



Hubert von Herkomer, Hard Times 1885, Manchester City Art Galleries.

“SET DOWN IN A LARGE MANUFACTURING TOWN”

Sojourning Poor In Early Nineteenth-Century Manchester

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George Salkeld had high hopes when he wrote the above words to Stephen Garnett in 1824. Garnett, an overseer of the Westmorland township of Kirkby Lonsdale from 1809 to 1836, made a habit of saving the letters sent him by the some 200 poor families of his township who had decided to set themselves down in a place with more favourable prospects of employment than Kirkby Lonsdale. The whole collection fortuitously has found its way to the Cumbria Record Office in Kendal, giving historians a remarkable source for the lives of poor migrants in northern England during the Industrial Revolution.¹

Salkeld's manufacturing town was Manchester, though his brother had gone to Liverpool and his nephew to Preston. Wherever they sojourned, persons like George Salkeld wrote home, chiefly in hope of a remittance but also to air frustrations, convey news, and check the lifeline that bound them to their township of settlement.

Here we must pause to provide the broader context. The English poor law was a Tudor creation, prompted by religious reformations, economic dislocations, and the evolving view that poverty was a problem to be solved, not simply a condition to be endured, or alleviated by the hand of private charity. Consolidated in 1601, the Elizabethan Poor Law was essentially secular,

comprehensive, supported by compulsory rates, and administered on the parochial level by churchwardens and overseers. But the specific unit of local government responsible for relieving a particular pauper was not always certain. Accordingly, a collection of statutes and judicial decisions known as the Law of Settlement were devised to establish where each pauper belonged. Taking form in the late seventeenth century, this particular branch of law had become a century later the most byzantine, the most used, and the most lawyer-intensive branch of English jurisprudence.²

There were a dozen ways settlement could be determined, divided evenly between derived settlements based on the actions or inactions of others, and acquired settlements based on one's own actions. Examples of the former are a child taking its parents' place of settlement, or a wife assuming her husband's settlement. Examples of the latter are settlements determined by an apprenticeship, or by a contracted year of uninterrupted service to one master. Fully two-thirds of all settlements were acquired in one of these four ways — parentage, marriage, apprenticeship, service — but all twelve ways to achieve a settlement were so qualified that interpretation could be extremely difficult.

By the early nineteenth century the English poor law in general and the Law of Settlement in particular had grown so complicated and expensive that both attracted pamphleteers and parliamentary enquiries intent on reform, even abolition. From this welter of concern came the deeply flawed Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Few of those who wrote or enquired before 1834, including Adam Smith, had a detailed knowledge of poor law administration, and few of the actual administrators, still less the paupers, had sufficient literacy or leisure to enlighten the literati. It is true that magistrates had important duties in supervising the system, and were especially important in interparochial conflicts, which were usually disputes over settlement. Yet on the whole magistrates were remote from the day-to-day problems that shaped the decisions of churchwardens, overseers, and paupers. This was especially true of northern England where there developed in the early nineteenth century a highly elaborate form of subsidized migration, extra-legal (though not illegal) in nature. There was, in fact, a system which provided an adjustable labour force for expanding industries. This is the context in which the Kirkby Lonsdale correspondence must be considered — an invaluable window on how and why migration occurred in that part of England, seen from the bottom up.

To return to George Salkeld, the particular occasion prompting him to write in 1824 was that his apprentice, Matthew Cockin, had run off, and just when he had gained sufficient experience to be useful; not only that, the boy had stolen his indentures and some of Salkeld's tools. So Salkeld wrote to ask Garnett to keep his eye out for the boy, apologizing for the imposition, but claiming that Garnett was the only person of Kirkby Lonsdale who had shown any interest in the Salkeld family's welfare.

That interest had been in the form of £3 given to Salkeld's wife and children a few months earlier so they could travel the sixty miles separating Kirkby Lonsdale from Manchester; township-funded moving expenses.³ Such use of the poor rates may well be considered enlightened and humane, but Garnett and his vestry were merely following the guiding stars of most poorly compensated local officials in every time and place — the avoidance of trouble and expense.

Salkeld was a shoemaker with a family of eight in a township of great beauty, praised in paint and prose by Wordsworth, Turner and Ruskin. Kirkby Lonsdale also enjoyed moderate prosperity, possessing the third largest market town in Westmorland at the time, but with more poor than it could employ. By subsidizing migration the township reduced the cost of maintaining the poor even if subsequently it proved necessary to provide casual or regular relief to their underemployed or ailing poor sojourning in a Bradford, Wigan or Manchester. The poor at a distance were much less troublesome than those nearby, and relief to them was generally less than they might receive at home, for Kirkby Lonsdale counted on some generosity from the host township, as well as some employment for their poor living elsewhere, even in the worst of times.

Such migrants were welcome wherever there was need of workers, however erratic the need might be, for it was a bargain for the host township to have a subsidized workforce, the responsibility of some other township in times of unemployment and illness. In addition, they were often considered better workers because they had the incentive of avoiding removal to their home township.

As for the migrants, they left, like Salkeld, to better their condition. This triangular arrangement was extraordinarily beneficial for controlling labour migration in the interest of economic development, and was one of the unheralded lesser causes of the Industrial Revolution, as unmeasurable as all the other factors that are generally considered in accounting for the genesis.

The system has attracted little attention, then and now, simply because it worked so well and left no enduring paper trail for historians to examine.⁴ It was difficult to rail at an arrangement that any party could break at any time. The home township could cease support, the host township could institute removal proceedings (or sometimes, more simply, cease to act as an intermediary between home township and sojourner), or the sojourner could go home, either at his own expense or subsidized by the host township. If the latter, all he needed to do was appeal to a magistrate for a removal order. Each party to the arrangement had some incentive to make it work, and that led to a measure of flexibility in meeting individual needs. No one had any reason to complain to parliamentary commissions or to the sorts of people who wrote pamphlets on poor law reform.

No system is without flaw, however, and there were two principal ones in this case. First, sojourners were often squeezed between inadequate relief from home and the sense that their only hope of betterment lay in sticking it out at their new residence until trade or health revived and jobs were available. The letters to Garnett suggest extraordinary deprivation was not uncommon among the sojourning poor, even allowing for the self-interest in magnifying needs. Second, much record keeping and correspondence were necessary to make the system work. This called for vigilant and efficient local officials, capable of detecting fraud. It was common practice for the churchwardens and overseers of the home township to work through their counterparts in the host township, not always trusting to their paupers' claims for relief. In such cases vigilance was also needed to catch the delinquent remittance from the home township as well as the host township that was being too generous with the home township's funds.

Of all this correspondence and record keeping so very little has survived!⁵ The reason is simply that most of the records were of the informal kind. There was no legal nor practical reason to retain such material after a certain time, and no vellum covers were used to protect these documents, which are perhaps more interesting and important to the social historian than any other records of poor law administration. The window provided by the Kirkby Lonsdale letters is rather like Sutton Hoo or Tutankhamun's tomb — the rare find that reveals a world long gone. However, in the case of the letters it was a world seen from the vantage of common folk.

Manchester is itself home to another remarkable element to understanding the sojourners, one that provides some indication of the numbers of migrants involved in Manchester's growth in the early nineteenth century — the Churchwardens' Accounts, which run from 1809 to 1848 (the churchwarden's year ending and beginning at Easter). The accounts are now in the custody of Cultural Services in the Central Library, St. Peter's Square,⁶ and are entirely devoted to the numbers and sorts of persons relieved, together with costs, with totals neatly entered year after year. Some of the columns were kept for only a part of the thirty-seven year period, such as the numbers and costs of militia men's families, but most of the

categories are carried through all or a substantial portion of the total period. These include: the regular, or settled poor (a gap from 1818-30); the casual poor (those receiving occasional assistance); the Irish resident poor; out-township poor by order (repayable), that is, the sojourning poor to be reimbursed by their home townships;⁷ mothers of illegitimate children; orphan children at nurse; magistrates' orders; out-township poor under removal orders and uncertain settlements; and the aggregates of all of the above.

The accounts appear in two books, the first in fragile condition. No notes of explanation are attached, and there are ambiguities in consequence. For example, the "casual poor" column apparently totalled claims rather than claimants, as the word "casual" suggests; the aggregate of those receiving relief actually exceeds the population of Manchester in the 1811 census unless such an assumption is made. It is also likely that the column for Irish resident poor also included the Scottish and others not legally settled in England and Wales, for that was the only logical place to record them in the accounts; the number of such was probably not large. Yet there is little reason to doubt that the accounts reflect with reasonable accuracy the big picture. Precisely why they came into being is unclear. G.B. Hindle wrote that the Manchester poor law authorities set up new offices in Fountain Street in 1809, the year the accounts began, and that may have been the occasion for creating a new record to provide an overview.⁸ It is not possible in this brief article to do justice to all the information to be gleaned from the accounts, but a few numbers and observations follow.

Manchester Township Poor Relief 1811-1841

	1811	1821	1831	1841
Population (rounded)	89,000	126,000	182,000	235,000
Regular Poor				
Number	14,309	n.g.	58,526	39,896
Cost	£1574	n.g.	£7585	£5066
Casual Poor				
Number	36,809	39,873	38,824	40,775
Cost	£5547	£6003	£5433	£4702
Irish Poor				
Number	14,805	12,207	23,384	13,793
Cost	£2312	£2043	£2727	£1363
Sojourning Poor				
Number	10,937	10,577	19,379	19,807
Cost	£1401	£2066	£3145	£2962
Aggregates				
Number	110,169	89,563	151,247	123,008
Cost	£19,816	£18,295	£23,499	£16,631

The aggregates include all categories of poor, not just the ones included above. When the totals for each category for each year are graphed variations abound, but the table gives some indication of dimensions.

It is clear that poor law administration in early nineteenth-century Manchester was a big business, and the very keeping of such a record suggests an impressive efficiency in its operation. Focussing on sojourners' relief (excluding the Irish), it is enlightening to compare the number on regular relief (those settled in Manchester) and costs of relieving them, with the comparable figures for the sojourners. Between 1811 and 1817 the sojourners were two-thirds (68.4%) as numerous as the settled poor, but their costs were 84.8% as much. Between 1831 and 1848 the number of sojourners drops to about a third (37.7%) of those on regular relief, while the cost was 42.9% as much as that spent on the settled poor. This

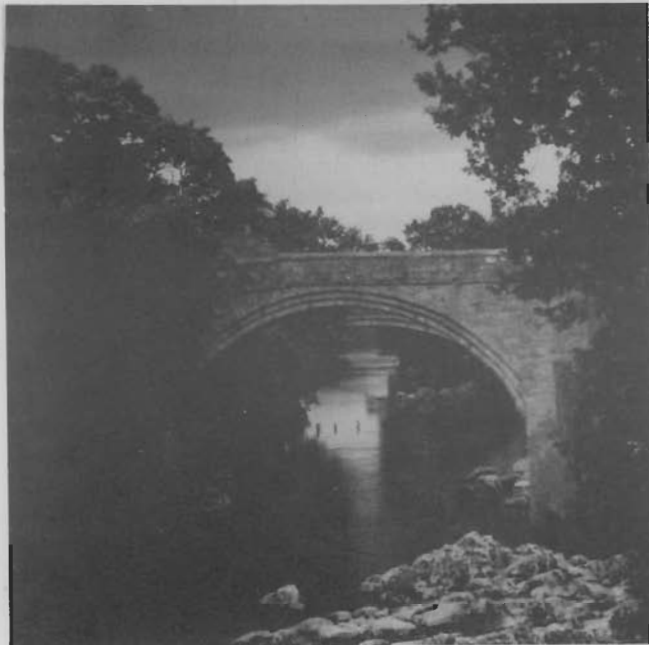
suggests that Manchester was a bit more generous with the funds of other townships, where it was assured reimbursement, than it was with its own ratepayers' money. If one includes the Irish as well then the numbers and costs of all the sojourners in early nineteenth-century Manchester were roughly comparable to the settled poor, although with obvious variations from year to year.



The old Market Cross in Kirkby Lonsdale, the old heart of the township.

All such calculations obscure the reality. Only the sojourning poor who worked through the Manchester authorities would be entered, clearly, not those who either scraped by or whose home township reimbursed them directly. Nor do the figures include sojourners under suspended orders of removal or whose settlements were in doubt (not a large number until 1847). Moreover, casual relief was dispensed by the Manchester authorities to sojourners out of charity in dire circumstances, in the hope, sometimes forlorn, that the home township would reimburse.⁹

Between 1811 and 1847 the total number of poor relieved annually ranged from a low of 71,878 to a high of 187,303, and at a cost as low as £13,415 to a high of £36,617. There is a relation, obviously, between the state of the economy and changes in poor law administration on the one hand, and numbers and costs of the poor on the other. Most notably, the figures increase dramatically in 1847-8 — presumably under the impact of the 1846 Act (9 & 10 Vict. cap. 66), which prevented removal of sojourners after they had been resident in a parish or township for five years. One significance of such increases is that it points to how many *more* sojourners there were in Manchester than those who had formally been known to the authorities. In 1846 only 21,655 Irish recipients were recorded for Manchester, while the number in 1848 was 135,055. Although this may reflect in part the Famine exodus, almost as phenomenal a jump occurs in the number of English and Welsh sojourners: 29,435 in 1846, to 107,657 in 1848.



'Devil's Bridge' over which sojourners trekked into Lancashire and the West Riding.

The truth is we will never know with any degree of finality how many of the poor were either Irish or English sojourners. *Answers to Town Queries* in the 1834 Poor Law Report addressed the question, but many respondents, including Manchester's, neglected to answer, perhaps to avoid the confusion presented by the six returns from Reading, St. Mary in Berkshire, where six different respondents returned six different answers, only roughly agreeing that there were a great many, though not so many Scottish or Irish sojourners.¹⁰

All that is clear is that great numbers of poor left their parish or township to live somewhere else, and that in time of need they surfaced on a case by case basis, some of the more hopeless ones to be removed (or allowed to remove themselves), while others, by far the greater number, to receive relief, usually through payments from their parish or township of settlement. Some of the sojourners in illness appealed to the magistrates in order to receive relief where they then resided, for the 1795 Act (35 Geo. III *cap.* 101) prevented pauper removal when health would be endangered, and magistrates in such cases issued suspended orders of removal. These were disliked by poor law authorities because they involved trouble and expense, although they could claim reimbursement from the place of settlement. Manchester magistrates' orders of all sorts between 1811 and 1831 ranged from a low of 9,238 in 1811 to a high of 43,012 in 1828, and averaged over 23,000 orders a year, although not all of these pertained to sojourners. On the other hand, the great majority of sojourners' cases clearly never involved the magistrates at all; the numbers admit of no other conclusion.

It must be left to those more familiar with the Manchester region and with greater access to the remarkable Churchwardens' Accounts — is there any comparable overview elsewhere? — to give this source the thorough investigation it deserves. All that is claimed here for the sojourners in early nineteenth-century Manchester is, first, they were extremely numerous, and, second, there is in Manchester a remarkable account to give some quantitative evidence to support impressionistic appraisals, and which suggests Manchester had an efficient poor law administration.

That it was efficient and to some extent humane may be illustrated by returning again to the Kirkby Lonsdale letters relating to Manchester. Only five families went that far, for the factories of Kendal, Lancaster, and Preston were much closer. Short distance travel and correspondence were less trouble and expense, and there were likely to be other sojourners from the home township to give the new-comer some acquaintance. From the overseer's standpoint short distances meant that it was easier to keep a check on poor relief recipients, though there was the negative effect of also making it easier for aggrieved claimants to return to appeal to vestry, which could overrule the overseers. To travel from the upper Lune valley to Manchester implied a certain boldness of spirit, although moves to Lancaster and Preston could serve as stepping stones. Relations through marriage and prospects for work served as incentives, though it is not usually clear why a particular sojourner chose a particular location to stay, the gist of most letters being news of poor health and unemployment.

Six letters from Manchester concern the Harrison family in the 1820s, who put Kirkby Lonsdale to the enormous expense of supporting their daughter in the lunatic asylum at Fairfield. Nine letters are from or about the Proctors who had to call in a fever ward doctor in the 1830s and rely on a Manchester overseer for emergency funds, the latter sending Garnett bills on printed forms designed specifically for out-township relief. The Longhorns, Bainbridges and Salkelds generated more extensive correspondence.

Elizabeth Longhorn, her two young daughters in tow, was the most peripatetic of the Kirkby Lonsdale sojourners, sampling Lancaster, Preston, Manchester, Salford, Bradford, and Rochdale between 1816 and 1832, before she eventually ended her relationship with Kirkby Lonsdale apparently by acquiring a settlement in a township near Leeds.¹¹ She first arrived in Manchester in August 1820, but wished herself "back again many a time" in the twenty-four days it took her to find work for herself and one of her daughters. She still needed clothes and bedding, and suggested that they be taken from the £2 payment that was shortly due her. She wrote again later that month, and again in November, still hoping for her pension to arrive. She herself had found plenty of work as a washerwoman, and while it was enough for victuals it was insufficient for clothes and bedding, and her daughter's eyes were "very Bad". She finally received money from home, but in March of 1821 she wrote yet again, requesting an advance on her pension of two shillings a week, reporting that she had had some clothes stolen from her and a cold winter had led to the use of additional coals for drying the clothes. "Bessy's eyes", cost of coals, overdue rent, and her pension — these were her concerns, expressed by different hands from different addresses in the Manchester and Salford area, but all with the same forcefulness and vigour. "Clamorous" a Lancaster overseer had called her when she had stopped there earlier in 1820, while a Preston overseer the same year could not understand why she had gone on to Manchester when there was work available in his town "if she was less disposed to travel." In her case she received funds directly from her township while in the Manchester area, although she had approached the Salford overseer on one occasion, and he promised to write on her behalf, if she desired. She did not complain about everything; indeed, she was full of praise for the Manchester ladies who had given her work. She is an example of the sojourning poor who did not come to the formal attention of the Manchester churchwardens.



Stone-breakers at work on the road. An engraving from G. Walker, Costume of Yorkshire, 1814.

The Bainbridge family lived in Manchester for at least twenty-five years, the first extant item being a printed bill from Manchester in 1811 in the amount of £5-7-8 to pay for four children's coffins. The ages are given: ten, five, four, and one and a half — relevant to justify the cost of each coffin. The father, George Bainbridge, later went insane, and the wife, Ann, was an outpatient at the Manchester Infirmary on numerous occasions. A surviving daughter had been apprenticed in Kirkby Lonsdale, but had run away to her parents in Manchester, and thence all the way to Portsmouth. Befriended in Stockwell, Surrey, she was apprenticed to an apothecary, but ran away after ten weeks, returning to her parents in Manchester. She had an illegitimate child in Preston, and was sent back to her home township when she tried to set down in Blackburn, but Kirkby Lonsdale did not want her, and tried to saddle Stockwell with her settlement on the grounds of the transient apprenticeship. Documents in her case indicate she was a workhouse child, who had been abused by her mother. Tragedy dogged this family, but it is of special interest for two reasons.

First, the printed bill for the coffins in 1811 related to an unpaid bill dating back to 1802! Nine years later an efficient Manchester official, George Grundy, firmly but politely reminded Kirkby Lonsdale of this long overdue account, going into some detail over the circumstances, as the delay had been occasioned by a misunderstanding. An administration with so long a memory, and with all the facts so ready to hand that many years later deserves high marks for record-keeping. The case of the overdue bill also indicates that the machinery for collecting overdue

accounts was not well developed, but that was a general problem with the whole system of out-township relief.

Second, a fraud was exposed. Ann Bainbridge was widowed in 1822, and continued to receive her pension until 1827. She then remarried, which meant an end to her pension, as she now took her husband's place of settlement, which was in another township. But she did not tell Kirkby Lonsdale. However, in this case Garnett was working through the Manchester authorities, one of whom discovered the marriage, withheld the pension, and then diverted it to the use of another Kirkby Lonsdale family in Manchester that needed relief, the Salkelds. In 1827 Manchester was relieving 14,197 sojourners and 29,370 Irish poor, as well as the settled poor and recipients of casual relief. To catch such an imposture among so many cases suggests a very high level of efficiency.

Let George Salkeld's case provide the penultimate conclusion. When his family was in dire need in 1827 he went to the "Board Room" in Manchester to see if his pension had arrived. It had not, but the authorities sent a visitor to evaluate the family's need, who reported to the Board, which authorized five shillings for the family as "a free gift, without any reference to its repayment". Salkeld lamented that he was not among the settled poor of Manchester.¹² In 1831 he made his bid to become one by renting a shop in the city for £15 per annum. If he could just last out the year he would achieve his ambition, but trade was bad, and he was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle for debts he claimed he did not owe. All he needed was £2 from his township to pay the last quarterly instalment of



The gravestone of Stephen Garnett in St. Mary's churchyard, Kirkby Lonsdale.

his rent. In a cry from the heart he wrote to Garnett from prison in October 1831. A few weeks later Garnett sent the £2 to Salkeld's wife, Ann, living at No. 4, near the Lockups, St. George's Road, Manchester, and the Salkeld's had severed their connection with Kirkby Lonsdale.

Ruskin found much to criticize in Manchester, and much to praise in Kirkby Lonsdale. He was right about the latter; Kirkby Lonsdale is extraordinarily beautiful. Manchester is not. But to a poor unemployed shoemaker in 1831, with a family of eight, Manchester was the Celestial City, and it is pleasant to record that the Salkelds had arrived.

Salkeld's story has human interest, as do the others, but he also represents a labour force on the move, as the Manchester Churchwardens' Accounts substantiate, although just how many labourers migrated can never be known with any degree of certitude, for the records are imperfect.¹³ It is possible that the poor laws — so very imperfect in themselves — may have contributed to dampening the ardour for revolutionary activity on the Continental model, but what is far more certain is that the loosely interpreted settlement laws in the industrial North actually encouraged migrants from northern England and Ireland to set themselves down in industrial towns, where they had some incentive to apply themselves in order to avoid removal. A labour-force, willing (if only because desperate), adjustable, and subsidized in time of need by the labourers' home townships; those were the conditions in the morning, and at the heart, of the world's first industrial revolution.

NOTES

1. Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (hereafter CRO/K), Kirkby Lonsdale, Township Letters, 1809-36, WPR/19. The writer is grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities (U.S.) for a stipend in 1987 to study this collection, and to Dr. Michael E. Rose for encouragement (not necessarily agreement) and hospitality to an American sojourner in Manchester in the summer of 1987.
2. 2 & 3 Charles II, *cap.* 12 (1662) gave townships in some northern counties responsibility for administering the poor law; this was the unit where a pauper's right to relief, his settlement was fixed, as the parish was the usual unit in the South. However, the word "parish" was sometimes used generically in the North to mean the place of settlement. An overview of pauper settlement is provided by my article, "The Impact of Pauper Settlement, 1691-1834," *Past & Present*, No. 73 (1976), pp.42-74. For general background, see Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-50*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1964); and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part I: The Old Poor Law (1927)*. A detailed analysis is provided in my book, *Poverty, Migration and Settlement in the Industrial Revolution* (Palo Alto, 1989).
3. CRO/K, Kirkby Lonsdale, Overseers' Accounts, 1823-35, WPR/19, 2 November 1823.
4. Relief to sojourners is often mentioned in the literature of the time, and by historians of that time, but not as a major source of contention or as an agent of change.
5. There is a sprinkling of letters throughout England about the sojourning poor in the early nineteenth century, and relevant entries in overseers' accounts, but it all amounts to very little. One interesting survival is in the Lancashire Record Office, Preston: The Lancaster Overseers' Letter Book, 1809-19, ref. PR866; this consists of duplicates of letters sent to other poor law authorities, chiefly to do with sojourners' relief. R.P. Hastings has discovered "extensive correspondence" of Thirsk and Guisborough overseers on this subject: *Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1780-1832* (York, 1982), p.28.
6. City of Manchester, Cultural Services, Central Library, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1809-31, M3/3/4/6A, and 1830-48, M3/3/4/6B. The writer thanks J.M. Ayton, Archivist, for bringing these accounts to my attention. They are used with the permission of the City of Manchester Leisure Services Committee.
7. "Out-township poor" (with or without the hyphen), "floaters", "nonresident poor" (meaning those not legally resident) are other terms for the "sojourners". The latter term is simplest, most accurate, and was frequently used by the authorities in preparing settlement examinations.
8. G.B. Hindle, *Provision for the Relief of the Poor in Manchester, 1754-1826* (Manchester, 1975), p.50. For Manchester's poor law administration, see also W.D. Evans' testimony before the House of Lords *Select Committee on the Poor Laws* (1817), as quoted in Michael E. Rose, *The English Poor Law 1780-1930* (New York, 1971), pp.64-7.
9. Overseers of the home township often vested overseers of the host township with discretionary power to give casual relief in an emergency, although this could obviously lead to disagreements when it came time to settle accounts.
10. *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners on the Poor Laws* (P.P. 1834, XXXV & XXXVI), Q. 42.
11. One Elizabeth Longhorn's settlement was subject to an expensive and troublesome resort to the law; the case was found in an uncatalogued box of miscellaneous records in CRO/K, Kirkby Lonsdale, WPR/19. It is not, however, clear if this was the peripatetic Elizabeth or her daughter, "Bessie". Longhorn's history, and that of other persons from the township sojourning in Manchester who are treated in this essay were derived primarily from the township letters, supplemented by parish registers, overseers' accounts, settlement papers, and other materials in the township's collection. It is indeed a large collection, and not yet fully inventoried and listed. This writer is deeply indebted to the exceptionally helpful staff in Kendal, especially Sheila MacPherson, Cumbria County Archivist, and is grateful to the Revd. Graham W. Bettridge, Rector of Kirkby Lonsdale, for permission to use this splendid collection. Brett Harrison of Leeds District Archives has also been very helpful to me in interpreting Kirkby Lonsdale's records.
12. Manchester authorities may have been proportionately more generous in allowances to sojourners than to its regular poor, as previously mentioned, knowing the former expenditures would be reimbursed, but the settled poor had greater certainty of being paid regularly, and doubtless received far more casual relief than the sojourners.
13. For example, census returns distinguishing place of birth from place of residence do *not* distinguish those who spent much of their adult lives working somewhere other than their place of birth, only to return home later in life.