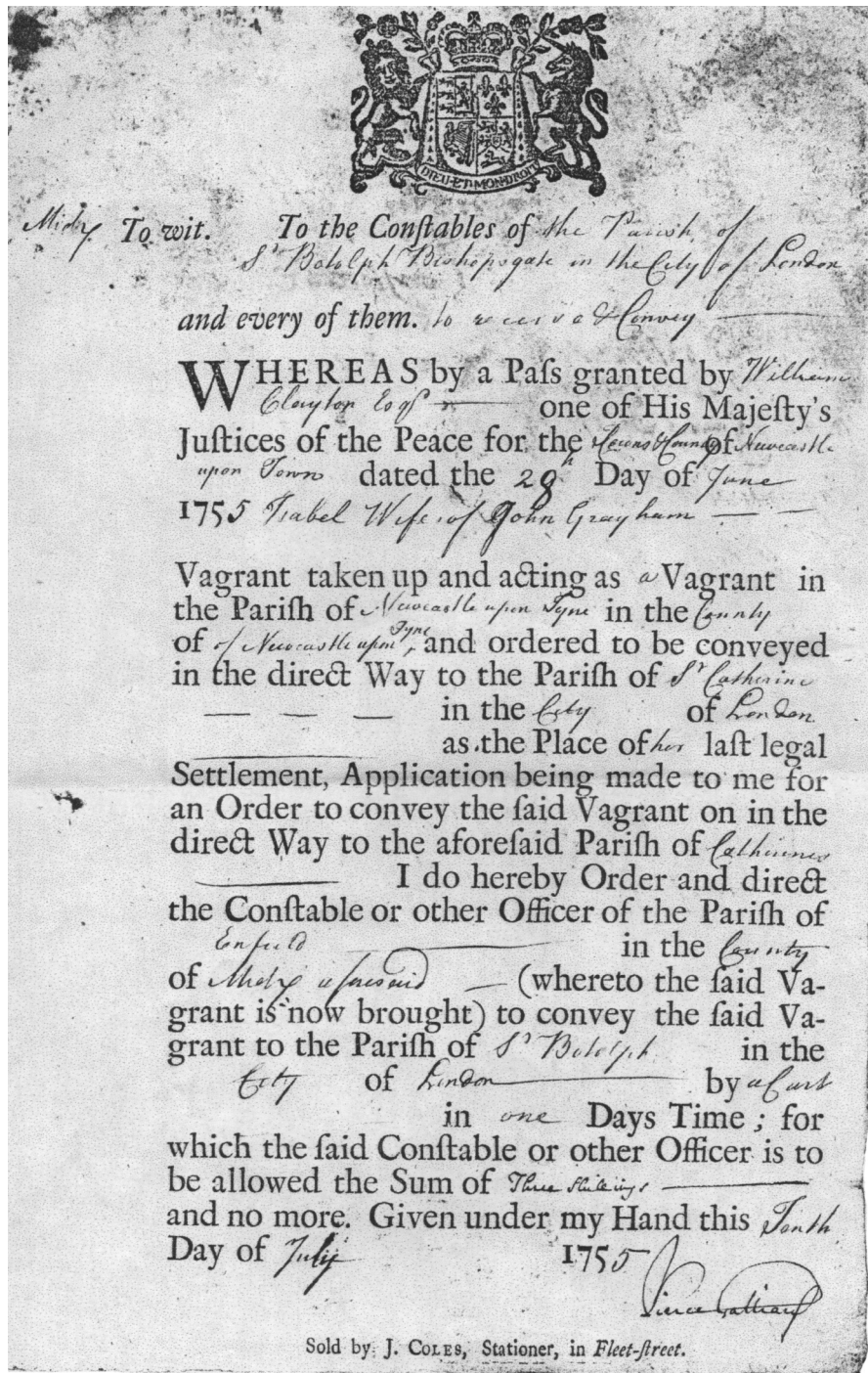


Fig 1. Printed vagrant pass 28 June 1755 for Isabel wife of John Graham, being passed from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to St Catherine City of London (By courtesy of City of London Metropolitan Archives MF/V/ 1755)

Expenditure' led to a committee of enquiry, which recommended engaging a vagrant contractor. Under the contractor system they calculated the expense of conveying vagrants would be at least £370 15s 0d less annually.⁴

Earlier in the year James Sturges Adams had submitted proposals for managing the whole business of conveying vagrants out of the county from Clerkenwell Bridewell and from Tothill Fields Bridewell, and also those brought to his house by parish constables without being committed. He asked for £120pa, paid monthly, plus a subsistence allowance. The court was very satisfied of the likely financial saving and his contract was approved in July 1757. The subsistence allowance was fixed at 6d per vagrant per day to be paid on bills and receipts submitted and sworn to by him, plus an allowance for blank certificates, coal and straw. He served as vagrant contractor until his death early in 1774, when his son Henry Adams succeeded him.

The vagrants taken to Adams' house on Lower Street in the parish of St Mary Islington were lodged in an outbuilding where they slept on straw, probably the same semi-underground room, 12ft by 9ft, plus a hay-loft reached by a ladder, which was still in use in 1790.⁵ He agreed to provide a suitable covered cart and horses and twice every week clear the bridewells and other places where vagrants were to be lodged, picking up those going north on one day a week and those going south on another day.

On the county day of every Middlesex Sessions, and at every Quarter Sessions at Westminster, Adams had to deliver in a true list of vagabonds conveyed, distinguishing the bridewell or other place from where they were taken, the date of the pass, the place where they were delivered, their place of settlement, and the name of the magistrate who signed the pass. The blank certificates were completed with the vagrant's name and destination, signed by the receiving constable when the vagrant was handed over, and formed Adams' evidence for claiming the subsistence money from the County Treasurer. From the start the whole process was highly bureaucratic, but it furnished the justices with a great deal of information about the problem and enabled them to keep a close check on costs, and to predict them to some extent, since under this arrangement only subsistence varied with numbers.

Pass-houses were established at South Mimms, Enfield, Colnbrook, and Staines, for the reception

of vagrants brought from the various points of the compass to be passed to settlements in the county, and of vagrants being passed out of the county to the constables or vagrant contractors of the adjacent counties. Very little is known about these pass-houses, which were referred to as 'prisons' in 1777,⁶ implying at least an attempt at secure custody, but they were probably set up by agreement with the parishes where they lay and managed by the parish officers. Certainly later in the century the constable of Colnbrook caused difficulties by refusing to accept vagrants brought by Adams; on the other hand the justices complained in 1783 that the Enfield pass-house was neither wind- nor water-tight, which suggests that there at least the contractor was in charge.⁷

Later in 1757 the justices were gratified to note that Adams had conveyed 1,159 persons by 622 orders within the year, and that the measures of July had been 'productive of good Consequences to this County, by saving a large Sum of Public Money; and in many Respects it hath produced a more regular Proceeding upon the Vagrant Act',⁸ probably referring to the improved detection rate for repeat offenders.

Adams now offered to make his rounds four times a week, conveying vagrants to the north and east twice a week, and twice to the west, for £200pa plus 6d per vagrant subsistence. The salary increase would be partly offset because clearing the bridewells more often would save half the subsistence money. The justices agreed, but made various amendments to his contract. He was to receive in his house all the vagrants sent from the liberties of the Duchy of Lancaster and Glasshouse Yard (whose constables had been particularly suspected of financial irregularities). A new scale of subsistence allowances was set out, 2d for each vagrant lodged at his house up to a maximum of 6d, 3d for each lodged at the pass-houses up to a maximum of 9d, and 6d for all those conveyed by him. There was to be no allowance for vagrants settled within the bills of mortality however.⁹

As early as 1764 James Sturges Adams found he had underestimated the task, partly because of price increases for corn and hay, and petitioned for an increase to his salary. The bench awarded him an extra £50pa, making his salary more than double his original £120.¹⁰

One of the improvements envisaged by the justices from the appointment of a vagrant contractor was a greater likelihood that repeat

offenders would be detected and punished as incorrigible rogues.¹¹ This was always a problem when the justices passed vagrants rather than committed them, since there was no way they could know whether the same vagrant had already been apprehended in another parish. Particularly so because the requirement of the Vagrant Act for submitting duplicate passes and examinations to Quarter Sessions was never systematically observed,¹² so that even the courts did not have a full record of offenders.

Thus in July 1757 James Sturges Adams was specifically instructed to keep a sharp lookout for such vagrants. If any were detected he was to take them before the committing justice for a warrant of detainer.¹³ Certainly from 1774 when Henry Adams succeeded his father and much fuller lists were kept, the justices' hopes for improved detection were not disappointed. Henry Adams detected over 50 repeat offenders and usually applied for a detainer, though often the justices or the court passed the offender without further action.

James Sturges Adams died early in 1774 and Henry Adams took over on the same terms and conditions as his father, originally pending the appointment of a new contractor. Whether there was ever any other candidate is not clear, but Henry Adams was appointed county vagrant contractor in April 1774.¹⁴ He was at first paid £200pa 'on his own application'. But the contractor's work became increasingly onerous as the century wore on and numbers soared, and within two years his salary was back to £250pa. Henry was several times awarded sizeable gratuities over and above his salary, once in 1781 when he was obliged to take in 89 vagrants who would normally have been sent to Clerkenwell Bridewell (then bulging at the seams because Newgate was out of action following the Gordon Riots the previous year), and £100 in each of the years 1784, 1786, 1788, and 1792 due to growing numbers.

In 1786 the justices held an enquiry into the causes of the increase from 1,307 in 1775–76 to 4,244 in 1784–85. Questioned, Henry Adams said he thought it due to the ease with which passes were obtained from City of London magistrates, and added that several had been passed from the City dangerously ill and some had died in his hands and in the hospital before he could convey them out of the county, and that 'many are passed as Vagrants who do not appear to be Objects of the Vagrant Laws'. The bench

accepted this explanation and sought a meeting between William Mainwaring, the Chairman, and the Lord Mayor, which led only to promises to investigate.¹⁵

Henry submitted two lists to the justices at least quarterly, but frequently more often: one with the details required under the terms of his contract, and one with details, often with bills annexed, of any extras claimed for vagrants who stayed at his house or one of the pass-houses longer than the usual two or three days. The most common reasons for extra costs were sickness and administrative problems. The lists are complete for only two years, but those that survive show that between 1777 and 1786 he conveyed 5,710 men, 6,696 women, and 3,316 children.

SICK VAGRANTS

The vagrants collected from the bridewells were particularly likely to be sick or otherwise in distress, since it had been recommended in 1757 that only objects of real distress should be passed 'and that from Bridewell'.¹⁶ James Sturges Adams' reports contain no details of sick vagrants, but he claimed for five burials in the 1760s. Henry Adams' reports were much more detailed, and indicate that he dealt with a number of difficult cases, increasing over the years as the numbers of vagrants increased.

Between 1777 and 1794 he coped with 90 vagrants too ill to travel, a further 36 who died at his house or a pass-house, 13 women who fell into labour and one who miscarried, and 24 lunatics. The lunatics might be so refractory that guards were needed. Jane Dowse 'Broke the Glass of the Stair foot Door Untiled part of the Hayloft & committed other Acts of Violence endeavouring to get away'.¹⁷ The justices, whose Accounts Committee kept a beady eye on the bills, hesitated to pay the 12s 10d cost of the repairs, but did so eventually. Possibly because of this case, Henry was later paid a fixed one guinea for passing a lunatic. Another lunatic, an Irishwoman, was brought to the house on 14 September 1780 in the evening, without any notice being given of her insanity, and at half past four in the night disturbed the family by many acts of violence until she was properly secured and conveyed to Ridge.¹⁸ One of the lunatics died at the house.¹⁹

None of the women who fell into labour gave birth at the house, although one woman

1788

Mr Henry Adams D^h to the
 Trustees of the Poor of St Mary at Dolington

March 12th Coach & Turnpike to St Bartholomews
 Hospital for Elizth Cope, a Vagrant. - 1.4
 Attending & Warding the Same. - 4.6
 Cloathing for the Same. - 9.0
 56 Days Subsistance in the
 Hospital from 12th March to 7th May
 at 4 Pence a Day. - 18.8

26th Board & Lodging of Ann Smith in
 the Workhouse from 20. March 3.0
 Coach & Turnpike from the
 Workhouse to the Hospital 2.4
 Attending & Warding the Same - 4.6
 Cloathing for the Same - 10.0
 42 Days Subsistance in
 Bartholomews Hospital from
 26 March to 7th May
 at 4 Pence a Day - 14.0

£ 37.4

Fig 2. Bill to Henry Adams for sick women vagrants sent to St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1788 (By courtesy of City of London Metropolitan Archives MJ/SP/1788/06/028)

was brought from the City sick and miscarried there,²⁰ and one gave birth in the Colnbrook pass-house, where she stayed for 29 days;²¹ in another case the pains passed off. The others he got admitted to a workhouse or passed back to the parish where they were apprehended. A typical case was Elizabeth Somerby who was brought by the beadle of St Andrews, with her husband and three children, in the afternoon of 22 January 1784, went into labour at 8pm, and was immediately taken by coach to Islington workhouse, where she gave birth to a girl at 2am, which died about three hours later. Her husband and children were passed via Ridge to Bedfordshire immediately, but she stayed in the workhouse for a while. The case cost Middlesex £1 2s 6d.²²

Henry Adams seems to have had a good relationship with several workhouse masters, who took in some of the sick vagrants. A few very sick vagrants he got into St Bartholomew's Hospital. A sick Irishman was sent first to the workhouse, but not improving there was transferred to the hospital. He stayed from July to November 1785 before he was well enough to be sent home to Ireland.²³

Vagrants who died at Adams' house were buried at St Mary Islington; those who died at a pass-house were buried in the local churchyard. The funeral bills were all paid by Henry and reimbursed by the county. In addition to the medical bills and extra subsistence (in the case of sick children for the whole family), there were in some cases expenses for coach hire to transport the patient, turnpike tolls, a nurse or midwife, or items of clothing. For burials there were charges not only for the coffin and shroud, but also for washing and laying out the body, to the searchers, to bearers carrying the coffin to church, and to the officiating minister and sexton.

It is very seldom possible to know the cause of the sickness and death — often 'fever', which might have been any febrile illness — but four vagrants were brought to him suffering from smallpox. Dennis Sullivan and his child were brought from Guildhall on 23 December 1783, 'the Child then had the Smallpox out very full upon it'. Adams got a justice's order to provide a nurse and the child improved enough to be conveyed to Colnbrook with its father on 12 January 1784.²⁴ In a similar case Adams applied at the Guildhall and the child and family were taken back to the City. Elizabeth Smart was also

'bad with ye Smallpox',²⁵ and Mary Greenwood was left at his house while he was out 'having the small Pox very fresh on her'.²⁶ A few vagrants were lame — one a wounded discharged soldier, another with a bad leg wound. Mr Church the surgeon charged 5s for 'Reducing a very large Prolapsus Ani Jasper Moss'.²⁷ Several vagrants were 'subject to fits'; in Thomas Leake's case, his fits were so severe he needed four or five men to hold him and could not safely be left alone. He was settled in Wapping, and despite his being a repeat offender Adams did not apply for a detainer as an incorrigible rogue because of the fits.²⁸ In 1788 Elizabeth Cope was sent in a coach from the City and left at the house in his absence 'bad with a fever and a mortification coming on in her feet. She was got into the Hospital 12 March'.²⁹

Generally Adams seems to have coped reasonably well with the sick vagrants, though some were already at death's door when they arrived. In the case of the disabled soldier, who had been repatriated from Gibraltar and was being passed to Lancashire, Adams went to the trouble of getting him his pay and a place in Chelsea Hospital.³⁰ The previous year, however, Jane Hill Osbaldiston died in the cart on the way to Enfield. At the inquest Adams' man William Rogers said she had been brought from the workhouse to Clerkenwell Bridewell on the Saturday. On Sunday he saw her in the bridewell and she was then ill. On Monday when he collected her she walked to Adams' house and was lodged in the usual way with four or five other female vagrants. They slept on straw with 'some covering like a Blanket'. She had nothing to eat that evening or next morning but was given 2d on leaving the house. In the cart she often asked him to stop and said she was dying, she was so very cold. He stopped at the Horse and Groom at Tottenham and tried to make her comfortable by moving the benches in the cart so that she could lie down. She had two pennyworth of purl³¹ there, Rogers paid for half but she paid for the other half. The landlord confirmed this and said they stayed about half an hour at Tottenham. Rogers also stopped at Ponders End to buy a truss of straw, and found her dead on arrival at the churchwarden's house in Enfield.³² This unfortunate affair caused the justices for the only recorded time to reprimand Adams 'for ill Conduct in the execution of his Office'.³³

ABSCONDING AND PROBLEM VAGRANTS

Escapes multiplied with pressure of numbers; 50 vagrants ran away in 1784 and 45 in 1785, but they were only 2.4% of those conveyed, and the justices seem to have realised the problem could not be overcome without more staff, and hence more money; there is no indication they blamed mismanagement on Adams' part. Many, probably most, vagrants were quite willing to be passed, but some were determined to get away. Many of the absconders went from the Islington house; one took off part of the roof, another took a panel out of the door and drew back the bolt outside, some got over the garden wall. Others ran away while being conveyed, especially on uphill stretches — probably they simply jumped out of the cart. One slipped away while the driver was busy delivering another vagrant. Usually the escape succeeded, but in two cases where a couple tried to escape from the house, the man did so, but the woman was stopped and conveyed on. James Home, who escaped when an accident happened to one of the carts at Highgate Hill on 9 December 1784, was brought back to the house a week later by one of the Bow Street runners and conveyed to Ridge the next day;³⁴ it is doubtful, however, if he ever arrived at his settlement in Northumberland.

Four women absconded leaving children behind, one a baby five weeks old, which Adams took to the workhouse. Workhouses, at least in urban areas, regularly had to look after foundlings (Neate 1967, 30). One vagrant attempted to rob the house, another actually did so, making off with a large copper saucepan.

Adams had other problems to contend with caused by the bridewell keepers not doing their paperwork properly and by the justices themselves directing the passes wrongly, forgetting to sign them, omitting the name of a vagrant, or being unavailable.³⁵ Several times he had to make extra journeys because the constable or overseer refused to accept the vagrant. Besides his routine appearances at Quarter Sessions, he had to appear at gaol deliveries to swear to vagrants' identities, and occasionally to give evidence before the court or the Vagrant Committee.

In one exceptional case in September 1787 he gave evidence against Daniel Lott, a wealthy farmer who refused to accept Benjamin Sears, his wife and child. Benjamin Sears was settled in

West Twyford by serving for a year as a shepherd to Daniel Lott's father. Lott would neither take the pass nor sign a receipt, and Adams left the vagrants at the gate and the papers stuck on the gatepost. Lott told Adams he would call on him next day but never did. Instead Benjamin Sears came back to Adams and said Lott had told his servants not to open the door to the family and threatened to send him to bridewell. Henry Adams paid for the wife and child to lodge at the local pub for a while and they were subsisted by the county either there or at Adams' house from September 1787 to March 1788. It may not be irrelevant that the child, Francis Sears, was sick and died in March 1788. Lott was fined £20 for refusing to take them.³⁶

Henry was apparently very aware of his responsibilities under the vagrant laws, especially in the matter of repeat offenders. In 1776 when he had been in office only a short while William Robertson Esq wrote to the Clerk of the Peace about a difficulty that had arisen when Adams did exactly as his contract required and detained William Lowers, who was apprehended in St Giles in the Fields and committed to bridewell by John Cox Esq. At the same time Cox made out a pass to convey him to his settlement at St Nicholas Deptford, Kent. 'As this Poor Fellow (who is little better than an Ideot) was Removed about 2 years ago, Mr Adams the Contractor for conveying Vagrants, has discovered an Impropriety in Passing him again, observing (perhaps wisely) that he should have been committed as Incorrigible until the Sessions. Mr Contractor has accordingly been induced, by his great [regard] to Legality [*sic*], to detain the Man, who, not being brought [up] at the Gaol Delivery, still remains in Bridewell. Adams is now at a loss what to do with him, and has been with me several times concerning him. I advised him to convey the Poor Fellow away as the Pass directs, but he pretends this would now be illegal, and desires me to send you a copy of his Examinations when removed 7 July 1774, which you have inclosed, and also the Duplicate of his late Examination and Pass as a Vagrant. I presume you will not see much impropriety in his being conveyed to the Place of his settlement, and that Adams will receive directions for that purpose tomorrow'.³⁷ Possibly the justices then gave Adams permission to use his own discretion, since he later did not apply for a detainer several times, noting the reason, usually sickness or old age. William Lowers, however, was truly incorrigible and

came back eight times, despite being whipped once and imprisoned twice.

THE NEW ACT

In July 1792, following the new Vagrancy Act of that year³⁸ and believing this would ‘very much alter the system of the Vagrant Laws’, the Vagrant Committee recommended termination of Adams’ contract. Possibly his application in May 1792 for yet another supplementary payment based on the increased number of vagrants conveyed in the foregoing two years concentrated their minds.³⁹

The committee advised compliance with s5 of the new Act, which empowered justices to pass vagrants from Houses of Correction by the keeper or his servants instead of by parish constables, and to direct constables to deliver them to the House of Correction to be passed on, effectively making the keeper of the House of Correction the vagrant contractor.⁴⁰ The bench did not accept this recommendation however and Henry Adams was still operating in 1794, when he died. Probably this was the right decision, since there were immediate problems with the execution of the new Act, especially complaints of excessive payments to constables.⁴¹ Almost certainly the cancellation of his contract would not have been financially advantageous to the county.

Lydia Adams, Henry’s sister, applied to take over from her father and brother, but the bench thought the job unsuitable for a woman and Henry Bothwell was appointed vagrant contractor in June 1795, bringing the 40 years’ service of the Adams’, father and son, to an end.

AFTER THE ADAMS’

The end of the Adams’ contract by no means ended the vagrant contractor system in Middlesex. Henry Bothwell served for 14 years, and was succeeded by Thomas Davis who was still the contractor in 1821, at nearly 70 years of age. Davis gave evidence to Parliamentary Committees on mendicity in 1815 and on vagrancy in 1821.⁴² By then his salary had increased to £350pa, 1,000 vagrants a month were being passed, and his establishment had grown to three carts and two covered vans, seven horses and three men, with four receiving houses at Egham, Colnbrook, Ridge and Cheshunt, which he rented for 6 guineas each per annum.⁴³

The contracting system still represented the best value for money to those counties where

the problem was severe, since not only had no change to legislation eased the problem but it had actually worsened after 1819, when it was made legal to pass Irish and Scottish poor in the same manner as vagrants, but without their being convicted of a vagrancy offence or punished by imprisonment or whipping.⁴⁴ The measure was intended to enable the parishes in the metropolis to clear out the swarms of Irish beggars from areas such as the rookeries of St Giles. Davis declared that where he had conveyed one Irish vagrant before the Act, now it was 50.⁴⁵ The 1824 Vagrant Act⁴⁶ added yet more offences to the ever-lengthening list of behaviours punishable as vagrancy offences, leaving the pass system apparently untouched.

The Middlesex justices, however, had doubts about the effect of s20 of this Act on the contractor system and in December 1825 they sought counsel’s opinion, which was that ‘the power of the justices to contract for the removal of vagrants, not being given by the only Vagrant Act in force no longer subsists’. The court therefore ordered that the office of pass-master be discontinued from 26 January 1826 and Thomas Davis’ salary discontinued likewise, ending a system that had served Middlesex reasonably well for nearly seven decades.

NOTES

(All references to mss are to sources in the London Metropolitan Archives.)

¹ 14 Eliz c5 1572.

² 17 Geo II c5.

³ MJ/SP/1757/04/11.

⁴ MJ/SP/1757/07/08.

⁵ In 1791 Adams spent £100 on a brick-built room 20ft square at the request of the bench; MJ/SP/V/Misc. Report 1790.

⁶ MJ/SP/1777/10/055.

⁷ MJ/SP/1783/01/009.

⁸ MJ/SP/1757/07/08, p 8.

⁹ MJ/SP/1757/07/08, pp 9–13.

¹⁰ MJ/SP/1764/05/042-3.

¹¹ MJ/SP/1757/07/04.

¹² 17 Geo II c5 s7.

¹³ MJ/SP/1757/07/04.

¹⁴ MJ/SP/1774/04/084.

¹⁵ MJ/SP/1786/03/106. The Middlesex justices were not always more meticulous, as repeated admonitions from the bench demonstrate.

¹⁶ MJ/SP/V/Misc 6 Draft report April 1757.

¹⁷ MJ/SP/1778/09/111.

¹⁸ MJ/SP/1780/10/014.

¹⁹ MJ/SP/1784/04/045.

- ²⁰ MJ/SP/1793/04/180.
²¹ MJ/SP/1780/06/24.
²² MJ/SP/1784/02/006, MJ/SP/1784/02/033.
²³ MJ/SP/1785/12/034, MJ/SP/1786/01/110.
²⁴ MJ/SP/1784/02/006.
²⁵ MJ/SP/1786/04/113.
²⁶ MJ/SP/1778/04/052.
²⁷ MJ/SP/1784/02/033.
²⁸ MJ/SP/1783/06/002, /06/049, /07/002.
²⁹ MJ/SP/1788/04/021.
³⁰ MJ/SP/1783/06/049.
³¹ A mixture of hot beer and gin, sometimes with ginger and sugar, used as a pick-me-up. It was commonly prescribed for the sick at Clerkenwell Bridewell.
³² MJ/SP/1782/04/002.
³³ MJ/SP/1783/01/008.
³⁴ MJ/SP/1785/01/025.
³⁵ The problem of finding a justice was, however, uncommon in Middlesex because the so-called 'trading justices' sat regularly at the Rotation Offices.
³⁶ MJ/SP/1787/09/078 & /132.
³⁷ MJ/SP/V/01/021/156.
³⁸ 32 Geo III c45.
³⁹ MJ/SP/1792/05/022.
⁴⁰ MJ/SP/1792/07/020-21.
⁴¹ MJ/SP/1794/12/023.

- ⁴² Report of the Committee on Mendicity in the Metropolis 1815, 59–62; BPP 1821 iv p 151; *Commons Journals* xxiv pp 25–32.
⁴³ Report of the Committee on Mendicity in the Metropolis 1821, 27.
⁴⁴ 59 Geo 3 c12 s33.
⁴⁵ Report of the Committee on Mendicity in the Metropolis 1821, 28.
⁴⁶ 5 Geo 4 c83.

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