

ART. XIII – *Some Cumbrian Pauper Narratives, 1770-1830*

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THE Old Poor Law continues to attract attention, both in a Cumbrian context and more generally. Recent studies published in the *Transactions* include surveys by Hall and Parsons of provision in Eskdale and Troutbeck, and Eccles's analysis of vagrancy in later eighteenth century Westmorland, based on quarter sessions rolls.¹ Similar local studies have been carried out elsewhere, some claiming more than local significance for their findings. Examples include David Eastwood's Oxfordshire-based study of continuity and change in a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century system of local government under stress from the mounting cost of poor relief, and Norma Landau's work, based on petty session minute books for Kent, which argues a late eighteenth century retreat from the parish officers' accustomed practice of using the settlement laws to regulate immigration.² Most recently, Song suggests, again from Oxfordshire evidence, that landlords used the settlement system to control the mobility and hence availability of agricultural labour.³ Founded on parochial (or, in the case of north-west England, township) entitlement, funding, and administration, with a system of appeal regulated by magistrates in petty or quarter sessions, the Old Poor Law demands a locality-based approach even from historians seeking conclusions of national significance. Generalisation is necessarily constrained by the local content and orientation both of the Old Poor Law itself and of the documentary sources on which study is based.

Generalisation is especially problematic with respect to the particular source which is the focus of the present study, the settlement examination. It is possible to analyse settlement examinations in large numbers to yield quantitative results of a general character, witness Snell's regional profiles of seasonal unemployment derived from the dates of a large sample of settlement examinations from midland and southern England.⁴ The problem with this approach is that it ignores the bulk of each examination's substantive content, which is information of a biographical character recorded in an attempt to establish, in doubtful cases, which parish or township had responsibility under settlement law for the relief of the examinant. The quantity and quality of this biographical information is highly variable. As James Taylor has noted, the kind of settlement case the historian most desires, "a garrulous examinant with a good memory and an interesting history, magistrates unpressed for time, and a clerk proud of his penmanship but uncertain of the most salient legal points in the testimony" is, by its nature, "a rare nugget".⁵ But less informative examinations may still offer extraordinary insights into lives which are otherwise invisible, even though those at risk of destitution were probably the majority of the population. The present paper focuses on the personal biographies or narratives contained in the Cumbrian settlement examinations, primarily because they are of historical interest *per se*. However, the paper also attempts to use this evidence as the basis for some informed and more general insights into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century social history of the rural north-west.

Settlement examinations are scattered through the parish record collections in the

Carlisle and Kendal Record Offices but certain parish deposits, notably Greystoke, Great Asby and Crosby Ravensworth, have large numbers of them. It is impossible to say whether the unevenness of their present availability is a function of local differences in historic administrative practice or merely reflects the vagaries of survival of intrinsically ephemeral documents. But it does deserve emphasis that the Cumberland and Westmorland collection of some 50 reasonably detailed examinations is comparable with collections elsewhere which have attracted the attention of historians.⁶

The rules by which settlement was gained ensured that a record of the individual's migration experience was the central strand in the examination's biographical content. Consider the case of Anne Slee, whose examination, dating to 1795, survives in the Great Asby deposit.⁷ A full transcript of the examination is as follows:

Westmorland – The examination of Anne Slee of Asby singlewoman taken on oath before me one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County the 2d day of June 1795 –

Who on her oath saith, that she was born in New Church parish in Cumberland, when she first left her father she was (deletion) half a year at Stainton, then was half a year in Penrith, then was half a year in New Church parish aforesaid, then was half a year at Threlkeld, then returned to her father who lived in Stainton but had no settlement there, then was at Kirkoswald for a year and a half or two years but always by half yearly hirings, then was three quarters of a year at Great Strickland, then returned to her father who then lived at Hackthorpe but had no settlement there, then was hired by John Elliotson of Barras Hall in the parish of Appleby for a year and served the same at Barras Hall aforesaid, then was half a year at Winton Hall, then was half a year at Kirkby Stephen, then was hired for a year by Anthony Nicholson of Asby and stayed with the same at Asby aforesaid, then returned to her father at Hackthorpe, then was six weeks in hay time at Grange Hall, then was at Latterhowe first for 11 weeks and then for half a year, then went to How Hill in Castle Sowerby for a year and stayed the same but was hired half yearly from which place she returned at Whitsuntide last.

Before me John Burn (signs)

Anne Slee (marks)

There are few problems in mapping this information, the non-existent Barras Hall in the parish of Appleby presumably being Barwise Hall (Fig. 1). If, as seems likely, this is the same person as "Ann daughter of John Sleigh of Wray", whose christening on 11 September 1763 is recorded in the Watermillock parish register⁸, she would have been 31 years old at the time of the examination. Some aspects of her story are not known, like her age at leaving home and the length of her three periods of subsequent residence with her father. Nevertheless, Figure 1 suggests a relatively footloose experience. Although missing information on place of residence often confuses the picture, this impression is broadly confirmed by comparison with other examinations involving servants. Examples from the Asby collection include Sarah Bowsker, examined in 1790, whose early life was spent in Hoff and Rutter and who had two hirings in Ravenstonedale, one in Coatgill (probably Cotegill in Orton), one in Asby, and two at locations which are unspecified but presumably were known to have no bearing on the matter of her settlement possibly because they were in townships already mentioned; William Sowerby, examined in 1818 (Fig. 2), a relatively simple narrative involving residence with his father at Asby until aged 15 or 16, then a half-yearly hiring in Appleby followed by a few months with his father, two to three years service in King's Meaburn, then a return to Asby on marriage; and, a rather more complex variant of an essentially similar experience, Joseph

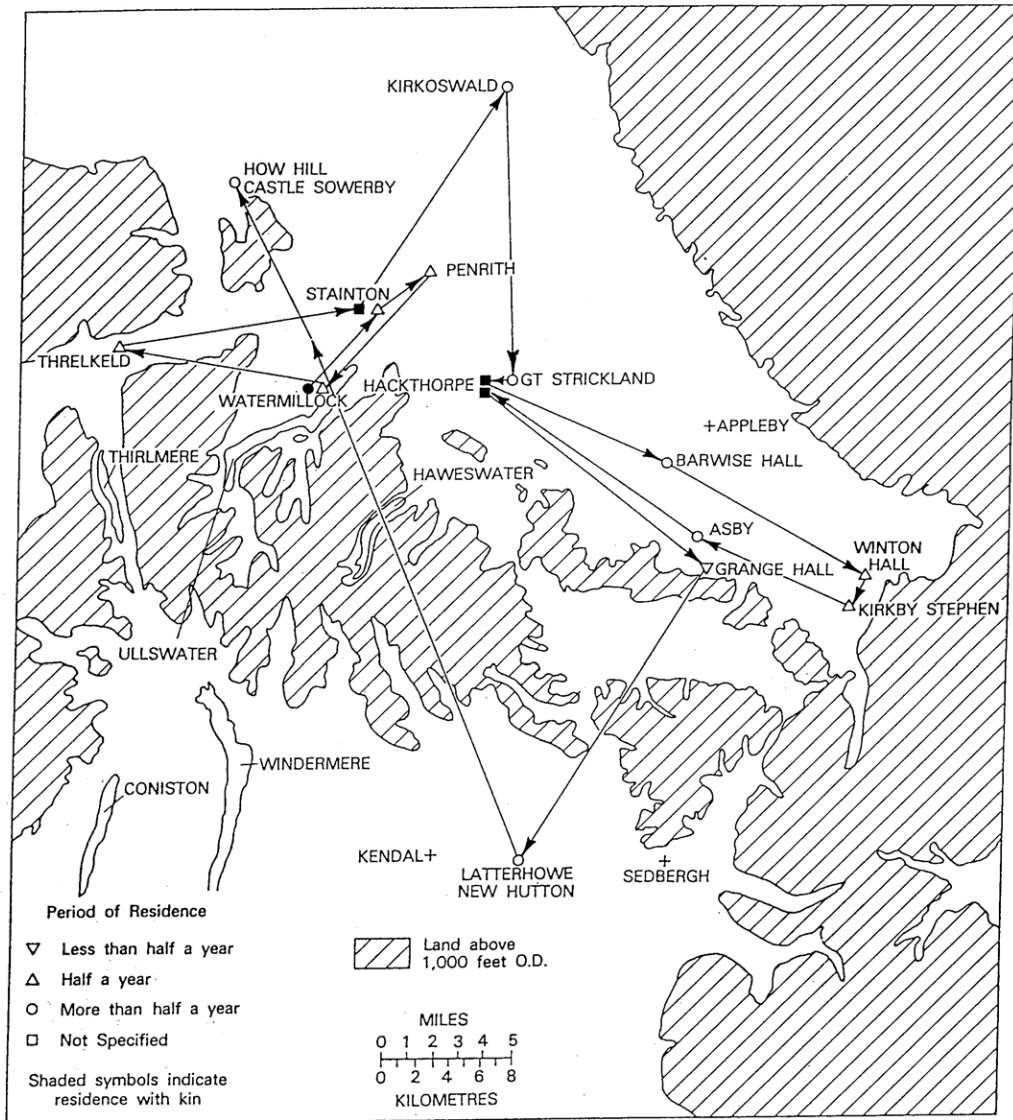


FIG. 1. Anne Slee, examined 1795.

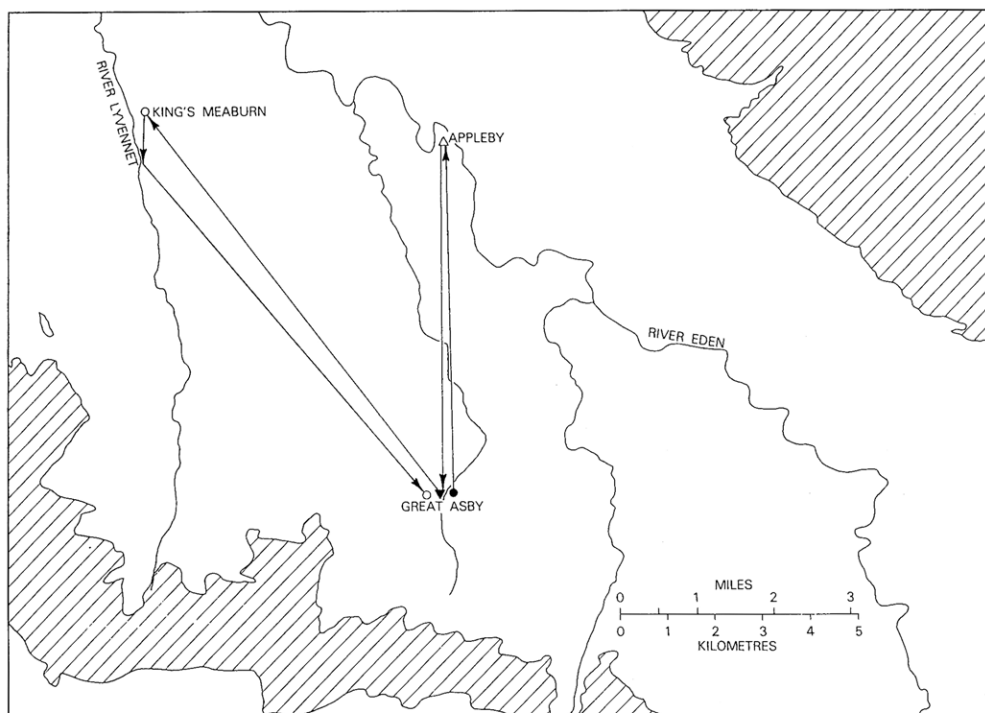


Fig. 2. William Sowerby, examined 1818.

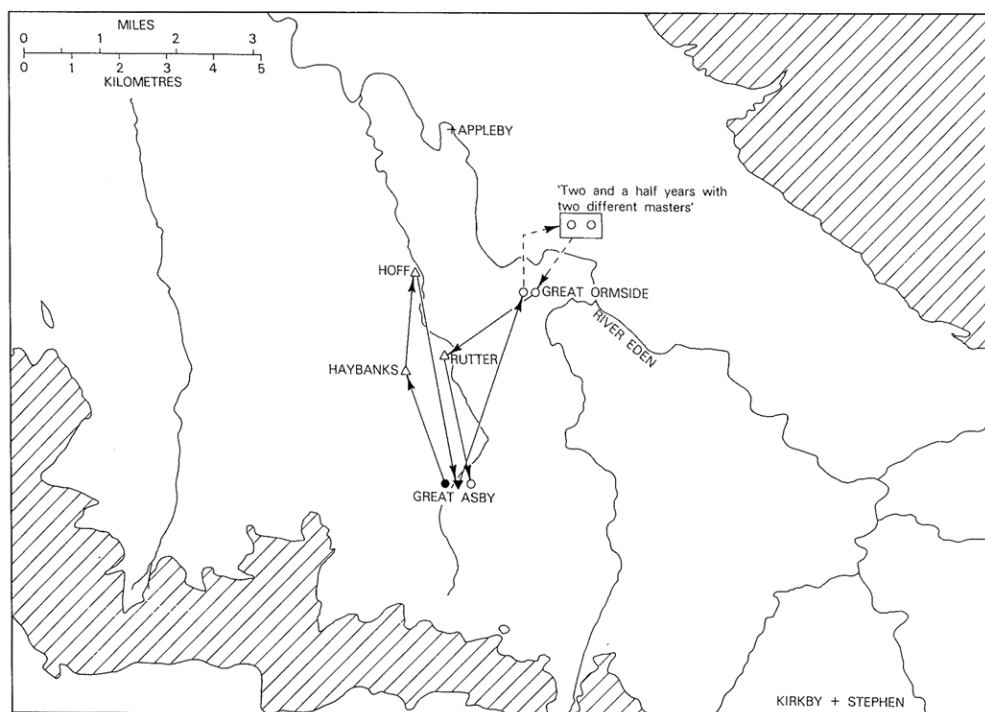


FIG. 3. Joseph Barnet, examined 1817.

Barnet, examined in 1817 (Fig. 3), who left home at the age of 17, spent six months at Haybanks, six at Hoff, a period from November to February "out of place" during which he returned home to Asby, followed by some seven years hired to James Waugh and four years to Richard Bousfield both at Great Ormside, "two and a half years to two different masters", a further four years with Richard Bousfield, six months at Rutter, then at approximate age 36 he married and rented a farm at Asby. Even allowing for the possibility that the two and a half years spent with two different masters at unspecified locations might have taken Joseph Barnet to some unfamiliar part of the world, his life appears to have been rooted in or focussed upon a particular, narrowly-defined geographical milieu in the vicinity of his birthplace and ultimate place of residence at Asby.

Had a year's residence in all circumstances conferred a settlement, as in certain circumstances it could, then there is every likelihood that Cumbrian servants would have found that each six monthly hiring season brought with it an expectation that they move on. However, as the examinations make plain, the law recognised that when contracts were agreed for shorter terms than a year, longer periods of residence carried no implications for settlement.⁹ As a consequence, where master and servant found themselves mutually well suited, there was no reason why the settlement law should disrupt things. It was probably true that in general those rural Cumbrians who spent a large proportion of their lives as hired servants experienced higher levels of migratory mobility than those who quickly became tenants or

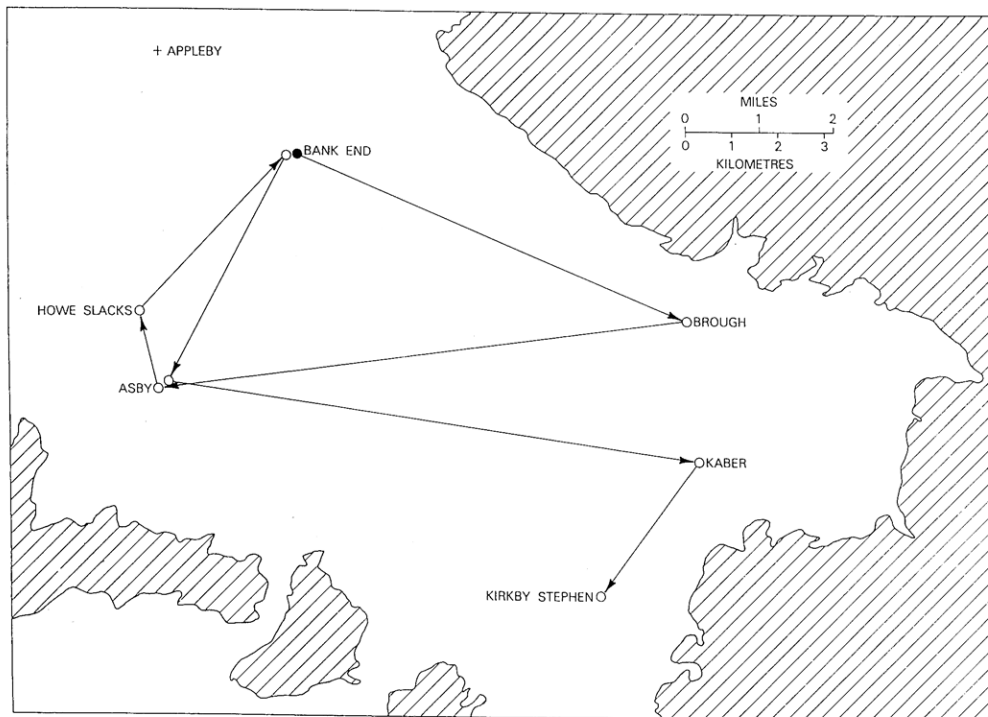


FIG. 4. Joseph Metcalfe, examined 1817.

owners. The migration experience of Anne Slee contrasts, for example, with that of Joseph Metcalfe, examined in 1817, who was never a servant but left his father's "estate in lands" at Bank End, Warcop first for a tenement in Brough, then for a property at Asby. This was followed by a succession of farms as either tenant or owner occupier, all of them within a relatively narrowly defined area (Fig. 4). However, it deserves emphasis that occupation of a farm conferred neither protection from the prospect of destitution nor lifetime immobility. A willingness to rent even when land was already owned, which is evident in Joseph Metcalfe's family history (Table 1) but was certainly not unique to him, helped lubricate the machinery of mobility.¹⁰ Conversely, constraints of connection and rootedness may

TABLE 1
PROPERTIES OCCUPIED BY JOSEPH METCALFE

Bank End, Warcop	Father resided and had an estate in lands. Lived here until he married.
Brough	Tenement under the rent of £10. Lived here a year.
Asby	Property of his own, set in tenancy thereof by his father. Annual value might be £20. Lived here a few years.
Howe Slacks	Rented a tenement of £14 a year where he lived three years.
Bank End	Returned to Bank End (his father still living) where he purchased an estate for upwards of £100 upon which he resided for many years.
Asby	Returned to Asby to his own property which he occupied for about two years.
Kaber	Sold his property at Asby for 600 guineas and went to live at Kaber where he rented a cottage for under £3 a year and a field for £4 and lived here six or seven years. While living here sold his property at Bank End previously let for £20 a year.
Kirkby Stephen	Now resides on an estate taken for him by his son at rent of £9 per year.

Source: CRO(K) WPR/1 Great Asby Settlement Examinations.

be discerned even among the relatively footloose. With the exception of her last two hirings in the distant locations of New Hutton and Castle Sowerby, which were both entered after the death of her father in 1792, Anne Slee's migratory moves appear to have been influenced by two poles of attraction, the location of her previous employment and her father's place of residence.¹¹ Family connections and other established relationships to people and place often shaped the migration experience even though migration also represented a break with the familiar to a greater or lesser extent.

The support role of the family deserves closer scrutiny. For younger servants who found themselves temporarily "out of place", the parental household appears to have been the first place where subsistence was sought. So long as the family remained a viable economic unit, it seems to have been readily given. Older examiners whose surviving parent or parents might themselves be in need of relief might still seek the support of "home", especially if they were unmarried, but were much more likely to find that poor relief was their only available option. The case of Mary Dawson of Greystoke, whose examination is reproduced below, is poignant inasmuch as the enquiry established that her settlement was in a London which she had abandoned:

Cumberland – The examination of Mary Dawson of Greystoke in the county of Cumberland aged about thirty one years.

Who upon her oath saith that she was born at Greystoke aforesaid and lived with her father there and had relations at Blencow till she was about seventeen years old and that at that age she was hired as a servant to John Thompson at Gill in the parish of Dacre for half a year and after that was hired by the said Thompson for a year and served him that year and afterwards for two succeeding years and received her wages, that after that she was hired for a year to Joseph Nicholson of Kelbarrow in the parish of Newton and served him there that year and received her wages, that she lived with her father half a year afterwards and then half a year at the said John Thompson's and then was hired for a year and served to Robert Mounsey of Ellerbeck in the parish of Barton in Westmorland, soon after the end of which service she went to London and about the month of February she was hired by Mrs Sarah Long, the wife of Mr Beeston Long a merchant in Bishopsgate Street in the parish of St Martin's Outwich for a year at £6 per annum and 40 shillings allowances to be at liberty on a month's warning or for a month's wage, under which hiring she served the said Mr Long for five years, never was afterwards hired, or served for one year, or gained any other settlement. About a year ago she came into the country to her father at Greystoke on account of bad health and now lives with her father at Greystoke aforesaid. Sworn at Penrith this 8 April 1771 before J. Richardson, S. Cowper (both sign)

Mary Dawson (signs)¹²

In extremis, the wider family of grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings and in-laws might assist. For example, until the age of twelve John Rawes, natural son of Esther Rawes, was brought up by his grandfather, Wilson Rawes of Wetsleddale.¹³ The settlement examinations reveal that this was often under arrangements which advantaged other members of the family at least as much as the examinant. In a letter of application for relief dated 1817 and preserved in the Bampton deposit, Richard Bell, a sickly and destitute millwright with a wife and nineteen children living or dead, paid tribute to the support he had received from uncles before becoming an apprentice:- "My father after his failure at Bampton resided at a small cottage near to Bampton Grange. I left him there and went to live with an uncle at Woodside Mill near Wigton. In kindness to my father and as a relief to him and his family this uncle kept me twelve months. Another uncle at Sowerby Row then took and kept me two years".¹⁴ However, the unconditional charitable assistance a relative might give a co-resident child was unlikely to continue on the same terms into adulthood, when inevitably the relationship became that of employer and employed. In some cases, problems between employer and related employed are undisclosed and may have been little more than personality differences. Martha Sanderson spent two half years as servant to John Todhunter of Motherby, her brother-in-law, but a third hiring came to an abrupt end in March 1786 because "some difference happen'd betwixt her sister and her".¹⁵ However, in other cases it is clear that employers appear to have expected relatives to work for very little by accepting terms of employment which involved no formally defined reward other than implicitly that of board and lodging. After several hirings in Penrith, the last being of three years to William Wilkinson, manufacturer, Margaret Wright, examined in 1790, was persuaded by her uncle, one George Dobson, to move to Cheshire as his housekeeper. On leaving him after more than fifteen months, "she said to her uncle . . . that she . . . wanted some money . . . and he gave her six guineas".¹⁶ An even more striking case of exploitation within the family is that of Margaret Bell, examined in 1819. Her experience as a hired hand began about the age of twenty when she hired to James Martindale of Ormside for rather less than a year. This was

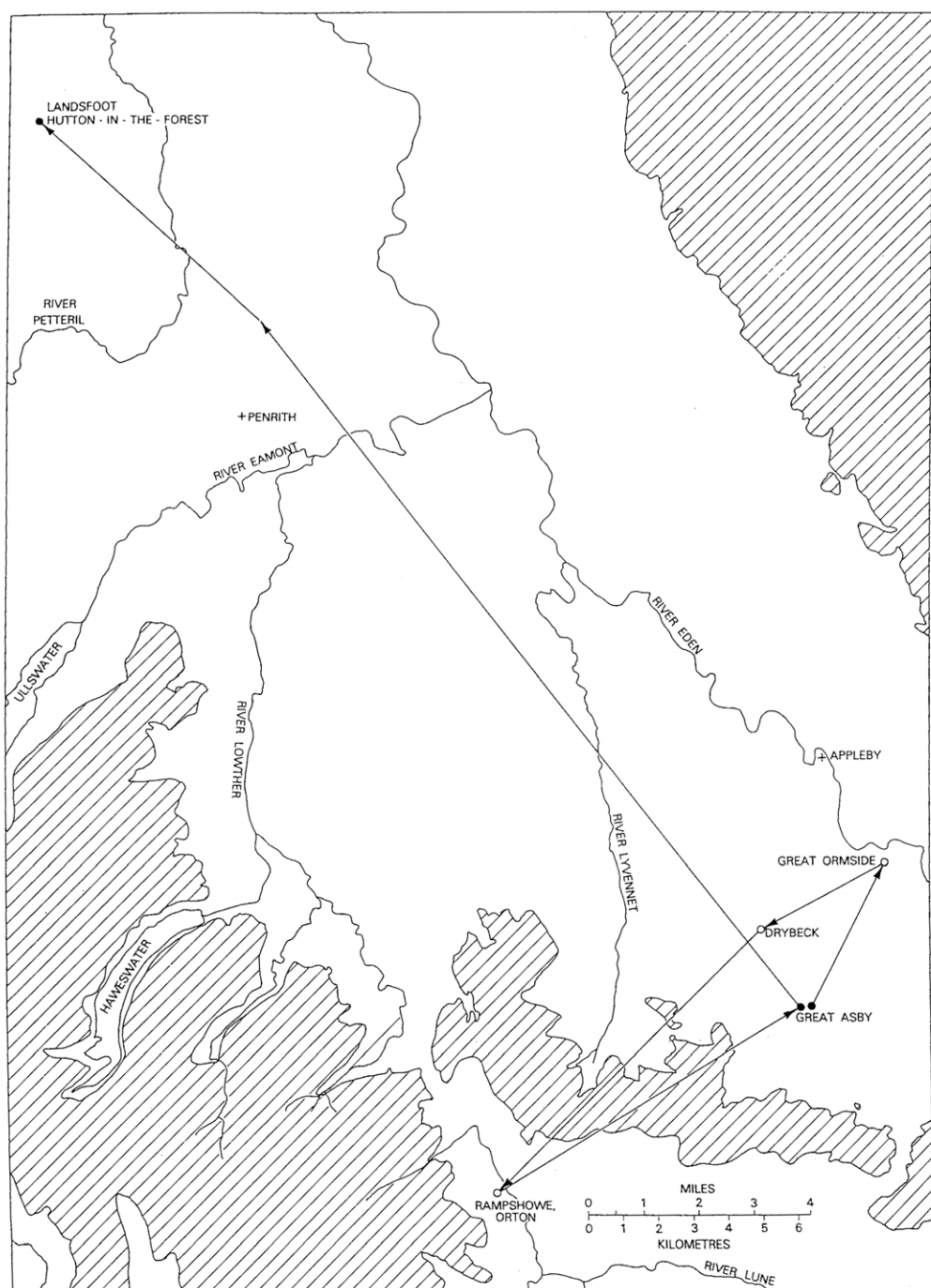


FIG. 5. Margaret Bell, examined 1819.

followed by two years at Drybeck, and three years at Orton (Fig. 5). Then she returned to Asby to live with her mother, remaining there until her mother's death nine or ten years later. At this point, she moved to live with her brother, Richard, at Landsfoot, Hutton-in-the-Forest. "There was no contract of hiring made between them further than that she should have working days clothes whenever she might want them. She continued with him fifteen years and received such clothes but never any money as wages. She did any kind of work he had to do, and she believes he will require a servant in her place to do the work she did".¹⁷ Delivering the evidence contained in her examination must have given Margaret Bell cause to reflect, if she was not already conscious of it, that the shelter of her brother's household had not been without serious cost to her or significant benefit to him, and that whatever undisclosed circumstance had brought this unequal relationship to an end had left her, aged fifty or thereabouts, in a serious predicament. An enduring attachment to one's family of origin could prove more destructive than beneficial.

Those whose settlement examinations survive in the Cumbrian archives were all living in, or, in the case of vagrants, passing through Cumberland and Westmorland at the time of examination. Therefore the sample provides no direct insights into the narratives of those of Cumbrian origin who left the area and did not return: Mary Dawson and Margaret Wright were both migrants who returned after experiencing difficulties elsewhere. Cumbrian poor law sources nonetheless offer other useful perspectives on migration away from the area. The workings of the system of nonresident relief, under which townships supported settled inhabitants living elsewhere, are exposed in the surviving correspondence of Stephen Garnett, overseer of Kirkby Lonsdale from 1809 to 1836, which has been analysed by James Taylor.¹⁸ Former Kirkby Lonsdale residents living in the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire routinely petitioned Garnett for relief when destitution threatened, under an arrangement which ensured that a proportion of the social costs of urban and industrial growth were borne by rural areas. The Cumbrian settlement examinations are helpful in respect of their evidence on the variability or instability of occupational experience, and help build a picture of the true nature of the economic milieu from which migrants were drawn.

Most published occupational data, for instance that appearing in national censuses from 1831 onwards, attribute one occupation to each individual at one point in time. The personal narratives recorded in the settlement examinations remind us that, so far as the individuals themselves were concerned, occupational designations were often more ambivalent than may appear from statistical sources relating to occupation. Whereas an occupational census suggests a single occupation held over a much longer period of time than the transient moment of the census itself, the settlement examinations show that occupations were not always clearly defined at a particular moment in time and were liable to change even in the short term. Of course, there were those whose experience of occupational change was predictable at least in a general sense. Men who started out in farm service, married, and remained in the area would most likely gravitate to farming as tenants or owners, often both. Likewise, there is no reason to suppose that Mark Richardson, who was examined in 1770 aged 33, worked as anything other than a journeyman tailor throughout the peripatetic existence which had begun when he left Ravenstonedale at the end of his apprenticeship some ten years previously – until,

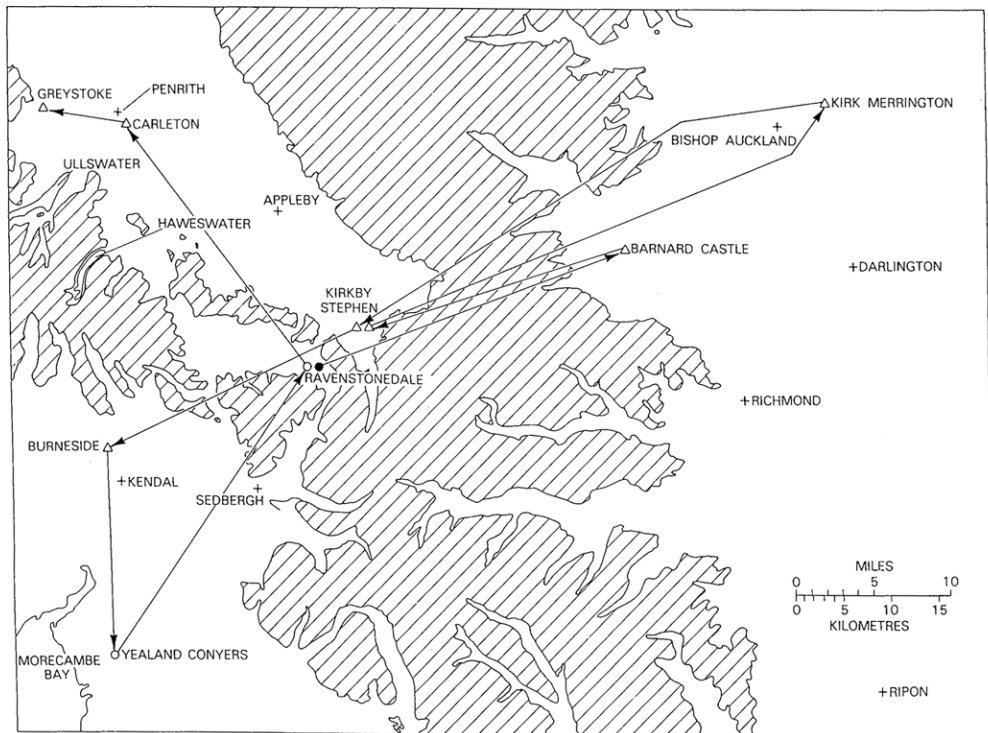


FIG. 6. Mark Richardson, examined 1770.

that is, he was balloted for the Cumberland militia while living at Carleton (Fig. 6).¹⁹ But in other cases, even in this rural area, there were frequent changes not just of place but of type of employment. Some job choices appear entirely eclectic and opportunistic, like the early job history of John Turner, who was examined in 1812 while living in Maulds Meaburn. His two years of boyhood employment “in a cotton factory at Hellbeck in the parish of Brough” were followed by three years with a Brough tobacconist, and then an extended period of farm service, beginning when aged 11 or 12 with work in the hay harvest in the Brough area.²⁰ Others examinants were apprenticed to individuals or trades which appear not to have suited them, and drifted into other occupations. Henry Prat, “late of Shap”, examined in 1816, lived with his parents in Hawes and when they died continued to live there with an uncle “until the age of 13 or 14 years when his uncle contracted with Mr Henry Copeland of Blackburn for his being put to him as an apprentice to learn the business of a grocer”. A six months’ trial was not extended and he was then indentured to a hosier in Hawes, whom he left after about two years to become “a hired servant with different masters”.²¹ Some whose main occupations were not agricultural became involved in small-scale farming through the acquisition of land as either tenants or owners. Examples include John Hodgson of Maulds Meaburn, carpenter, who rented a house, garth and garden for an annual rent of seven guineas, a further garth and garden for five shillings, “and also had a cow grassed with James Wilkinson for the summer and fog time for which he paid three pounds and ten shillings”.²²

Similarly, James Wilson, shoemaker, was born in and apprenticed at Workington but moved first to Talkin where he occupied a house and gardens, which were initially rented but subsequently bought for £65, and land rented at eight pounds annually, and then to Greystoke where, still owning the Talkin property, "he farmed two fields of the rent of four guineas a year, a dwelling house of the rent of two pounds ten shillings and a shop, and a field of the rent of £2 12s. 6d., and . . . he took hay, grass and aftermath of the Duke of Norfolk for which he paid one year with another upon an average about seven pounds".²³ An income drawn, as Wilson's was, in part from shoemaking, in part from property and in part from farming, must have brought a better prospect of security in an insecure world, though the fact that he was examined concerning his settlement suggests that even he was not completely insulated from poverty or the threat of it.

For the sake of their own survival, Cumbrians living in Cumbria favoured employment habits apparently at odds with the increasing division of labour implicit in industrialisation. While it might be supposed that this would place them at a disadvantage in urban and industrial labour markets outside Cumberland and Westmorland, it is equally possible that a broad foundation was a better basis for more specialist employment elsewhere. The relative position of Cumbrian-born women and men is instructive in this regard. As might be anticipated from one of E. G. Ravenstein's laws of migration, which were formulated following analysis of the 1871 and 1881 census results, that "females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond", rather more Cumbrian-born women than Cumbrian-born men lived elsewhere.²⁴ The 1861 census report, the first to tabulate birth place statistics by sex, shows that those born in Cumberland and Westmorland but resident elsewhere in England were 22.7 per cent of all Cumberland and Westmorland born males but 23.4 per cent of all Cumberland and Westmorland born females. A small difference nationally translated as a much larger difference in certain counties. Some 43.6 per cent of all non-resident Cumberland and Westmorland born males were resident in Lancashire and Cheshire but 50.6 per cent of all non-resident Cumberland and Westmorland born females.²⁵ The published census statistics do not cross-tabulate birthplace and occupation, so without analysing the manuscript returns it is not possible to say what, according to the census, these men and women did. However, the earlier evidence of the settlement examinations not only suggests the possibility of a continuing migration flow southwards in which females outnumbered males but is instructive in respect of its likely underpinnings. Whereas male farm servants were employed exclusively in farming tasks, female farm servants assisted both in and outside the farm-house: "employed as a servant within the house or in the field as occasion required", to quote the examination of Sarah Hornby.²⁶ Consequently, women farm servants appear to have moved with relative ease between work on farms and domestic service in the towns, for which the domestic dimension of female farm service represented a preparation. A mix of farm and town employment, albeit wholly within Cumberland and Westmorland, is apparent in the employment profile of Anne Slee. But for Sarah Hornby three years as a servant at Meaburn Hall "within the house or in the field" was the prelude to work in two inns in Preston.²⁷

This paper has attempted by judicious appraisal of settlement examinations to extract from narratives which are each individual and unique some more general

perspectives on the social history of Cumberland and Westmorland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is hoped that it will have shown that, incomplete and few in number though they may be, settlement examinations help us view those on the margins of poverty from angles which, though not purely their own, at least capture salient aspects of their experiences in terms they would have recognised. Whatever its deficiencies, "bottom-up" evidence of this sort deserves a serious hearing if the historian's enduring Rankean ambition to understand "how it essentially was" is to have any serious hope of realisation.

Notes and References

- ¹ M. Hall, "Poor Relief in Eskdale in the Early 1800s", *CW2*, xcii, 205-12; M. A. Parsons, "Poor Relief in Troutbeck 1640-1836", *CW2*, xcv, 169-86; A. Eccles, "Vagrancy in Later Eighteenth-Century Westmorland: a Social Profile", *CW2*, lxxxix, 249-62.
- ² D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government 1780-1840* (Oxford, 1994); N. Landau, "The Laws of Settlement and the Surveillance of Immigration in Eighteenth Century Kent", *Continuity and Change* 3 (1988), 391-420; *Eadem*, "The Regulation of Immigration, Economic Structures and Definitions of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century England", *Historical Journal* 33 (1990), 541-572. For a critique of this interpretation of settlement data see K. D. M. Snell, "Pauper Settlement and the Right to Poor Relief in England and Wales", *Continuity and Change* 6 (1991), 375-415.
- ³ B. K. Song, "Landed interest, local government, and the labour market in England, 1750-1850", *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 51 (1998), 465-488.
- ⁴ K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 17-22.
- ⁵ J. S. Taylor, "The Impact of Pauper Settlement", *Past and Present* 73 (1976), 47.
- ⁶ Examples include the Devon examinations, especially those for the parish of Kenton, and the London examinations, especially the parish of St Martin Vintry, discussed in James S. Taylor, *Poverty. Migration and Settlement in the Industrial Revolution: Sojourners' Narratives* (Palo Alto CA: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1989).
- ⁷ Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (hereafter CRO(K)), Great Asby Settlement Examinations and Removal Orders WPR/1.
- ⁸ H. Maclean and H. Brierly (eds.), *The Watermillock Parish Registers 1579-1812 and the Matterdale Parish Registers 1634-1720* (1908), 110. "New Church" or "New Kirk" were names by which Watermillock parish was often known in the eighteenth century – see A. M. Armstrong *et. al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (Cambridge, 1950, 1952) (English Place-Names Society, XX-XXII), 257-8.
- ⁹ Presumably Anne Slee's settlement became Asby because her one year hiring to Anthony Nicholson was not on that basis.
- ¹⁰ Holdings which were part rented and part owner-occupied appear also to have characterised the farming landscapes of Swaledale and Wensleydale. See C. S. Hallas, "Yeomen and Peasants? Landownership Patterns in the North Yorkshire Pennines c. 1770-1900", *Rural History* 9 (1998), 157-176.
- ¹¹ J. F. Haswell and C. S. Jackson, *The Registers of Lowther 1540-1812* (1933), 175. Burials November 10 1792, "John Slee of Hackthorp an householder aged 66".
- ¹² Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle (hereafter CRO(C)), Greystoke Settlement Examinations PR/5/57.
- ¹³ CRO(K), Crosby Ravensworth Settlement Examinations WPR/7. Examination of John Rawes of Wetsleddale 16 June 1813.
- ¹⁴ CRO(K), Bampton Settlement Papers WPR/15.
- ¹⁵ CRO(C), PR/5/57. Examination of Martha Sanderson 28 March 1786.
- ¹⁶ CRO(K), WPR/15. Examination of Margaret Wright 1 March 1790.
- ¹⁷ CRO(K), WPR/1. Examination of Margaret Bell 28 May 1819.
- ¹⁸ J. S. Taylor, *Poverty, Migration and Settlement* (1989), 140-167.
- ¹⁹ CRO(C), PR/5/57.

- ²⁰ CRO(K), WPR/7.
- ²¹ CRO(K), WPR/7.
- ²² CRO(K), WPR/7. Examination of John Hodgson.
- ²³ CRO(C), PR/5/57.
- ²⁴ D. B. Grigg, "E. G. Ravenstein and the 'laws of migration'", *Journal of Historical Geography* 3 (1977), 41-54.
- ²⁵ *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861*, II, (1863), 35, 146, 243, 244, 321, 413, 515, 516, 595, 655, 729, 797.
- ²⁶ CRO(K), WPR/7. Examination of Sarah Hornby 2 June 1810.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*

