

**MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY  
MIGRATION FROM NORFOLK  
TO LONDON:**

**Migratory patterns, migrants' social mobility and  
the impact of the railway?**

**Dissertation for an MA in Historical Research**

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY AND MIGRATION

Once an economic power house, by the nineteenth century Norfolk was in decline. Like other rural counties, it grew more slowly than urban areas and in one decade, 1851-1861, out-migration caused its population to drop. What caused this burst of migration? This study explores the residential and occupational experiences of a sample of Norfolk to London migrants. What part of Norfolk were they from and did they retain family ties there? Where in London did they settle and did they remain there? What determined these decisions? Were they socially upwardly mobile?

In this chapter, I will discuss sources and methodology before looking at the historiography of migration. Chapter Two will examine migrants' origins in Norfolk; the third chapter, their experiences in London and the fourth, their social mobility.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Sources and Methodology

Tracking individuals across Censuses has only become a realistic project with the on-line availability of 1841–1911 indexed census enumerators' books. Released after 100 years, enumerators' books, before digitalisation, were "unwieldy and time-consuming to use".<sup>2</sup> Most early studies of migration were 'nativity studies' comparing individuals' place of birth and residence in a particular census year. This fails to reveal age on migration nor intermediary residence.<sup>3</sup> Although still lacking detail, tracking migrants over several decades offers a richer picture of residential and occupational patterns. In this study, a sample of Norfolk migrants who moved to London between 1851 and 1861 were tracked

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<sup>1</sup> This work incorporates historical material provided by the Great Britain Historical GIS Project and the University of Portsmouth through their website *A Vision of Britain through Time* (<http://www.VisionofBritain.org.uk>).

<sup>2</sup> R. Lawton & C. G. Pooley, 'Problems and potentialities for the study of internal population mobility in the nineteenth-century England' *Canadian Studies in Population*, 5 (1978) p. 73

<sup>3</sup> J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851–1951* (London, 1957) pp.99/100

as far as possible across the Censuses from 1841 to 1911 or their death. London was the most popular destination for Norfolk migrants with 41,943 there in 1861, 8.4% of the Norfolk-born population and a further 10,964 (2.2%) in non-Metropolitan Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Essex.<sup>4</sup>

The main sources used were 1841-1911 Census enumerators' books; birth, death and marriage registrations; and parish records digitalised on the websites of Ancestry, Find My Past and Family Search.<sup>5</sup> In addition, family historians' accounts were used where appropriate.<sup>6</sup>

Census data has its limitations: offering only snapshots which "reveal merely the frozen climax to a decade of movement".<sup>7</sup> Censuses taken in March or April missed the peak of agricultural employment and occupational data, linked to notions of a 'fit and proper' job, ignored part-time and casual employment and under-recorded women's and children's work.<sup>8</sup> London enumerators misspelt Norfolk place names.<sup>9</sup> "Illiterate householders, slapdash enumerators and registrars who did not supervise ... properly" caused errors.<sup>10</sup> Finally, contemporary indexing of digitalised enumerators' books is not mistake-free.

Matching records across censuses is problematic as occupation, residence and family composition changes, although families can be easier to link than individuals.

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<sup>4</sup> *Census of England and Wales 1861, Population Tables, Vol. 2* (London, 1863) p. 35 & p. 146

<sup>5</sup> <http://home.ancestry.co.uk/>; <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/>; <https://familysearch.org/>

<sup>6</sup> Family historian's findings has been used in the large scale project described in C. G. Pooley & J. Turnbull, 'Migration and urbanisation in north-west England: A reassessment of the role of towns in the migration process' in D. J. Siddle (ed.) *Migration, Mobility and Modernisation* (Liverpool, 2000) pp. 187–189. An attempt was made to use such material by asking members of the Norfolk Family History Association for migration stories, however, the (few) responses only provided information from census and registration records.

<sup>7</sup> D. J. Dyos, 'The Slums of Victorian London' *Victorian Studies* 11, 1 (1967) (pp. 5–40) p. 24

<sup>8</sup> E. Higgs, 'Occupational censuses and the agricultural workforce in Victorian England and Wales' *Economic History Review* 48(4) (1995) pp. 702–704. Higgs argues that the agricultural workforce were possibly a third larger than recorded by censuses.

<sup>9</sup> G. Nair & D. Poyner, 'The flight from the land? Rural migration in south-east Shropshire in the late nineteenth century' *Rural History*, 17(2) (2006) p. 171

<sup>10</sup> E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (London, 2005) p. 19

Unmatchable individuals tend to be single, lower class and less connected to the local community.<sup>11</sup> Finding records of women with common first and married names prior to their marriage can be difficult, especially if they come from a large town. Similarly, individuals with common names, often an indicator of being working class, can also be hard to match.<sup>12</sup> Individual's age record varies across censuses as there was often uncertainty about family members' ages or they were deliberately obscured.<sup>13</sup>

A spreadsheet was compiled of individuals who were: born and resident in Norfolk in 1851 or born in Norfolk later; resident in London in 1861; and found in, at least, the 1871 or a later Census or confidently determined to have died between 1861 and 1871. London, for this purpose, is defined as the London Registration County. The Ancestry website was used to select individuals meeting the criteria from the 1861 Census, generating about 53,500 records. After initial testing, blocks of 200 records were examined with sampling intervals of alternatively, 1,200 and 1,250 records, allowing people with the same surname and from the same locality to be tracked. From each block of records, about a quarter were discarded as erroneous, insufficiently precise, or because 'visitors' or 'soldiers'.<sup>14</sup> Of the remainder, many had moved to London before 1851 or could not be confidently matched, leaving roughly forty usable records, including named individuals and others in their household, in each block. After checking for duplicate records, 1,019 individuals were identified. Thus sampling was indirect and

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<sup>11</sup> P. Vikstrom, S. Edvinsson & A. Brandstrom, 'Longitudinal databases - Sources for analysing the life-course: Characteristics, difficulties and possibilities' *History and Computing*, 14(1+2) (2002) p. 120 & p.111; P. Tilley & C. French, 'Record linkage for nineteenth century census returns: automatic or computer-aided?' *History and Computing*, 9(1) (1997) pp. 124-131

<sup>12</sup> See for example, S. Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge, MA, 1973) pp. 269/270 for discussion of methodological options for avoiding an unrepresentative sample; J. Long, 'Rural-urban migration and socioeconomic mobility in Victorian Britain' *Journal of Economic History*, 65(1) (2005) pp. 4-9

<sup>13</sup> P. M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge, 1972) p. 84

<sup>14</sup> There will be individuals meeting the criteria for inclusion who were not included in this data dump. I am aware that some census records, especially for South London, are missing.

systematic rather than being direct and random which is predicted to produce a sample with a greater probability of sharing the attributes of the whole population.<sup>15</sup>

The final set of records constituted a sample of 15.1% of the initial data dump. However, the number of Norfolk-born people in London increased by 11,054 between 1851 and 1861, although not all would have been in Norfolk in 1851, making my sample closer to 10–11% or lower if return migration is taken into account.<sup>16</sup> A further account calculates that 16,132 people migrated from Norfolk to London during 1851 to 1861, pushing my sample down to around 7%.<sup>17</sup>

The sample of 1,019 is comparable with the 1,172 individuals from the 1881 Census used by Nair and Poyner, however, their study concerned only four Shropshire villages.<sup>18</sup> A sample size of over 2,000 is more common in published work. Lawton and Pooley examined intra-urban mobility in Liverpool using a sample of 2,446, although there were considerable losses from the original sample size.<sup>19</sup> Pooley and Turnbull had a sample of 2,251 individuals, but these were born between 1750 and 1930.<sup>20</sup> Cheryl Bailey, though, only had a sample of 379, although these were all males aged 21 in 1851.<sup>21</sup> The relatively limited size of my sample in comparison to the large size of the actual populations means that statistical significance findings have to be taken with some caution.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> R. S. Schofield, 'Sampling in historical research' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge, 1972) p.177

<sup>16</sup> *Census 1861, Population Tables Vol. 2* pp. 35-41

<sup>17</sup> D. Friedlander & R. J. Roshier, 'A study of internal migration in England and Wales, Part 1' *Population Studies* 19, 3 (1966) Table III.1, p. 274

<sup>18</sup> Nair & Poyner, 'The flight from the land?' p. 171

<sup>19</sup> Lawton & Pooley, 'Problems and potentialities' p.77

<sup>20</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, 'Migration and urbanisation' pp. 187-189

<sup>21</sup> C. Bailey, 'I'd heard it was such a grand place': Mid-nineteenth century internal migration to London' *Family and Community History* 14(2) (2011) calculated from pp. 128-131

<sup>22</sup> I have used a specialist to undertake small number statistical tests: Kate Grayson, Statistics by Design (<http://www.statsdesign.co.uk>)

That migrants are typically in their late teens to early thirties has been frequently noted.<sup>23</sup> By 1861, there were more people in their twenties and thirties in urban areas (33% of the total) than in the countryside (28%), causing the crude death rate to be 6% lower and the crude birth rate 11% higher in cities and towns than an average age distribution.<sup>24</sup>

**Table 1. Age distribution of sample migrants**

Birthdates	Number	% of total
Pre - 1800	27	2.6%
1801 - 1810	35	3.4%
1811 - 1820	73	7.2%
1821 - 1830	204	20.0%
1831 - 1840	393	38.6%
1841 - 1850	193	18.9%
1851 - 1860	94	9.2%

Table 1 shows a similar age distribution for the sample migrants. The cohort born in the 1830s, aged between 21 and 30 in 1861, constituted the biggest group. Most born prior to 1810 were parents of young adults who migrated or widowed parents moving to live with adult children already in London. Table 2 shows the migrants by household type in 1861. Almost half the migrants were single, although a 'single' person may have moved with a relative who died before the 1861 Census. Whilst most of the married men and women constituted couples, some were married to a partner from elsewhere than Norfolk.

**Table 2. Sample migrants' household position in 1861**

Household	Female	Male	Total
Single	236	252	488
Married woman (no children)	63		63
Married man (no children)		64	64
Woman with children	90		90
Man with children		78	78
Children	99	103	202
Parent of adult child	15	2	17
Adult with aged parent	11	6	17

<sup>23</sup> For example C. G. Pooley & J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the eighteenth century* (London, 1998) p. 207

<sup>24</sup> J. G. Williamson, *Coping with city growth during the British industrial revolution* (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 30-39

## 1.2 Migration theory

Pooley and Turnbull define migration broadly as all changes of normal residency, irrespective of the distance moved or duration of stay.<sup>25</sup> However, this fails to capture crucial differences between a residential move within their own community and one to where there were few existing contacts. David Feldman makes a similar point, distinguishing short distance 'mobility' from 'migration'.<sup>26</sup>

Migration has a long historiography influenced by late nineteenth century anxieties about the impact of rural to urban migration. As early as 1854, the Census Report regarded Norfolk as one of nineteen English counties that "send out swarms of their population every year". Young migrants were criticised for "reaping elsewhere...the fruits of the education, skill, and vigour which they have derived at great expense, from their parents at home"; however, the need for migration was recognised to "meet the varying requirements of the Public Industry".<sup>27</sup> A later influence from the modernisation theories of the 1950s and 1960s (wrongly) saw mobility as a feature of 'modern' societies and assumed that migration from rural areas into cities was permanent.<sup>28</sup>

A focus on the urban is found in E. G. Ravenstein's analysis of Census birthplace data. He identified various 'laws' of migration, those relevant to this study are that migration is typically over short distances but orientated towards urban areas in the form of 'step-migration' whereby cities grow from the "inflow of the inhabitants from the surrounding rural districts, whose places are taken up in turn by immigrants from more remote districts". Long distance migrants, though, typically go straight to large urban centres. He also asserted

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<sup>25</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 8. 'Migration' in this study refers to internal migration. 'Emigration' will refer to moves to other countries.

<sup>26</sup> D. Feldman, 'Migration' in M. Daunton (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain III*, (Cambridge, 2000) p. 188

<sup>27</sup> *Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables Vol. 1* (London, 1854) pp. civ-cviii

<sup>28</sup> S. Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor, 1999) pp. 19-26

that females are more migratory than males and those born in towns and cities are less migratory than rural natives.<sup>29</sup>

Many studies confirm that most migration is over short distances, although this does depend on how 'migration' is defined.<sup>30</sup> Pooley has recently compared patterns of migration in nineteenth century England and Sweden. Despite England being smaller, more densely populated and industrialised, the distances moved by English and Swedish migrants were remarkably similar, with only 4% of moves being over 200km.<sup>31</sup>

There has been little confirmation of step-migration.<sup>32</sup> Whilst in my research there is some movement from rural to urban Norfolk prior to migrating to London, the birthplaces of children from migrating families show no evidence of a gradual journey from Norfolk to London. Pooley and Turnbull argue that the process is more complex and circulatory involving a series of moves between villages and small towns and that return migration from larger to smaller settlements was 'quite frequent'.<sup>33</sup> Although Ravenstein stressed that migration was largely to urban centres, he recognised that every 'main current' had a 'counter current'.<sup>34</sup> The 1851 Census Report had already noted "a perpetual circulation of the constituent elements of the population through certain prescribed courses".<sup>35</sup> The notion of 'circulatory migration', based on studies of South East Asian migration patterns, has challenged assumptions about the permanency of rural to urban migration.<sup>36</sup> An earlier example of circular migration is found in a study using linked parish reconstitutions and apprenticeship records from 1600-1800: about 25% of provincial apprentices in

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<sup>29</sup> E. G. Ravenstein, *Census of the British Isles 1871: The Birthplaces of the People and the Laws of Migration* (London, 1876) p. 24

<sup>30</sup> For example, H. Llewellyn Smith, 'Influx of population' in C. Booth (ed.) *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London, 1889) p. 511; A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850* (Manchester, 1926); Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 324

<sup>31</sup> C. G. Pooley, 'The influence of locality on migration: a comparative study of Britain and Sweden in the nineteenth century' *Local Population Studies* 90 (2013) pp. 19-20

<sup>32</sup> Saville, *Rural Depopulation* pp. 38-40; D. B. Griggs, 'E. G. Ravenstein and "the laws of migration"' *Journal of Historical Geography* 3(1) (1977) p. 47; Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 325

<sup>33</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, 'Migration and urbanisation', pp. 186/7

<sup>34</sup> Ravenstein, *Census* p. 24

<sup>35</sup> *Census 1851, Population Tables Vol. 1* pp. ciii-civ

<sup>36</sup> Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, p. 42

London are subsequently recorded in their parish of origin, possibly because of inheritance.<sup>37</sup> A similar estimation of 25% of European emigrants returning to their native country during the nineteenth century has been suggested.<sup>38</sup> In my research, 68% of the migrants surviving to 1871 remained in London, 14% returned to Norfolk, either almost immediately or on retirement, and 17% emigrated or moved elsewhere. Hochstadt remarks on how, in many migration studies, returning from a city to a smaller settlement is taken as evidence of 'failure'.<sup>39</sup> It is impossible to know how many of the Norfolk returners went home because they could not cope with London and how many planned from the start to return, for example, female servants saving for a dowry for marriage back home.<sup>40</sup>

As George Boyer and Timothy Hatton observe, Ravenstein's 'laws' concerned the 'who, when and where' of migration but not the 'why'.<sup>41</sup> This question dominates both large-scale quantitative studies of labour market mobility and biographical research of individual migration narratives.<sup>42</sup> The former typically assume that migration is a function of labour market integration, determined by rational decision-makers seeking to increase their earnings. Within this paradigm there is discussion about the determining factors. Thus, for Boyer and Hatton, motivation to migrate varies because of individuals' different preferences, their ability to exploit opportunities and bear moving costs, and the quality of working and housing conditions in the intended destination.<sup>43</sup> This assumes that potential migrants had the necessary information to make such decisions, For Norfolk migrants, information-flow might have come from the agriculture trade with London.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> M. Klemp, C. Minns, P. Wallis & J. Weisdorf, 'Picking winners? The effect of birth order and migration on parental human capital investments in pre-modern England' *European Review of Economic History* 17 (2013) pp. 224-226

<sup>38</sup> D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985) p. 126

<sup>39</sup> Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, pp. 39/40

<sup>40</sup> B. Hill, 'Rural-Urban migration of women and their employment in towns' *Rural History* 5(2) (1994) p. 190

<sup>41</sup> G. R. Boyer & T. J. Hatton, 'Migration and labour market integration in late nineteenth century England and Wales' *Economic History Review* L, 4 (1997) p. 702

<sup>42</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 20

<sup>43</sup> Boyer & Hatton, 'Migration and labour market integration', pp. 698-703

<sup>44</sup> Bailey, 'I've heard it was such a grand place' pp. 125/6

Whether migration is caused by 'pull' or 'push' factors is an on-going debate similar to the 'betterment' or 'subsistence' dichotomy used to discuss medieval and early modern migration.<sup>45</sup> 'Push factor' models assumed that agricultural workers turned to industry because farms were failing due to changes in agricultural practice; whereas 'pull factor' models held that workers moved because industrial wages were higher.<sup>46</sup> The youthfulness of most migrants suggests that job-pull forces dominated over rural push.<sup>47</sup> However arguably, people move to towns not for betterment but in the expectation of finding jobs, even though these become less available as more migrants arrive. Once there, moving costs and lack of information about elsewhere inhibited further migration.<sup>48</sup>

A focus on the individual is currently fashionable. Humphrey Southall argues that migration studies were overly influenced by demography or economic perspectives and, instead, researches 'tramping artisans' using nineteenth century workers' autobiographies. Tramping was undertaken to find work, improve skills, see the country, or escape domestic pressures.<sup>49</sup> For Pooley and Turnbull, migrating to seek work or a better income predominated during the rapid urbanisation earlier in the nineteenth century but, later, factors such as housing needs, higher aspirations and contact with family members became important.<sup>50</sup> More recently, Pooley has argued that the human processes determining migration overrode economic and social factors. Attachment to family and friends, caring responsibilities, and individual perceptions of opportunities

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<sup>45</sup> P. Clark, 'The migrant in Kentish towns' in P. Clark & P. Slack (eds.) *Crisis and order in English towns 1500–1700: Essays in urban history* (London, 1972) p. 149

<sup>46</sup> S. Pollard, 'Labour in Great Britain' in P. Mathias & M. M. Postan (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe Vol. VII The Industrial Economies: Capital, Labour and Enterprise Part 1 Britain, France, Germany and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, 1978) pp.102/3

<sup>47</sup> Williamson, *Coping with city growth*, p. 53

<sup>48</sup> Pollard, 'Labour in Great Britain'. pp. 106-122

<sup>49</sup> H. Southall, 'Mobility, the artisan community and popular politics in early nineteenth century England' in G. Kearns & C. W. J. Withers (eds.) *Urbanising Britain: Essays on class and community in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 1991) pp. 114-117

<sup>50</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, 'Migration and urbanisation', pp. 202/3

were, at least, of equal importance to structural variables.<sup>51</sup> Feldman saw migration as not only due to the pull of higher wages, but because of changing social relations in rural areas.<sup>52</sup> This certainly pertained in Norfolk.

The presence of relatives and friends in a destination affected an individual or family's decision to migrate there. Learning from the experience of earlier migrants could lower transport costs, enhance job searching and generally reduce uncertainty.<sup>53</sup> For Michael Anderson, most migrants who 'failed' to adapt to urban life usually did so within the first year with the absence of family or friends a major contributory factor.<sup>54</sup> David Vincent observes that for a migrant with no one to share memories, they became less meaningful.<sup>55</sup> However, the 1851 Census Report recognised that "facilities of travelling, of meeting, and of intercourse by letters" has "mitigated the evil" of a breakdown in family relations caused by migration.<sup>56</sup>

Personal writings revealing motivations to migrate are unavailable for this present study, however, examination of migrants' residential moves, occupational histories and marital choices over several censuses offer some narrative of decisions made. I will examine these in Chapter 3. An aspect of migration theory not covered above is the question: who migrates? This will be discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to social mobility: did Norfolk migrants to London better themselves through migrating? The following chapter looks at where migrants came from in Norfolk and what factors induced their moves.

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<sup>51</sup> C. G. Pooley 'The role of migration in constructing regional identity' in B. Lancaster, D. Newton & N. Vall (eds.) *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle, 2007) p. 63

<sup>52</sup> Feldman, 'Migration', p. 190

<sup>53</sup> Boyer & Hatton, 'Migration and labour market integration', p. 699

<sup>54</sup> M. Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971) pp. 156–159. Note though Hochstadt's criticism of assigning 'failure' to migrants returning from the city.

<sup>55</sup> D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London, 1981) p.25

<sup>56</sup> *Census 1851, Population Tables Vol. 1* p. cviii

## CHAPTER 2. NORFOLK ORIGINS

From being a major industrial and commercial city at the centre of trading routes until the eighteenth century, Norwich and its Norfolk hinterland was regarded by the mid-nineteenth century as remote. In this chapter I will first look at the structural factors that may have led to the mid-nineteenth century surge in out-migration. In the second section I consider what characterised the migrants, asking where they were from and what were their occupations, in concluding, I speculate on the impact of the railway, newly come to Norfolk.

### 2.1 Structural factors

The notion that Norfolk is remote is relatively recent.<sup>1</sup> With York, Bristol, and London, Norwich was from Saxon times consistently a large, important city.<sup>2</sup> Early modern Norfolk had a flourishing textile trade and advanced agriculture. It benefitted from proximity to Scandinavia and the Low Countries, with Lynn in the fourteenth century becoming the first British port in the Hanseatic League. Norwich was the second largest English city until the early eighteenth century attracting apprentices to the cloth trade and other migrants from across England.<sup>3</sup> In 1750, 12,000 weavers worked in or around Norwich.<sup>4</sup> A. D. Bayne could claim in 1852 with only a degree of exaggeration, that “the history of the woollen manufacture in England is the history of the manufactures of Norwich”.<sup>5</sup> Early modern Norfolk was densely populated, supported by the productivity of its innovative

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<sup>1</sup> P. Corfield, *Towns, Trade, Religion and Radicalism: The Norwich Perspective on English History* (Norwich, 1980) p. 19

<sup>2</sup> Corfield, *Towns, Trade, Religion and Radicalism*, p. 11

<sup>3</sup> J. Patten, *Rural-urban migration in pre-industrial England* School of Geography Research Paper No 6 (Oxford, 1973) p. 10

<sup>4</sup> R. Wilson, ‘The textile industry’ in C. Rawcliffe & R. Wilson (eds.) *Norwich since 1550* (London, 2004) pp. 228/9

<sup>5</sup> A. D. Bayne, *An Account of the Industry and Trade of Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich, 1852) p. iv

agriculture. Inventories suggest that the 'agricultural revolution' started in East Norfolk where, by the 1730s, some farmers were achieving unprecedented yields<sup>6</sup>

An illustration of Norwich's change of fortune is that in 1570, half its population were Dutch and Walloon migrants, whereas in 1871, it was described, along with Yarmouth, as the "most intensely English towns" with 98.8% of the population English.<sup>7</sup> From 1770, Norwich's textile trade had lost its dominance, challenged by the removal of restrictions on cotton goods imports and the new fustian trade in Lancashire. Cheap, plain Yorkshire worsteds undermined the more basic Norwich lines, making it increasingly dependent on high quality 'stuffs' subject to fashion and export. However, the export trade was destroyed by the French Wars from 1793 and despite limited revival after 1815, not re-established.<sup>8</sup> Some large manufacturers moved out of textiles into banking and brewing, those remaining neglected to introduce new machinery developed in Yorkshire.<sup>9</sup> The depression between 1831/2 and 1845, was "a disturbed and unhappy one for the Norwich trade".<sup>10</sup> By 1851, there were only 452 men and 153 woman employed in the once dominant worsted manufacturing in Norwich.<sup>11</sup> John Patten notes "it was Norfolk's turn to send a locally born son away from declining local prospects" to the booming northern textile areas.<sup>12</sup> In 1847, half of Norwich's population were excused payment of the poor rate and a fifth were paupers receiving poor relief.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> J. Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440–1580* (Oxford, 2000); B. M. S. Campbell & M. Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c.1250-c.1850' *Past and Present* 141 (1993) p. 93

<sup>7</sup> C. King, 'Strangers in a Strange Land': Immigrants and urban culture in early modern Norwich' in C. King & D. Sayer (eds.) *The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge, 2011) pp. 83-86; Ravenstein, *Census of the British Isles 1871*, p.8

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, 'The textile industry' pp. 231/2

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241

<sup>10</sup> J. K. Edwards, 'Communications and trade, 1800-1900' in C. Barringer (ed.) *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century* (Norwich, 1984) p. 125

<sup>11</sup> T. A. Welton, *Statistical Papers based on the Census of England and Wales 1851 and relating to the Occupations of the People and the Increase in Population 1841–1851* (London, 1860) p. 69

<sup>12</sup> Patten, *Rural-urban migration*, p. 43

<sup>13</sup> F. Meeres, *A History of Norwich* (Chichester, 1998) p. 168

However, a number of factors occurred to increase the prosperity and optimism of Norwich and, to an extent, the rest of Norfolk. One was the general improvement in the national economy and a second, the gradual emergence in Norwich of other, more diversified sectors to replace the reliance on the failing textile industry.<sup>14</sup> A third factor was the coming of the railway which, at least initially, led to some revival of trade through opening up new markets.<sup>15</sup> Norwich and Yarmouth had a railway link via Cambridge to London from 1845 with a more direct route via Ipswich opening in 1849. Lynn was connected to London and to the Midlands and the North from 1847.<sup>16</sup>

Yarmouth experienced particular benefits from the railway. It opened up the London market for Yarmouth's important herring trade with over 20,000 tons of fish conveyed by 1854.<sup>17</sup> Whilst the town had been a seaside resort since the late eighteenth century, it largely attracted only local visitors until the railway increased its accessibility.<sup>18</sup> However, a decline in Yarmouth's shipping and ship building industry could already be observed.<sup>19</sup> Lynn suffered more quickly from the effects of the railway and, anyway, its harbour had been failing for some years because of navigation difficulties and heavy taxation levied on trade.<sup>20</sup> Optimistically, Lynn merchants believed the railway would establish it as the port for Birmingham.<sup>21</sup> But by 1860, the railway had made coastal shipping uneconomic.<sup>22</sup> A local bookseller, John Aitkin, wrote in 1866: "few towns have suffered more from the general introduction of Railways than Lynn".<sup>23</sup> Sarah Mace, a resident, referred in her

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<sup>14</sup> C. Clark, 'Work and employment' in C. Rawcliffe & R. Wilson (eds.) *Norwich since 1550* (London, 2004) p. 394

<sup>15</sup> Edwards, 'Communications and trade', p. 128

<sup>16</sup> W. H. Smith, *Norfolk Railways* (Stroud, 2000) pp. 7 - 9

<sup>17</sup> F. Meeres, *A History of Great Yarmouth* (Chichester, 2007) p. 68; C. J. Palmer, *The History of Great Yarmouth designed as a Continuation of Manship's History of the Town* (Great Yarmouth, 1856) p. 92

<sup>18</sup> J. K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914* (Leicester, 1983) p. 59

<sup>19</sup> Palmer, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, pp. 106/7; Bayne, *An Account*, pp. 24-35

<sup>20</sup> Bayne, *An Account*, pp. 47-60

<sup>21</sup> D. Higgins, *The Remaking of King's Lynn: Brown Brick and Rounded Corners* (Kings Lynn, 2008) p. 53

<sup>22</sup> V. Perrott, *Victoria's Lynn: Boom and Prosperity* (Seaford, 1995) pp. 53-55. See also J. Armstrong, *The Vital Spark: The British Coastal Trade 1700-1930* (St Johns, Newfoundland, 2009) pp. 63-73: coasters could only compete successfully with the railway for moving low value, bulky goods

<sup>23</sup> Higgins, *The Remaking of King's Lynn*, p. 53

letters to excursions to London and how the railway “took away its more enterprising young people”, including her own children.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the looming problems for Lynn, all three centres were largely prosperous during the period 1851 – 1861. Their migrants were not leaving out of desperation. The railway also stimulated Norfolk’s agriculture, allowing wider and quicker transportation of crops and animals. George Godwin observed in 1837 that Norfolk farmers’ complaints about the high costs of droving bullocks to London, would be remedied by the railway allowing their carcasses to be sent to London.<sup>25</sup> Although no longer innovative, Norfolk’s agriculture continued to be productive and its intensive farming was well integrated with the rest of the country.<sup>26</sup> Barugh Almack was impressed by the “abundance and regularity of the crops, the neatness of the drilling, the straightness and regularity of the ploughing”.<sup>27</sup>

Whatever the prosperity of farming, the life of the agricultural labourer was becoming harder. They were significantly worse paid than in the North where industrial work opportunities created a more competitive agricultural wage.<sup>28</sup> Estimates of wage rates vary, but Counce contrasts a weekly wage in Norfolk of 8s 0d with 14s 0d in West Yorkshire in 1850. Whilst agricultural wages improved in the 1850s, they were 46% of what could be earned in industry.<sup>29</sup> Northern agricultural workers were still largely employed as farm servants on yearly hirings living with the farmer’s family, whereas in Norfolk, they had been employed as casual day labourers for much of the nineteenth century. Richard Noverre Bacon recalled that in the past in Norfolk: “the master and

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<sup>24</sup> Perrott, *Victoria’s Lynn*, p.23. By chance, the mother of Abigail Dean, one of my sample.

<sup>25</sup> G. Godwin, *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Railways* (London, 1837)

<sup>26</sup> B. A. Holderness, ‘The Origins of High Farming’ in B. A. Holderness & M. Turner (eds.) *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920: Essays for Gordon Mingay* (London, 1991) pp. 163/4; P. J. Corfield. ‘East Anglia’ in P. Clark (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume ii 1540–1840* (Cambridge, 2000) p. 47

<sup>27</sup> B. Almack, *The Abridged Report on the Agriculture of Norfolk* (London, 1845) pp. 1-3

<sup>28</sup> Pollard, ‘Labour in Great Britain’, p. 103

<sup>29</sup> S. Counce, ‘A golden age of agriculture?’ in I. Inkster (ed.) *The Golden Age: Essays in British Social and Economic History, 1850–1870* (Aldershot, 2000) Table 4.2. p. 51; E. L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1974) p. 219

servant often worked together, and hence arose mutual respect and attachment”. Wage payment weakened these ties, exacerbated by being “expelled from the long-cherished ‘home of the estate’”.<sup>30</sup> Agricultural labourers in the south and east were denigrated as ‘Hodge’ symbolising their characterisation as degenerate, ignorant and non-communicative, comparable to the animals they tended.<sup>31</sup>

Many agricultural labourers, especially unmarried young men, relied on parish relief during the winter when work was scarce.<sup>32</sup> Between 1835 and 1837, some Norfolk Poor Law Unions implemented Clause 62 of the Poor Law Amendment Act to finance the emigration, mainly to Canada, of 3,354 Norfolk people, more than half the number nationally.<sup>33</sup> For labourers from Attleborough it was an attractive option, they petitioned the Poor Law Commission “the miseries of starvation and poverty makes us quite tired of our native land for we know that we cannot be worse off than we are at all events”.<sup>34</sup> The enclosure of common land, removing sources of fuel and the ‘right’ to game, compounded their problems. Many could not believe that a law could make something as ‘self-evidently free’ as a wild bird or animal the possession of someone else.<sup>35</sup> For Howkins, by the 1850s, the rural poor were “completely alienated from their ‘betters’, a separate, secret people, impervious to change and influence”.<sup>36</sup>

Richard Noverre Bacon observed how unemployment, the Poor Law and lack of education had left Norfolk’s agricultural labourers “impoverished, ignorant and

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<sup>30</sup> R. N. Bacon, *The Report on the Agriculture of Norfolk to which the prize was awarded by the Royal Agricultural Society of England* (London, 1844) pp. 142/3

<sup>31</sup> M. Freeman, ‘The agricultural labourer and the ‘Hodge’ stereotype, c.1850–1914’ *Agricultural History Review* 49(2) (2001) pp. 173-174

<sup>32</sup> K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985) Table 2.1, pp. 96 - 98

<sup>33</sup> 4 & 5 Will. 4 c. 76; G. Howells, ‘Emigration and the New Poor Law: the Norfolk emigration fever of 1836’ *Rural History*, 11(2) (2000) pp. 145-155

<sup>34</sup> A. Digby, ‘The Rural Poor Law’ in D. Fraser (ed.) *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1976) p. 154

<sup>35</sup> R. Lee, *Unquiet Country: Voices of the Rural Poor, 1820–1880* (Macclesfield, 2005) pp. 113-114

<sup>36</sup> A. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A social history 1850–1925* (London, 1991) p. 65

depraved”.<sup>37</sup> Clare Sewell Read commented that many parishes lacked a school nor had a resident parson or squire to “minister to the wants of the poor”.<sup>38</sup> These conditions resulted in eruptions of protest. In 1816, the ‘Bread or Blood’ rioters demanded cheaper bread and higher wages. Six years later, an outbreak of machine breaking was followed by the Swing riots of 1830/31.<sup>39</sup> Arson attacks and animal maiming persisted in East Anglia to the 1850s as, according to John Archer, the acts of men who “had learnt to their cost in 1830 that rural society was no longer paternal and traditional but capitalist, uncaring, and subject to the forces of the market economy”.<sup>40</sup>

## 2.2 Norfolk’s migrants 1851-1861

The exceptional nature of the decade 1851–1861 is illustrated by John Saville’s use of the ‘migration proportion’: the percentage of net migrants in relation to the natural increase over a decade. For that decade, Norfolk’s migration proportion was 144%, the highest (with Cambridgeshire) in England, whereas in no other decade was it over 100%.<sup>41</sup> Not only were more people leaving the county, but it failed to attract incomers. The population decline was predominantly a rural phenomenon. As Table 3 shows, the major settlements of Norwich and Yarmouth grew, although the smaller Kings Lynn declined, partly because the 1851 total was inflated by a transitory labour force. The rural population was as much migrating into Norfolk’s urban centres as out of the county.<sup>42</sup> Between 1831 and 1901, the proportion of Norfolk’s population in these three towns increased from 25.1% to 38.7%.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Bacon, *The Report on the Agriculture of Norfolk*, pp. 410/11

<sup>38</sup> C. S. Read, ‘Recent improvements in Norfolk Farming’ *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* 16 (1858) pp. 291 - 293

<sup>39</sup> A. Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London, 1978) pp. 217/8; G. E. Mingay, ‘Introduction’ in G. E. Mingay (ed.) *The Unquiet Countryside* (London, 1989) p. 7

<sup>40</sup> J. E. Archer, ‘Under the cover of night: arson and animal maiming’ in G. E. Mingay (ed.) *The Unquiet Countryside* (London, 1989) p. 66

<sup>41</sup> Saville, *Rural Depopulation* Tables IV (a) and (b), pp. 42-53

<sup>42</sup> The Registration District of Wisbech lying in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire has been excluded from discussion of Norfolk demography. There were only three sample migrants from Wisbech, these are included in later calculations.

<sup>43</sup> D. Dymond, *The Norfolk Landscape* (Bury St Edmunds, 1990 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) pp. 175/6; A. Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk* (Norwich, 2000) Table 1.3 p. 9

**Table 3. Population change between 1851 and 1861 in Norfolk**

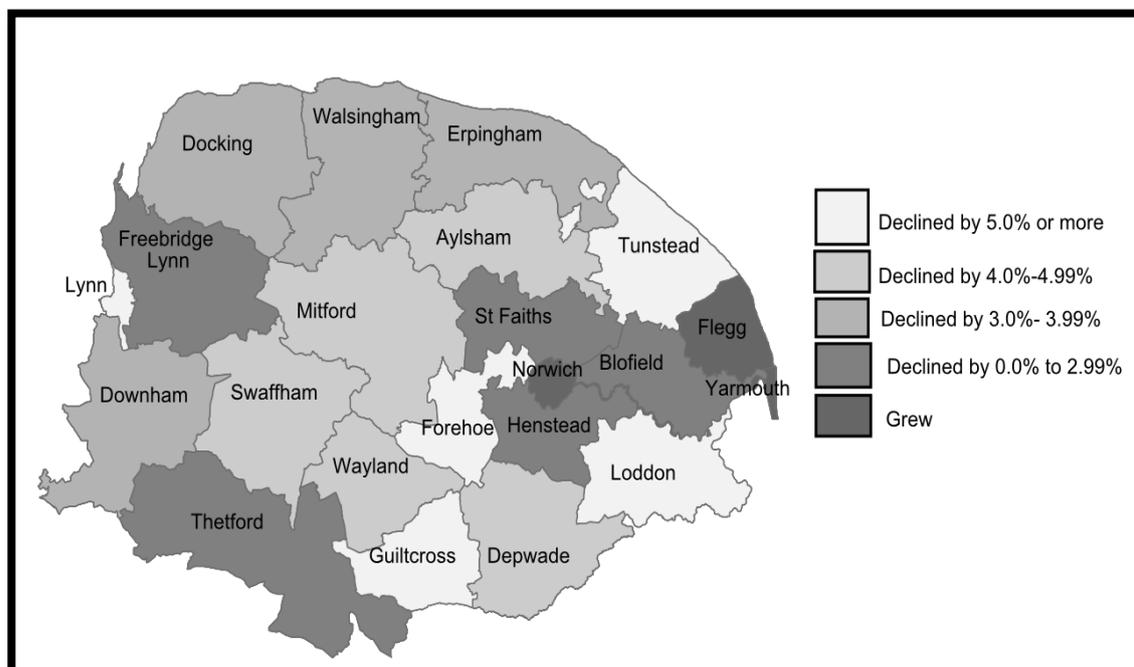
District	1851	1861	Change	% change
Yarmouth	26,880	30,338	3,458	+12.9%
Norwich	68,195	74,440	6,255	+9.2%
Lynn	20,530	16,701	-3,829	-18.7%
Rural residue	318,111	305,987	-12,124	-3.8%
Norfolk	433,716	427,466	-6,250	-1.4%

(Source: Census 1861 Population Tables)

The population decline in rural districts varied from -9.4% in Guiltcross to +1.6% in Flegg, (although Flegg had grown by 10.7% in the 1840s). As can be seen in Figure 1, the area of greatest growth or least decline is the belt containing Norwich and Yarmouth.

Noticeably, the sub-district Blofield, adjacent to Norwich, had a population increase of 1.63% whereas the more rural, sub-district South Walsham in Blofield District, declined by 2.48%, with a similar pattern for the sub-districts of St Faiths. More starkly: rural West Flegg declined by 5.9% whereas East Flegg abutting Yarmouth grew by 11.6%.

**Figure 1. Norfolk Registration Districts: Population change 1851-1861**



(Source: Censuses 1851 & 1861, Population Tables)

Surrounding this is an arc of districts with the greatest population decline. This is predominantly rural with only two towns, Swaffham and East Dereham, with populations above 3,000.<sup>44</sup> In its turn, a further arc of districts with more moderate population decline (apart from Lynn) surrounds this second area to the north and east into the Fens. Although mainly agricultural, the coastal districts from Lynn to Erpingham also had shipping, fishing and the first signs of seaside resorts. The inclusion of Thetford in this group raises certain questions. Thetford, with the southern half of Swaffham, lies in the Brecklands, a sparsely populated area of light, 'blowing' sands with poor agriculture.<sup>45</sup> It seems surprising that the district suffered relatively little population decline (-1.7%) compared to the very fertile Tunstead (-7.0%).<sup>46</sup> One explanation is that in the more densely populated Tunstead (0.25 persons per acre), compared to Thetford (0.16), changes in agricultural practice were causing unemployment. Another is that the town of Thetford, the fourth largest in Norfolk with 4,075 people in 1851, had the urban effect noted above. Whereas Methwold, the sub-district to the west, declined by 5.4%, aligning it with the arc of greatest decline, Thetford sub-district, containing the town, grew 1.9%.<sup>47</sup>

The process of urbanisation within Norfolk is shown, although in a somewhat limited way, by considering changes between birthplace and residence in 1851 for sample migrants: 11.9% had moved from a rural to an urban district, whereas 5.0% had gone the other way. Of those born in Norwich, Yarmouth or Lynn, over 90% were still in their town of origin in 1851, compared to a seemingly more mobile rural population, only 69% of whom remained in their district of birth. However, despite rural areas experiencing the greatest population loss, proportionately more migrants to London were in 1851 resident in the urban centres as shown in Table 4. These differences are statistically significant.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *Census 1861, Vol. 1* pp. 388/9

<sup>45</sup> Dymond, *The Norfolk Landscape* p. 32

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>47</sup> *Census 1861, Vol. 1* pp. 388/9

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix 3

**Table 4. Proportion of sample migrants from rural and urban districts**

Grouped Registration Districts	Population in 1851	Migrants	
		n	%
Urban (Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn)	115,605	415	0.36%
Rural	318,111	601	0.19%

This finding appears to contradict the claim of Ravenstein and many other migration theorists that rural inhabitants were more migratory than town dwellers. One explanation is that migrants to London, or at least those from Norfolk, more often came from urban districts, whereas the many rural migrants moved into country areas or small towns in other counties where work was better paid or more available. It seems very likely, but needs further research, that the very large population loss from the southern Norfolk districts of Giltcross and Loddon was predominantly over the border into Suffolk. Feasibly, this could be an indication of the normally maligned concept of 'step-migration' as discussed in the previous chapter: Norfolk rural migrants filled gaps left by Suffolk or Cambridgeshire workers moving closer to London.

That migrants to London were more likely to be urban is supported by agricultural workers constituting only 23.3% of male migrants with a known occupation, compared to 44.6% of all adult males in Norfolk in 1851.<sup>49</sup> The low propensity for agricultural labourers to migrate to London has been noted elsewhere.<sup>50</sup> There were more craftsmen, equally distributed among rural and urban districts, than agricultural worker migrants.<sup>51</sup> Table 5 shows the high level of continuity in these trades from Norfolk to London.

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<sup>49</sup> Welton, *Statistical Papers* Tables II & III, pp. 40-43

<sup>50</sup> Bailey, "I'd heard it was such a grand place" p. 127

<sup>51</sup> E. A. Wrigley, 'Men on the land and men in the countryside: Employment in agriculture in early nineteenth century England' in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith & K. Wrightson (eds.) *The World we have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure: Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 1986) pp. 302/3

**Table 5. Number of sample migrants by selected trade**

Trade	1851			Still in trade in London in 1861			Additional migrants in trade in 1861			Total in 1861
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
<b>Shoemakers</b>	25	9	34	21	1	22	19	2	21	43
<b>Carpenters</b>	21		21	19		19	18		18	37
<b>Blacksmiths</b>	13		13	13		13	5		5	23
<b>Tailors</b>	16	1	17	15		15	3		3	21

A pointer to one motivation to migrate is that almost half of the forty three shoemakers in London were from Norwich where shoemaking had become its leading industry with 11.0% of all adult males working in it in 1851.<sup>52</sup> Why would shoemakers migrate when, according to Bayne, Norwich firms were advertising for several hundred hands at a time and, as Mayhew observed, the trade in London was in decline because of French imports and competition from Northampton?<sup>53</sup> Presumably they thought that, despite the decline in London shoemaking, they could earn more or improve their skills before returning home. Indeed, nine shoemakers had returned to Norfolk by 1871. That some migrants, such as the Norwich shoemakers, travelled to London with the intention of returning home is also the case for many female servants, saving money to marry back home. Domestic service was the predominant female occupation. Table 6 shows the number of servants in the sample.

**Table 6. Norfolk servants from the sample**

	Female	Male	Total
<b>Servants in Norfolk in 1851</b>	62	13	75
<b>Still in service in London in 1861</b>	28	7	35
<b>Probably went to London as servants (where married)</b>	13	n/a	
<b>Additional servants in 1861</b>	81	21	102

(From 135 recorded occupations for women and 288 recorded male occupations)

<sup>52</sup> Clark, 'Work and employment' pp. 389-392; Welton, *Statistical Papers*, p. 11

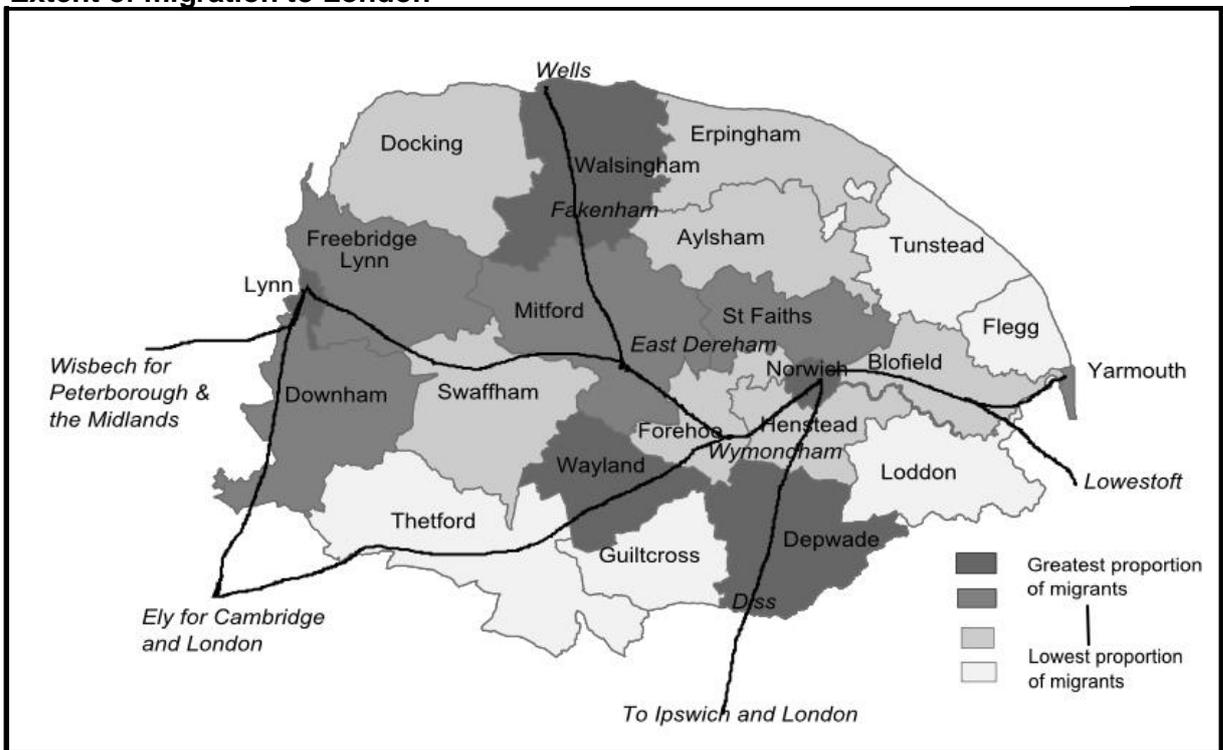
<sup>53</sup> Bayne, *An Account*, p. vi; The Morning Chronicle, 7th February 1850 reprinted in H. Mayhew, *The Morning Chronicle Survey of Labour and the Poor: The Metropolitan Districts Volume 3* (Firle, 1980) p.130

One factor determining migration appears to be proximity to a railway station as shown in Table 7 and Figure 2.<sup>54</sup>

**Table 7. Proportion of sample migrants from different types of district**

Grouped Registration Districts	Population in 1851	Migrants	
		n	%
Railway	309,999	832	0.27%
Rural railway	194,394	417	0.21%
No railway	123,717	184	0.15%

**Figure 2. Norfolk Registration Districts and railway lines in 1860: Extent of migration to London**



(Source: J. Barney, *The Norfolk Railway* p. 221)

A distinct 'railway effect' can be seen in the statistically significant findings of Table 7 and the map showing railway lines in Norfolk in 1860 and extent of migration from each district, according to the proportion of sample migrants in relation to the total 1851 population.<sup>55</sup> Districts with a railway line had the greatest rate of migration to London. For

<sup>54</sup> The population size and migrant numbers for all the Norfolk Registration Districts are in Appendix 1

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix 3 for statistical detail and Appendix 1

example, in the north, Walsingham, with stations at Wells, Walsingham, Fakenham and Ryburgh, had more migration to London. Thetford is the only exception to the rule, but it had only two stations and, as noted above, it was sparsely populated.

The railway was late coming to Norfolk, with Norwich being the last major city to be connected by rail to London in 1845.<sup>56</sup> However, the prospectus for the Eastern Counties Railway had been first issued in 1834, although interest and investment from Norfolk was limited.<sup>57</sup> Christine Clark suggests that this sluggishness was due to its isolation, limited urbanisation and innate conservatism.<sup>58</sup>

The 1850s were thus the first full decade of its operation. Did the railway facilitate the surge in migration? In 1860, the ordinary third class fare from Norwich to London was 14s 3d reduced to 9s 5½d for the Parliamentary train which started daily from Norwich at 5.50am arriving in Bishopsgate at 12.10.<sup>59</sup> The Railway Regulation Act of 1844 had determined that there must be one train a day, calling at all stations, that charged no more than a 1d a mile for third class travel, and also required that the carriages of parliamentary trains be protected from the weather, although sometimes at the cost of having no windows.<sup>60</sup> This undercut the cost of travelling by stage coach but would have been a good week's wage for agricultural labourers. Coastal packets from Yarmouth were cheaper with a fare of 5s to London.<sup>61</sup> Some migrants may have continued the tradition of walking.

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<sup>56</sup> Meeres, *A History of Norwich*, p. 166

<sup>57</sup> J. Barney, *The Norfolk Railway: Railway mania in East Anglia, 1834–1862* (Norwich, 2007) pp. 16-23

<sup>58</sup> Clark, 'Work and employment', pp. 387/8

<sup>59</sup> *Bradshaw's General Railway and Steam Navigation Guide for Great Britain and Ireland (September 1860)* (London, 1860) pp. 74/75

<sup>60</sup> M. Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (London, 1999), p. 111

<sup>61</sup> For example, in *The Leeds Intelligencer 26th August 1854*

The historiography presents differing views of the railway's impact on migration. Some doubt that it played any role other than in allowing migration over a greater distance.<sup>62</sup> Others argue that it was a major cause of rural depopulation.<sup>63</sup> E. L. Jones claimed that the fall in rural population was first evident in parishes contiguous to the railway in the Midlands, as supported in this study.<sup>64</sup> For agricultural labourers, building or working on the railways offered secure employment and good pay.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps the main impact of the railway was psychological. The phrase “the annihilation of space by time” by the railway was used as early as 1830 and by the 1840s, was understood as the expansion of the metropolis to incorporate the whole nation, symbolised by the many excursion trains to the Great Exhibition in 1851.<sup>66</sup> Marion Springall believed that the railway “upset man’s sense of space and time and proper segregation of the social orders” and destroyed an “intensely parochial” way of life.<sup>67</sup> Probably, the railway had particular significance for Norfolk because only 8% of roads were turnpiked, therefore macadamised and maintained, making travel difficult, particularly in winter. Cornwall and Cumbria had similarly low turnpiking, illustrating how quickly Norfolk had become a place few any longer passed through.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For example, Redford, *Labour Migration*, pp. 160-163; Nair & Poyner, ‘The flight from the land?’, pp. 178/9; Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 66

<sup>63</sup> A. K. Cairncross, *Home and Foreign Investment 1870–1913: Studies in Capital Accumulation* (Cambridge, 1953) p. 75; Freeman, *Railways*, p.37; Dymond, *The Norfolk Landscape*, p. 238

<sup>64</sup> Jones, *Agriculture*, p. 218

<sup>65</sup> M. Springall, *Labouring Life in Norfolk Villages 1834–1914* (London, 1936) p.48; Freeman, *Railways*, p. 183

<sup>66</sup> Freeman, *Railways*, pp. 21 & 115; W. Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Oxford, 1980) p. 43

<sup>67</sup> Springall, *Labouring Life*, p. 19

<sup>68</sup> H. J. Dyos & D. H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An economic survey from the seventeenth century to the twentieth* (Leicester, 1969) p. 222

## CHAPTER 3. DESTINATIONS: LONDON AND BEYOND

What determined where a Norfolk migrant settled in London and why some remained whilst others moved back to Norfolk or elsewhere? I will first look at where Norfolk migrants settled in 1861 and their subsequent movements, before considering factors affecting their migration patterns.

### 3.1 Settling in London

If migrants settle, initially, around their arrival point then those travelling by train would have lived around Bishopsgate in Shoreditch, London City and East London.<sup>1</sup> If they travelled from Yarmouth by steam packet, they would have docked at London Bridge in St Saviour Southwark. Those travelling by coach or on foot would, probably, have come through Hackney or Poplar. However, whilst Shoreditch, Hackney and Poplar were among the five districts most settled by Norfolk migrants in 1851, initial settlement did not necessarily affect where a migrant continued to reside.<sup>2</sup> Employment was a more important determinant. Working class people had to live close to their workplace.<sup>3</sup> Those dependent on casual work had to be even closer, as work opportunities could vary hourly.<sup>4</sup>

Domestic servants lived in their place of work. Fig. 3 shows how in 1851, Kensington, St George Hanover Square and St James Westminster had a significantly higher proportion of female servants than other parts of London. Kensington and St George Hanover

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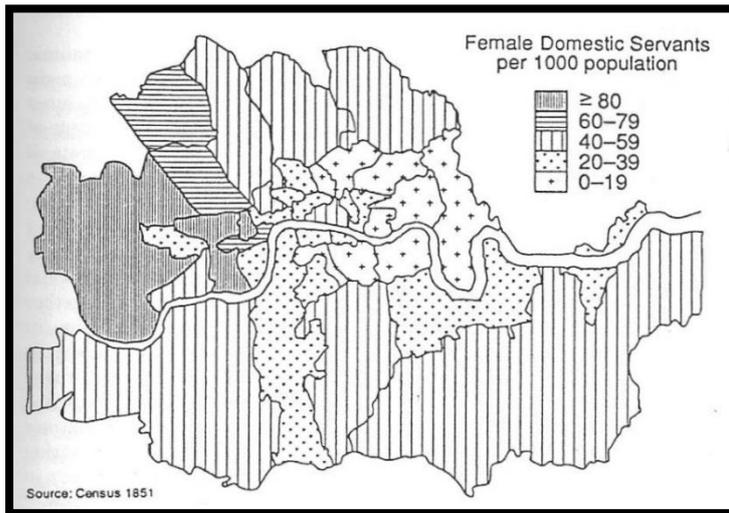
<sup>1</sup> The railway line to Kings Cross via Cambridge from Norwich and Lynn existed, but is offered as an option in *Bradshaw's 1860 Guide*. Travel by Parliamentary train required an overnight stay at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Census of Great Britain 1851, *Population Tables Vol. 1* Division 1 pp. 31–35. This is shown as a table in Appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–70* (London, 1971) pp. 77–78

<sup>4</sup> Dyos, 'The Slums of Victorian London', p. 34

**Figure 3 Distribution of female servants in London**



(From D. R. Green, *From Artisans to Paupers: Economic Change and Poverty in London 1790 – 1870* p.151)

Square also had the lowest proportion of London-born residents. Thus in 1861, only 47.8% of the population of St George Hanover Square were London-born, compared with 82.9% of Bethnal Green's population.<sup>5</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones demonstrated that the central industrial districts in the East End had the lowest percentage of migrants and Dyos and Reeder note that the slums of Victorian London were predominately occupied by established Londoners, whilst the suburbs were the ultimate destination of incoming provincials.<sup>6</sup>

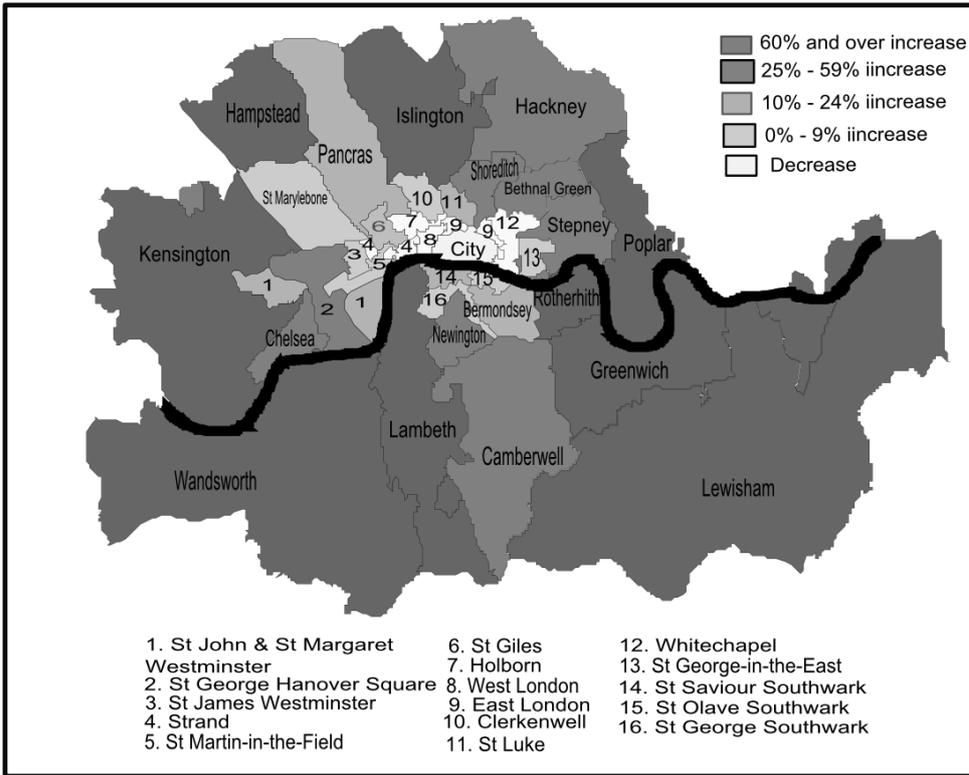
Figure 4 shows how Norfolk migrants populated London at different rates during the 1850s. The outer districts attracted most settlement both from new arrivals and the suburbanisation of pre-1851 migrants. Lambeth experienced the fastest growth in Norfolk migrants with an increase of 224.3% although the total population only increased by 16.3% over the same period.<sup>7</sup> In addition, two other South London districts, Lewisham and Rotherhithe, more than doubled their Norfolk residents between 1851 and 1861,

<sup>5</sup> G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between classes in Victorian Society* (Harmondsworth, 1976) pp. 138/9

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-142; H. J. Dyos & D. A. Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs' in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian City: Images and Realities Vol. 1* (London, 1973) p. 373

<sup>7</sup> See J. Roebuck, *Urban Development in Nineteenth Century London: Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth 1838-1888* (Chichester, 1979) pp. 114/5 for discussion of how parts of Lambeth closer to the city centre lost population whilst the suburbs to the south quickly grew.

**Figure 4. Increase in number of Norfolk-born residents in London between 1851 and 1861**



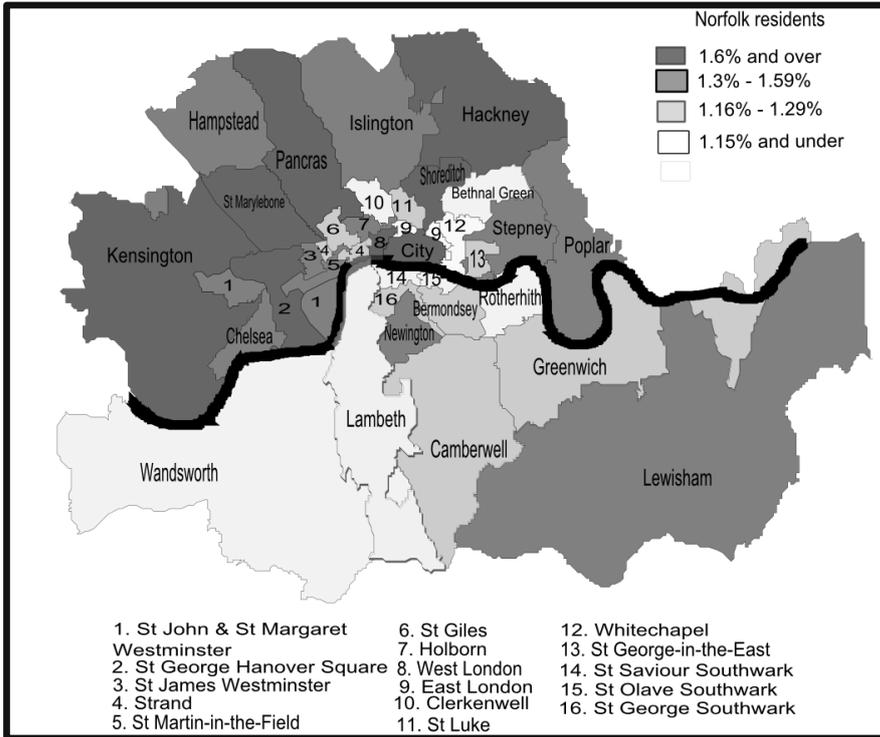
Source: Census 1851 & 1861 Population Tables

although in contrast to Lambeth, Lewisham was generally expanding at a rapid rate. With only a few exceptions, the rate of growth or decline in Norfolk residents largely corresponds with the overall population change of each district.<sup>8</sup> Figures 5 and 6 compare the distribution of Norfolk migrants in London in 1851 and 1861. South West London remained sparsely occupied by Norfolk people as did much of the East End and districts such as St Martin-in-the-Field and Strand. London City, though, continued to have a relative concentration of Norfolk residence, despite declining in population by 18.6% over the 1850s.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Census 1851 Population Tables Vol. 1* pp. 31-35 and *Census 1861 Population Tables Vol. 2* pp. 35-41

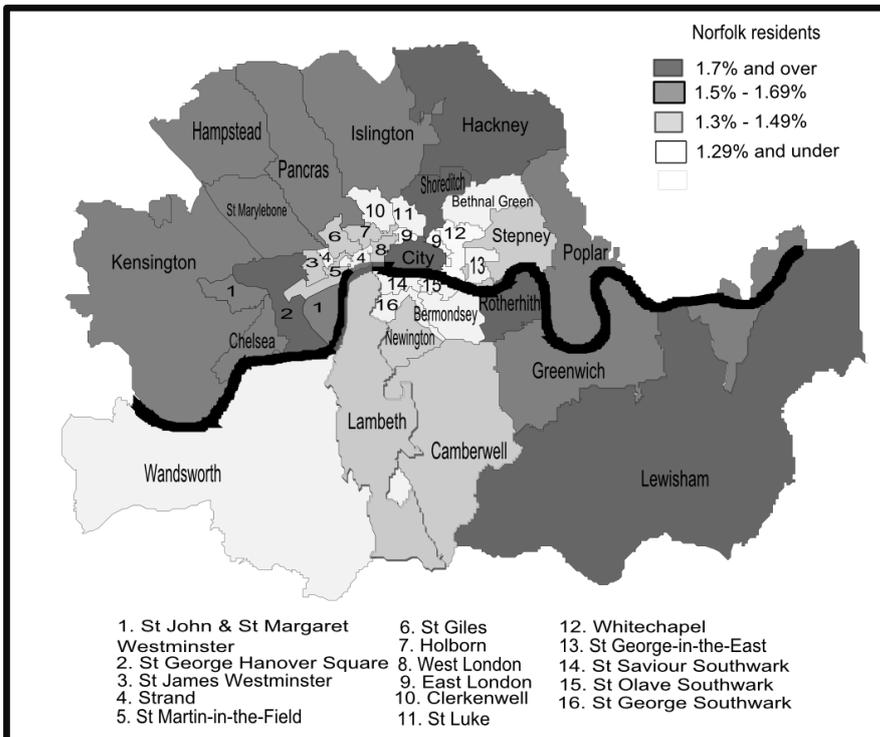
<sup>9</sup> *Census 1861 Vol. 2* p. 37

**Figure 5. Percentage of Norfolk-born residents in London Registration Districts in 1851**



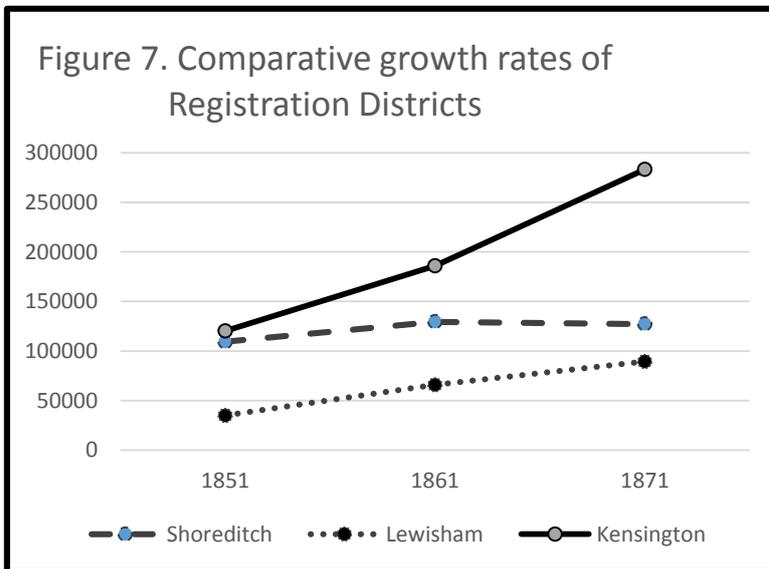
(Source: Census 1851 Population Tables)

**Figure 6. Percentage of Norfolk-born residents in London Registration Districts in 1861**



(Source: Census 1861 Population Tables)

The analysis will continue by examining the occupational and migratory patterns of Norfolk migrants in three registration districts. Shoreditch was representative, although not typical, of the East End industrial zone; Kensington of the western districts in which many Norfolk women, and some men, worked as servants; and whilst, given its location, Lewisham seems unlikely to have attracted Norfolk migrants, as shown above, it had become a major centre of Norfolk migration. Figure 7 show the rates of growth in these registration districts, over the period 1851 to 1871.



(Source: GB Historical GIS/University of Portsmouth)

## Lewisham

Lewisham grew by 88.8% between 1851 and 1861, the fastest growing of all London Registration Districts.<sup>10</sup> Norfolk migrants more than contributed with a 197.4% increase of Norfolk-born residents to 1,374.<sup>11</sup> Lewisham was large with a semi-rural south and heavy industry by the Thames and was part of 'Kentish London' that Geoffrey Crossick claims was, until the late 1870s, more self-sufficient in social relationships and more socially

<sup>10</sup> That is, Lewisham as constituted in 1851

<sup>11</sup> *Census 1851, Vol. 1 p.35 & Census 1861, Vol. 2 p. 41*

mixed than most other parts of London.<sup>12</sup> Whilst some of the fifty seven sample migrants came as servants to the middle class families in the south of the district, most went to work in the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich and other employers along the Thames.

**Figure 8. 1862 map of Forest Hill in Lewisham**



Source: Stanford (Edward), Library Map of London and its Suburbs. [1862]  
<http://www.mappalondon.com/london/south-east/map-london.htm#ixzz3D1aHHjj>  
(accessed 11/9/14)

Lewisham Village, Lee and Sydenham were still semi-rural with large mansions, although by 1874, Thorne could write “Lewisham was only a few years ago a pleasant rural district, but it has fallen prey to the builder and has become much like any other suburban village”.<sup>13</sup> Sydenham had “numerous beautiful villas and residences, occupied by respectable and opulent families”.<sup>14</sup> However, it grew rapidly after the Crystal Palace was located nearby following the Great Exhibition.<sup>15</sup> Most of the Norfolk migrants were unskilled or semi-skilled. For example, Rosetta Fryer lived next door to Eliza from the same village, married to a pair of brothers who were illiterate gardener’s assistants from

<sup>12</sup> G. Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840–1880* (London, 1978) p.24

<sup>13</sup> J. Thorne, *Handbook to the Environs of London Part II* (London, 1876) p. 417

<sup>14</sup> Melville & Co, *Directory and Gazetteer of Kent* (London, 1858) p. 450

<sup>15</sup> Thorne, *Handbook*, p. 598

Suffolk.<sup>16</sup> In 1865 Rosetta died, aged 34, in Norfolk.<sup>17</sup> Did she return because she was ill? Her widower, Samuel and three children remained in Sydenham where a year later, he married Caroline Burroughes from Attleborough, three miles from Rosetta's village.<sup>18</sup> Had Caroline come to London to look after the children? By 1871, they were back to Norfolk.<sup>19</sup> Eliza remained in Sydenham working as a laundress when widowed.

A majority of the migrants lived in Plumstead, industrial although with market gardening and grazing on the marshes.<sup>20</sup> Six were blacksmiths, one described as 'a smith at the Royal Arsenal', and probably the others worked there or at Woolwich Dockyards before it closed in 1869. Aged from 29 to 40 in 1861, they had all worked as blacksmiths in Norfolk ten years earlier. One, Alfred Chapman, had moved to Plumstead by 1859.<sup>21</sup> In 1871, he is described as 'Smith, Woolwich Arsenal' and by 1901 is a pensioner of the Royal Arsenal.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a 'boy', a labourer, and, probably various carpenters and an engine fitter worked there. Workers at the Royal Arsenal were well paid. War Office records for 1854 refer to the employment of four new smiths at 4s 1d a day and labourers at 2s 4d a day, compared to 8s 0d a week for Norfolk agricultural labourers.<sup>23</sup> By 1857, the Royal Arsenal had 2,773 machines for processes previously done by hand, allowing it to rely on mostly unskilled labour.<sup>24</sup> The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had required an increase in the establishment of the Arsenal's manufacturing departments to 10,372 in

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<sup>16</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Christ Church, Lewisham, Register of Marriages, 1861, [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=lmamarriages&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=George&gsln=Fryer&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&msgdy=1861&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2562110&recoff=12+13+38&ml\\_rpos=1](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=lmamarriages&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=George&gsln=Fryer&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&msgdy=1861&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2562110&recoff=12+13+38&ml_rpos=1) (Accessed 18/7/14)

<sup>17</sup> England & Wales deaths 1837-2007

<http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fd%2f1865%2f3%2fcm%2f000518%2f038&highlights=%22%22> (Accessed 18/7/14)

<sup>18</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Christ Church, Lewisham, Register of Marriages, 1866, [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=LMamarriages&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Samuel&gsln=Fryer&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&msgdy=1861&dbOnly=F0005A49l\\_F0005A49\\_x%2c\\_F0005A5Dl\\_F0005A5D\\_x%2c\\_F00058A6l\\_F00058A6\\_x&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2562253&recoff=12+13+36&ml\\_rpos=2](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=LMamarriages&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Samuel&gsln=Fryer&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&msgdy=1861&dbOnly=F0005A49l_F0005A49_x%2c_F0005A5Dl_F0005A5D_x%2c_F00058A6l_F00058A6_x&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2562253&recoff=12+13+36&ml_rpos=2) (Accessed 19/7/14)

<sup>19</sup> RG10/1838/37/1

<sup>20</sup> Thorne, *Handbook*, p. 472

<sup>21</sup> RG9/410/13/29

<sup>22</sup> RG10/788/84/51; RG13/572/142/19; RG14/2903/218

<sup>23</sup> O. F. G. Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal: Its background, origin and subsequent history Volume II* (London, 1963) Appendix VIII p. 1270 (PRO/WO/47/2,751, p. 1539)

<sup>24</sup> P. Guillery (ed.) *Survey of London Volume 48, Woolwich* (London, 2012) p. 167

1860.<sup>25</sup> To house the additional workforce, Plumstead New Town and Burrage Town were built.<sup>26</sup> This led to Plumstead experiencing the greatest growth (293%) of all London parishes between 1851 and 1861.<sup>27</sup> Norfolk migrants were very much part of that expansion.

## Kensington

The Registration District of Kensington included in 1851, as well as Kensington Town: Paddington, Brompton, Hammersmith and Fulham. As Figure 9 shows, it was still on the edge of London. There were many female servants, including twenty five of the fifty one female migrants.

**Figure 9. Kensington in 1856**



Source: Ordnance Survey, First Series  
<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/?download=true>

<sup>25</sup> Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal*, Appendix X, p. 1289

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 794

<sup>27</sup> Crossick, *An Artisan Elite*, p. 35

The few migrants in Fulham and Hammersmith, where expansion occurred later, were socially mixed. By the 1870s, Fulham had become a “portion of the outer fringe” of London but retained its “ancient local and independent aspect”, although some mansions were rather decrepit.<sup>28</sup> Sarah Ringer, aged 20 in 1861, had probably gone to London as a servant but married Thomas Godman, a brick maker’s labourer from Hammersmith in early 1861. Ten years later, Thomas was still a labourer, Sarah a laundress and they had three children.<sup>29</sup> By 1901, Sarah lived with her two grown up sons, both labourers, and her teenage daughter, a laundry maid.<sup>30</sup> This family exhibit no upward mobility.

Kensington Town grew by 78% to over 50,000 in the 1850s.<sup>31</sup> Although built as a middle class suburb, there were patches of extreme poverty, although none of the Norfolk migrants lived in these areas.<sup>32</sup> There was a clustering in Peel Street, off Kensington Church Street, where Edward Gooch, a labourer, William Fayers and Henry Parnell, both shoe makers, all lived. In adjacent streets were William Rose, a boot maker, and James Hagram, a general dealer. There was no commonality in their place of origin to suggest that this was deliberate clustering.<sup>33</sup> Some of the female migrants were servants, including Eliza Adams at 17 years, a servant in a lodging house. By 1871 she was a kitchen maid in the large establishment of the Viscount Hawarden in Knightsbridge.<sup>34</sup> However, in 1867 she had had a child, George, born in Norfolk. Twelve years later she married a soldier from Norwich before returning to Norfolk and, by 1881, George was with them in Yarmouth.<sup>35</sup> She typifies how ties with home continued, as well as the vulnerability of female servants.

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<sup>28</sup> Thorne, *Handbook*, p. 220

<sup>29</sup> England & Wales marriages 1837-2008

<http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fm%2f1861%2f1%2faz%2f001211%2f023&highlights=%22%22>  
(Accessed 25/7/14); RG9/26/32/42; RG10/64/7/5

<sup>30</sup> RG13/41/32/58

<sup>31</sup> *Census 1861 Vol. 1*, p. 197

<sup>32</sup> P. E. Malcolmson, ‘Getting a living in the slums of Victorian Kensington’ *London Journal* 1 (1975) pp. 28-33

<sup>33</sup> RG9/17/127/29; RG9/17/122/19; RG9/17/118/11; RG9/17/138/52; RG9/13/29/52

<sup>34</sup> RG9/16/134/11; RG10/131/53/45

<sup>35</sup> England & Wales births 1837-2006

St John Paddington was already well established and half the migrants were servants. At only 27, Thornton Easter was butler to Samuel H. Twining, banker and tea merchant. In 1862, he married the Twinings' cook, Sarah Ann Myatt. Whether they left service immediately is unknown, but in January 1864 their son, Thomas Myatt Easter, was baptised in Camberwell and Thornton recorded as a publican.<sup>36</sup> Thornton died in 1880 in Norfolk, where his parents were living, although he and Sarah lived in Borough.<sup>37</sup> Thornton is another migrant retaining links with his Norfolk family and, seemingly, returning home to die.

Most migrants in wealthy Brompton were servants. Elisha Charlish had been an agricultural labourer before becoming a coachman.<sup>38</sup> His family lived in Brompton in 1871 and 1881 but his three youngest children were born and baptised in Kingston between 1870 and 1874 in late spring or summer.<sup>39</sup> Were Elisha's family accompanying his employer to their country residence? In 1891 they were living in Kingston with his son, a butler, and daughter, aged 18, a ladies maid, living at home.<sup>40</sup> Both were young to have such positions: ladies maids were only found in wealthy households, the position being next down from a house keeper.<sup>41</sup> That the family had a benefactor is further indicated by Elisha leaving on his death in 1901, £2257 3s 6d equivalent to £1,232,000 in terms of

<http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fb%2f1867%2f2%2faz%2f000005%2f151&highlights=%22%22> (Accessed 27/7/14); England & Wales marriages 1837-2008

<http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fm%2f1879%2f1%2faz%2f000003%2f157&highlights=%22%22> (Accessed 27/7/14); RG11/1912/26/45

<sup>36</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Emmanuel, Camberwell, Register of baptisms, [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=lmabirths&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Thomas+Myatt&gsln=Easter&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&msydy=1864&msypn\\_ftp=Camberwell&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2106416&recoff=8+9+28+40&ml\\_rpos=2](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=lmabirths&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Thomas+Myatt&gsln=Easter&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&msydy=1864&msypn_ftp=Camberwell&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2106416&recoff=8+9+28+40&ml_rpos=2) (Accessed 2/8/14)

<sup>37</sup> National Probate Calendar, 1880 [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=UKProbateCal&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Thornton&gsln=Easter&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&msddy=1880&uidh=ak2&pcat=36&fh=0&h=43594&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=1](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=UKProbateCal&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Thornton&gsln=Easter&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&msddy=1880&uidh=ak2&pcat=36&fh=0&h=43594&recoff=&ml_rpos=1) (Accessed 2/8/14)

<sup>38</sup> HO107/1820/526/17

<sup>39</sup> RG10/51/75/29; RG11/44/75/37; Surrey, England Baptisms 1813–1912 [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2933738&recoff=12+37+49&ml\\_rpos=1](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2933738&recoff=12+37+49&ml_rpos=1), [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=2&h=2933765&recoff=12+37+49&ml\\_rpos=3](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=2&h=2933765&recoff=12+37+49&ml_rpos=3); [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=3&h=2933787&recoff=12+37+49&ml\\_rpos=4](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=SurreyBaptisms&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&gss=angs-d&gsln=Charlish&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&fh=3&h=2933787&recoff=12+37+49&ml_rpos=4); (All accessed 4/8/14)

<sup>40</sup> RG12/608/25/13

<sup>41</sup> P. Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (London, 2004, first published 1975) pp. 63/4

'prestige value'.<sup>42</sup> A substantial sum for a coachman, unlikely to have earned more than £90 a year.<sup>43</sup>

## Shoreditch

In 1851, Shoreditch was very overcrowded with a population of 130,000, grown from 35,000 in 1801.<sup>44</sup> The district was greatly affected by the coming of the railway.

Schivelbusch notes how the railway lines in the east end of London "intrude deeply into the working class neighbourhoods" whereas those in the middle class west halted on the outskirts of the city.<sup>45</sup> The building of Liverpool Street Station in the early 1860s caused

**Figure 10. Map of part of Shoreditch 1850**



Source: Section from Cross's New Plan of London 1850  
<http://london1850.com/cross05.htm>

many houses to be demolished and an exodus into Bethnal Green.<sup>46</sup> George Godwin wrote how streets close to Bishopsgate were "becoming more and more crowded in

<sup>42</sup> National Probate Calendar 1902 [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&qss=angs-c&gsfn=Elisha&gsln=Charlish&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&h=15971656&db=UKProbateCal&indiv=1&ml\\_rpo\\_s=13](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&msT=1&qss=angs-c&gsfn=Elisha&gsln=Charlish&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&uidh=ak2&pcat=34&h=15971656&db=UKProbateCal&indiv=1&ml_rpo_s=13) (Accessed 4/8/14); L. H. Officer and S. H. Williamson, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present," *Measuring Worth*, 2014 [www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/](http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/) (Accessed 4/8/14)

<sup>43</sup> Horn, *The Rise and Fall*, Table 3, p. 143

<sup>44</sup> K. Owen, 'A general history of Shoreditch and South Hoxton' <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~haydencowan/Kebell/Word%20Docs/ep-shoreditch-history.pdf> (Accessed 31/7/14)

<sup>45</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, p. 172

<sup>46</sup> Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 163

consequence of the removal of houses by the Eastern Counties Railway Company who have purchased part of the neighbourhood".<sup>47</sup>

Holywell, abutting the City, had few Norfolk migrants. Robert Riches, a timber merchant, probably established himself there because South Shoreditch was the centre of the London furniture trade for which timber merchants were part of a network of suppliers.<sup>48</sup> Apart from Riches' family, other migrants had moved by 1871 possibly because the area was subject to dishousing through the building of warehouses.<sup>49</sup> Abigail Mace and Richard Dean were cousins from Shouldham, near Downham Market.<sup>50</sup> That they married in Shoreditch in 1855 rather than returning to Shouldham, seems to have been the common pattern. The marriage is witnessed by a John and Margaret McGill, suggesting that no relatives attended.<sup>51</sup>

Four of the nine families in Haggerston in 1861 were Norwich shoemakers but none settled there permanently. The best shoemaking jobs were in the West End, those craftsman living in the East End were probably working in the poorly paid and insecure 'slop-trade'.<sup>52</sup> William Blackburn, a 30 year old maker of ladies' shoes, with wife Caroline and six young children had only recently arrived, their youngest child being born in Norwich in 1859. They lived in the same house as another shoemaker's family.<sup>53</sup> By 1871, the Blackburns were back in Norwich, however, between 1874 and 1881 they

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<sup>47</sup> G. Godwin, *London Shadows: A glance at the 'homes' of the thousands* (London. 1854) p.33

<sup>48</sup> Owen, 'A general history'; J. Smith & R. Rogers, *Behind the Veneer: The South Shoreditch Furniture Trade and its Buildings* (Swindon, 2006) p. 50

<sup>49</sup> Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 164/5

<sup>50</sup> Perrott, *Victoria's Lynn*, p.23

<sup>51</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Saint James, Bermondsey, Register of marriages,

[http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/1623/31280\\_198088-](http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/1623/31280_198088-00405/7590341?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fdb%3dLMAmarriages%26rank%3d1%26new%3d1%26so%3d3%26MSAV%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gss%3dms_db%26gsfn%3dAbigail%26gsln%3dMace%26msgdy%3d1855%26dbOnly%3d_F0005A49%257c_F0005A49_x%26dbOnly%3d_F0005A5D%257c_F0005A5D_x%26dbOnly%3d_F00058A6%257c_F00058A6_x%26uidh%3dak2&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnSearchResults)

[00405/7590341?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fdb%3dLMAmarriages%26rank%3d1%26new%3d1%26so%3d3%26MSAV%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gss%3dms\\_db%26gsfn%3dAbigail%26gsln%3dMace%26msgdy%3d1855%26dbOnly%3d\\_F0005A49%257c\\_F0005A49\\_x%26dbOnly%3d\\_F0005A5D%257c\\_F0005A5D\\_x%26dbOnly%3d\\_F00058A6%257c\\_F00058A6\\_x%26uidh%3dak2&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnSearchResults](http://interactive.ancestry.co.uk/1623/31280_198088-00405/7590341?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.co.uk%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fdb%3dLMAmarriages%26rank%3d1%26new%3d1%26so%3d3%26MSAV%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gss%3dms_db%26gsfn%3dAbigail%26gsln%3dMace%26msgdy%3d1855%26dbOnly%3d_F0005A49%257c_F0005A49_x%26dbOnly%3d_F0005A5D%257c_F0005A5D_x%26dbOnly%3d_F00058A6%257c_F00058A6_x%26uidh%3dak2&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnSearchResults) (accessed 2/8/14).

<sup>52</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1850 p.130

<sup>53</sup> RG9/248/71/16

returned to London, living in Newington where William continued shoemaking.<sup>54</sup> After his death, Caroline remained in Newington, in 1891 working as a charwoman and living with her daughter, also a widow, and her two young children, who had returned from Norwich in the mid-1880s.<sup>55</sup> Did work necessitate this circulatory migration? It strongly confirms the prevalence of on-going contact between family members in Norfolk and London.

Hoxton was described in 1838 as “formerly a place of some consequence, as the numerous old mansions will testify”.<sup>56</sup> In 1855, though, its poverty required 14,000 visits from Association for Promoting the Relief of Destitution in the Metropolis affiliates and 759 families received relief.<sup>57</sup> There were a preponderance of shoemakers among the Norfolk migrants. However, Maria Hartt, aged 48, was the recent widow of a chemist and druggist. With her five children, she had moved from Islington to Hoxton New Town. Although Maria was a fund holder, Edward had left less than £100.<sup>58</sup> Her two adolescent sons were clerks, but poorly paid, and the move to Hoxton was likely driven by the family’s limited resources. By 1871, the two sons still lived at home, earning more as a dry colour merchant and a Solicitor General’s clerk. The family had moved back to Islington, illustrating the vicissitudes of family fortunes.<sup>59</sup>

The vignettes above demonstrate the fluidity of Norfolk migrants’ movements following their arrival in London. The three districts had different rates of dispersal and refreshment by sample migrants initially settled elsewhere as shown in Table 8.

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<sup>54</sup> RG11/554/67/14

<sup>55</sup> RG12/364/80/51

<sup>56</sup> J. H. Brady, *New Pocket Guide to London and its Environs* (London, 1838) p. 361 quoted in D. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (Harmondsworth, 1979) p. 281

<sup>57</sup> D. G Green, *From Artisans to Paupers: Economic Change and Poverty in London, 1790–1870* (Aldershot, 1995) p. 204

<sup>58</sup> National Probate Calendar, 1858 [http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=UKProbateCal&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Edward&gsln=Hartt&gsln\\_x=NS\\_NP\\_NN&msddy=1858&uidh=ak2&pcat=36&fh=0&h=13348131&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=1](http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&db=UKProbateCal&rank=1&new=1&MSAV=1&gss=angs-d&gsfn=Edward&gsln=Hartt&gsln_x=NS_NP_NN&msddy=1858&uidh=ak2&pcat=36&fh=0&h=13348131&recoff=&ml_rpos=1) (Accessed 17/7/14)

<sup>59</sup> RG9/236/91/45; RG10/288/38/12

**Table 8. Dispersal and replacement in the three selected Districts**

	1861	1871			1881		
	n.	Remaining		New	Remaining		New
		n.	% of those alive/ known	n.	n.	% of those alive/ known	n.
Lewisham <sup>60</sup>	57	27	54%	12	18	43%	4
Kensington <sup>61</sup>	87	35	43%	30	22	37%	15
Shoreditch	76	19	28%	13	4	7%	4

There were markedly different dispersal rates. The greatest from Shoreditch was due to loss of housing but also because, for many arriving in the 1850s, it was always a temporary staging post. In Lewisham, areas close to the Royal Arsenal largely retained its Norfolk migrants, but no single women and no servants of either sex remained in 1871. Kensington had an intermediary dispersal rate largely caused by servants moving to new employment or moving back to Norfolk to marry. Servants typically moved positions frequently, with few staying in the same employment for more than two years.<sup>62</sup> Most significant is the number of migrants moving into Kensington in 1871 and 1881. Less than a third were servants, the others represented a range of occupations, in particular, craftsmen and shopkeepers seeking to trade in a wealthy area.

### 3.2 Patterns of Migration

Of the 1019 migrants in the sample, 937 were alive in 1871. Table 9 shows the proportion remaining in London and those leaving by gender, demonstrating that two thirds remained in London, however some individuals in the sample were only traceable beyond 1861 for a single census but, if in London, classed as 'stayers'. They may have moved elsewhere subsequently, most possibly emigrating which would account for their untraceability. The total of twenty four emigrants is certainly an underestimation. The true

<sup>60</sup> 'Lewisham' refers to the district in 1861 and therefore includes the sub-district of Plumstead. GENUKI Lewisham Registration Districts [www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/lewisham.html](http://www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/lewisham.html) (accessed 5/8/14)

<sup>61</sup> 'Kensington' includes those who in 1881 lived in Fulham Registration District. GENUKI Kensington Registration Districts [www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/kensington.html](http://www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/kensington.html) (accessed 5/8/14)

<sup>62</sup> M. Ebery & B. Preston, *Domestic Service in Late Victorian and Edwardian England, 1871–1914* (Reading, 1976) pp. 98/99

proportion of 'stayers' may be about 60%. With these provisos, I conclude this chapter examining the factors determining who stayed and who returned to Norfolk.

**Table 9 Patterns of migration after moving to London by gender**

	Females		Males		Total	
London 'stayers'	321	67.6%	319	69.0%	640	68.3%
Norfolk 'returners'	76	16.0%	59	12.8%	135	14.4%
Migrate elsewhere	78	16.4%	84	18.2%	162	17.3%
Total alive in 1871	475		462		937	

Table 10 shows the distribution of London 'stayers' and Norfolk 'returners' by age cohort. The different rates of staying in London are statistically significant but those for returners are not.<sup>63</sup>

**Table 10. 'Stayers' and 'Returners' by age cohort**

Cohort	Alive in 1871	Stayers	% of age group	Returners	% of age group
Pre – 1800	14	9	64.3%	4	28.6%
1801 – 1810	24	13	54.2%	5	20.8%
1811 – 1820	62	54	87.1%	3	4.8%
1821 – 1830	189	133	70.4%	30	15.9%
1831 – 1840	368	244	66.3%	60	16.3%
1841 – 1850	188	119	63.3%	24	12.8%
1851 – 1860	92	68	73.9%	9	9.8%
Totals	937	640	68.3%	135	14.4%

The age cohorts most likely to remain in London were the 1851-1860 group who moved when under ten with little commitment to Norfolk. The 1811-1820 group, migrating at between thirty and fifty most often with a family, may have found returning practically or emotionally difficult. The 1841–1850 cohort, aged one to twenty, were divided between children moving with their parents and adolescents migrating on their own as servants. A half of these latter (47/94) returned to Norfolk or moved elsewhere, whereas three quarters of the children (73/95) were London stayers.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix 3

There was no significant difference between urban and rural migrants in their subsequent movements. Neither did marriage in London to another Norfolk person increase the propensity of returning to Norfolk, nor marrying a Londoner make staying more likely.

This chapter has shown that the age on arriving in London affects subsequent migratory decisions. There are sufficient examples of contact with family back in Norfolk to suggest that this was commonplace, perhaps facilitated through the railway. There are also examples of circulatory migration although the decennial census is poor in revealing this. There may be many such cases or of those tramping from place to place for work and coming to London for warmth and shelter in winter.<sup>64</sup> At census time in March or April, they could still be in London before travelling to Norfolk or elsewhere for seasonal work on the land.

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<sup>64</sup> R. Samuel, 'Comers and goers' in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian City: Images and Realities Vol. 1* (London, 1973) pp. 139-144

## CHAPTER 4. THE SOCIAL MOBILITY OF NORFOLK MIGRANTS

Two issues will be addressed in this chapter: did Norfolk migrants benefit socio-economically from moving to London and did their age on migration make a difference? An underlying question concerns who migrated: was it the most or least able or a representative sample? Since the nineteenth century, many commentators have assumed that it was the ‘cream’ of rural inhabitants who migrated.<sup>1</sup> However, Llewellyn Smith observed that as well as these, there were also the “restless and unsettled spirits with vague ambitions” who ‘drift’ towards London.<sup>2</sup>

### 4.1 Methodological issues

Whether Victorian England was a period facilitating upward social mobility has been much debated.<sup>3</sup> Social mobility can be examined in relation to changes of occupation over an individual’s lifetime or inter-generationally. Andrew Miles analysed the latter using fathers’ and sons’ occupations from marriage certificates and the former through autobiographies. He concluded that nineteenth century English society was stable but not stagnant. Less than half of men changed their (occupational) class and few working class people became middle class, although more middle class sons ‘dropped’ into a working class occupation.<sup>4</sup> Use of marriage certificates, though, suffers from fathers’ and sons’ occupations being compared at different life-cycle stages. Jason Long has recently used a large database from 1851 to 1901 Censuses to compare fathers’ and sons’ occupations

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Saville, *Rural Depopulation*, pp. 125–128; Redford, *Labour Migration*, p. 157; Long, ‘Rural-urban migration’, pp. 26/7; Nair & Poyner, ‘The flight from the land?’, pp. 182-184

<sup>2</sup> Llewellyn Smith, ‘Influx of population’, p. 511

<sup>3</sup> J. Long, ‘The surprising social mobility of Victorian Britain’ *European Review of Economic History* 17 (2013) pp. 2/3

<sup>4</sup> A. Miles, ‘How open was nineteenth-century British society?: Social mobility and equality of opportunity, 1839-1914’ in A. Miles & D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European society: occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993) p. 23

at similar ages and found that social mobility in England and Wales was greater than previously thought.<sup>5</sup>

Sample migrants' social mobility was examined by allocating a class to their fathers' and their 1851, 1861 and eventual occupation. Discussion of socio-economic class is fraught with definitional difficulties with which I will not engage, being essentially one of sociological, rather than historical, research. However, I recognise that allocating nineteenth century occupations to a social class is not unproblematic, acknowledging Patrick Joyce's warning that their meaning is not necessarily as it might be today.<sup>6</sup> Dennis Mills also cautions against assuming that rural dwellers had a single occupation. Most agricultural labourers would have other means of earning money.<sup>7</sup>

The class categories most widely used derive from the Registrar-General's 1951 classification amended by W. A. Armstrong to reflect nineteenth century occupational status.<sup>8</sup> This can be criticised as based on individuals' "standing within the community" due their 'inherited natural abilities'.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, nineteenth century Censuses asked for 'rank, profession or occupation', that is, 'social status' rather than actual economic activity.<sup>10</sup> There are also methodological challenges in classifying occupations.<sup>11</sup> Some standardisations of occupational titles lose meaning, such as 'master baker' with 'baker'.<sup>12</sup> Some occupational titles, such as 'brewer', can refer to both a major employer and an ordinary worker.<sup>13</sup> Mid-nineteenth century cordwainers tended to work in the artisanal, custom-made sector, whereas shoemakers were employed in the ready-made,

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<sup>5</sup> Long, 'The surprising social mobility' pp. 1/2

<sup>6</sup> P. Joyce, 'Work' in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.) *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950 Vol. 2 People and their environment* (Cambridge, 1990) p. 143

<sup>7</sup> D. R. Mills, *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1980) p. 46

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge, 1972) p. 202

<sup>9</sup> G. Marshall, H. Newby, D. Rose & C. Vogler, *Social Class in Modern Britain* (London, 1988) pp. 18/19

<sup>10</sup> Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* p. 97

<sup>11</sup> J. Jeacocke, 'The computer scientist and the historian: Problems – Yes: Solutions – Pending' in E. Mawdsley, N. Morgan, L. Richmond & R. Trainor (eds.) *History and Computing III: Historians, Computing and Data, Applications in Research and Teaching* (Manchester, 1990) p. 42

<sup>12</sup> M. Woollard, *The Classification of Occupations in the 1881 Census of England and Wales* (Colchester, 1999) p. 1

<sup>13</sup> S. Blumin, 'The classification of occupations in past time: problems of fission and fusion' in E. Mawdsley, N. Morgan, L. Richmond & R. Trainor (eds.) *History and Computing III: Historians, Computing and Data, Applications in Research and Teaching* (Manchester, 1990) pp. 83 - 87

mechanised industry.<sup>14</sup> But some migrants alternate between the titles: did these reflect different jobs or were they being used arbitrarily? Further, women's occupations were frequently ignored by enumerators.<sup>15</sup> Controversially, some historians have ascribed the social class of their father or husband to women without a stated occupation.<sup>16</sup> I have side-stepped this by focusing solely on male migrants.

The model used in this research, largely following adaptations of Armstrong by Andrew Miles, has the following five classes:<sup>17</sup>

*Class I. Professional and upper middle class.* Includes members of the old professions (clergy, military, legal and medical); aristocracy and gentry; and large employers.

*Class II. Lower middle class.* Smaller businessmen including farmers; lower professionals, such as teachers; and clerks, retailers and agents.

*Class III. Skilled working class.* Crafts traditionally involving apprenticeship or other training; and the 'uniformed working class' (police, mail, and railway) requiring literacy.

*Class IV. Semi-skilled working class.* Occupations requiring little training including domestic service; gardeners; carters; coachmen and watermen.

*Class V. Unskilled working class.* Includes labourers, porters, and messengers.

The specifics of classification can be contentious. Unlike Armstrong who considers agricultural labourers semi-skilled, Miles places them in class V, although this ignores the more skilled tasks that many undertook. Nair and Poyner argue that placing agricultural

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<sup>14</sup> D. Mitch, "Inequalities which everyone may remove": occupational recruitment, endogamy, and the homogeneity of social origins in Victorian England' in A. Miles & D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European society : occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993) p. 149

<sup>15</sup> Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, p.101

<sup>16</sup> A. Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England* (Houndmills, 1999) pp. 147/8

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, pp. 191/2; A classified list of occupations in the sample are provided in Appendix 4 with a note about ambiguous occupational titles.

labourers in class IV results in an apparent fall in status if they become general labourers (class V) in an urban environment. They conflate classes IV and V to avoid this problem, whereas I follow Miles in placing them in class V.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4.2 Norfolk Migrants' Social Mobility

Long's recent analysis of social mobility found for the period 1851-1881 that half of sons remained in the same occupational class as their father, with upward mobility at 26.8% and downwards mobility, 23.3%.<sup>19</sup> Table 11 compares fathers' occupational class with the eventual class achieved by male migrants (for whom father's occupation is known), to reveal inter-generational social mobility.

**Table 11. Male inter-generational social mobility**

Father's class	Son's eventual class					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Totals
I	1	1	1			3
II	2	34	17	2	2	57
III		27	92	11	8	138
IV	1	2	16	8	5	32
V		10	45	16	24	95
<b>Totals</b>	4	74	171	37	39	325

(Shaded cells are those of no movement)

Similarly to Long, almost half (49%) of male migrants remained in the same class as their father (the shaded cells), but upward mobility (beneath the shaded diagonal) was considerably higher at 37%.<sup>20</sup> Long places agricultural labourers in Class IV whereas I have located them in Class V. If migrant agricultural labourers are relocated into Class IV, the extent of upward mobility is reduced but still higher at 32%.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Nair & Poyner, 'The flight from the land?', p. 180; Miles, *Social Mobility* Appendix 1 p. 191; and see Mills, D. R. & Mills, J., 'Occupation and social stratification revisited: the census enumerators' books of Victorian Britain' *Urban History Yearbook* (1989) for general discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Long, 'The surprising social mobility,' p. 9

<sup>20</sup> The 'eventual' class is the highest status occupation of an individual.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix 3

Long's sample of 12,516 father/sons is considerably larger than my 325, but the distribution across occupational classes is roughly comparable if grouped as in Table 12.

**Table 12. Comparison of class distribution**

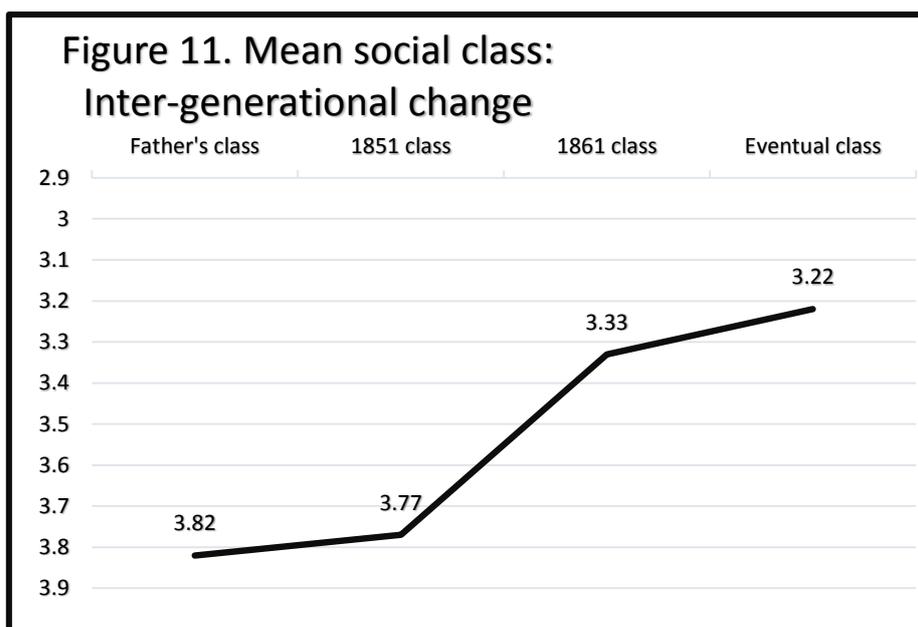
Father's class	Long's sample (1851)	Norfolk migrants
I & II	16.7%	18.4%
III	46.9%	42.5%
IV & V	36.4%	39.1%

My sample's higher frequency in Class IV and V is due to its greater preponderance of agricultural labourers as rural migrants. What remains unresolved is whether the greater upward social mobility in the Norfolk sample is a function of this distribution allowing more scope for upward movement, or because migrants improve their class position more than the general population. This may account for Long only finding 10.4% of sons from 'manual backgrounds' moving into 'white-collar' jobs (Classes I and II) compared to 15.1% of Norfolk migrants.<sup>22</sup>

Figure 11 shows the upward movement shown by the 128 male migrants with data for all four occupational points. It is statistically significant, showing the overall improvement in the mean class position where Class V = 5 and Class I = 1.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Long, 'The surprising social mobility', p. 10 and recalculated from Table 6, p. 11

<sup>23</sup> Such that two Class III and one Class V males =  $3+3+5 = 11/3 = 3.7$ ; and see Appendix 3



The upward trend is greatest between 1851 and 1861, suggesting that this either is a function of the categorisation or that those who 'better' themselves typically do so soon after migrating. Interestingly, there is no discernible difference in social mobility between London stayers and Norfolk returners.<sup>24</sup> There are, though, differences in male inter-generational social mobility by age as shown in Table 13.

**Table 13. Comparison of inter-generational social mobility of males by age at 1861**

Age at 1861	Same class		Moves higher		Falls lower		Totals
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
<b>20 and under</b>	77	56%	39	28%	21	16%	137
<b>21 and over</b>	82	43%	80	43%	26	14%	188
<b>All males</b>	159	49%	119	37%	47	14%	325

The difference between the two age cohorts in relation to upward social mobility and stability is marked. At first sight, that the children of migrants and young people going alone to London are less upwardly mobile seems counter-intuitive. They would have quickly acclimatised to metropolitan life, whereas their parents, especially those from rural

<sup>24</sup> 48% are the same, 38% rise and 14% fall. The supporting table is in Appendix 3 as are other supporting tables.

areas, might have been less adaptive and ambitious. However, it is the adults who made the decision to migrate. Whether or not they were the 'cream' of their generation in Norfolk, all but the most desperate must have associated their geographical mobility with the potential for bettering themselves. And many did: thirty seven of seventy nine sons of an agricultural labourer became skilled craftsmen (class III) and seven had Class II occupations. The 'agricultural labourer' effect is also apparent if urban migrants (in 1851) are compared to those from rural districts, with 40% of the latter compared to 30% showing upward mobility. For both age and Norfolk residence groups, there is negligible difference in terms of movement between the broader working and middle classes.

One factor limiting social mobility was a tendency, especially in skilled crafts, for sons to follow fathers in their occupation. Some crafts, such as blacksmiths and tailors, required relatively expensive equipment often passed from father to son.<sup>25</sup> Miles found that in over 40% of families during the nineteenth century, the same occupation persisted between generations, although this varied between classes and was weakest among many middle class occupations.<sup>26</sup> More than half of blacksmith, tailor and carpenter migrant fathers had sons following them in their trade, as did seventeen of thirty seven shoemakers.

Not surprisingly, intra-generationally, there is greater stability than inter-generationally. Table 14 shows the distribution of those in a particular occupational class in 1851 by their eventual class. 58% of all male migrants remained in the same class (the shaded cells), 35% improved their position and only 7% experienced a reduction in social class.

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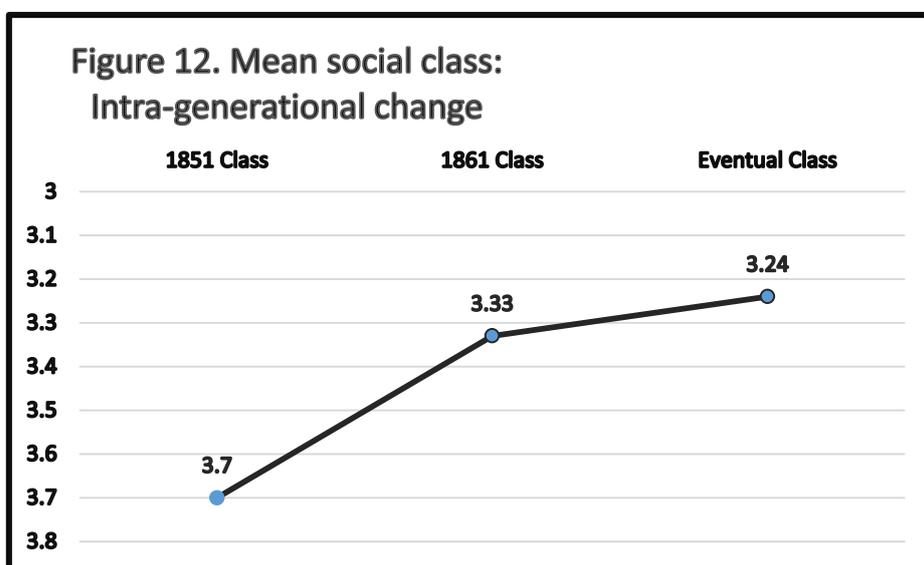
<sup>25</sup> Mitch, "Inequalities which everyone may remove", p. 148

<sup>26</sup> Miles, *Social Mobility*, pp. 68 & 78

**Table 14. Male social mobility from 1851**

1851 class	Eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I		1				1
II		11	1			12
III		17	101	5	4	127
IV		3	13	9	6	31
V		5	34	16	24	79
<b>Totals</b>	0	37	149	30	34	250

These results may be skewed by youthful, low status occupations. For example, in 1851, miller's son William Critoph aged twelve worked as an agricultural labourer, ten years later, the family had migrated and he is a miller.<sup>27</sup> Occupational class stability increases when taking 1861 as the starting point, with 74% remaining in the same class and 20% improving their social status. In both cases, broad class stability is much the same with only 10–12% moving between working and middle classes. There is negligible difference between all migrants and London 'stayers'.



<sup>27</sup> HO107/1811/15/23; RG9/281/18/14

Figure 12 shows the social mobility of the 249 migrant males with data for their 1851, 1861 and eventual occupation. As with the earlier Figure 11, the improvement in mean social class is most apparent in the period before and after migration.

To conclude, compared to the findings of Long and Miles, more Norfolk migrants prospered than failed, although most continued in the same occupational class.<sup>28</sup> Migrants, if more capable than average, would not necessarily fit the general pattern. However, both Pooley and Turnbull and Nair and Poyner found minimal improvement in occupational class among migrants to an urban area.<sup>29</sup> Whether the greater upward mobility of the Norfolk sample is due to the categorisation employed or because of the characteristics of migrants from Norfolk in the 1850s requires further study.

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<sup>28</sup> Long, 'The surprising social mobility', p. 10; Miles, *Social Mobility*, p. 73.

<sup>29</sup> Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 179; Nair & Poyner, 'The flight from the land?', pp. 182-184

## CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

The question underpinning this study was what accounts for the surge of migration from Norfolk in the 1850s when the economic fortunes of the county had become more favourable than in the preceding two decades. The research undertaken can only indicate possible solutions by sketching out the characteristics of the Norfolk migrants to London and suggest what further research might better inform an answer.

Whether or not the sample migrants were the 'cream' of Norfolk, they were certainly not the least able, with, for the adult males in the group, good levels of upward mobility in terms of occupational class, if not of broader social class. That the migrating adults were more successful than their children in this respect indicates that they were generally capable and committed to bettering themselves. Those returning to Norfolk or moving elsewhere had similar upward occupational mobility as those remaining in London. The returners were not, it would seem, the 'failures' that some commentators have assumed. It is impossible to say if those who went back had always planned a circular migration.

Many male migrants from rural homes probably saw no future in following their father labouring on the land. For others, such as shoemakers who were part of a growing industry in Norwich, it seems unlikely that they could not find work, so migrating to London was either to improve their prospects or to learn new skills before returning to set up shop in Norwich. Pull dominated over push factors.

The railway has been a recurring and unanticipated theme in this study. The lateness of establishing railway lines in Norfolk typified how quickly it had become a remote

backwater. However, its arrival had an initial beneficial effect on the fortunes of Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn and on agriculture in the county at the time that out-migration peaked. The railway also had an impact on the migrant's settlement in London. The building of Liverpool Street Station undoubtedly displaced some. In later years, the building of suburban lines and the introduction of workmen's fares would have encouraged others to move out to the suburbs.

The key question, though, is did the railway directly facilitate the surge of migration from Norfolk in the 1850s? There was more migration from registration districts in Norfolk with railway stations but we cannot know how many of these migrants used the train to reach London. The cost, even travelling third class on the parliamentary train, would probably have been prohibitive for the poorest, with the steam packet from Yarmouth, or tramping, offering cheaper options. Neither do the places of initial residence in London provide a convincing case that many travelled by rail, as employment seems to have been the main determinant of settlement. I am inclined to believe that the effect of the railway was primarily psychological. The novelty of the railway must have been a factor in how migrants thought about their move. Were the more enterprising of its younger residents increasingly seeing Norfolk as a backwater from which to escape, the railway symbolising the new life that they desired. If they could not afford the price of a ticket to travel down to London the first time, many must have thought that after making, if not a fortune, a better living in the capital, they would be able to use the railway to visit their relatives and friends back home in Norfolk and, perhaps, pay for them to come down to stay.

One surprising observation, not quantified, of migrant behaviour is that they seemed more likely to return to Norfolk to give birth or to die than to get married, even when they are marrying someone also from Norfolk. Perhaps it is simply that remaining in Norfolk for

banns to be read over three weeks would have lost them work in London, whereas the pregnant woman could return to her parents to give birth leaving her man earning money in London, and the dying were unconcerned about future employment.

The findings from this research supports those who have stressed the circulatory nature of much migration. The vignettes in Chapter 3 and other narratives of the migrants suggest that decisions to stay in London, to return to Norfolk or to move elsewhere are relatively arbitrary and highly independent. The death of a spouse may trigger a move, but may not if the migrant has developed networks in the local community and is in regular employment. As Kathryn Cooper notes: "Migration is the outcome of a multitude of decisions taken by individuals who do not necessarily respond to similar situations in the same manner".<sup>1</sup>

An aspect of the migration that requires further study is whether those deciding to move were acting upon some form of collective memory of the time when Norfolk was a dynamic, prosperous environment. For the migrant born in 1830, this would have been two or three generations earlier. Was there a continuing sense that life had once been better in the county, but that to return to those days required moving elsewhere: London for some, abroad for others. To understand whether this sense of a lost past did play a part in the migration decisions of some Norfolk people in the mid-nineteenth century requires the examination of writings, such as newspaper articles, personal letters and journals. Arguably, it is only in understanding the narratives of individual migrants that the experience of moving from Norfolk to London can become more fully meaningful.

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<sup>1</sup> K. J. Cooper, *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain* (Cardiff, 2011) p. 7

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1. Norfolk population growth (1851 – 1861) and proportion of migrants to London by Registration District

Registration District	Population			Migrants in sample		Type*	Railway ?
	1851	1861	% change	n.	% of 1851 population		
Yarmouth	26,880	30,338	12.9%	64	0.24%	U	Y
Norwich	68,195	74,440	9.2%	243	0.36%	U	Y
Flegg	8,497	8,631	1.6%	4	0.05%	A	N
Blofield	11,574	11,521	-0.5%	20	0.17%	A	Y
Freebridge Lynn	13,557	13,486	-0.5%	32	0.24%	A	N
St Faiths	11,890	11,749	-1.2%	27	0.23%	A	N
Thetford	19,040	18,712	-1.7%	17	0.09%	R	Y
Henstead	11,545	11,290	-2.2%	18	0.16%	A	Y
Docking	18,148	17,596	-3.0%	30	0.17%	R	N
Downham	20,985	20,264	-3.4%	42	0.20%	R	Y
Walsingham	21,883	21,118	-3.5%	64	0.29%	R	Y
Erpingham	21,722	20,874	-3.9%	40	0.18%	R	N
Swaffham	14,320	13,747	-4.0%	25	0.17%	R	Y
Depwade	26,395	25,248	-4.3%	74	0.28%	R	Y
Mitford	29,389	28,020	-4.7%	62	0.21%	R	Y
Wayland	12,141	11,562	-4.8%	40	0.33%	R	Y
Aylsham	20,007	19,052	-4.8%	34	0.17%	R	N
Forehoe	13,565	12,818	-5.5%	23	0.17%	A	Y
Loddon	15,095	14,242	-5.7%	20	0.13%	R	N
Tunstead	15,614	14,516	-7.0%	11	0.07%	R	N
Guiltcross	12,744	11,541	-9.4%	18	0.14%	R	N
Kings Lynn	20,530	16,701	-18.7%	108	0.53%	U	Y
<b>NORFOLK**</b>	<b>433,716</b>	<b>427,466</b>	<b>-1.4%</b>	<b>1016</b>	<b>0.23%</b>		

(Source: 1851 and 1861 Censuses)

\* The type of district refers to whether urban (U) or rural (R)

\*\* Excludes Wisbech

**APPENDIX 2. Norfolk residents of London Registration Districts 1851 & 1861 and sample migrant distribution**

District	Total Population			Norfolk-born Population			% of Norfolk residents		Migrants in sample
	1851	1861	% change	1851	1861	% change	1851	1861	
St George Hanover Sq.	73,230	87,771	19.9%	1,355	1,927	42.2%	1.85%	2.20%	12
Lewisham	34,835	65,757	88.8%	462	1374	197.4%	1.33%	2.09%	57
Rotherhithe	17,805	24,502	37.6%	187	439	134.8%	1.05%	1.79%	13
Shoreditch	109,257	129,364	18.4%	1,709	2,317	35.6%	1.56%	1.79%	76
Hackney	58,429	83,295	42.6%	899	1420	58.0%	1.54%	1.70%	34
London City	55,932	45,555	-18.6%	839	775	-7.6%	1.50%	1.70%	13
Stepney/Mile End Old Town*	110,775	129,636	17.0%	1,464	1,852	26.5%	1.32%	1.64%	49
Marylebone	157,696	161,680	2.5%	2,456	2,631	7.1%	1.56%	1.63%	49
Poplar	47,162	79,196	67.9%	679	1279	88.4%	1.44%	1.61%	37
Kensington	120,004	185,950	55.0%	1,822	2,979	63.5%	1.52%	1.60%	87
Hampstead	11,986	19,106	59.4%	160	306	91.3%	1.33%	1.60%	7
Pancras	166,956	198,788	19.1%	2,582	3,168	22.7%	1.55%	1.59%	73
Chelsea	56,538	63,439	12.2%	752	994	32.2%	1.33%	1.57%	20
Islington	95,329	155,341	63.0%	1,378	2,426	76.1%	1.45%	1.56%	71
Westminster	65,609	68,213	4.0%	913	1052	15.2%	1.39%	1.54%	23
Greenwich	99,365	127,670	28.5%	1,162	1,919	65.1%	1.17%	1.50%	47
West London	28,790	27,145	-5.7%	439	405	-7.7%	1.52%	1.49%	7
St Martins in the Field	24,640	22,689	-7.9%	326	329	0.9%	1.32%	1.45%	4
Newington	64,816	82,220	26.9%	889	1185	33.3%	1.37%	1.44%	24
St James Westminster	36,406	35,326	-3.0%	491	509	3.7%	1.35%	1.44%	13
St Giles	54,214	54,076	-0.3%	651	775	19.0%	1.20%	1.43%	10
Holborn	46,621	44,862	-3.8%	650	617	-5.1%	1.39%	1.38%	16
Camberwell	54,667	71,488	30.8%	656	964	47.0%	1.20%	1.35%	18
Lambeth	139,325	162,044	16.3%	667	2,163	224.3%	0.48%	1.33%	67
St Luke	54,055	57,073	5.6%	662	736	11.2%	1.22%	1.29%	24
Wandsworth	50,764	70,403	38.7%	532	905	70.1%	1.05%	1.29%	18
St George in the East	48,376	48,891	1.1%	604	625	3.5%	1.25%	1.28%	17
Strand	44,460	42,979	-3.3%	548	543	-0.9%	1.23%	1.26%	7
St Saviour Southwark	35,731	36,170	1.2%	389	456	17.2%	1.09%	1.26%	10
St George Southwark	51,824	55,510	7.1%	641	690	7.6%	1.24%	1.24%	22
Bethnal Green	90,193	105,101	16.5%	1,028	1,300	26.5%	1.14%	1.24%	17
St Olaves Southwark	19,375	19,056	-1.6%	218	223	2.3%	1.13%	1.17%	7
Bermondsey	48,128	58,355	21.2%	577	667	15.6%	1.20%	1.14%	18
Clerkenwell	64,778	65,681	1.4%	742	747	0.7%	1.15%	1.14%	23
East London	44,406	40,687	-8.4%	499	428	-14.2%	1.12%	1.05%	20
Whitechapel	79,759	78,970	-1.0%	861	818	-5.0%	1.08%	1.04%	9
<b>LONDON</b>	<b>2,362,236</b>	<b>2,803,989</b>	<b>18.7%</b>	<b>5,451</b>	<b>8,252</b>	<b>35.8%</b>	<b>1.56%</b>	<b>1.89%</b>	<b>1,019</b>

\* Stepney Registration District split in 1857 into Stepney and Mile End Old Town

Note that where the sample migrant numbers are not in accord with large increases in Norfolk-born residents in a district, this could be because of movement into those districts from pre-1851 migrants to London.

### APPENDIX 3. Statistical tests and supporting tables

Only tests showing a statistical significance are shown.

#### 1) Table 4 (Chapter 2): Urban/Rural migration to London rates

**URBAN \* MIGRANT Crosstabulation**

			MIGRANT		Total
			No	Yes	
URBAN	Rural	Count	317510	601	318111
		% within URBAN	99.81%	.19%	100.0%
	Urban	Count	115190	415	115605
		% within URBAN	99.64%	.36%	100.0%
Total		Count	432700	1016	433716
		% within URBAN	99.77%	.23%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	104.918 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	104.192	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	96.057	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	433716				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 270.81.

P is significant (<0.001) but treat with caution, because of large overall sample size.

#### 2) Table 7 (Chapter 2): Railway/No Railway/Rural Railway migration to London rates

**RAILWAY \* MIGRANT Crosstabulation**

			MIGRANT		Total
			No	Yes	
RAILWAY	No Railway	Count	123,533	184	123,717
		% within RAILWAY	99.85%	.15%	100.0%
	Railway	Count	309,167	832	309,999
		% within RAILWAY	99.73%	.27%	100.0%
Total		Count	432,700	1016	433,716
		% within RAILWAY	99.77%	.23%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.827 <sup>b</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	50.347	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	54.644	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	433716				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 321.57.

P is significant (<0.001) but treat with caution, because of large overall sample size.

**3) Table 10 (Chapter 3): London 'stayers' by age cohort**

**COHORT \* Stayers y/n Crosstabulation**

			Stayers y/n		Total
			No	Yes	
COHORT 0 Pre 1800	Count	18	9	27	
	% within COHORT	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	
1801 - 1810	Count	22	13	35	
	% within COHORT	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%	
1811 - 1820	Count	19	54	73	
	% within COHORT	26.0%	74.0%	100.0%	
1821 - 1830	Count	71	133	204	
	% within COHORT	34.8%	65.2%	100.0%	
1831 - 1840	Count	149	244	393	
	% within COHORT	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%	
1841 - 1850	Count	74	119	193	
	% within COHORT	38.3%	61.7%	100.0%	
1851 - 1860	Count	26	68	94	
	% within COHORT	27.7%	72.3%	100.0%	
Total	Count	379	640	1019	
	% within COHORT	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.157 <sup>a</sup>	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.662	6	.000
N of Valid Cases	1019		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.04.

This is significant by Chi-square, at p< 0.001.

**4) Table 11 (Chapter 4): Male inter-generational social mobility re-calculated with agricultural labourers as Class IV**

**Male inter-generational social mobility (Agricultural labourers as Class IV)**

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I	1	1	1			3
II	2	34	17	2	2	57
III		27	92	11	8	138
IV	1	9	53	23	21	107
V		3	8	1	8	20
<b>Totals</b>	4	74	171	37	39	325

For comparison with Jason Long's findings, the migrants' upward mobility was re-calculated with agricultural labourers categorised as Class IV. This produced upward mobility as 32.0%, less than when categorised as Class V, but more than Long's finding of 26.8%.

**5) Table 11 (Chapter 4): Comparison of male London 'stayers' social mobility with all male migrants**

**Male stayers' inter-generational social mobility**

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I		1	1			2
II	1	20	11	2	1	35
III		18	63	7	5	93
IV	1	2	14	8	4	29
V		6	32	12	19	69
<b>Totals</b>	2	47	121	29	29	228

48.2% of 'stayers' remained in the same occupational class as their fathers, compared to 48.9% of all male migrants with the occupation of father known (see Table 11). 37.7% of stayers were upwardly mobile, compared to 36.6%. These differences are negligible.

**6) Table 11 (Chapter 4): Inter-generational male social mobility comparing urban and rural migrants**

**Inter-generational social mobility of males from urban areas**

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I	1					1
II		15	4			19
III		16	42	8	5	71
IV	1	1	7	4	1	14
V		3	7	1	4	15
<b>Totals</b>	2	35	60	13	10	120

### Inter-generational social mobility of males from rural areas

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I		1	1			2
II	2	19	13	2	2	38
III		11	49	4	3	67
IV		1	9	4	4	18
V		7	38	15	20	80
<b>Totals</b>	2	39	110	25	29	205

These showed different extents of mobility. 55.2% of urban migrants remained in the same occupational class as their father, compared to 44.9% of migrants from rural districts. Whilst only 30.0% of urban migrants had upward social mobility, 40% of rural migrants did. Numbers for urban migrants are, however, low and should be read with some caution.

### 7) Table 13 (Chapter 4): Inter-generational male social mobility by age

#### Inter-generational social mobility of migrating males aged 20 or under in 1861

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I		1				1
II		15	5			20
III		14	49	7	5	75
IV	1		7	6	3	17
V		4	9	4	7	24
<b>Totals</b>	1	34	70	17	15	137

#### Inter-generational social mobility of migrating males aged 21 or over in 1861

Father's class	Son's eventual class					Totals
	I	II	III	IV	V	
I	1		1			2
II	2	19	12	2	2	37
III		13	43	4	3	63
IV		2	9	2	2	15
V		6	36	12	17	71
<b>Totals</b>	3	40	101	20	24	188

These tables provide the data to the cohort comparison in Table 13.

### 8) Figure 10 (Chapter 4): Mean Occupational Class, Inter-generational change

This is significant, at  $p < 0.001$  (Friedman test).

The table of available data is below:

**Descriptive Statistics**

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Parent's class (if known)	3.82	1.173	128
1851 class	3.77	1.013	128
1861 CLASS	3.33	.888	128
Eventual class	3.22	.922	128

**9) Figure 11 (Chapter 4): Mean Occupational Class, Intra-generational change**

This again is significant at  $p < 0.001$  (Friedman).

The sample size is now 249, see table below.

**Descriptive Statistics**

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1851 class	3.70	.985	249
1861 class	3.33	.844	249
Eventual class	3.24	.864	249

#### APPENDIX 4. Classification of male migrants' occupations

<b>Occupational Class I</b>		
Captain Civil engineer and surveyor Clergyman	Company secretary Physician Solicitor	Stockbroker Surgeon
<b>Occupational Class II</b>		
Accountant Artist Bank agent Builder Cab proprietor Chemist and druggist Clerk Commercial traveller Commission agent Corn merchant Dealer Employer (boot maker)	Factory inspector Farmer Fundholder General dealer Grocer GPO overseer Hosier Hotel manager Mail contractor Manager Manufacturer Master (baker, tailor, etc.)	Mercer Parish clerk Playwright Publisher Railway clerk Solicitor General clerk Surveyor of telegraphers Teacher Timber merchant Valuer clerk Wine merchant
<b>Occupational Class III</b>		
Baker* Basket maker Beer house keeper Blacksmith Brass founder Bricklayer Brush maker Butler Candle maker Carpenter Carriage builder Cigar maker Coach painter Coach trimmer Cocoa matting weaver Coffee stall keeper Cooper Cordwainer Crane driver	Currier Draper* Electrician Farm bailiff Fisherman Fishmonger* French polisher Gamekeeper Glazier Grocer (shop worker) Harness maker Ink maker Joiner Mariner Mason Miller* Oilman Painter Pipe maker	Plumber Police constable Postman Printer compositor Racquet maker Railway signalman Seal skin shaver Ships caulker Shipwright Shoemaker* Sign writer Tailor Tallow chandler Telegraphist Upholsterer Victualler* Warehouseman Watchmaker
<b>Occupational Class IV</b>		
Ashphalter Assistant (of above jobs) Barman Cabman Carman Club steward Coachman Commissionaire Cork cutter Drayman Footman Gardener	Groom Hammerman Horse keeper Lighterman Machinist Mole catcher Ostler Packer Packing case maker Railway ticket collector Rat catcher Saw sharpener	Sawyer Servant Shepherd Stoker (fireman) Tin worker Toll collector Turkish bath attendant Waiter Waterman Warrener Window cleaner
<b>Occupational Class V</b>		
Agricultural labourer Costermonger Excavator	Labourer Messenger Office cleaner	Porter (Railway, coal, etc.) Watchman

Occupations in Class III marked \*, in particular, should be in Class II if they are employing other workers.

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