

Migratory patterns of people in four settlements in Lincolnshire 1851-1901

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Abstract

Migration in England and Wales during the nineteenth-century has been much studied in the past century. In the mid-1880s E.G. Ravenstein analysed the 1881 census reports relating to the migration of people from rural to urban environments, because there was concern that people were leaving agricultural employment in order to settle in towns and cities, thus causing food production to be at risk. Ravenstein put his research into a paper entitled “the laws of migration”, and they have been the basis for many migration research projects since that time. This thesis examines migration from a micro-history standpoint, thus four small settlements situated within a few miles of each other were selected for research. The years covered were from 1851 to 1901 and used the census enumerators’ books, civil records of births, marriages and deaths, trade directories, and newspaper articles, to trace the migratory journeys of the males from those settlements. The research was placed against the events that were happening nationwide. The transport systems were explored; the industrial advances that were taking place in the mill towns and factories were looked at; the presence of kith and kin in receiving towns and cities were examined, together with the provision of schools; and finally, the males reactions to the Agricultural Depression of the late nineteenth century were analysed. This ensured that a micro-historical, or “total history” approach was used to highlight the movements of the males, and their motivations for either staying in or leaving the settlements. This approach revealed that when migration was researched countrywide, the detail of the many small migrations was obscured. It was found that most males did not migrate to the towns and cities but made short circular moves locally. The thesis closed with an examination of the settlements in the twenty-first century.

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MS&LR-Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway	141
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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis addresses the subject of the migration of males who lived in four settlements in rural east Lincolnshire, during the second half of the nineteenth-century. Their life paths will be tracked, where possible, in order to ascertain what migratory patterns existed, and whether males tended to migrate to the largest urban areas where the availability of work was not dependent on the agricultural cycle. Four core themes will thread through the thesis: (i) regionality of migration in relation to east Lincolnshire; (ii) the scale of the migration out of the settlements; (iii) the characteristics of the males who either remained or migrated away; (iv) and the causes and consequences of migration in the four settlements whose records will dominate this analysis. Five questions will be posed in relation to these themes, and they are (i) did the development of transport affect men's decision to migrate; (ii) was the new industrial development a factor in migration; (iii) did the increased emphasis on education together with its link with social mobility help in the process of deciding to stay or go; (iv) was the presence of kith or kin in the urban and industrial areas a factor in the decision to stay or go; (v) and finally was the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century a factor in migration choices. The analysis will add to the body of research on the subject of migration, by giving focus to an area of England that has been neglected in other people's research. Also, the research has treated the subject in a manner not hitherto adopted, by analysing fifty years of census records for England and Wales, in order to trace individuals from the four Lincolnshire settlements. Additionally, the changes that were happening in the country as a whole were taken into account, in order to establish what impact, if any, they had on those individuals. This style of research, analysing specific settlements in-depth, over a long period of time has not been a 'normal' part of research, and it will give valuable insight into the migratory patterns of people from small communities. It needs to be held in mind

however, that 'total history' should encompass not only external events that might have encouraged migration, but should also take into account the personal events that may have had an effect on individuals lives. There are, though, many avenues of historical research with diplomatic history, science history, demographic history and social history all vying for attention,¹ therefore in this context 'total history' should be the overarching discipline which takes all of these various avenues of research into account. This thesis addresses the problems of researching the 'total history' of the residents of the selected settlements in eastern Lincolnshire which will include all aspects of life in a rural setting in nineteenth century Lincolnshire.

1.2 The development of migration history

It is necessary to link this examination to the work of others in order to establish the similarities and differences between past research and this current undertaking. Systematic research on migration had already started by 1864 when Frederick Purdy, Principal of the Statistical Department, Poor Law Board, and an Honorary Secretary of the Statistical Society, analysed reports of the England and Wales censuses of 1851 and 1861. He focused on a key contemporary concern, which was that some heavily agricultural English and Welsh counties showed decreases in their populations. Purdy furnished his readers with many tables illustrating the differences in numbers of adults engaged in agricultural employment from 1851 to 1861. Although he drew no firm conclusions Purdy's research does show that people were prepared to make use the information gathered via the census procedure very soon after these censuses were taken.² Twenty five years later, Ravenstein also drew on census reports, notably those of 1871 and 1881, and in 1885 and again in 1889, he published papers in the *Journal of the Royal*

¹ Zeldin, Theodore, 'Social History and Total History', *Journal of Social History*, Volume 10, Number 2, 10th Anniversary Issue: Social History Today and Tomorrow? (Winter 1976), pp. 237-245.

² Purdy, F., 'On the Decrease of the Agricultural Population of England and Wales, 1851-61', *The Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, (Sep., 1864), Volume 27, Number 3, pp. 388-400.

Statistical Society analysing the birthplace tables of those years. From this analysis, he came to the conclusion that there were a number of laws governing migration, and those were that generally people only migrated short distances at a time; that the people living in the vicinity of the growing industrial urban areas were drawn to those cities in search of work; and that their migration would leave gaps for people from further afield to fill. In this way the migration of the population was progressing in stages or steps ever more forcefully towards the industrial areas of the country. Ravenstein also found that people who opted to migrate long distances tended to move directly to one of the cities, but the people from the countryside were more likely to migrate to the towns. His research also indicated that women were more likely to migrate away from their birthplaces than men.³ These are foundational findings for migration research, though it is necessary to remember that Ravenstein did not have access to the Census Enumerator's Books (CEBs)⁴ at the time of his research. Rather his findings depended entirely on the Census Reports, which though they give an overall picture of the population movement in England and Wales, do not facilitate the in-depth investigations of individual families or communities which have come to dominate the later twentieth-century.⁵ A near contemporary historian who agreed with Ravenstein's findings was Arthur Redford. He suggested that the movement of the population was always towards the great urban centres, but Redford believed that the reason behind migration was the pull of the city rather than the desire of those who migrated to leave agricultural employment. Moreover, he suggested that there was a blurring of the edges where labouring work was concerned in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, noting that it was usual for agricultural labourers to work in the factories when farm work was scarce, and that

³ Ravenstein, E.G., 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, (1885) 48, and (1889) 52.

⁴ CEBs were the handwritten entries compiled by the Census Enumerators from the forms submitted by the Heads of Households in each enumeration district. The CEBs were drawn up by the Census Enumerators in each registration district who used the information that had been submitted by each Head of Household in their district.

⁵ *The geographical impact of migration*, ed. by White, P., & Woods, R., (London: Longman Group, 1980) p.36.

the reverse was also true, that factory workers were prepared to take up agricultural work at harvest time. Redford also called attention to the fact that one of the obvious consequences of migration in England and Wales was the rapid growth of towns; by the time of the 1851 census more than thirty three per cent of the entire population of the British Isles (not simply England and Wales) was resident in a total of only seventy towns, all of which had more than twenty thousand inhabitants.⁶

The overall scale of population movement around England and Wales has subsequently been a focus for many historians looking at socio-economic and spatial trends in migratory patterns.⁷ Christopher Smith's 1951 research, for instance, used the census reports for 1851 and 1861 to reconstruct the increases or decreases in population numbers in individual counties. He concluded that "individual moves ..." by 1861, "had taken people from their birthplaces to neighbouring parishes, to different parts of the country, and to the smoky, overcrowded but prosperous industrial towns." He also commented that there were few destination locations that were further than fifty miles away from the industrial areas, and he dismissed those isolated regions (such as Lincolnshire, which provides the spatial focus for this thesis) that had no easy access to the large urban areas, suggesting that such areas were merely suppliers of migrant bodies to more significant communities.⁸ Ravenstein's laws' of migration continued to dominate the theoretical backdrop for these mid-twentieth-century writers. John Saville, for instance, restated the Ravenstein model in 1957. Drawing on the newly released (under the 100 hundred year rule then in force) CEBs for 1851, he suggested that the majority of all migrants were under thirty five years of age. Migration was, therefore always selective, whether the end destination was an urban

⁶ Redford, A., *Labour migration in England 1800-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1926), pp. 16, 23, 70 & 75.

⁷ There has been considerable research into long distance mobility, with some historians deliberately rejecting short distance and adjacent county moves. This, of course, gave the researchers of this work a good insight into long distance movement throughout England and Wales, but did leave a gap in the knowledge acquired relating to migration in these islands.

⁸ Smith, C.T., 'The Movement of Population in England and Wales in 1851 and 1861', *The Geographical Journal*, (Jun. 1951), Volume 117, Number 2, pp. 200-210.

district in this country or an entirely different country. Following many earlier commentators Saville once again argued that the rural counties witnessed systematic and systemic loss of population in a process he famously labelled “the flight from the land”. Even within this broad conceptual envelope, however, the bare figures of a census report, conceal important nuance. Thus, and as Saville noted, Devonshire had expanding populations in the ports of Plymouth and Devonport and the area around Torquay was attracting retired people, as were some of the more picture-postcard looking villages, whilst the rural areas of the county were showing a marked decline in population numbers. On the other hand, the attraction of London had changed the character of counties close to it; as with Hertfordshire for example. This county changed from being a rural, agricultural county to one that had become “increasingly industrial and residential.”⁹

By 1968 we witness a step-change in the nature of migration research, with Richard Lawton’s important analysis of population change during the latter part of the nineteenth century, using census reports on birthplaces, civil registration of births and deaths and the Registration Districts data from 1851 to 1911. He found that increases in population were centred on a small number of growing urban areas including London, South Wales, the Midlands and North-East England. Indeed, Lawton argued that where rural census districts showed an increase in population, it was usually due to the growth of a town situated in that district and attracting migrants from outside the area, though he also observed that his conclusions were tentative and that one needed to differentiate between urban and rural movement, and between skilled and unskilled employment.¹⁰ Shortly after this intervention, Michael Anderson’s 1971 study set the analytical focus for most subsequent analysis of migration, including this thesis, shifting the emphasis from registration districts to single communities, in this case

⁹ Saville, J., *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957), pp. 48 & 89.

¹⁰ Lawton, R., ‘Population Changes in England and Wales in the Later Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Trends by Registration Districts.’ *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, (May 1968) Number 44, p. 57.

the Lancashire town of Preston. Using the CEBs for 1841-61, he concurred with Ravenstein's sense that migrants travelled only short distances finding that almost half of the people studied had moved less than ten miles from their places of birth.¹¹ Migration by young people of both sexes was part of the English way of life. Girls and boys were routinely found employment in domestic service or became farm servants living on the farms, and many simply moved to the towns in search of work. Preston, like most other industrial centres of the nineteenth-century grew rapidly because of the large numbers of young single or married migrants who had left their village communities to start life in the urban environment.¹² The town which developed through cotton manufacturing, also suffered when depression hit the cotton industry and factories laid off labourers. When this happened, the labourers either relied, for as long as possible, on the charity of kith and kin locally; or migrated away from Preston to other urban centres to find work; or, Anderson believed, "it seems almost certain, to return to the village of their birth for a while until things improved."¹³ So migration in and out of individual places could be fluid, with the same (often young) people moving backwards and forwards between village and town as circumstances dictated.¹⁴ However, in conclusion Anderson stressed that his study was a "first attempt in this kind of research", and he hoped that others would examine "other Victorian urban areas with very different economies and also [look] at the neglected subject of rural areas".¹⁵ Gareth Stedman Jones's study of London, published around the same time as that of Anderson on Preston, provides some balancing nuance. He confirmed a long held assumption in the literature that London was the single most important recipient of

¹¹ Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) pp. 19 & 37.

¹² Anderson, *Family Structure*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 150.

¹⁴ This view is echoed in Jean Robin's research on Elmdon, Essex. She found that for males it was the 30-33 age group that declined between the 1851 and 1861 censuses, while females tended to have migrated away from the village between the ages of 15 and 29, although Robin suspected that the older women were probably those who had married and settled in their husbands' villages. Robin, J., *Elmdon Continuity and Change in a north-west Essex Village 1861-1964*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 184.

¹⁵ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 170.

migratory people, but more provocatively claimed that once migrants had settled there, they remained in the metropolis. For Stedman Jones this was because the majority of labour in the city was unskilled, and therefore, in many instances, casual. The casual labourer was usually hired by the day, and if work was not forthcoming, he was ill-equipped to discover if there were other markets for his labour i.e. if he chose to try for work each day at the docks, he needed to be on hand in that place to make sure of being hired and was unable to search out other employment. Also, this type of work gave little above an existence on the bread-line, so there would be no money available with which to secure transport away from London in order to find work elsewhere.¹⁶ Some of these themes were to be echoed and developed a decade later in Dudley Baines's now iconic book on nineteenth century migration, the core purpose of which was to show that the large industrial towns of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Leicester, Hull and Nottingham grew rapidly not through natural increase but by attracting substantial numbers of migrants during the second half of the nineteenth-century.¹⁷

It was not, however, until the later 1980s and 1990s that Michael Anderson's call to arms for a much more detailed and locally informed set of analyses of the scale, character, causes and consequences of migratory activity came to be truly realised. This was in part driven by broad agenda-setting pieces such as that of James Jackson and Leslie Moch, who argued strongly that multiple situational factors governed people's movements, "particularly age, gender, landholding status, education, and income".¹⁸ These were in turn decades in which studies deeply ingrained in local perspective multiplied rapidly. Keith Snell, for instance, argued that rather than encouraging people to leave the land as early commentators such as the Hammonds, Slater and Hasbach had

¹⁶ Stedman Jones, G., *Outcast London*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 81-83.

¹⁷ Baines, D., *Migration in a Mature Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 23.

¹⁸ Jackson, J. H., Moch, L.P., 'Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe', *Historical Methods*, (Winter 1989), Volume 22, Number 1.

believed enclosure and the creation of allotments enabled labourers to maintain a level of lifestyle which, whilst at subsistence level, nevertheless meant that they were able to remain in their birth locale and not seek work in the towns and cities.¹⁹ Colin Pooley and Shani D'Cruz suggested that there appeared to be a circular pattern to migratory movements within the familiar region of migration.²⁰ Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer also found, when they tracked the birthplaces of the children in a family, that the migrations of family units were largely circular in pattern. Using a database of eighteen thousand people whose details were entered in the 1851 census for England and Wales, they showed that the age groups of thirty plus years were those most likely to migrate away from their birthplaces, though they also noted that people with specialist occupations and therefore specialist skills were less likely to migrate than labourers with little or no skills. It was conjectured that the need for those particular specialist skills were declining and fewer people were learning them, therefore removing competition.²¹ Focusing on the industrial areas of nineteenth-century West Yorkshire, Steven King suggested that migration decisions were deeply situational, related explicitly to the particular constellation of familial, church or occupational networks in which people were enmeshed, and that any individual migratory move is unintelligible unless situated within the context of people's migrations over their life-spans.²² Gwyneth Nair and David Poynter addressed similar themes in their study of south-west Shropshire. Here, nineteenth century migrants tended to move from one rural settlement to another, rather than inevitably towards large urban areas. Even when the distances moved were greater, for example, to Dorset, Devon, Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, the destination was still often a rural rather than urban settlement.

¹⁹ Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 138-140.

²⁰ Pooley, C.G., and D'Cruz, S., 'Migration and urbanization in north-west England circa 1760-1830', *Social History*, (Oct. 1994) Volume 19, Issue 3, p. 348.

²¹ *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerator's Books*, ed. by Mills, D.R. and Schürer, K, (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd., 1996), pp. 224 – 226.

²² King, S.A., 'Migrants on the margin? Mobility, integration and occupations in the West Riding, 1650-1820', *Journal of Historical Geography*, (1997), Volume 23, Number 3, p. 285.

Regardless of the lure of the large industrial towns and cities of the west Midlands, which were close to their home villages, Shropshire migrants for the most part continued to pursue the same rural occupations as before they migrated. An alternative perspective is provided by Dyer, who traces the process by which rural villages could accrete population rapidly. In the case of Millom in Cumberland, mineral deposits were found and a mine was opened up, such that a small village of four hundred and nine people in 1851 had grown to a small town of two thousand six hundred and fifty six in 1871, as the new extractive industry drew miners from other parts of the country to work the new-found deposits.²³ This sense of the importance of occupation in determining who migrated where has also been explored by Richard Edgar and Andrew Hinde in their work on residents of the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset. The marble stone workers in the area tended to stay and their sons tended to remain and follow their fathers into the stone trade, whereas, agricultural workers (and particularly their sons), moved away in order to find work. Edgar and Hinde found that the stone workers who did move away from the Isle of Purbeck migrated to other areas which were often substantial distances from Dorset, but had firm links with the stone workers trade.²⁴

Such perspectives were developed much more fully and precisely by Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull in their magisterial survey of life-cycle migration patterns using CEB birthplace data, Poor Law records, apprenticeships registers, diaries, and recorded oral memories. Over the two hundred and forty four year span of their study, migration was overwhelmingly of short distance, although they found that the twentieth century saw those distances increase. Pooley and Turnbull found, as others had argued, that London was a major migratory destination, but they also observed marked patterns of migration between regions. In socio-economic terms they found that it was the unskilled labourers who made short distance moves, whereas those who had acquired skills were

²³ *The Self-Contained Village The social history of rural communities 1250-1900*, ed. by Dyer, C., (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2007), p. 129.

²⁴ Edgar, M., and Hinde, A., 'The Stone Workers of Purbeck', *Rural History*, (1999), Volume 10, Number 1, pp. 79 & 181.

more likely to travel further afield.²⁵ Professional men, who were probably subject to several years of training, were less likely to migrate before the age of twenty, but if and when they did, the distances moved were often substantial.²⁶ Whether long or short distance, Pooley and Turnbull show in great detail the potential that migratory streams (in and out) had for disrupting the individual life-cycle and the wider sending and receiving communities.²⁷ This sort of detailed work on individual circumstances and motivations melds seamlessly with the agenda set by Michael Anderson in the 1970s and does much to carry forward the debate about migration. Even so, large scale quantitative studies continue to be undertaken and these provide contrasting perspectives. George Boyer and Timothy Hatton's study of the relationship between labour market architecture and migration, for instance, harked strongly back to the Ravenstein model; they suggested that movement was, as Ravenstein maintained, always towards the urban environment and more broadly, from lower to higher wage areas and occupations.²⁸

This brief, largely chronological, rendering of the literature on nineteenth-century migration signals a crowded field.²⁹ Nonetheless, significant gaps, ones that inform the agenda for this thesis, remain. The first is broadly methodological: there have been plenty of studies covering one or two census years or single communities, but larger systematic comparative work across broadly contiguous communities and all of the available censuses from 1851, have been rather rarer.³⁰ Such work is important for

²⁵ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, (London: UCL Press, 1998) pp. 23, 65.

²⁶ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp.153 – 159.

²⁷ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 302 - 305.

²⁸ Boyer, G.R., Hatton T.J., 'Migration and Labour Market Integration in Late Nineteenth Century England and Wales', *The Economic History Review New Series*, (Nov. 1997) Volume 50, Number 4, p. 697.

²⁹ There were and are other ways of conducting a literature review. I could, for instance, have focussed on a thematic discussion of issues such as the scale and composition of migration, motivations for movement, regional studies, and the impact of migration in and out. In practice, however, the key gaps in this rich literature are better identified by taking a chronological perspective.

³⁰ Sheppard, J., 'Out-migration 1821-1851 from a Wealden Parish: Chiddingly', *Local Population Studies*, (Autumn 1997), Number 59. Dyson, 'The extent and nature of pauperism in five Oxfordshire parishes, 1786 – 1832', *Continuity and Change*, (December 2013), Volume 28, Issue 03. Deacon, B., 'Communities, Families and Migration: some evidence from Cornwall', *Family and Community History*, (May 2007),

testing the broad conclusions of Pooley and Turnbull, which is largely drawn from snapshot data, and also for an understanding the importance of situational and individual circumstances in the decision of when, where and how often to migrate. A second gap centres on the particular migratory experiences of rural communities. Notwithstanding the work of Pooley and Turnbull, and as studies by scholars such as Boyer and Hatton show, there is still a strong sense that rural communities, particularly in low wage areas, simply lost population and lost that population to urban areas even if over a series of individual and familial life-cycle moves. As Mary Hammond and Barry Sloan have recently reminded us, these latent assumptions require systematic investigation and challenge.³¹ A third area requiring more research at the comparative level is the composition of migration streams across time. If, as the most nuanced studies have begun to suggest, decisions over migration were highly situational, related to pull factors such as transport opportunities or a flow of news “home” rather than simply push factors such as the state of the local economy, then it follows that the exact composition of the migrant cohorts might vary considerable over even very short periods. Issues like this have been inadequately tested in the wider literature. Fourthly it is clear that much of the literature has focused more keenly on the nature, scale and composition of migration in the nineteenth-century than on the motivations of those involved. A targeted comparative study of broadly contiguous communities can thus offer a significant contribution to our understanding of this basic question. We return to the way in which this thesis seeks to address these broad gaps later in the chapter. For now, however, a final gap in the literature is the remarkable failure to consider Lincolnshire as part of wider discussions about the scale, cause and experience of migration. It is to this question that Chapter One now turns.

Volume 10, Number 1. Sharpe, P., *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

³¹ *Rural-Urban Relationships in the nineteenth century: Uneasy neighbours?* ed. by Hammond, M., and Sloan, B., (New York/London: Routledge, 2016).

1.3 Migration in Lincolnshire

There has been little research into migration relating specifically to Lincolnshire in the nineteenth century, except at the most abstract level. Redford contended that the drainage of the Fens, the enclosures of waste ground and the allotment Act of 1812, actually encouraged people to remain in rural districts rather than move to the towns. He cited the creation of six new settlements in the fenland area of southern Lincolnshire as an example of enabling people to become smallholders on small plots of land, (up to ten acres) thus giving them the opportunity to provide for their own livelihoods, whilst also ensuring that there was a ready supply of labour for the large farms in the area at harvest time. He does, however, state that the 1831 census showed that there had been decreases in population numbers in the south and west of England together with "Lincoln in the east".³² Redford's research was undertaken in the 1920s, and he did not have access to census details later than the 1831, and census reports which would have been available do not detail the minutiae of population information. In 1951 Smith only made a passing reference to Lincolnshire though the map of England and Wales in Figure 3, (Migration Currents, 1861 census) illustrates clearly the migratory movement around and across the country, and indicates that there was population movement from north Lincolnshire to Yorkshire, and some small movement to Nottinghamshire, both of which, adjoin Lincolnshire.³³ Glass and Eversley did examine one area of Lincolnshire, when considering the increase in population numbers resulting from the creation of allotments in the Lindsey region. They were discussing the subject of enclosure and labour supply in general throughout the country, and the information given was wide-ranging and not specific to any community in Lindsey.³⁴ This research was published in 1965, so the CEBs for 1851 and 1861 would have been available, but Glass and Eversley, like Redford, were concerned with a large-scale, or macro

³² Redford, *Labour Migration*. pp. 73 and 173.

³³ Smith, *The Movement of Population*, p. 206.

³⁴ *Population in History*, ed. by Glass, D.V., and Eversley, D.E.C., (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1965), p 315.

population history unlike the subject of this thesis, which concentrates on life-time movements of individuals of definite communities. The mid-1970s, however, saw research focusing on distinct areas of Lincolnshire, if not communities therein. For example, Jim Obelkevich stated that the eastern seaboard of Lincolnshire attracted large numbers of migrants during the first half of the nineteenth century. He ascribed this attraction to the open parish structure of the area, i.e. the settlements in the area had multiple owners and not a sole landlord who would be able to dictate as to who did or did not live in the settlement. It was suggested by Obelkevich that people moved to this area because of the many small farms that would provide work, although he pointed out that the same volume of migration also existed in the upland region of Lincolnshire – the North Wolds – because it was a highly agricultural area, but with large, very productive farms requiring labourers.³⁵ Obelkevich did not tell us, however, where the migrants came from, or if they migrated away from the area. It may be safe to assume that the workers attracted to these areas were familiar with agricultural work, but we do not know if they were migrants from places within walking distance, or whether they travelled many miles. In the current research the sending and receiving communities are known, where identifiable, and a good picture has been built of the ebb and flow of movement in and out of the four Lincolnshire settlements chosen for this study.

Some ten years later, Baines commented that the eastern counties, including Lincolnshire, showed less mobility than other parts of the country, with only five out of every ten migrants moving to other counties.³⁶ Even here, however, in-depth analysis of particular settlements is lacking and the figures still relate to “blanket” analysis of the county. White did focus on two settlements when looking at nineteenth century migration, focussing on Scunthorpe and Grantham, and using the 1881 CEBs for analysis. However, he investigated specifically, family migration

³⁵ Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp.17-18.

³⁶ Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, p. 235.

and did not track any family members throughout their lifetimes, and used birthplaces to establish their origins. Using the birthplaces of children can be illuminating when tracing the movements of a family, but in order to offer as complete as possible picture of migrational moves one needs to explore not only the moves before arriving in the settlement chosen for analysis, but also those that took place subsequently. That way, there is a good prospect of gaining constructive knowledge of migration at a local level.³⁷ Against this backdrop, it is unsurprising that by the early 1990s, John Beckett was able to note that although historians had found Lincolnshire-born communities in Hull, Middlesbrough and other cities in England, we knew little about whether those people moved directly to the cities or arrived at their final destinations by moving from small settlement to larger one, and so on. Moreover, he went on, there was little understanding of whether Lincolnshire folk were attracted to the big urban centres of the Midlands, or migrated further north or south, and an almost complete absence of knowledge about whether those who moved followed family members or remained within easy travelling distance of kin. In short, Beckett told us, at that date, Lincolnshire was functionally absent from migration research.³⁸ The situation has not improved subsequently. Charles Rawding in 2001 discussed a subject not included in this thesis, which is the problem that young women had when looking for employment in rural areas.³⁹ In 2004, Barry Reay touched briefly on emigration from Lincolnshire, where he commented that migrants to New Zealand tended to gravitate towards occupations that were familiar, and possibly, were also attracted to familiar accents, because specific occupations such as glove-makers from Oxfordshire, or miners from Cornwall, or agricultural workers from Lincolnshire were to be found living in the same communities in New Zealand.⁴⁰

³⁷ White, M.B., 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain: The Case of Grantham and Scunthorpe', *Local Population Studies Society*, (Autumn 1988), Number 41.

³⁸ Beckett, J.V., 'Lincolnshire and the East Midlands: A Historian's Perspective', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, (1992), Volume 27, p. 24.

³⁹ Rawding, C.K., *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2001), p. 63.

⁴⁰ Reay, B., *Rural Englands*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 89.

Thus, whilst there is much to learn from historians investigations into many regions of England, charting and tracking population movement, Lincolnshire has enjoyed very little attention regarding population characteristics and migratory patterns. The lack of work on Lincolnshire migration is not of course surprising. Lincolnshire is a large county and is, in fact, the second largest in England, but it is located on the far eastern side of the country. There are no large industrial metropolises within easy travelling distance and the county is lacking in fast flowing rivers which would have attracted mill owners to the area in the age before the advent of steam driven machinery. The River Humber forms the northern border and until late into the twentieth century, had no bridges spanning it all. The North Sea creates the eastern border, whilst the River Trent makes up part of the western side. The Trent had only two bridges in a distance of thirty miles.⁴¹ The Fens, reaching up from East Anglia created an effective barrier at the southern edge of the county up to the nineteenth century (it was recommended that travellers hired the services of a guide before journeying across this area⁴²), and therefore only the western and south-western parts of Lincolnshire gave easy access to the rest of England.⁴³ Against this backdrop, the thesis will begin the process of igniting historical interest in the region and will therefore make a significant contribution to our understanding of the scale, mechanics and experiences of migration more widely.

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

It has been shown that there are gaps in our current knowledge of migration, both in terms of the scale, direction, causes and consequences more generally and particularly in relation to Lincolnshire in the nineteenth century. For this county we do not know if there was a specific region or regions which showed the most movement and if migration was mainly from rural to urban destinations or from rural to rural destinations, and we know almost nothing about its scale. There has been no research and

⁴¹ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p.2.

⁴² Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1982), pp. 3-4.

⁴³ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 2.

nothing is known about the consequences of migration, who and why people moved and which occupational groups stayed or went. In this context my thesis conducts research on four settlements in Lincolnshire between 1851 and 1901, and it will trace the migratory patterns and experiences of the residents of those villages throughout the half century. Four of the themes highlighted earlier in the chapter, will underpin the analysis: (i) the regionality of migration; (ii) the scale of migration; (iii) the composition of migration and finally (iv) the consequences.

This investigation focuses upon four specific regions of Lindsey as identified by Obelkevich. The chosen areas are the southern section of the Wolds, which includes the market towns of Horncastle and Spilsby; the Middle Marsh from Alford in the north to a line approximately parallel with Skegness in the south; the Outer Marsh, stretching from Mablethorpe in the north to Skegness, and the Fen Margin, which is the northernmost section of the Fens stretching from East Anglia. More detailed consideration of these communities and the Lincolnshire context in which they are set can be found in Chapter Two, but for now some core characteristics are important in terms of reasons for choosing these communities as opposed to others. Thus the farms in the Wolds were large.⁴⁴ The extensive farming of rabbits had ensured that a large acreage was needed in order to support the rabbit warrens and provide the farms with an adequate income, so large farms of one hundred acres or more continued to be the norm later in the nineteenth century after farmers turned from rabbit farming to grain and root crop production. Apart from Horncastle and Spilsby, there was little in the way of towns and there was little industry in the area.⁴⁵ In addition, the farms were usually part of larger estates; seventy-eight per cent of the southern Wolds, for example, was made up of estates ranging from one hundred to one thousand or more acres. The owners of the estates also owned many of the villages in the Wolds, thus controlling the number of residents in each village. Indeed, Obelkevich writes that “well over half the population was in

⁴⁴ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p.15.

⁴⁵ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, pp. 11 and 6.

parishes of two hundred and fifty and below.” The small size of the population in each parish highlights the dominance of landowners. They owned the land on which the villages were built; they owned the cottages in which the villagers lived and they employed the villagers on their farms. This gave them the ability to dictate the number of residents that were allowed to live in their villages. “Closed” villages, as they are known, predominated in the southern Wolds region emphasising the influence the estates had over large tracts of country.

The boulder clay which made up much of the land of the Middle Marsh was heavy and hard to work, although drainage and ploughing did eventually help to achieve reasonable crop yields. However, cattle and sheep remained an important part of farming in this area, with numbers well above the average for the south Lindsey region as a whole.⁴⁶ This area contained some estates, although these were smaller than those found on the Wolds, however, most of the agricultural land was in the hands of smallholders. There was more arable than pastoral farming in this area, with the cultivation of corn in the parishes of Gayton-le-Marsh, Burgh-le-Marsh and Willoughby being sufficiently noteworthy as to be remarked upon.⁴⁷ Approximately a quarter of the land was held in estates of one thousand acres and over, as compared to just over half in the southern Wolds. The Middle Marsh supported a total of thirteen per cent of farms and smallholdings ranging between one to ninety-nine acres in size, whereas the percentage for the southern Wolds was less than half that.⁴⁸ There were few ‘close’ parishes in the Middle Marsh area, indeed, there were fewer villages in this area than in either of the other two areas under scrutiny.

The Outer Marsh, with its eastern boundary formed by the North Sea, and the Middle Marsh forming its western boundary, was an area quite different to either the Middle Marsh or the southern Wolds. Obelkevich writes that it “was a region apart. Its ‘luxuriant grazing lands’ were the

⁴⁶ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 10-18.

⁴⁷ Thirsk, J., *English Peasant Farming*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.), p. 243.

⁴⁸ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 10.

'glory of Lincolnshire' and in a number of parishes, over half the agricultural acreage was devoted to pasture".⁴⁹ This was an area much prized by the Wolds farmers for fattening their sheep and cattle before market.⁵⁰ The large estate owners of the Wolds were content to allow their tenant farmers to rent grazing land in the Outer Marsh, and few large landowners included parts of this area in their holdings. Therefore, the inhabitants of this region were, by and large, small freeholders or cottagers with an acre or two of land; in fact they were little more than agricultural labourers working their own plots of land and living at subsistence level.⁵¹ This area of Lincolnshire lay to the south of the county and was in fact, the northernmost edge of the Fenlands which was part of the East Anglian Fens. It is an area which is very low-lying, either at or below sea level in many places and is a combination of peat and alluvial silt, which was highly fertile. Drainage was achieved during the first half of the nineteenth century, by using steam engines to pump the water away, and although the Fenlands were still subject to flooding, farmers could now hope and even expect that their land would be serviceable most years and that their crops would not succumb to the devastating flood waters experienced previously.⁵² The richness of the soil meant that whilst crop rotation was used as in other Lincolnshire areas, the Fenland farmers were able to introduce different types of crops such as potatoes, and could also crop virtually continuously and still achieve good yields. The style of crop rotation used in Norfolk – that is, a four course rotation of turnips, barley, seeds and wheat – had become widely used by farmers throughout Lincolnshire by the 1850s.⁵³

In short, the broad study area of Lincolnshire has an interesting and varied agricultural pattern, resulting in a number of different styles of earning a livelihood. The four regions that this thesis concentrates upon range from upland to lowland; from well-drained land to marsh, and from

⁴⁹ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, p. 237.

⁵¹ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 237-238.

⁵² Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 208-209.

⁵³ Brown, J., *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2005), pp. 71-72.

large and prosperous estates and farms to subsistence-level small-holdings. The four settlements chosen for in-depth research are Addlethorpe which is situated in the Outer Marsh area; Burgh-le-Marsh, in the Middle Marsh; Ulceby in the southern area of the Wolds and finally, Eastville, which is to be found in the Fen Margin. Further micro-detail on the nature of the settlements is to be found in subsequent chapters.

1.5 The analysis of the Migratory Patterns of the People Living in the Four Settlements

The Census Enumerator's Books (CEBs) from 1851 to 1901 will give a sense of the scale and direction of migration in these communities. The CEBs from 1851 contain details about each household, giving the road or street name; the number of the dwelling; the name of each individual living there; his or her relationship to the head of household; the occupation of each working person; their marital status and their place of birth. To augment the data taken from the CEBs, there are some limited records available from the Spilsby Poor Law Union, which give some indication of an individual's location between census years, if, for instance, they spent some time in the workhouse or were paid outside relief, which meant that the Union paid the person some money whilst allowing them to remain in their home. The records are, however, scanty with only a very few details remaining. The parish records will also provide information regarding baptisms and burials. Baptismal and burial records have been particularly useful in order to locate babies who were born and died between census years. As these children would never appear on a CEB entry it may indicate a place of residence for the head of household and his family which would otherwise have not been detected. The burial registers will identify those heads of household who died rather than migrated during each ten year period, and will also indicate their place of residence at time of death. Another core primary source has been the local and regional trade directories such as Kelly's and White's. These were published annually and a reasonable number have survived to the present day and contain information about the residents of a community and the area in which they live. They also list those residents who carried

out a trade or trades within the community. However, it is not always easy to identify specific residents because the description of the trade carried out may vary from that given on the CEB – in many cases a tradesman might have pursued several trades but only be listed in a trade directory under one of those trades, and that one may not have been the occupation that he entered on his census schedule. For example, the 1876 edition of the Post Office Directory of Lincolnshire contains the following information for Skegness under the heading of “Commercial”: “Morley, George – Stationer, circulating library, news agent, chemist and agent for W. & A. Gilbey’s wines and spirits, and at Wainfleet, see advert,” and “Roe, John – Grocer, draper and fancy repository.”⁵⁴ In the 1871 census there is no record of George Morley but he is listed in the 1881 CEB for Wainfleet as a chemist. John Roe appears in the 1871 CEB with the occupation of grocer and draper and in the 1881 CEB as a grocer and lodging house keeper, but not a draper. In both of these examples the individuals concerned could have entered any one of several occupations on the census returns, and, particularly in the case of George Morley which was a fairly common name in the county of Lincolnshire, it would have been difficult to say with any certainty that the George Morley in the CEB for Wainfleet in 1881, is the same George Morley as that entered in the 1876 directory for that town.⁵⁵ Estate records are another primary source that have offered valuable information about people’s places of residence during the ten year gap between censuses. Rent books have been identified for an estate in the Middle Marsh area of the Spilsby Union district which covers around ten years during the 1870s and 1880s and gives clear names and addresses of estate workers. This set of records may, therefore, indicate movement or residential permanence within this community. In addition, a sales catalogue specifying sale of land in the Croft area of the Outer Marsh of the Spilsby Union area includes a map showing adjoining fields, the agricultural use to which they were put, and the names of the owners of those fields. This will help to identify those

⁵⁴ The Post Office Directory of Lincolnshire 1876.

⁵⁵ Census Returns of England and Wales, Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA) Public Record Office (PRO) 1871 and 1881.

people who migrated to that community between census years. While not an ideal-typical record set, these sources, when linked together in pursuit of the migratory histories of individual men, provide a rich testbed for the key questions and themes outlined earlier in Chapter One.

1.6 Conclusion

The objective of this research was to establish the migratory patterns of the people resident in four Lincolnshire settlements from 1851 to 1901, and the hypothesis to be pursued is that people did not follow a step-wise movement towards areas of high employment in the east Midlands, such as the mill towns of Nottingham and Derby, as suggested by Ravenstein, but were more likely to move in a circular pattern, staying close to a familiar location, and close to kinfolk. The regionality of migration; the rural to urban migration; the composition of that migration; and the causes and/or motivations involved, have been be addressed. The research interrogated each census year from 1851 to 1901, together with any other relevant sources, in order to discern whether the patterns of migration altered as the industrial era gathered pace, or whether other factors such as the agricultural depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century affected people's movements. Chapter Two discusses the broad theoretical backdrop to research of this sort, exploring the choices made in this thesis between "macro-history", "micro-history", and a description coined by Bloch and Febvre, "total history".⁵⁶ This chapter also gives a description of the geography of the county and the different sorts of agricultural land to be found there followed by a brief overview of the population characteristics of Lincolnshire. A description of the industrial development of Lincolnshire together with discussion of the different occupations available to Lincolnshire residents, is also undertaken. Finally, the chapter returns to the particular area of the county to be

⁵⁶ They believed that if the history gained in that research was linked to the country-wide history of progress, innovation, social mobility, and education, a truly rounded, or "total", history was possible. (Harsgor, Michael, 'Total History: The Annales School', *Journal of Contemporary History*, (Jan. 1978), Volume 13, Number 1, pp. 1-13).

researched and a deeper description of the four settlements that are the core focus here.

Chapter Three focuses solely on the males who were resident in 1851, and analyses their movements by using the CEBs from 1851 to 1901. The males were split into three cohorts – male Heads of Household, sons of Heads, and males living away from home. This chapter analyses their migrations or lack of movement by setting them into different categories of miles travelled, and to where they travelled. Additionally, the numbers of those who remained in the settlements, those who had died between censuses, and those men who could not be reliably identified, were included in the calculations, thus providing a comprehensive idea of male migratory movement across the settlements. The same method was applied in Chapter Four, to males who were not resident in 1851, but moved into the settlements at a date afterwards. They were divided into the same cohorts, and mileages were calculated in the same manner. Chapter Five addresses the regionality of the migration to and from the settlements, and includes both the men resident in the settlements in 1851, and those who in-migrated after that date. Two questions underpin this chapter: how much transport development in the form of improved roads, and the advent of railway building impacted on the males of the four settlements and informed their decisions of staying or leaving. Chapter Six looks at the scale of migration, and how many males stayed or went, by looking at the three cohorts of men to see if one specific group was more likely to have moved away. The key questions driving this chapter are whether education helped to give impetus to movement, in the form of increasing social mobility among the labouring class, and if the presence of friends or family members was a deciding factor in the migration process. Chapter Seven investigates whether there was a particular subset of people from any of the settlements who were more likely to move away than any other subset. The particular focus here is on the period of the Agricultural Depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This chapter closes with a brief discussion and the consequences of migration from Lincolnshire, and brings the history up-

to-date by looking at the differences, or lack of differences between nineteenth-century Lincolnshire, and the Lincolnshire of the twenty-first century.

Chapter Two: Lincolnshire context

2.1 Introduction

At the heart of this thesis is a fusion of quantitative and qualitative approaches to migration. There are, however, two necessary precursors to the detailed analysis itself. Firstly, a need to elaborate the theoretical approach to the research and to explore the range and depth of sources used including the Census Enumerators' Books (CEBs), together with civil documentation such as the relevant births, marriages and death records, immigration details from other countries and ships passengers lists. And secondly to establish the socio-economic, spatial and demographic background to the study of the individual communities outlined briefly in Chapter One and developed further in this chapter. The geological aspects of the area are studied because the land on which the inhabitants live influences directly the manner of their lives, their occupations and their ability or lack of ability to move to other locations. In turn, the characteristics of the population; their occupations; and their age composition, are factors that need to be recognised as influences on migratory movements, and finally, the different types of employment – the presence or absence of industrial advances in the area – will indicate possible 'push/pull' factors determining staying or leaving a specific community. Of course, the two precursors are intimately linked; Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre fervently believed that all disciplines such as economics, social sciences and psychology, and geography were an integral part of history research and writing. In 1929, they founded a new historical journal and named it *Annales d'histoire et économique* which espoused that conviction, and later Febvre's successor as editor of *Annales*, Fernand Braudel, is generally held to be the person who drove Bloch and Febvre's vision of 'total history' forward. If all the sources are to be mastered and a full integration of theme is to be achieved, the geographical limits of the enquiry must be drastically narrowed. Paradoxically, therefore, 'total history' turns out in practice to mean *local*

and micro-history.⁵⁷ It is to this theme, and to wider questions of the sources used in the thesis, that the chapter first turns.

2.2 Micro-History

The advantages or disadvantages of approaching a research-based theme using the ‘total history’ methodology are multiple. It has been argued that by researching a small and specific community or locality, it is possible to use the data gathered to build a better picture of social, political and economic conditions in the country in general. ‘Total history’ thus can be regarded as ‘micro-history’, or the research of the small and the local, and is the opposite of ‘macro-history’ or the big theme and the general overall picture. It is maintained that micro-history is necessary because it is the only method that will reveal the intricacies of social culture, and illustrate the differences between the official version of Victorian mores and values that existed at a societal level. However, social historians must always be aware of the dangers of focusing on local history to the exclusion of the bigger picture because the national trends may be lost in the minutiae of daily happenings within the community.⁵⁸ Micro-history, therefore, is the exploration of big issues, national in scope and scale, through local case studies, or as Sharpe said, when exploring the history of Colyton, Devon, the history of a community “cannot be achieved by an economic or demographic history which is devoid of human actors”.⁵⁹ Reay commented thus on his research of a group of parishes in Kent: “The advantage of placing a small community under the microscope is that it becomes possible to see and explore the complexity of social interaction and social and economic processes. The settlements of Blean were not static, isolated communities but highly geographically mobile”.⁶⁰ So at the core of micro-history as a method of analysis, is the intensive engagement with sources, for the purposes of this study in

⁵⁷ Tosh, J., *the pursuit of history*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000) see Chapter Five for a more in-depth discussion on the *Annales* school of thought.

⁵⁸ Reay, B., *Microhistories*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁵⁹ Sharpe, P., *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), p. 305.

⁶⁰ Reay, *Microhistories*, p. 258.

particular, the census and associated documents. These sources are not unproblematic and it is important initially to look at some of the strengths and weaknesses of census material and some of the methodologies that others have used.

Four issues with my sources loom particularly large in the secondary literature; firstly, the awareness of what or who is actually included in the census material and how far the information may be regarded as accurate; secondly, it is necessary to be aware of the ways in which the censuses have been used by historians; the third issue to be borne in mind is the various methods of sampling the information contained in the material; and finally, it is necessary to discover how others have linked the information gathered from other sources such as parish registers, wills and poor law documents, with the information contained within the censuses, in order to produce a more rounded picture of the community under investigation and about the wider world in which it was located. It is important to gather as much information from the various sources in order to be sure of identifying individuals accurately, because reliance only on one source will never offer a good rounded picture of life in a community. For instance, parish registers provide information on the baptisms, marriages and burials of people, but in an area where non-conformism was common, it is possible that sections of the community would be absent from those registers. Also, Poor Law records may indicate a need for assistance when times were hard and work was difficult to find, but those records are not always available. Therefore there are occasions when the historian has to rely on record linkage within the CEBs plus educated guesses. For example, if a man and a woman are listed in one census as married, and in the following census there is only one of the couple listed, and listed as 'widow' or 'widower', it is a fair assumption that the spouse died in the intervening decade, even if the death or burial information cannot be reliably identified.

To return to the first point - the possible weaknesses of the information contained within the census returns - an obvious problem arises when the researcher is using Census Enumerator's Books (CEBs) from different

census years, because they are not consistent in the data for which they asked. The 1841 census, for example, which is the first census where there is any attempt to collect personal information from residents in a community, asked only for 'place' where an individual lived. The instructions did not ask for house numbers, presumably because these may not have existed at that time if the locality was a small rural settlement. The result was that all that was entered into that column on the census form was the name of the street, thus giving no indication if a household occupied part of a house or just one room or the entire building. If the enumerators did not clearly indicate where one household ended and another began, it is difficult to distinguish the relationships of the occupants to each other. This census also only required the county of birth to be entered and not the town or village, which can also prove problematic for the researcher when analysis of CEBS from other decades is required.

The 1851 census required rather more precise information regarding the address of each family unit; the relationship of one resident to another; the town or village where born; and whether the person had a disability. The 1861 census also required employers to state the number of people working for them and for farmers to give the acreage of their land. The following censuses remained broadly similar until 1891 when the Head of Household was asked to say if they were an employer or an employee, and if the household occupied less than five rooms. It is therefore, fraught with difficulty to attempt to compare one census year with another because the questions asked of the households was evolving and new questions were being included almost at each census year. In addition, it is necessary to bear in mind that the CEBS were compiled by enumerators who took the information from the forms returned to them by the heads of households, and it possible that they adjusted the information given in order to conform to current attitudes or morals. There are numerous examples of households containing a single male head of household, a single female 'housekeeper' of much the same age as the head, and several children. It is debatable whether the head of household

with a given occupation of agricultural labourer could have afforded to provide for a paid housekeeper and her children, so the researcher may reach the conclusion that these were two people living together without the formality of a marriage ceremony, and may wonder who decided on the category of 'housekeeper' – was it the enumerator who knew the couple, or was it the labourer who preferred not to broadcast his state of 'living in sin'. As Edward Higgs observed the term 'housekeeper', 'servant', or 'domestic servant' covered a variety of meanings. For example, in addition to the observation above, 'housekeeper' was used in some cases in the Occupation column although the Relationship to Head of Household column stated that the 'housekeeper' was in fact the wife of the head of household. The same applied to the term 'servant' in many instances although it was stated that relationship was familial. So there may be little chance of establishing if the 'servant' was working in their family home or working as a non-resident servant elsewhere. Higgs made it clear that one should not simply accept the occupational details in the CEBS at face value because they are capable of confusing the interpretation of the data.⁶¹ Cooper and Donald referred to Higgs when presenting their work on an area in Devon, and they also found that "cases of kin relationships do exist which are not recorded as such in listings such as the census".⁶²

Enumeration districts also changed over time. A district was defined as a geographical area that would be manageable for the enumerator to collect the census forms. However, districts grew with population increase so they were subdivided. Another problem was that the administration boundaries which the enumeration districts followed, were sometimes changed. The parliamentary report relating to the 1891 England and Wales census showed that many parish boundaries had been altered by laws throughout the years before the census, but it was apparent that not

⁶¹ Higgs, E., 'Domestic Servants and Households in Victorian England', *Social History*, (1983), Volume 8, Number 2.

⁶² Cooper, D. and Donald, M., 'Households and 'hidden' kin in early-nineteenth-century England: four case studies in suburban Exeter, 1821-1861', *Continuity and Change*, (1995), Volume 10, Number 2, pp. 257-278.

all of the changes were recognised or were recorded by those who collected rates, so administration was carried on the basis of the old boundaries and “the Registrars and Enumerators had assumed, and acted on the belief, that the change in the Civil Parish involved a corresponding change in the Ecclesiastical Parish.”⁶³ This is potentially an important problem in relation to the research undertaken for this thesis: Addlethorpe might have had boundary alterations, because that settlement is within one mile of both Ingoldmells and Orby, and all three communities are scattered with outlying cottager and farm properties. Given such complexity, the decision was made in this thesis to accept the enumerators’ entries as being correct, according to their perceptions of what constituted the parish or enumeration district. In Addlethorpe, for example, there was a farmer who, in 1851, was listed in the CEBs as living in Addlethorpe, but in later censuses, was listed as an Orby resident, but still residing on a farm. It is highly likely that this man had not moved, but there is not a fool-proof method of ascertaining it, for there was only a road given in the CEBs. Thus I have accepted that the Orby address is correct, wherever it occurs, because it is not possible to achieve accurate identification, and the numbers are so small, that it will not significantly affect the overall outcome.

A second point to observe in relation to CEB analyses is the various ways in which historians use the information. It is possible to follow families and/or individuals from one census to the next and the data may indicate changes in lifestyle through marriage, birth of children, widowhood, address or occupation; or communities may be researched over several census years indicating societal changes within that community; the differences in household composition in a rural setting may be compared with similar in an urban environment; the numbers of a particular occupation with its locations, its male and female ratios, its changing social status over time, may be investigated. The information gathered from this form of local history may then be used to determine trends in the country as a whole, which is the conclusion Anderson drew when studying

⁶³ www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/EW1891GEN/3

the inhabitants of Preston, Lancashire. He found that the approach he took could “set the findings [...] in a broader cross-cultural setting with reference to both traditional societies and to industrialisation in the twentieth century,” indeed, he stated that this type of micro-study could provide the framework for hypotheses to be made for family constructs over a greater length of time.⁶⁴ Unlike this research which has studied all, where identifiable, the residents of four small settlements, Anderson chose a town, and from that town he studied a sample of one in ten residents. Other research, by Pooley and Turnbull, used family historians research into specific individuals, but did not restrict the analysis to a particular urban or rural community, or even area, and linked the outcomes to research conducted on movements in selected European countries, in order to discover how normal, or otherwise, were the migratory trends in Britain.⁶⁵ Their work used the life patterns of more than sixteen thousand people from many different places whereas the information gathered in this study involves the migratory journeys of no more than two thousand males who were resident in one of four Lincolnshire settlements between 1851 and 1901. Another work focused on the population of the northern part of England, and not on a particular area or community, but looked at the operation of the poor law and its effect on the poverty stricken. King said that his research concentrated on “regional rather than national, administrative or legislative histories of poverty and welfare,” because it was apparent that there was not one form of welfare relief, but many forms across the country, all with the same aim, but different in character.⁶⁶

Methodologically, then, using CEBs as a core source opens up the possibility of following and analysing multiple cohorts or subsets of local populations. Research focused on small communities or settlements may make use of the information on *all* the inhabitants, as did Robin who

⁶⁴ Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 175.

⁶⁵ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th Century*, (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1998), pp. 320-321.

⁶⁶ King, S.A., *Poverty and welfare in England 1700-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 10.

chose a settlement in Essex for her study of out-migration.⁶⁷ Melbourn in Cambridgeshire was the focus for Mills study of occupations in the nineteenth century, linking his findings with the research of others in such diverse locations as Leicestershire, Berkshire and Lincolnshire,⁶⁸ and Deacon chose Falmouth, St Agnes and nine rural parishes near Truro, all of which are in Cornwall, for his investigation of migration between 1851 and 1881.⁶⁹ So, it is evident that small settlements lend themselves to micro-historical analysis for the very reason that all the information contained in the CEBs may be used and linked to other sources with relative ease, in order to shed light on out-migration.⁷⁰ A more complex method of analysis when dealing with larger communities is to sample the population, as I have suggested above. This could be a group of people who live in the same street, as Cooper and Donald's research into Old Tiverton Road in Exeter reflects;⁷¹ have the same occupation or have a characteristic that makes them easily identifiable for the purposes of research. This 'cluster' method was chosen by Michael Anderson when studying the 1851 census of Great Britain. He separated the settlements into "towns, small non-urban settlements, large non-urban settlements, and a residual category of 'other places'. Institutions listed separately in the published Reports formed a fifth group (or stratum)." Anderson then used "every fiftieth enumeration book which related to each category of place "and selected "twenty individuals from each successive one thousand names". Anderson warns of the dangers of using the data set for localised research however, because the information would not accurately reflect the composition of a reasonably sized town or village, as only one enumeration book would have been selected for that

⁶⁷ Robin, J., *Elmdon: Continuity and Change in a north-west Essex Village 1861-1964*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁶⁸ Mills, D.R., 'The nineteenth-century peasantry of Melbourn, Cambridgeshire', in *Land, Kinship and Life-cycle*, ed. by Smith, R.M., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁹ Deacon, B., 'Communities, Families and Migration: Some Evidence from Cornwall', *Family & Community History*, (May 2007), Vol. 10, Number 1, pp. 49-60.

⁷⁰ Note: another micro-history study is that chosen by June Sheppard - Sheppard, J., 'Out-Migration 1821-1851 from a Wealden Parish: Chiddingly', *Local Population Studies*, (1997) Volume 59.

⁷¹ Cooper, and Donald, *Households*, pp. 257-278.

community, thus a true spread of characteristics for that community would not have been achieved.⁷² Cluster sampling is also appropriate when researching the migratory movements of particular occupations in chosen localities. The focus might be on textile workers in one town on one census year⁷³; or in one case a major requirement of a study involving marital, occupational, and residential choices of children in a Devon parish was that at least one of the parents in the household had to show long-term residence within the settlement.⁷⁴ On the other hand, it might have been necessary for the analysis to include heads of households and lodgers and servants. Robinson explains his reasons for this particular choice by arguing that if the study had been restricted to heads of household only, it would have ignored people who migrated singly rather than as members of family units, therefore discounting an important section of the population.⁷⁵

It is also possible when focusing on larger communities and by selecting particular sorts of records, to identify tightly defined clusters. One such example is the study of the marriage registers, apprenticeship registers and poor law examinations of the three towns of Leicester, Nottingham and Derby in the east Midlands in order to show evidence of migration.⁷⁶ On the other hand, historical analysis can be carried out on a much larger scale whilst still using a sampling method, as did Baines when researching country-wide migration. He based his research on county-by-county figures from census reports, arriving at his figures of migration by “estimating the number of deaths of natives of each of the fifty-two counties of England and Wales distinguishing those that occurred in the

⁷² Anderson, M., *The 1851 census: a national sample of the enumerators' returns*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1987).

⁷³ Turner, W., 'Patterns of Migration of Textile Workers into Accrington in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 1983), Number 30, pp. 28-34.

⁷⁴ Wall, R., 'Marriage, Residence, and Occupational Choices of Senior and Junior Siblings in the English Past', *The History of the Family*, (1996), Volume 1, Number 3, pp 259-271.

⁷⁵ Robinson, S.C.F., 'Life-time migration and occupation in Motherwell, 1851-91', *Local Population Studies*, (1998), Volume 61, pp.13-24.

⁷⁶ Townsend, C., 'County versus region? Migrational connections in the East Midlands 1700-1830', *Journal of Historical Geography*, (April 2006), Volume 32, Issue 2, pp 291-312.

county in which the individuals had been born and those that occurred in the other counties of England and Wales". The figures Baines arrived at for each county were then used as a whole for an analysis on migration in England and Wales in general.⁷⁷ The problem arising from this method is that population movement, when taken from county population figures, masks the migratory movements that happened within the county at a local level, as we have already seen in Chapter One.

Whatever sampling method is used, many of the secondary studies outlined in Chapter One show that other sorts of documents can be linked with census information, in order to provide a more rounded picture of local history in a given locality. Censuses were conducted once every ten years, so whilst offering much detail about people they are only a snapshot of one day. Thus, Civil registration records were linked to CEBs in the cluster sampling of three Cornish settlements in order to build up a picture of migratory patterns in that county,⁷⁸ and a variety of sources from CEBs to Diocesan records of Lincoln, to newspapers, to government reports were linked together for Obelkevich's work on South Lindsey in Lincolnshire in the mid nineteenth century.⁷⁹ Reay also made use of Diocesan records at Canterbury, Parliamentary Papers and information taken from an oral history project when researching the Blean area of Kent. We are told in the foreword that Reay aimed "to show that the implications of the microstudy can range way beyond its modest geographical and historical boundaries".⁸⁰

These generalised approaches to source use and linkage heavily inform the methods employed in this study of four small settlements – Addlethorpe, Ulceby and Eastville had not more than six hundred and ninety six inhabitants in total, whilst the fourth, Burgh le Marsh, had one thousand two hundred and thirteen residents in 1851 – in Lincolnshire.

⁷⁷ Baines, D., *Migration in a Mature Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁷⁸ Deacon, *Communities, families and migration*, pp. 49-60.

⁷⁹ Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) Preface.

⁸⁰ Reay, *Microhistories*, Foreword.

The study concentrates on the migratory movements of the male cohorts in each village for each of the six census years from 1851 to 1901, with the information gathered from the CEBs supplemented with data taken from the civil registers. Parish registers which were kept by the parish churches also provided information on baptisms, marriages and burials, and these two forms of records are available at the Lincolnshire Archives in Lincoln. The parish registers, however, only related to details of those people who were Anglicans, whereas this area of the country had a healthy non-conformist following with Wesleyan, Methodist and Congregational chapels in Burgh le Marsh and Eastville,⁸¹ the records of which are not easily available. The study also links this core data to other sources in order to understand more about the composition of the migratory cohorts and to throw light on issues such as motivation. Trade and Post Office directories offered useful information, because they listed each town and village in the county, and had brief descriptions of the type of geography in each location; the type of agricultural practices carried out; note-worthy buildings, gentry and tradespeople evidence. At the other end of the socio-economic spectrum, the four settlements lie within the Spilsby Poor Law Union, and the parochial lists of paupers and statements of accounts⁸² could have provided information on individuals in each settlement, as could removal orders giving names and locations of persons to be removed to their parish of settlement. The records for this union are, however, very poor for this period and have been of limited

⁸¹ Meth/C/Burgh le Marsh/A(www.lincstothepast.com) Burgh-le-Marsh-Chapel

⁸² Burgh le Marsh PAR/13/9 (www.linkstothepast.com). Obelkevich concentrated on the effect of religion, Anglican and Methodist, in the area of Lincolnshire from which I selected the four settlements for analysis, and he concluded with the belief that by the nineteenth century the “Established Church was probably smaller ... than it had been earlier” partly because of the rise of Methodism, but also because the Anglican clergy had become less approachable”. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 126. Bebbington explain the transformation of the lower grade Baptist academies into elite colleges as “Nonconformists were becoming more respectable; and educational standards were rising in society at large.” Bebbington, D., ‘The Baptist Colleges in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Baptist Quarterly*, (April 2015), Volume 46, Number 2, pp. 49-68. Three counties of the Oxford Diocese were the subject of Tiller’s research into nonconformity, centring on the 1851 religious census of England and Wales. She combined “personal, community, regional and national perspectives to identify patterns of Dissent and to explore their character and causes within the relationship between religion and community.” Tiller, K., ‘Patterns of Dissent: The Social and Religious Geography of Nonconformity in Three Counties’, *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, (2018), Volume 13, Number 1, pp. 4-31.

use. The newspapers of the time offered information that added information to events such as the building or opening of railway lines in the east coast region; articles referring to school examinations; advertisements giving details of the ships that plied between Britain, Australia, New Zealand and America. Newspapers also carried 'situations vacant' advertisements relating to London, thus giving insight into the migratory options that were available to the Lincolnshire people. In the twenty-first century it is now possible to access civil records such as censuses from across the world, via the internet, plus it is possible to locate newspaper articles from other countries relating to obituaries of emigrants. There are, therefore, useful sources available which can help to add depth and colour to the analysis of these settlements and their inhabitants.

Using these sources has not, of course, been straightforward and two issues require clarity at the outset of the thesis. First, only males have been used for this research, in part because they are more easily identifiable than females in prior and subsequent censuses and in the records that we might link to census lists. Their surnames do not alter upon marriage, as do female surnames, and because domestic service was often the type of employment available to young females in Lincolnshire there would necessarily be significant female movement early in the life-cycle to an employer's residence. The early release from parental households, particularly where (as in Lincolnshire) the forename and surname pools for women were limited, complicates the ability to keep track of any individual women even before the issue of marriage arises. Thus, there were several young females living in Burgh le Marsh in 1851 who had the same first names and surnames, making tracking them problematic once they have left the family circle.⁸³ Full family reconstruction and genealogical reconstruction would have obviated these potential problems, but this thesis did not set out to undertake such a task. Rather, it is a comparative study of four broadly contiguous

⁸³ Ann Raithby x 2; Ann Smith x 2; and Fanny Harness x 2 – these females were all close in age.

communities to explore the issue of the scale, character and motivation for migration. Family reconstitution would have been a considerable task for even one village over the period and record sets that drive the thesis. Nonetheless, a focus on men introduces a number of biases into the analysis which are (i) that the migration of some women could have provided motivation for some men to move; (ii) women may have had longer distance moves, or migrated into urban areas; (iii) female Heads of Household may have migrated more or less than their male counterparts; (iv) analysis of unattached females living away from home had the potential to illustrate quite different migratory movements. These potential problems, of course, are significant and the focus on men yields a particular version of the migratory system in Lincolnshire. My study, however, is not alone in such a focus. Boyer, for instance, focused “on male migration because the lack of female data makes it difficult to determine the causes of female migration”.⁸⁴ Similarly, Friedlander who used male data in his study of occupations, wages and migration.⁸⁵ And while Pooley and Turnbull addressed both men and women in their analysis of lifetime migratory moves, they were only able to do so on an unsystematic basis not linked to cohorts or places, because their data was in effect generated at the individual level by family historians and others who had reconstituted their own families. Indeed, there are also important strengths to focusing on male data only, in that their surnames stay the same over their lifetimes, and most of them progressed to becoming Heads of Household, even if they did not marry. Thus, their details are more likely to survive intact throughout the census years because they retained control of it, allowing us to be as certain as we can be in terms of the construction and tracing of cohorts backwards and forwards from any census. For men at least, we are able to get a firm grasp on cohort and community migratory patterns, distances and likely

⁸⁴ Boyer, G.R., ‘Labour Migration in Southern and Eastern England, 1861-1901’, *European Review of Economics History*, Volume 1, Number 2.

⁸⁵ Friedlander, Dov, ‘Occupational Structure, Wages, and Migration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales’, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, (Nov. 1991).

macro- and micro-motivations in a way that has often been lacking in the wider literature.

A second issue on which we need clarity is the particular methodological approach taken by the thesis to look at these men. Thus there are problems in attempting to form a life-time path of any individual, because in the settlements chosen it has been found that there are individuals who share the same family surname of many other inhabitants (families tended to be large!), and also share the same first name.⁸⁶ The places of residence in the four settlements are listed in the CEBs with only street names, but with no house numbers, so when tracking individuals from one census to the next, there have been a number of choices – with two people with the same name living in the same locality. In that case, it has been useful to compare ages and places of birth, however, the ages given have been accurate only within one or two years, and places of birth have been confused with a places of residence of some years previously having been used. In those cases, the best chance of identification has been shown to be the occupation given and/or linkage with other family members. So identification of individuals from one CEB to the next, or to parish records, poor law records, tenants lists etc. have been fraught with difficulty.⁸⁷ Additionally, the CEBs are not always legible, and clerks have marked the sheets as they have worked through them extracting data for government reports; the handwriting of the enumerators cannot always be clearly read, and sheets have become less distinct with the passage of time. Unfortunately, in addition to the problems of legibility of the data, information is not always available. Records were lost or destroyed and

⁸⁶ Davey families, Addlethorpe. Parker families, Burgh le Marsh. (England and Wales Censuses 1851-1901).

⁸⁷ Razzell addressed the problem same name siblings, when tracking individuals through parish records and census information. However, his focus has been on members within the same nuclear family, where he found that children were occasionally given the same first name as a child who had died, whereas this thesis has found no indication of that practice, but has found that children born into the same larger family were sometimes given the same name, and frequently, had the same year of birth, in addition to the same settlement of birth. Razzell, P., 'Living same-name siblings and English historical demography: a commentary', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 2012), Volume 88, Number 1, and 'Evaluating the same-name technique as a way of measuring burial registration reliability in England', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 2000), Number 64.

thus have not been lodged at archives centres for safe keeping; so whilst there appears to be numerous records available for research purposes regarding the area of Lincolnshire with which this thesis is concerned, in reality the surviving evidence is rather sketchy.⁸⁸ In order to achieve results in this thesis, record linkage was conducted by taking names, ages, birthplaces and occupations from the 1851 CEBs to the 1861 records and so on to 1901. The method used was to enter the details into the 'search' section of www.ancestry.com, asking only for males, and UK and Ireland records, thus records focusing on the specific name, place of birth and age should have been presented. However, in reality, the computer programme tended to show many variations on the original search request, such as age differences in ages, differences in birthplaces, or an absence of any data requested. At that point, the search moved to other members of the family, as written in the initial CEBs, to see if any appear in later censuses and if the males being tracked were still living at home, albeit with slightly altered details. If there were still no usable records the immigration records from the website were accessed, although these were less than useful because they simply offered names, ages, occupation and country of birth. So, with no reliable records to link with the original details, that particular 1851 CEBs entry was discarded. In reality, the major record 'failure' occurred in the category of 'males living away from home', that is, those males who had left home to work, usually on a farm, in another settlement. These males were difficult to link 'forward' because there was no information with which to form a connection. It was possible to establish many males who had died, sometimes by accessing the Ancestry.com BMD register, but that was

⁸⁸ Wrigley E.A. discussed at length the problems of finding usable parish records of baptisms, marriages and burials, in eighteenth century England, and thus the added problems of reconstituting families. However, he maintained that it was possible to assemble family data relevant to the researchers chosen settlement or area, whether that was small in size or large. Other examples of the kinds of analyses that have been used are the following: Razzell, P., 'The evaluation of baptisms as a form of birth registration through cross-matching census and parish register data', *Population Studies*, XXVI (1972); also Wrigley, E.A., 'Baptism coverage in early nineteenth-century England: the Colyton area', *Population Studies*, XXIX (1975); Wrigley, E.A., 'Family reconstitution', ed. by Eversley, D.E.C., Laslett, P., and Wrigley, E.A., *An introduction to English historical demography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966).

largely unsuccessful because of lack of additional details on the site. However, if a married male failed to be included on a following CEB, but his wife was present but listed as a widow, this research concluded that male had died between the relevant census years.

Therefore, the CEBs yielded much good information which was supplemented by civil records and parish records where available. Neither methods and sources employed here nor the perspectives on migration that they generate can, however, be understood outside of the context of the landscapes, industries, transport infrastructures and geography that shaped the essential character of the county of Lincolnshire and my four communities. It is to these issues that the chapter now turns.

2.3 The Geological Characteristics of Lincolnshire

Lincolnshire has a number of different landscapes, both geological and agricultural, and the county may be divided into several quite distinct geographical regions as we have already begun to see in Chapter One. At the western side of the county, the Trent Valley through which the River Trent flows is a low-lying area subject to flooding from both the river Trent and the smaller river Till before the drainage schemes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were put into place. These involved managing the high spring tides. Water was allowed to flood the fields through gaps in specially built banks; once the silt had been deposited on the fields, the water was allowed to drain away. In this manner, a layer of silt up to a depth of about three feet was built up⁸⁹. The resulting soil was a highly fertile growing medium. Moving eastwards from the Trent valley, the next areas encountered are the Lincoln Cliff and the Heath. The Lincoln Cliff lies to the north of the city of Lincoln, whilst the Heath lies to the south of the city. These regions are both upland areas, rising in some places to heights in excess of 150m. The Heath merges into the Kesteven uplands which are covered with boulder clay deposited during the last ice age.⁹⁰ The soil in these areas is lighter and thinner, with

⁸⁹ Thirsk, J., *English Peasant Farming*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1981) p. 290.

⁹⁰ *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, ed. Bennett, Stewart, and Bennett, Nicholas, (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 8.

a mixture of arable and pastoral farming being pursued. Farmers from these districts sent their cattle and sheep to the fenlands and marshlands further east in the county for fattening, as did the Wolds farmers.⁹¹ The Heath and Lincoln Cliff farmers adopted the system of high farming as used by the farmers on the Wolds: it was a blend of producing seed crops such as wheat and barley and was rotated with root crops and livestock rearing.⁹² To the south of Lincolnshire lie the fenlands which constituted the northernmost part of the East Anglian Fens. It is an area which is very low-lying, either at or below sea level in many places and is a combination of peat and alluvial silt, which was highly fertile. Drainage was achieved during the first half of the nineteenth century by using steam engines to pump the water away. The fenlands were still subject to flooding, but with the new pumping improvements, the farmers could now hope and even expect that their land would be serviceable most years and that their crops would not succumb to the devastating flood waters experienced previously.⁹³ The richness of the soil meant that whilst crop rotation was used as in other Lincolnshire areas, the fenland farmers were able to introduce different types of crops such as potatoes, and could also crop virtually continuously and still achieve good yields. The style of crop rotation used in Norfolk – that is, a four course rotation of turnips, barley, seeds and wheat – had become widely used by farmers throughout Lincolnshire by the 1850s.⁹⁴

At the north western corner of Lincolnshire lies the Isle of Axholme which is an area that has a soil composition similar to the fenlands in the south, and is again, a highly fertile and low-lying area. To the east of the Clay Vale and to the north of the fenlands lie the Wolds, an upland area with thin chalky soil, which until the early nineteenth century, supported extensive and highly profitable rabbit warrens that were the main source of income for the farmers in the area. However, as the century

⁹¹ Brown, J., *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2005), p. 79.

⁹² Brown, *Farming*, p. 85.

⁹³ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, pp. 208-209.

⁹⁴ Brown, *Farming*, pp. 71-72.

progressed, rabbit meat was replaced by mutton as the new cheap meat, and the desire for clothing accessories made from rabbit fur waned. The farmers, as a result of falling prices for rabbit and the knowledge that the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the century had forced the price of grain upwards, turned their attention to the more profitable business of converting their land to the production of good yields of wheat, barley and root crops.⁹⁵ Therefore, by the 1850s, the Lincolnshire Wolds was an area of high farming, “the term used to describe rising levels of agricultural productivity, developments in agricultural technology, and a very Victorian concept of ‘improvement’”.⁹⁶

Moving further east, towards the sea, there are, finally, two marshland regions, both of which are quite different from each other. The first, adjoining the Wolds, is called the Middle Marsh, as Chapter One began to note. The soil is made up mainly of boulder clay and it is a land that is fertile but suffers from poor drainage.⁹⁷ A mixture of arable and pastoral farming is carried out in this area with the emphasis on pastoral farming, because the land was better suited to supporting sheep and cattle, of which there were large numbers, than to the production of cereal or root crops.⁹⁸ The final area, bordering the North Sea, is the second marsh region, known as the Outer Marsh. This area is composed of marine silt and is a highly fertile soil best suited to grazing and much prized by the Wolds farmers as an area for fattening their livestock before market.⁹⁹ These then are the main geographical and agricultural areas of Lincolnshire each of which was quite different in character. The crops grown in each area differed because of the dictates of the soil types; animal husbandry varied with sheep on the Wolds and cattle on the Middle Marsh with both being fattened for market on the fertile ground of the Outer Marsh. Each area required different styles of farming, with small freeholder cottagers with one or two acres subsisting on the Outer Marsh,

⁹⁵ Rawding, C., *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2001) p. 16.

⁹⁶ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p.18.

⁹⁷ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁹ Brown, *Farming*, p.78.

to large farms employing labourers on a yearly or daily basis on the Wolds. The villages on the Wolds were a mixture of 'closed' and 'open' settlements, with day labourers who were unable to find accommodation in the 'closed' villages having to walk several miles to and from work each day. Unemployment was a problem in the Outer Marsh because additional labour was not required by the cottagers, and indeed, as male children grew to adulthood, they needed to find work elsewhere because they could not be supported on their home ground. In short the basic geology and associated soil types of the county have a deep, if often unacknowledged, impact on the likely scale, character and distance of migration.

Not only was the type of work different between the regions, but the topography was also different. The Wolds consisted of gently rolling uplands with valleys and woods, whilst the Fens and Outer Marsh were flat with few wooded areas and horizons which stretched away from the observer. Here were the big skies that still provoke comment today. There is a story of a waggoner who had been born in the Wolds and worked there only; however, on returning from WW1 he decided to take a job on a farm in the Fens because the pay was better. He soon moved 'home' again however, because he could not come to terms with the farming methods, the flat lands or the big skies of the Fens!¹⁰⁰ So, in this respect, it will be as well to bear in mind that people from the Outer Marsh, for example, may have found it difficult to find work, or to adjust to life in a Wolds farming community, or the opposite may be the case, and this is where micro history is so important, for its "defining feature is its size, namely it is history on a small scale".¹⁰¹ It is history that examines a particular locality over a length of time, linking the results of the examination to events which may have impacted on the locality, or may have bypassed it. It is the type of research that can highlight events that would not be evident if the research had been conducted at county or

¹⁰⁰ Brown, *Farming*, pp.7-8.

¹⁰¹ Waddell, B., <https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2012/12/01/microhistory-size-matters/>

country level,¹⁰² so the thesis has opened up new information on the history of English migration patterns. Now, however, it is also necessary to examine the population size of the county as a whole.

2.4 The Population of Lincolnshire

It was not known what the total population numbers of England were until censuses began in 1801. In order to address this gap, historians Wrigley and Schofield developed a method of estimating as accurately as possible, through the use of parish register data, the population numbers from the start of registration in the mid-sixteenth century. Some sense of this research method was outlined earlier in this chapter and in Chapter One. Their research showed that the population in 1551 stood at approximately three million souls and rose throughout the period until the first census in 1801, when the population figure produced was a little over eight and a half million people. The beginning of the nineteenth century marked an unprecedented rise in population figures and by 1851, the figure of eight and a half million had doubled to just over sixteen million inhabitants.¹⁰³ This increase was attributed to a rise in the birth rate coupled with a drop in the death rate.¹⁰⁴ Lincolnshire, however, remained sparsely populated. Only three of its towns – Lincoln, Boston and Stamford – had more than five thousand inhabitants in 1801. Lincoln, as the county town of Lincolnshire, could only boast a little over seven thousand people at that time.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in the years between 1801 and 1851, the population of Lincolnshire as a whole increased by almost one hundred per cent, from a little over two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand. Even so, adjacent counties such as Yorkshire were growing faster and could boast a resident population four times the size of Lincolnshire by 1851. In short, large swathes of the Lincolnshire countryside had few inhabitants. The acreage of the county was just

¹⁰² Brown, R.D., 'Microhistory and the Post-Modern Challenge', *Journal of the Early Republic*, (Spring 2003), Volume 23, Number 1, pp. 1-20.

¹⁰³ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population and History*, pp. 208-209.

¹⁰⁴ Bennett, & Bennett, *Historical Atlas*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁵ Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and History 1700-1914*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1982), p. 86.

under two millions, and according to the 1851 Census Report the county of Gloucestershire which had less than half Lincolnshire's acreage had much the same number of inhabitants. This can be explained, possibly, by the increasing industrialisation of that region, though Cornwall, which was a predominantly rural county with poor communications to the large urban or industrial areas, had the same volume of acreage as Gloucestershire and around three hundred thousand inhabitants as compared to Lincolnshire's four hundred thousand. This sparseness does not appear to have been a product of mass migration away from the county. The government report on the 1851 census includes the birthplaces of people resident in Lincolnshire, and of the four hundred thousand plus inhabitants of that time, approximately a little over sixty four thousand had been born elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Approximately twenty three thousand Lincolnshire-born people had moved outside the county to live in the nearby Midland counties of Leicestershire, Rutland, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and further afield eight thousand went to Northants, all agricultural counties. Almost nine thousand people migrated northwards to the neighbouring county of Yorkshire, but less than four thousand appeared to have been lured to the great urban centre of London. It seemed that Lincolnshire folk, by and large, preferred to remain in or near to their home county and possibly preferred to continue in occupations with which they were familiar. Twenty years later the 1871 census data still enumerated approximately thirty per cent of all males as working in agricultural based occupations, and then the landowners, the dealers in agricultural produce,

¹⁰⁶ This figure, which amounted to 16% of the population, suggests that fewer people had migrated into Lincolnshire, than they had in other areas. The county was largely rural in character, with industrial development only on the border with Nottinghamshire, and as Schürer commented, there was less rural to rural migration taking place, but more movements into the urban areas. In his study of two areas in Essex and Herts, he noted that around 30% of inhabitants of both areas out-migrated with the urban area of Hatfield showing between 27% and 40% remaining, so it may be that around 60% of Hatfield's population were incomers. However, these figures related to communities within the two counties, whereas the figures in the thesis refer to population numbers across the county. Schürer, K., 'The role of the family in the process of migration', ed. by Pooley, C.G., and Whyte, I. D., *Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration*, (London: Routledge, 1991).

the support system of blacksmiths and wheelwrights, needed to be added to the numbers.¹⁰⁷

This broad analysis suggests, therefore, that urban areas were not an attraction for these workers, although towns in Lincolnshire did experience population growth during the nineteenth century. Boston, in the south of the county, for example, was fast growing between 1801 and 1821 because during that time the surrounding fenlands were being drained and reclaimed, thus tempting businesses to the town. Louth, on the eastern edge of the Wolds also grew quickly during the first half of the century, becoming, by 1841, the third largest town in the county.¹⁰⁸ The reason for the rapid growth may be attributable to the increased demand for labour on the Wolds farms coupled with the lack of accommodation in many of the Wold villages, because many were part of large estates where the number of inhabitants was controlled by the dominant landowners of the area. The extra labourers needed at certain times of the agricultural year would therefore need to find lodgings in the nearest “open” village or town, where residence was not controlled.¹⁰⁹ It was not until development took place in the 1840s that Lincoln began to spread out from its medieval site. Gainsborough’s growth, which began in the 1820s, was limited to a small area and during the same time, Grantham expanded into its surrounding parishes, but again, the rate of growth was fairly limited.¹¹⁰ Grimsby needed the impetus of a railway line linking it with the great industrial towns of the north before its population grew appreciably, and it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that population growth increased by three hundred and sixteen per cent due to the railway and the new fishing port.¹¹¹ The area that was to become Scunthorpe in the twentieth century also witnessed rapid

¹⁰⁷ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online Census of Great Britain, 1851, Part 1, population tables, (1852-53), 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers; and Return of Number of Males and Females in England and Wales at Censuses in 1871, 1881 and 1891 under Occupational Headings, House of Commons Papers, Parliament 1895.

¹⁰⁸ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁹ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p.130.

¹¹⁰ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 91.

¹¹¹ Bennett, & Bennett, *Historical Atlas*, p. 114.

population growth because of the development of the ironstone deposits to be found there. For example, the local landowner, Rowland Winn, built a school in 1867 designed to accommodate one hundred and twenty children. In 1875, 1884 and finally in 1900, the school had to be enlarged, eventually providing places for one thousand schoolchildren.¹¹² This rise in the number of children attending school may have been attributable to a rise in the birth rate at that time, or it may have been due to the various Education Acts being implemented that required that children attended school rather than go to work. For example, the Education Act of 1870 introduced the principle of compulsory education, whilst the Act of 1880 stipulated that children should “receive elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic” between the ages of five years and fifteen years of age.¹¹³ Reay, of course, found that in his analysis of Blean, that schools accepted the inevitable and closed during harvest time because the children would be kept away from school regardless of the law!¹¹⁴

Whilst a town like Grimsby flourished and grew almost entirely because of railway development, there were other places that suffered. Towns situated on the banks of the River Trent, for example, relied on river trade for their prosperity and when the railways attracted business away from the river, so their populations declined – Gainsborough is one example where the population fell during the 1850s from seven thousand to six thousand.¹¹⁵ In the second half of the century, Grimsby, Lincoln and Cleethorpes grew rapidly, and “by 1901 they had almost half the townspeople of Lincolnshire”.¹¹⁶ Overall, the population of Lincolnshire, with the exception of Lincoln, Grimsby and the five townships comprising the ironstone district in the north-west, declined between 1851 and the first decade of the twentieth century. Small towns such as Wainfleet,

¹¹² Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p.167.

¹¹³ *Contemporary Sources and Opinions in Modern British History*, ed. by Evans, L., and Pledger, P.J., (London: Frederick Warne & Co. Ltd., 1967), pp. 120-121.

¹¹⁴ Reay, *Microhistories*, p.109.

Writer’s Note: the researcher of this thesis remembers her childhood when a note was presented at school at the end of each summer term informing the head teacher that the researcher would not return to school until the end of September when hop-picking had ended. This was during the 1950s.

¹¹⁵ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 183.

¹¹⁶ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 223.

Burgh-le-Marsh and Spilsby and former towns like Market Deeping, Partney and Binbrook all declined by seventeen per cent, mainly because the agricultural depression of the 1870s and 1880s reduced the need for agricultural labourers. In total, there were nineteen small or former towns affected by a declining population.¹¹⁷

Some areas, however, enjoyed a population growth regardless of lack of railway building in their areas or lack of industrial development. The fenlands of Lincolnshire was one such area. Thirsk suggests that “the unusual survival of generous common rights for all inhabitants” was the reason for the growth. Smallholders could acquire land relatively easily and add to their holdings as and when they had sufficient funds, and the creation of the four new settlements of Eastville, Midville, Frithville and Langrickville at the beginning of the nineteenth century in this region encouraged in-migration.¹¹⁸ In contrast, the marshland districts did not enjoy an increase in population numbers on the same scale as other areas in Lincolnshire. The increase up to 1801 was about ten per cent, as compared to a seventeen per cent increase on the Wolds and thirty per cent in the Lincoln Cliff area.¹¹⁹ The Lincoln Cliff, however, included the town of Lincoln, so the population increase here may be the result of in-migration. The south Lindsey area which included the marshes of the Outer Marsh, did not double its population in line with the national average, but increased by seventy five per cent, from just over thirty seven in 1801 to sixty five thousand in 1851. The Outer Marsh population, however, did show an increase that was greater than other Lincolnshire marshland areas, with a rise of more than one hundred per cent up to 1876. It was suggested that this was due to the many small farms, the ‘open’ villages and the relative ease of acquiring a few acres on which to eke out a living. The northern part of the Wolds also saw an increase that was above the average and this was explained by the change in farming practices – the high farming that dictated a greater workforce on the land.

¹¹⁷ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 224-225.

¹¹⁸ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, p.235.

¹¹⁹ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 201-202.

However, the growth in the southern Wolds was only fifty seven per cent and in the fenlands, fifty nine per cent, both of which were below the national average.¹²⁰ There is not a clear explanation for this disparity - it may be that the land of the southern Wolds was not as fertile, or that there were larger numbers of smaller farms and fewer large estates therefore investment in improvement was not available; the below average growth in the fenlands, may have been the result of slow uptake in setting up and running the smallholdings that were available in the new settlements, or just the general lack of agricultural expertise needed to manage this newly drained region and time would be needed in order to establish a stable economy there.

The demographic picture is, then, complex. Migration out of the county appears to have been muted. Within the county some places declined. In 1851 twenty-six rural settlements had fewer inhabitants than during the previous half century, for instance. Kirmond-le-Mire dropped from sixty-nine souls to sixty-two, although its neighbour Binbrook expanded from just under five hundred inhabitants to one thousand two hundred,¹²¹ although by 1901 this village was also losing inhabitants. Other places expanded rapidly, and while these included the large towns of the county,¹²² some rural communities also proved resilient. In-migration to the county also appears muted at the aggregate level. It is this complexity which makes Lincolnshire such a good focus for the study of migration and the internal dynamics of Lincolnshire point particularly to the need to look at migration flows from and to the smaller rural areas.

2.5 The Industry of Lincolnshire

As mentioned above, Lincolnshire was primarily an agricultural county, but alternative employment was available for those who did not wish to pursue a life on the land. In the north of the county was to be found the ironstone district, which was in the area of the five townships of Ashby,

¹²⁰ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 17-18.

¹²¹ Olney, R.J., *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1979), p. 73.

¹²² Olney, *County Government*, p. 169.

Brumby, Frodingham, Scunthorpe and Crosby, all of which were later to become the town of Scunthorpe. The ironstone mines, and the blast furnaces which were built to process the iron ore, provided work for many of the men in the area. By 1871 there were three operational blast furnaces offering employment to one hundred and fifty men and six boys. The quarries and mines did not offer regular work, however. As late as 1912 a divisional inspector of mines reported that it was usual for a man to work at the quarry for several weeks and then move to agricultural work for a time before returning to the quarry.¹²³

There were ironstone mines situated in the area of Scunthorpe and Claxby in the north, and also at Caythorpe in south-western Lincolnshire. The development of the deposits was considered a worthwhile undertaking not only by the owners of the land but also by the companies that could provide subsidiary services. For example, the owners of the Stainforth and Keadby canal who also happened to be the owners of the South Yorkshire Railway, considered that it would be advantageous to them to bridge the River Trent thus giving the canal and railway access to the ironstone workings. It was also regarded as profitable to the company that “was considering the erection of blast furnaces in the area, either on the banks of the Trent or on the Ancholme or at Scunthorpe, and would need improved transport to bring in coal.”¹²⁴ In fact, it is because the railway was built that this area became successful. The ironstone mines and the resulting steel works provided massive opportunities for alternative work for the agricultural labourer.

The building of blast furnaces meant that, initially, there would be a large requirement for bricks. Moreover, about eleven million bricks were needed for the sluices, locks and bridges that were being built for the drainage schemes taking place in the fenlands at the start of the nineteenth century,¹²⁵ and these were made locally, near to the locations of the new drains. Most towns and large villages also had at least one brickyard for

¹²³ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 165.

¹²⁴ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 161-170.

¹²⁵ Bennett & Bennett, *Historical Atlas*, p. 116.

providing house bricks for use in the local area. The bricks made in Lincolnshire in the nineteenth century used local clays in brickworks close to where they would be needed. For example, Market Rasen had twenty five brick and tile manufacturers and even in small villages such as Baumber betwixt Horncastle and Wragby there was at least one brickworks.¹²⁶ This then was another source of employment for Lincolnshire people. Brewing and malting were also important sources of employment. Most towns and reasonable sized villages had at least one brewery situated within their boundaries, and by 1856 there were in excess of 150 brewers carrying on their trade in Lincolnshire. There was approximately the same number of maltsters in the county by this time also.¹²⁷ Publicans, who sold the beer produced by the breweries numbered in excess of one thousand in 1861 but had reduced to less than nine hundred by the last decade of the century. Nonetheless “in 1890, [...], Caistor still had thirteen licensed houses – one for every one hundred and forty three inhabitants”.¹²⁸ The Wolds did not experience any great move towards industrialisation, and that which there was, was largely aimed at the agricultural and building trades. The exception was, however, in the very north of the Wolds region, on the banks of the River Humber. Even at the beginning of the century there were more families – two hundred and thirty six in all – involved in trades, whereas only one hundred and seventy five families were working in agriculture.¹²⁹ Most towns and large villages had one or more boot and shoe makers, probably employing one or two men. However, Horncastle boasted two large-scale boot and shoe manufacturers offering the opportunity of employment away from agricultural work.¹³⁰

In broad terms, Lincolnshire was relatively poorly served by either good roads or by railways, and whilst the major engineering firms were located initially in Boston on the east of the county, the advent of the railways to

¹²⁶ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p. 39.

¹²⁷ Bennett & Bennett, *Historical Atlas*, p. 118.

¹²⁸ Olney, *County Government*, p. 171.

¹²⁹ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p. 39.

¹³⁰ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p. 40.

the western side of Lincolnshire drew production to that area. Lincoln which is close to the border of Nottinghamshire, then became a successful hub of engineering works and as Wright tells us “the Stamp End iron works was well-placed between the river and the railway; most of the city’s engineering works were in this eastern part of the Lincoln gap, lying alongside the railways.”¹³¹ Wright underlines the dependence on the railways by commenting that one business moved from the area because the “works was cut off from the railway.”¹³² The railways that transported people and goods in Lincolnshire were constructed using almost no machinery. Picks and shovels were the only methods available to the considerable number of construction workers needed. In many parts of England skilled navvies would be brought in to construct the more difficult sections of line and local unskilled labourers would be used where needed. Lincolnshire, however, was fairly easy terrain on which to build a railway line and it was quite possible that most of the labour would have been local.¹³³ Once a line had been built and become operational, there would then be a requirement for men to maintain the line, the stations and the rolling stock. Boston, in the south of the county, had the Great Northern Railway’s locomotive depot, civil engineer’s yard, central sacking store, and creosoting works and “by 1912 employed nine hundred men in the town [...]”.¹³⁴

Another source of employment lay in the engineering firms that were being established in Lincolnshire. Firms in Boston, Lincoln, Horncastle and Grantham were all manufacturing engines of varying types by mid-century. Barratt’s of Horncastle moved from Lincolnshire after a few years, but Hornsby’s of Grantham prospered and became one of the major engineering companies of the county. The firm was employing five hundred men by 1857, in order to meet worldwide demand for their engines. Clayton’s in Lincoln grew from employing one hundred men in 1848 to over five hundred men and almost one hundred boys a mere six

¹³¹ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 143.

¹³² Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p.143.

¹³³ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 129.

¹³⁴ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 201.

years later, and nine hundred hands by 1861 and finally by 1885, two thousand three hundred men. Another engineering company of Lincoln that grew large and prosperous making agricultural machinery was Joseph Ruston's firm, and by 1870 he was employing seven hundred men, and could compete successfully with the engineering firms in Boston and Gainsborough. There were a number of other engineering firms operating in Lincolnshire, although they were in every case, smaller concerns than the great engineering companies mentioned above, but all of them were involved in the production of agricultural equipment or components that would be incorporated into machinery produced by the large firms.¹³⁵

The fishing industry provided another means of alternative employment for Lincolnshire men and boys, though the work was tough and dangerous and held little appeal for local people. As a result, apprentices had to be sought further afield than Lincolnshire. Indeed: "poor law boys had been apprentices to the industry [...] from the parish of St Margaret's, Westminster" and other poor law unions, as early as the eighteenth century.¹³⁶ There was work available on the Grimsby docks however. In the early 1850s approximately five hundred tons of fish was taken by rail from the docks to be transported to London and to the large woollen and cotton centres of the north. This tonnage grew to three and a half thousand by 1857 and by the mid-1860s the amount of fish landed and moved from the docks was over ten thousand tons. Workers were needed for the sheer manual labour of moving this amount of fish at a time when mechanical help was virtually non-existent. In addition to the fish trade, Grimsby was also a major port by 1865 involved in the export trade, "exporting just over four million pounds of British goods in that year". This would also offer employment opportunities for men to load and unload ships' cargoes. As the trade in wet fish grew, so did the British liking for fried fish, and fish was now also transported by train to northern cities in

¹³⁵ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 138-145.

¹³⁶ Horn, P., 'Pauper apprenticeship and the Grimsby fishing industry, 1870 to 1914', *Labour History Review*, (Summer 1996), Volume 61, Number 2.

order that the British passion for fish and chips could be indulged. It also meant that the fishing smacks increased in number from two hundred in the late 1860s to approximately six hundred by the early 1880s, in order to satisfy the British taste buds. Another area of support for the fishing industry, which was, in fact, a necessity to the industry, lay in the growing provision of ice to keep the fish fresh when being transported from the docks to the shops inland, therefore instead of continuing to import ice from Norway as had been the practice for some twenty years, the Grimsby Ice Co. started making ice in Grimsby. At the same time, the Coal, Salt and Tanning Co. which had been started in 1873, became a major supplier for all items required on board a sea-going fishing smack, such as nets, foodstuffs, ironmongery, steel wire, coal and salt. This company prospered and by the early years of the twentieth century its annual turnover was in excess of £1 million. The port of Boston saw growth during the late nineteenth century with the number of ships using the port rising from four hundred in 1881 to six hundred ships in 1894, which provided alternative work in the supply services for those who did not wish to follow a life in agriculture.

The coming of the railway age not only provided work directly with the railway companies, but also offered openings for carriers and carters in the county. Many rural communities were not served by a railway station, therefore carriers were needed in order to transport people and goods from station to village and vice versa. As a result, the number of carters and carriers almost trebled from four hundred and thirty to more than one thousand between 1861 and 1891. In addition, coach-builders also increased in number, from two hundred and forty seven to nearly four hundred during the same time, for much the same reasons – people who had moved to live in the new villas sprouting on the edges of the larger towns, needed transport to either get to the railway station or to get to their places of work.¹³⁷ In the case of Lincolnshire of course, the growth of carriers and carriage builders at this time could have resulted from people's desire to use trains to get further afield, but needed additional

¹³⁷ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 182ff.

transport to get them to the railway stations because the county was so poorly served with rail networks. There were many other smaller business concerns throughout Lincolnshire, all of which offered employment for local men. For example, there was seed crushing for oil carried out at mills in Grimsby, Louth and Boston; soap and candle-making in many towns; shoe and boot making in most large villages and towns and bicycle making in Lincoln.¹³⁸ Outside of these trades, a further important occupation open to the labouring classes at that time was domestic service. It was largely the preserve of the female population, with between one million and almost two million women working in domestic service countrywide, but it did nevertheless, provide an important employment opportunity for both men and women.

These are important observations. The fact that there were other types of work available which did necessarily involve movement into towns and which did not involve working on the land is essential to understanding the migrational pulls and pushes for the rural dwellers of the county.

Nonetheless, for Lincolnshire as a whole and for the four settlements that are the focus of this thesis, the principle employment was always agriculture. "Farming was the main activity underpinning the economic life of the area".¹³⁹ It provided the impetus for some of the industrial work that had grown up in the county – the engineering works of Lincoln, Grantham and Boston were successful because they manufactured agricultural machinery in an agricultural region so they knew what was required. So too, in each and every village and town there were many people who were not working the land but were involved in trades and services directly related to farming. In a large village such as Binbrook for example, there were fifteen blacksmiths and wheelwrights available to shoe the carters' horses and repair their wagons; seven millers to process the wheat produced locally and two saddlers to provide the leatherwork used on horses harnesses as well as saddles. Even in small villages like Kelstern on the Wolds, which had only around three or four hundred

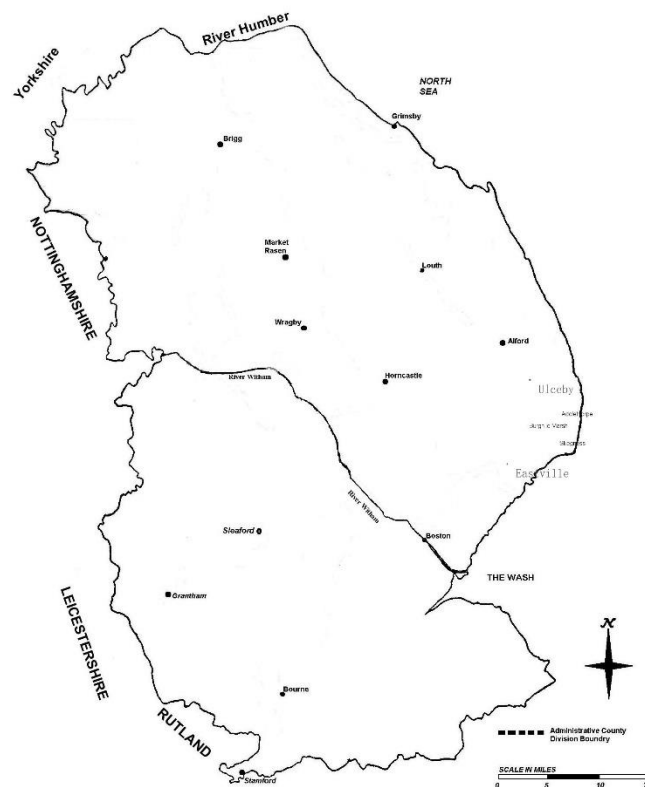
¹³⁸ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 208-222.

¹³⁹ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, pp.174-5.

inhabitants, there were still five blacksmiths and one wheelwright.¹⁴⁰ For my largely agricultural settlements in this largely agricultural county, the key question is thus whether migrants remained on the land, moved to industrial employment, or took up some of the urban trades. So it is now necessary to look at the particular characteristics of the four places.

2.6 The Four Settlements

Map 2.1 Lincolnshire: with the four settlements



Source: Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society South Lindsey 1825-1875)

Four settlements were chosen for analysis because, as can be seen on Map 2.1, they were situated in the same region of Lincolnshire, were isolated, had poor transport communications to the rest of the county, and to England in general, and were overwhelmingly agricultural in character. In addition, each community was situated in a different sort of agricultural

¹⁴⁰ Rawding, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p.180.

land, each of which offered a distinctive style of farming practice. In this sense a comparison of the four places can offer significant perspectives on the particularities of rural migration practices in Lincolnshire, as Chapter one began to observe. Addlethorpe, on the Outer Marsh, is the farthest east and is situated no more than one mile from the sea.¹⁴¹ The settlement consisted of approximately two hundred and eighty eight inhabitants in 1851, falling to two hundred and ten by 1901. Addlethorpe is about four miles from Skegness, which in itself has an interesting history relating to the nineteenth century. Owned almost completely by the Earls of Scarbrough, Skegness was transformed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, at the ninth Earl's behest, from a small fishing settlement of three hundred people in 1871 to a popular seaside holiday town with upwards of two thousand residents in 1901.¹⁴² The rebuilding of Skegness had the potential to attract workers away from the land, and because of its proximity to the settlement, would have avoided the necessity of migration. The second village to be analysed is Burgh-le-Marsh which is located in the Middle Marsh. This region lies about five miles inland from the sea, and has some smallholders, or cottagers, as well as larger farms. Burgh-le-Marsh was considerably larger than Addlethorpe, with one thousand two hundred and thirteen inhabitants in the 1851 census, falling to nine hundred and seventy four by 1901. Unlike Addlethorpe, Burgh-le-Marsh had gentry, shops and even a college where young men were trained for missionary work.¹⁴³ Further inland from the coast can be found the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, and it is here that the third settlement is situated. Ulceby was the smallest of the settlements in this study with one hundred and ninety one residents in 1851 and only one hundred and sixty nine listed in the 1901 census. Ulceby was owned by three principal landowners therefore research indicates that this was probably a closed village reflecting the kind of control that limited ownership had over the tenants.¹⁴⁴ Finally, the

¹⁴¹ Gazetteer & Directory of Lincolnshire 1856, p. 518.

¹⁴² Gurnham, R., 'The creation of Skegness as a Resort Town by the 9th Earl of Scarbrough', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, (1972), Volume 7.

¹⁴³ Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln, DIOC/LDT/10/3 (St Paul's Theological College)

¹⁴⁴ Gazetteer & Directory of Lincolnshire 1856, p. 513.

settlement of Eastville is to be found to the south of the other three places, (Map 2.1) and lies in the fenlands, with its rich agricultural soil. Eastville is quite different from the other settlements to be researched, because it was created deliberately in the nineteenth century to provide people with a few acres of land on which they could build their houses and till the soil in order to make a living. It was also different in that it was the only one of the four settlements to experience a gain in population during the fifty year research period with a census total of two hundred and seventeen at the beginning of the period and ending with two hundred and eighty five by the end.¹⁴⁵ This is a village with no roots, no history, and no resident who could remember parents or grandparents living and working there.¹⁴⁶ In short it is possible to view this collection of communities as a microcosm of the small agricultural places that dominated numerically the settlement types of Lincolnshire and which continued to play an important part in the Lincolnshire economy and the distribution of its population. Reflecting on Chapter One, we can also see these places as an ideal testbed for some of the unresolved questions about the character of migration, the motivations behind migratory movements and the consequences of migration for sending and receiving communities, particularly when their locations are so clearly illustrated in Map 2.1 as being on the far eastern side of England.

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the merits of researching macro history, which involves the presentation of data pertinent to an entire country, region or people, and comparing it with micro history which examines the social, political and economic conditions of selected communities or areas that are affected by events that are happening throughout the country. The

¹⁴⁵ The population numbers used in the thesis are small, but nevertheless give a good indication of the in- and out-migration of the settlements. Reay used similar population numbers in his research into a group of parishes in nineteenth century Kent; Reay, *Microhistories*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). A compilation of historians research on village communities was presented by Dyer; *The Self-Contained Village?* ed. by Dyer, C., (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007; and op cit Mills, *English Rural Communities*.

¹⁴⁶ Gazetteer & Directory of Lincolnshire 1856, p. 778.

thesis has elected to adopt a micro historical approach to the examination of the four settlements. To this effect, the chapter moved to a discussion of the various methods of research that could be used, such as a system of sampling the inhabitants, but because the settlements were small the decision was made to include all the male inhabitants. An explanation followed as to the reasons for excluding females, and discussion followed regarding the sources that were, potentially, available for research purposes. Finally, the research of the male inhabitants was placed into the context of living in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire, by discussing the physical aspects of the county, the population numbers in relation to the rest of England, the industrial progress in the county, and the development of the transport systems within Lincolnshire and beyond. The four settlements were then introduced, and their history of the migration in and out of the four settlements has, therefore, been placed firmly in an *Annales* perspective that will carry the thesis through the following chapters. It is now time to turn to Chapter Three which looks at the regionality of the migration, and asks the questions of how far the availability of transport on the eastern side of Lincolnshire affected the decision to move. Also, the question asks whether the migrants were drawn to the growing northern towns and cities, or to the south, to London, to take advantage of the industrial development that was taking place in other regions of England.

Chapter Three: A starting point:
In- and out-migration patterns
of males resident in 1851

3.1 Introduction

As Chapter One suggested, E.G. Ravenstein, essentially the founder of modern migration studies, based his investigation upon the 1881 census reports for England and Wales which had taken the results of the census of that year, as found in the Census Enumerators' Books (CEBS) and converted the data into tabular form. The CEBs covered every district of both countries, listing names, ages, occupations, relationships to the Head of Household, and the sex of each individual in each community. Ravenstein's findings were thus based on the averages of an entire population and did not focus on specific communities, or specific individuals. In effect, the broad brush strokes as used by Ravenstein obliterated the details of what was happening on a small, but necessarily very important, scale. His broad brush strokes almost certainly hide finer detail.¹ Many historians have followed Ravenstein's work by analysing nineteenth century census reports and have adopted the broad countrywide stance, thereby, in most cases, upholding his 1880 findings.² Only in recent decades, as Chapter One suggested, have some historians focused on the smaller picture.³ Pooley and Turnbull based their research on data collected by 'family historians and genealogists'. It takes into account residential moves regardless of distance covered, and is not

¹ Ravenstein, E. G., 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1885, and 1889.

² Long, J., 'Rural-Urban migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Economic History*, (March 2005); Boyer, G.R., & Hatton, T.J., 'Migration and Labour Market Integration in Late Nineteenth Century England and Wales', *The Economic History Review New Series*, (Nov. 1997), Volume 50, Number 4.

³ Hardy, M., 'The Newfoundland trade and Devonian migration c. 1600-1850', *Local Population Studies*. (Autumn 2012), Number 89; Day, C., 'Geographical Mobility in Wiltshire, 1754-1914', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 2012), Number 88; Whyte, I.D., *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000); Moses, G., 'Passive and Impoverished? A Discussion of Rural Popular Culture in the Mid Victorian Years', *Rural History*, (October 2011), Volume 22, Issue 02, pp.183-206; Sharpe, P., *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

limited to any specific area.⁴ The research is, in some respects, similar to the migratory moves studied in this thesis. Historians have analysed, and sociologists continue to dissect the ways in which the act of migration affects countries, communities and specific groups of peoples. The countries and communities from whence the migrants started their journeys are studied to see what problems the “sending” areas experienced, and the “receiving” countries and communities are similarly scrutinised for the same purpose. Districts across Britain have been scrutinised, from Northumberland to Cornwall, and from Ceredigion in Wales, to Kent in South East England. However, the county of Lincolnshire on the east coast has, as we saw in Chapter One, been woefully neglected, and there seems to be little reason for this. Snell, for instance, set out his area of investigation in *Annals of the Labouring Poor, Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* by listing the counties he researched, all of which were bordering, or in the same area as Lincolnshire, but that county was not included.⁵ There seems to be little reason for this and other neglect of Lincolnshire in the wider migration literature. As Chapter One indicated, this research seeks to redress the balance and to discover if there is a reason why historians have shied away from researching the county, and will provide new knowledge of patterns of migration within Lincolnshire that is currently lacking.

Against such a backdrop, Chapter three will analyse each of the four settlements focusing on the England and Wales censuses from 1851 to 1901, and will use 1851 as the “base” year, tracing the migration patterns of all males recorded in that census through subsequent census years, in the form of a cohort analysis. The information gathered will include the male Heads of Household, their sons, male relatives who lived with either the male or female Heads, and those males who were resident in the settlements at the time of the 1851 census but not living with their own families, for instance, agricultural labourers living with their farming

⁴ Pooley, C. G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, (London: UCL Press Limited, 1998).

⁵ Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor, Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

employers, apprentices living with their employers and those listed in the census as lodgers or boarders. Each male will be traced as far as is identifiably possible throughout the census years, and the analysis will include any male offspring born after 1851, who will also be tracked if possible. This is a method that will ensure that the male inhabitants resident in the settlements in 1851, and any sons born thereafter, reflect as accurately picture as possible the movement or continuity occurring in each settlement. This form of analysis is unusual in the literature. Pooley and Turnbull analysed, as we have seen, the movements of more than sixteen thousand individuals, and, whilst they established that the majority of moves were of short distance, migration to London was the main feature of all moves throughout their chosen years of research from 1750 to 1994. Their research, however, did not focus on specific settlements but used the details furnished by family researchers from across Britain.⁶ Reay did examine specific settlements in an area of Kent, but did not trace lifelines throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ Redford used the census reports, which give overall figures of specific areas or settlements but do not produce the very local results that are required for this thesis.⁸ Nonetheless, cohort analysis of the sort begun here is the most precise way for us to understand the multiple going/staying decisions that an individual might have to make across their life-cycle.

The sections of analysis of male migration follow in this chapter. Firstly, the focus will be on the male Heads of Household and their migratory patterns; secondly, the migrations of the sons of both the male and female Heads will be analysed, and finally, the males who were living in the

⁶ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 306-7. Smale used the contribution books belonging to a Friendly Society in East Yorkshire dating between 1858 and 1945, in order to research in- and out-migration from an area close to Hull. He stated that by linking the Friendly Society records to the 1881 census "it was possible to link 92 per cent of the current members". Smale, M., 'The farm boy comes to town: movement between Holderness and Hull in the later nineteenth century', *The Journal of the East Yorkshire Local History Society*, (2006), Volume 7. If Smale is correct in his estimations, then the figures and percentages produced in Table 3.1 are encouraging.

⁷ Reay, B., *Rural England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

⁸ Redford, A., *Labour migration in England 1800-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964).

settlements but were either in lodgings, were boarders, or apprentices living with their employers, or were agricultural labourers living on the farms where they were employed. Each of these sections will be divided into studies of each of the four settlements, and the chapter will then close with a discussion of the importance of this cohort analysis for our understanding of migration in Lincolnshire and in relation to the wider secondary literature. The males are all, where possible, traced throughout the census material from 1851 to 1901, with linkage to civil records such as the registration of death records, ships passenger lists, and census records or immigration records relating to other countries.

3.2 The Heads of Household for the four settlements

Table 3.1 clearly shows that even though less than one hundred per cent of the Heads of Household were firmly identified in censuses after 1851, a pattern of relative stability is clear. Between twenty eight per cent (Eastville) and forty six per cent (Ulceby), of the Heads did not migrate away. Burgh le Marsh had the most Heads migrating more than one hundred miles, and thirty out of forty four Addlethorpe Heads stayed in or within ten miles of the settlement. Some one hundred and three out of one hundred and sixty men exhibited the same tendency in Burgh le Marsh; eighteen from twenty six in Ulceby, and Eastville showed nineteen from twenty nine Heads staying within a ten mile area of that settlement.⁹ It is the details of these moves that we explore in this section, where each settlement will be analysed separately, starting with Addlethorpe on the Outer Marsh, and ending with Eastville on the Fen Margin.

⁹ It is difficult to say whether these figures are normal or unusual. Higgs discusses in *A Clearer Sense of the Census* how far the given information in any census is correct, Higgs, E., *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, ((London: HMSO Publications Centre, 1996); and Wojciechowska focused on the migration patterns of Brenchley-born residents in "Brenchley: a study of migratory movements in a mid-nineteenth century rural parish", *Local Communities in the Victorian Census enumerators' Books*, ed. by Mills, D., and Schürer, K., (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1996). However, the lowest identification percentage achieved was eighty per cent (Burgh le Marsh), and the highest was Addlethorpe's ninety two per cent, which I believe superbly illustrate the degree of in- and out-migration in the villages.

Table 3.1 Male Heads of Household distances migrated from the four settlements

HEADS 1851	Remain	< 10 miles	10-59 miles	60- 100miles	> 100 miles	Died 1851-61	Total not I'd*	Total Id	Total
Addlethorpe	19(39.6%)	11(23.0%)	5(10.5%)	0	1(2.1%)	8(16.7%)	4(8.3%)	44(92%)	48
Burgh le Marsh	89(44.5%)	14(7.0%)	5(2.5%)	4(2.0%)	15(7.5%)	34(17.0%)	40(20%)	161(80%)	201
Ulceby	15(46.9%)	3(9.4%)	2(6.2%)	0	1(16.1%)	5(15.6%)	6(18.7%)	26(81%)	32
Eastville	10(28.6%)	9(25.78%)	3(8.6%)	1(2.8%)	3(8.6%)	3(8.6%)	6(17.4%)	29(83%)	35
Totals	133(42.2%)	37(11.7%)	15(4.8%)	5(1.6%)	20(6.0%)	50(15.9%)	56(17.8%)	260(82.2%)	316

*Not identified

The first village to be examined is Addlethorpe which is situated closest to the sea and lies on the Outer Marsh area of Lincolnshire. Forty four (ninety two per cent) Heads of Household listed in the 1851 CEBs out of forty eight have been identified in the following CEBs between 1861 and 1901, with thirty five (seventy two per cent) having been born within thirty miles of Addlethorpe, and all within Lincolnshire, with the exception of one man who had migrated away from the urban environment close to London, to settle in Addlethorpe. Nineteen Heads (thirty nine point six per cent) present in 1851 migrated no further during their lifetimes, and eleven (twenty three per cent) others migrated up to ten miles away from the settlement after 1851 (see Table 3.1). Only one man, a widower, had moved by 1891 to the urban environment of Hull upon retirement, a distance in excess of one hundred miles, by following his son who had already settled there, whilst the Curate of Addlethorpe followed his calling, with his wife, to a living in Sussex, over one hundred miles away, before returning with his wife and son, to his home county of Lincolnshire, as Rector of Thornton le Moor, where he remained for the rest of his life. The success of identification of males in this settlement is good. The CEBs reveal that these men gave the same details of names, birthplaces and occupations on each census year, so they were easily tracked through several decades. The only exception were the given ages, which sometimes varied by one or two years, seldom more.

At the time of the 1851 England and Wales census there were one thousand and two hundred and fifteen people resident in Burgh le Marsh,

which was a considerably greater number than in any of the other three settlements under investigation. It was a small market town with shops, tradespeople, a resident member of the aristocracy, albeit minor,¹⁰ and by 1856, a railway station.¹¹ The settlement was five miles from Addlethorpe, seven miles from Ulceby, and nine miles from Eastville, and all the settlements fell within the jurisdiction of the Spilsby Poor Law Union. Burgh le Marsh's population numbers fluctuated from the 1851 figure of one thousand two hundred and fifteen to a high of one thousand two hundred and thirty six in 1871 and then fell over the closing years of the century to register a population of nine hundred and seventy four in 1901, which was a reduction of twenty per cent overall.¹² The Burgh le Marsh 1851 CEBs show two hundred Heads of Household resident in Burgh le Marsh and of these, one hundred and sixty (eighty per cent) were identified either in one or more censuses between 1861 and 1901, or as having died. This equates well with Smales assertion for the identifiable males in his research.¹³ Eighty nine Heads (forty four point five per cent) did not move from the settlement after 1851, and thirty seven (eighteen per cent) migrated to other locations either in Britain or overseas (see Table 3.1). Forty two of the males were born in Burgh le Marsh, two gave no birthplace details, seventy one were born elsewhere in Lincolnshire, with the furthest coming from Market Deeping, near Peterborough, a distance of forty seven miles¹⁴, and eleven had been born outside of the county. The incomers to Burgh le Marsh had migrated from Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, Norfolk, and London, but we return to the question of incomers to all the settlements in Chapter Four.

¹⁰ 1851 England and Wales Census, H.O.107 2110 148, 152, 149, 71.

¹¹ White's Directory 1856 (<http://www.historicaldirectories.org>).

¹² www.genuki.org.UK/big/eng/LIN/Addlethorpe; www.genuki.org.UK/big/eng/LIN/BurghleMarsh; www.genuki.org.UK/big/eng/LIN/Ulceby; and www.genuki.org.UK/big/eng/LIN/Eastville

¹³ Smale, *Holderness and Hull*.

¹⁴ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 102. This migratory move helps to illustrate the fact that there was little conformity in people's movements, because the man who relocated from Market Deeping to Burgh le Marsh was simply moving from one small market town to another. They were both in Lincolnshire; their population numbers were similar; and the move to Burgh le Marsh was not a movement in the direction of London or any other large conurbation.

The Burgh le Marsh male Heads of Household who did not remain in the settlements after 1851 largely remained resident within Lincolnshire; the furthest distance travelled being fifty three miles by an innkeeper who became a farmer of fifty acres at Blyton near Gainsborough. Fifteen (seven point five per cent) men in total have been identified as having migrated to other areas of England and to America. The Head who emigrated was identified a ships passenger list of 1852 going to the United States of America. His wife and five children followed him a year later. The family then moved, between 1853 and 1867, to Canada, where we find a daughter's marriage details, and seventeen years later the register of deaths records her father's name as having died in the same area.¹⁵ The Heads who migrated away from Burgh le Marsh, but did not leave Lincolnshire, either settled in rural districts or one of the small towns, all within a twenty miles radius of Burgh le Marsh, and no Head listed in the 1851 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh migrated to the growing engineering city of Lincoln, which was only forty miles distant.¹⁶

¹⁵ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 82, 78, 98, 75, 84, 96, 69, and 1852; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 112; Line 34; List Number: 399/1853; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 129; Line: 16; List Number: 766/ Archives of Ontario; Toronto, Ontario, Canada; County Marriage Registers, 1858-June 1869; Series: MS248; Reel: 7/Archives of Ontario; Toronto, Ontario, Canada; Series: MS935; Reel: 37. This family was easily identifiable because the Head of Household's name was not usual for this area (Jabez Jessop), and the names and ages of his wife and five children tallied with details given on the 1851 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh.

¹⁶ In 1851 there was no direct rail link between Burgh le Marsh and Lincoln, so travel would have been difficult, but assuming that word of mouth had reached the settlement of the factories manufacturing farm machinery, it seems surprising that Lincoln did not attract men away from the land, as has been suggested by Nair and Poynter when they suggested that even men from agricultural backgrounds still tended to pursue agricultural employment when resident in urban environments. (Nair, G. and Poynter, D., 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History* (2006) Volume 17, Number 2, pp.167-186. Feldman also refuted the idea that all migration was from rural to urban settlements by saying that most mobility within cities was very short distanced, from one street to another, or from one district to another. He agrees that almost half of migratory moves into cities such as London were from rural to the city environment, but sixty per cent of moves were very local. (Feldman, D., 'Migration', *Cambridge Histories Online*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). There is not a general consensus on the attraction of towns and cities to the rural dweller as already observed, and Pooley and Turnbull appear to 'sit on the fence' regarding the subject, for they said "The analysis emphasises the importance of counterflows with, overall, movement down the urban hierarchy matching movement from small to large places." Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 145. Burgh le Marsh Heads of Household were more prepared to migrate away from the community, and, by and large, they travelled greater distances than their counterparts in

The third settlement under investigation differed markedly from both Burgh le Marsh and Addlethorpe. This settlement, Ulceby is situated on the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, within fifteen miles of the other three settlements being analysed. This was an area of large farms and few smallholders or cottagers, however all the inhabitants were connected to the land either as farmers, agricultural labourers or had occupations that served the farming community. Ulceby's population at the time of the 1851 Census of England and Wales was one hundred and ninety one, and rose to two hundred and twelve (an increase of eleven per cent) in 1861, but thereafter it fell steadily to one hundred and sixty in 1891. There was a slight increase again by the time of the 1901 census, to close the century at one hundred and sixty nine inhabitants. The total Heads of Household resident in the settlement in 1851 was thirty two, and of that number, twenty six (eight one per cent) have been identified in following years. Eight had been born in Ulceby, and the remaining thirteen Heads had been born within ten miles of the settlement, coming from the Fen Margin, which was close to the port of Boston,¹⁷ and to which he returned in later years;¹⁸ two came from Outer Marsh settlements which were communities of smallholders and cottagers farming just a few acres,¹⁹ and the others came from Wolds villages near to Ulceby. Six (nineteen per cent) Heads of Household have been identified as having migrated away from Ulceby, with only one man, a gamekeeper, migrating out of the county and settling for some years in Cheshire,²⁰ before returning to Lincolnshire, to retire in Alford, a small market town five miles from his birthplace of Ulceby.²¹ This is a small community with only a few

Addlethorpe, however, the greater majority of men stayed within close proximity to the community.

¹⁷ It is surprising that this man chose to migrate away from the area serving Boston to live in a small highly agricultural settlement such as Ulceby. As is stated, he did return to the Fen Margin area in later life, but went no further than his birthplace, and not to Boston, which again, seems to be against the general trend of the country, which was to leave the rural and settle in the urban environment.

¹⁸ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 405.

¹⁹ The fact that Ulceby was situated in the uplands area of the Wolds did not appear to be a deterrent to those men.

²⁰ Cheshire was the furthest distance migrated by any of the Heads from Ulceby who were identifiable, but he also, returned to his roots upon retirement.

²¹ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 405.

Heads of Household, but the identification results were good with eighty one per cent positively identified, the results of which are comparable to the Addlethorpe and Burgh le Marsh identification results.

The final settlement to be scrutinised is Eastville, which is situated on the Fen Margin, close to the thriving market town and port of Boston. The area where Eastville is situated was describe as “a watery morass, and neither house nor inhabitant” but the land was drained and an Act of Parliament in 1812 brought the parochial township of Eastville into being.²² It is the only one of the four settlements investigated that showed a rise in population between 1851 and 1901. The number of inhabitants in 1851 was two hundred and twenty eight and rose to three hundred fifty nine by 1881 before falling to the 1901 figure of two hundred and eighty seven.²³ There were thirty five male heads of Household evident in the 1851 CEBs and from those, twenty nine (eighty three per cent) have been successfully traced from 1851 to later years.²⁴ Only three men had been born in Eastville; two came from Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire, and the remaining twenty one Heads had origins in villages across Lincolnshire, from Barrow on Humber in the north of the county, to Whaplode on the Wash in the south.²⁵ The diversity of birthplaces in this settlement is unlike the other three settlements, with ten per cent of identified male Heads born in Eastville, as compared to twenty seven per cent in Addlethorpe, forty two per cent in both Burgh le Marsh and Ulceby, and was probably because Eastville was a newly formed settlement in the 1830s, with people moving into the area to purchase land, so the birthplaces appearing on the CEBs in the earlier years would reflect the movements made by people wishing to acquire their own acre or two of agricultural land. Eastville at mid-century, had no history, no roots and no

²² White's Directory for 1856 (<http://www.historicaldirectories.org>).

²³ www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/LIN/Eastville

²⁴ Men migrated to this new, relatively isolated settlement from a variety of places. They had to travel in order to get there, and then had to forge new lives for themselves and their families, whereas they could have stopped at any of the towns *en route* and settled there. They, also, were not conforming to Ravenstein and others research of people moving in small steps towards the large conurbations. Ravenstein, E.G., 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1885 and 1889.

²⁵ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2109 75 79 80 78.

long-term residents. Higgs comments on the discrepancies that can be evident in the CEBs regarding birthdates and/or birthplaces, but, whilst birthdates can occasionally vary, the birthplaces almost never change from one census year to the next, and if there are differences, and no linkages with family members or occupations are evident, the details of the individuals concerned are discarded.²⁶ Ten males remained in Eastville, and sixteen (forty six per cent) left the settlement (Table 3.1). One Head migrated to London and changed occupation from Station Master to Clerk, and remained in the St Pancras district for the remainder of his life, and another returned to his roots in Barrow on Humber and opened a greengrocers shop.²⁷ Eastville was a community in close proximity to a centre of commerce – Boston, but it is apparent that the Heads scrutinised, save for the Station Master, who made for London and a Head, a farm servant, migrating to Hull and working as a gardener, had no interest in migrating to urban environments. However, the percentage of positively identified Heads in this settlement (eighty three per cent) accords well with the identification results of the other settlements analysed. The results of all the settlements reveal that the male Heads had good recall on their personal details. This analysis adds another dimension to migration research because the Heads in Eastville, as with the other three settlements, show that the males migrated to widely differing locations which were, by and large, not the urban districts much vaunted as attracting migrants from the countryside. Indeed the Heads of Household in these four settlements who were resident there in 1851, did not exhibit the same tendencies as those set out by Ravenstein in his papers of 1885 and 1888. The males here did not move in a step-wise pattern towards the great areas of commerce. They did not even migrate to Lincoln in any great numbers, even though the city was within fifty miles of all the settlements, and had a thriving engineering industry.²⁸ They did, nonetheless, migrate in and around their own areas to settlements of similar size. This finding does not agree with Pooley and Turnbull who

²⁶ Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households*, pp. 73ff.

²⁷ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2109 77; RG9 2403 32.

²⁸ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2109 78.

argue that “after 1840 a substantial proportion of those leaving places of under five thousand people went directly to very large cities,²⁹ whereas migration from the four settlements, when taken as an aggregate, show there was under two per cent who migrated between fifty-one and one hundred miles, and under seven per cent who moved in excess of one hundred miles. Initial observations of the data thus begin to construct Lincolnshire as having a distinctive place in the context of the wider literature on the scale and character of migration.³⁰

3.3 The sons of the Heads of Household³¹

The migratory experiences of the sons of those resident in 1851 (including sons living with female Heads of Household) appears to be rather different to that of the Heads of Household. Whilst Heads in all four settlements either remained resident in the settlements or migrated only short distances, the sons migrated across the range of distances set out in Table 3.2 below. All settlements had between twenty six and thirty three per cent of their sons migrating distances in excess of 100 miles, and one settlement, Eastville lost all of its sons of either male or female Heads of Household resident in 1851. The figures for the four settlements, when combined, suggest that the percentage of sons remaining in any of the settlements is very low, whilst the greatest number of migratory moves fell in the ten to fifty nine miles category, followed by the one hundred or more miles category. Wojciechowska found, when researching the migratory

²⁹ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 98 and 99.

³⁰ The migration figures for the male Heads are unlikely to change if female Heads are included. There were, certainly, a few female Heads who moved from the settlements when widowed. However, the women/widows were in the older age groups, and like the males of that age, they tended to be settled in their community. Ironically, it has been easier to identify male Heads who had died between censuses by identifying the females termed “widow” in the CEBs.

³¹ The analysis of the sons in the four settlements entailed following those listed in the 1851 CEBs who were living with their parents, and then tracking them through the following CEBs as far as was possible. Whilst the sons remained living with their parents, record linkage held few problems because it was possible to link the parents and siblings names, ages, places of birth and occupations with the sons details. In addition, if the later census years indicated that other sons had been born into the families, they too could be traced in the same manner. Any details that could not be linked with any accuracy in later censuses thus raising doubts that definite identification could be achieved, meant that those sons were discarded.

movements of a Kent parish, that over a twenty years period, from 1851 to 1871, there was a fourteen percentage persistence of people remaining in that parish. This is similar to the percentage found for the sons of the Lincolnshire settlements, although Wojciechowska did not indicate if her analysis separated out the males into Heads, sons and those living away from home, or if her figures included all males resident in Brenchley. If, as I suspect, her figures include all males, then the Lincolnshire findings actually bear no relation to her conclusions for, when the Heads figure is combined with the sons figure there is a total of 178 males remaining in the settlements, equating to twenty four per cent. So persistence in the Lincolnshire settlements was greater than that of the Kent parish,³² but, of interest is the discovery that the largest percentage of sons migrated only between ten and fifty nine miles away from the settlements, and second largest percentage belonged to those moving in excess of one hundred miles away. Those sons went north to Sheffield and Bradford (both industrial centres of steel and cotton respectively), and south to Norfolk and Oxfordshire (farming communities), and to London.

Table 3.2 Sons distances migrated from the four settlements

SONS 1851	Remain	< 10 miles	10-59 miles	51-100m	100+m	Not I'd*	Total Id	Total
Addlethorpe	5(7.6%)	10(1%)	15(23%)	6(9%)	16(24%)	14(21%)	52(79%)	66
Burgh le Marsh	38(15%)	14(5%)	44(17%)	17(7%)	31(12%)	114(44%)	144(56%)	258
Ulceby	2(5%)	4(10%)	14(36%)	4(10%)	11(28%)	4(10%)	35(90%)	39
Eastville	0	10(18%)	4(7%)	5(9%)	6(11%)	30(54%)	25(45%)	55
TOTAL	45(11%)	38(9%)	77(18%)	32(8%)	64(15%)	162(39%)	256(61%)	418

*Not identified/died

An analysis of the individual settlements gives depth to these broad observations. Thus, in Addlethorpe, fifty two (seventy nine per cent) sons were reliably identified in further censuses,³³ and of those, only five

³² Wojciechowska, *Local Communities*, pp. 253ff.

³³ Goose analysed migratory patterns of the Berkhamsted area of Herts by looking at the places of birth of residents listed in the 1851 England and Wales Census only (Goose, N., *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire in 1851*, (Hatfield, Herts: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1996). Robin researched the in- and out-migration of the Essex village of Elmdon between 1861 and 1964 (Robin, J., *Elmdon Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1980). She does not divide the leavers and stayers into Heads, sons or

(seven point six per cent) remained resident in the village, two of whom were Addlethorpe-born, with the others born elsewhere in Lincolnshire.³⁴ Forty seven (seventy one per cent) sons migrated away from the village, travelling in some cases, greater distances than did their fathers, with three brothers, sons of a father who had been born in Skegness five miles from the settlement, and who remained in Addlethorpe for the rest of his life, followed each other, one settling in County Durham and the younger brothers in Middlesbrough.³⁵ Three men migrated to London, two of whom were brothers and sons of a farm labourer, and took employment as railway porters,³⁶ another migrated to the south east, firstly to Deal in Kent, before finally settling in Dover where he ran a greengrocers shop.³⁷ Manchester was the destination for a member of an Addlethorpe farming family, but he espoused the modern innovation of sewing machine manufacture, and another son of a farming family left rural Lincolnshire for the industrial town of Nottingham and worked as a railway porter. Another son also left the land and took employment in one of the steel mills in Sheffield,³⁸ whilst the majority of the remaining sons migrated within a ten miles radius of Addlethorpe (See Table 3.2). The sons of Heads resident in Addlethorpe in 1851 largely followed the practices of their fathers by migrating to village locations that were overwhelmingly situated in Lincolnshire. Few young men made the transition to large towns or cities,

unattached males categories, so it is difficult to see if the figures for the four settlements under scrutiny in this thesis tally with her findings, because this thesis is breaking new ground by focusing on the migratory patterns of males covering half a century, from 1851 to 1901, which essentially, involves tracking life- movements of as many individuals as possible who migrated in or out of the four Lincolnshire settlements.

³⁴ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 for Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire.

³⁵ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 39; RG10 4899 13; RG11 4859 96; RG11 4858 107. The north of England was an unexpected destination, because the journey could not have been easy. They had to make their way across Lincolnshire and across the River Humber to Yorkshire. They then had to travel on to north Yorkshire and to Durham. The first of the brothers went to County Durham but it has not been possible to find any inhabitant of the village in which he settled as having connections with the Addlethorpe area, or indeed, with Lincolnshire in general. It is a similar picture with the surrounding settlements in the Durham area. In addition, he continued work as an agricultural labourer and did not change occupation for some years. He then took up employment on the surface of a local colliery. One of his brother's migrated as far as Middlesbrough but remained working as a labourer, and the youngest brother also settled in that town, but worked as a signaller on the railway.

³⁶ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 152; RG10 264 36; RG10 258 43.

³⁷ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 56.

³⁸ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 153, 148, 152.

and none even made the short move to Lincoln with its growing engineering works. This is unusual, in that other commentators agree that movement to towns near to the 'home' settlements was normal. Redford said that "A great proportion of the migrants into Lancashire had come from the surrounding countryside";³⁹ and Jon Stobart comments that towns attracted migrants from their hinterlands usually because of the availability of work,⁴⁰ but Lincoln and Boston, and to a lesser extent, Horncastle did not attract males from Addlethorpe despite the close proximity.

Burgh le Marsh, because it was considerably larger in terms of population numbers, has been able to provide a greater number of sons of Heads of Household that have been identifiable. Some one hundred and fifty sons out of two hundred and fifty eight (fifty eight per cent) have been satisfactorily traced, with thirty eight (fourteen point seven per cent) remaining in Burgh le Marsh and one hundred and six (forty five per cent) migrating away.⁴¹ Thirty of those who remained in the settlement, had been born there and the other four had all been born within ten miles of Burgh le Marsh. Similarly, the greater majority of those migrating away, had been born in the settlement i.e. ninety three out of the total of one hundred and sixteen. Forty four young men migrated in excess of one hundred miles, which took them beyond the boundaries of Lincolnshire, and saw them living in Manchester, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Leicestershire and London.⁴² Four young men migrated to County Durham and North Yorkshire, and another four migrated to Hull, two to Sheffield and one each to Bradford, Leeds and Bolton.⁴³ As with Addlethorpe, there were no men from Burgh le Marsh who travelled the

³⁹ Redford, *Labour Migration*, pp. 62 and 68.

⁴⁰ Stobart, J., *The First Industrial Region*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press: 2004), page 179.

⁴¹ A high figure of forty four per cent of sons were either unidentifiable or had died in the years between censuses. It was highly possible that many had migrated to other countries but there was insufficient evidence with which to make identification. Nevertheless, more than half of the sons were identified thus giving a reasonable indication of migratory patterns within the community.

⁴² 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 90.

⁴³ The northern cities were more popular than London, with Durham also attracting young men.

forty miles to the town of Lincoln in order to work there, which is again unusual because as already stated, several sons found employment in areas in excess of 100 miles from Burgh le Marsh, even though there was a healthy engineering industry covering several large factories in Lincoln.⁴⁴

Ulceby, the third settlement in this research, presents a very different picture to that of either Addlethorpe or Burgh le Marsh. Thirty five (eighty nine per cent) out of thirty nine sons of Heads of Household have been identified, with two of those remaining in the village. The rest left when they reached working age, with the CEBs for this settlement showing clearly that the sons of Heads were prepared to travel further for employment. There is evidence of migration across England, to Warwickshire, to Berkshire, and to Durham, and there is also evidence that some sons together with their wives and children, emigrated to New Zealand, where there was a need for men with agricultural experience. Canada drew migrants to her shores too, for one young man from Ulceby has been identified as choosing that destination.⁴⁵ It is apparent that the big cities were not a major draw for these men, with one man settling in Sheffield,⁴⁶ and no young man from Ulceby venturing to London or Manchester, or any of the other growing mill towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where work opportunities were plentiful. Redford, Anderson, and Goose have pointed out that in-comers to the urban areas tended to originate in the hinterlands of those areas, therefore large distances, as in the case of travel from Lincolnshire to any of the industrial cities situated in or towards the north-east of the county, would in their analysis have been unusual. Clearly, then, the question of who migrated and to where from small rural settlements of the sort which dominated Lincolnshire, is anything but simple and uniform.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire, 1982), pp. 137.

⁴⁵ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 404, 405, 403, 404/ Ocean Arrivals Canada (Form 30A), 1923 July; The Empress of Britain.

⁴⁶ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 403.

⁴⁷ Existing literature points to large towns and cities such as London, Manchester and the Lancashire mill towns attracting workers who migrated only short distances, whose

The final focus for this research on sons is the settlement of Eastville, which is located approximately fifteen miles from the other settlements being analysed. There were no sons of the Eastville Heads who remained in the village once they had reached working age, and twenty five (forty five per cent) young men have been identified as having left home and settlement in order to find employment elsewhere (See Table 3.2). Sixteen of those men had been born in Eastville, and eight were born within five miles of the village. As with the other settlements, these young men migrated to rural districts of Lincolnshire, but a number of them also moved to urban areas in other parts of England. Three brothers left their farming roots and went to London, with a fourth brother continuing the farming tradition, but in Hampshire; two sons found employment in Sheffield but neither of them were involved with factory or mill employment, as one worked as a brewery drayman and the other was employed in an office environment. Another brother migrated to Salford, and his brother went to Hull, with a fifth son from the same family, moved south to Hampshire.⁴⁸ This family left Eastville completely, because the father, the Head of Household, also moved away, to Hull, and the whole family in their various locations, pursued commercial occupations, from boot making to news agency to grocers shop. This family was the exception, however, because there was not a general exodus from Eastville to the big urban centres of industry. There were a greater number of men who migrated no more than 10 miles away from Eastville, eleven (eighteen per cent) out of a total of twenty five identified males, as compared to those who migrated further afield, with six (eleven per cent) out of the twenty five making the long distance journey in excess of one hundred miles. This confirms Pooley's findings when examining migration distance travelled in both England and Sweden.⁴⁹ The analysis of the

places were then taken by migrants who were further away from the major centres of commerce and industry. (Redford, *Labour Migration*, pp. 192-193; Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Goose, *Hertfordshire 1851*.

⁴⁸ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2109 76 78.

⁴⁹ Pooley had found in his comparison of migration in England and Sweden in the nineteenth century, that the young unmarried men were prepared to migrate and their migration journeys took place over very short distances. Pooley acknowledged that the large urban centres of Britain such as London, Manchester, and Liverpool attracted

sons of Heads also shows that overall, the average percentage of identification of these males was a little over sixty one per cent, with Eastville showing the most unidentified males, perhaps because they lived in a settlement that had no population history before the 1830s, as discussed in Chapter Two. There would, therefore, have been little familial or friend knowledge to help when Household Schedules were completed if the young males had left home after the 1851 to take employment as live-in farm servants.

3.4 Unattached males living away from home : servants, lodgers, apprentices

The young unattached males living away from home in each of the four communities, were actually few in number. They tended to be more mobile than either the Heads or their sons, possibly because they had, in most part, already made a migratory move in order to work in that community and were familiar with living in districts that were not peopled with their immediate families or with friends they had grown up with. These then, are the men referred to when other literature speaks of the age groups most likely to migrate or emigrate overseas. As with the sections relating to Heads of Household, and Sons of Heads, this section will analyse each settlement separately, though there are fewer individuals to be investigated here, because it is very difficult to track males from the initial CEBs of 1851 forward to the following censuses where there are no record linkage possibilities with other individuals such as parents or siblings. Thus it is only possible to locate people with their personal details such as name, age, birthplace, and occupation, and even here it is more than possible that a man such as a living-in agricultural labourer would have not entered his own details upon the schedule. The farmer would have completed that task and it is quite likely that there was

longer distance migrants, however, he found that "Most moves in both Britain and Sweden were very local, forming a dense network of migration between adjacent parishes." (Pooley, C.G., 'The influence of locality on migration: a comparative study of Britain and Sweden in the nineteenth century'. *Local Population Studies* Spring 2013, Number 90, pp. 19ff. Ravenstein was incorrect in his findings that young men migrated to urban districts in general.

an element of guesswork employed as to the worker's age or birthplace. As Higgs pointed out "Undoubtedly the returns of the agricultural workforce can be used for very broad regional comparisons but their use in local studies is fraught with dangers".⁵⁰ The only sure way of correctly identifying these young males, is to adopt the approach taken by Cooper and Donald in their research into family kinship ties in a district of Exeter in the nineteenth century. They found that female servants in the urban setting were frequently related to the Head of Household, although that would not have been evident from the census entries. There is no reason to suppose that it may have been different in a rural and isolated setting such as this part of Lincolnshire, where agricultural labourers were needed and accommodation would have to be provided. It is therefore, entirely possible that many of the young males listed as "servants", with different surnames may have been sons of other family members. Nonetheless, and as Cooper and Donald themselves commented, to undertake extensive family reconstructions would have been too time-consuming.⁵¹

Table 3.3 Unattached males living away from home: distances migrated from the four settlements

SERVANTS etc 1851	Remain	< 10 miles	10-59 miles	60-99 miles	100+ miles	Not I'd/dead*	Total Id	Total
Addlethorpe	0	2(9.5%)	3(14.3%)	0	4(19.0%)	12(57.1%)	9(42.9%)	21
Burgh le Marsh	5(5.2%)	5(5.2%)	6(6.2%)	2(2.1%)	6(6.2%)	72(75%)	24(25.0%)	96
Ulceby	0	5(17.9%)	3(10.7%)	1(3.6%)	3(10.7%)	16(57.1%)	12(42.8%)	28
Eastville	0	9(22.5%)	5(12.5%)	0	1(2.5%)	25(62.5%)	15(37.5%)	40
TOTAL	5(2.7%)	21(11.3%)	17(9.2%)	3(1.6%)	14(7.6%)	125(67.6%)	60(32.4%)	185

*Not identified/died

Table 3.3 provides summative data on the migratory experiences of these unattached males. Addlethorpe in 1851 had only nine (forty three per cent) identifiable males who fell into this category and all had been born within five to ten miles of Addlethorpe. They have all been traced to further destinations in the years following 1851, with one remaining in the

⁵⁰ Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households*, p. 107.

⁵¹ Cooper, D., and Donald, M., 'Households and 'hidden' kin in early-nineteenth-century England: four case studies in suburban Exeter, 1821-1861', *Community and Change*, 1995, Volume 10, Number 2, pp. 257-278.

immediate vicinity.⁵² One man, a groom, migrated to Somerset, married a local woman and became a pub landlord, an apprentice miller joined the army and upon retirement, settled on the other side of England in Shrewsbury, and one young agricultural labourer, Jesse Hasthorpe, emigrated to Australia where he made a successful life for himself, and became what would be known today as an entrepreneur, for he became a cattle farmer, ran a hotel, initially for men chasing the dream of gold, and was involved in local politics.⁵³ The other men stayed in Lincolnshire living in rural districts and none migrated to London or any of the northern cities (See Table 3.3). This appears to be normal for this area and it is surmised that as the men may have entered service at as young an age as thirteen,⁵⁴ they will have had limited educational opportunities in order to better their prospects and may have simply moved from farm to farm as their hiring contracts permitted.

There were ninety six young men living away from home as listed in the 1851 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh. Twenty four (twenty five per cent) were reliably identified, with nine who had been born in the settlement, and three of those remaining resident there in later years. Twenty five men came from various villages situated in Lincolnshire and none had been born in other counties of the British Isles, or in any other countries. The ongoing destinations of the identified unattached males were equally various, with three migrating to Boston, three going to London, and two

⁵² 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 154. It would be expected that unattached farm servants would move at the end of their yearly hiring, for as Kussmaul tells us, the work force on the farms was hierarchical in character, so in order to gain more responsibility and experience, the farm servants needed to move to larger farms where there was more scope for advancement. (Kussmaul, A. S., 'The Ambiguous Mobility of Farm Servants', *The Economic History Review*, (1 May 1981), Volume 34, Number 2, pp. 222-235). Hayfield also notes the same pattern of movement in his study of farm servants on the Yorkshire Wolds, where he notes that the annual hiring fairs usually took place on 23 November (Martinmas) each year, and that would be the time when farm servants who had been hired for a year could choose to move on (Hayfield, C., 'Farm Servants' Accommodation on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Folk Life*, Volume 33, Number 1, pp. 7-28).

⁵³ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 153, 147, 153/ Australia, City Directories, 1845-1948 Victoria P.O. Directory (Wise) 1888 (Jesse Hasthorpe listed as 'butcher'. Sands Directories: Sydney and New South Wales, Australia 1858-1933, 1912 (Jesse Hasthorpe is a farmer with 5 horses and 183 cattle). Australia Cemetery Index 1808-2007, Kyogle Cemetery, New South Wales, Row D, Plot 15 (Jesse Hasthorpe died aged 90 years).

⁵⁴ Hayfield, *Yorkshire Wolds*, 33.1, pp. 7-28.

going to Sheffield. Bedfordshire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire also found men from this category of males residing there. There were eleven (eleven per cent) men settled in locations within twenty five miles of Burgh le Marsh, but none settled in Lincoln, the nearest large town, and save for the males already mentioned, none migrated to the large towns and cities.

Twelve (forty three per cent) young males have been identified as living away from home in Ulceby, with three having been born in the village and three being lodgers who were carpenters, presumably having been hired to carry out a specific project in the area. These three men had all returned to their home towns by the time of the 1861 census⁵⁵. The other identified men had all come from the surrounding villages, but sixteen (fifty seven per cent) were not reliably located in subsequent censuses. It is difficult to trace individuals when information is scarce, for example, there is only a name, age, place of birth and occupation on which to focus, and all or any of these pieces of information may be inaccurate, because there is no opportunity to link that individual's information with family members. Two brothers may have emigrated to New Zealand for the names tally with Electoral Rolls for Buller, New Zealand,⁵⁶ but there is simply not enough information to form a firm conclusion. The same is applicable to another agricultural labourer who may have emigrated to Canada, but again, the information is not clear enough to form a definite conclusion. Of the remaining men, with the exception of one man who migrated to Oxfordshire to farm, the others settled in villages in the immediate area of Ulceby (See Table 3.3).

Eastville did not have many male servants or lodgers who could be reliably identified from the 1851 CEBs to further years. In total fifteen (thirty seven per cent) unattached males were tracked, with none having been born in Eastville, but came from villages within five miles of the settlement. Yorkshire was a chosen destination for two men; four men returned to their birthplaces, all of which were at most, ten miles distant.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 70, 71, 81, 72, 98, 101, 78, 84,

⁵⁶ Marshall and George Forman, Electoral Rolls 1853-1981, for Buller, New Zealand.

⁵⁷ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 405, 77, 75, 77, 80.

Again, as with the other three settlements, none chose to migrate to London, and none went to Lincoln, or even Boston which was a short distance away. The analysis of the data for the unattached males illustrates the problems caused if Household Schedules do not contain the correct information. Young males living on the farms where they were employed did not enter their names, ages and places of birth onto the Schedules, for that task would be assumed by the householder, thus errors occurred.

Once again, then, we can see the need for detailed analysis of individual rural communities when looking at the scale and character of migration, rather than simply assuming that rural communities saw significant out-migration and that this migration was orientated towards urban and industrial areas. The fact that some of these unattached males also emigrated is testimony to the rising choices around migration and not that nineteenth-century men had available to them.⁵⁸

3.5 Conclusion

Table 3.4 Mileages of males in the four settlements 1851-1901

Heads	No.	%		Sons	No.	%		Males*	No.	%
Lincs				Lincs				Lincs		
Remain	115	36.5		Remain	45	10.8		Remain	5	2.7
< 10 miles	32	10.2		<10 miles	38	9.1		< 10 miles	21	11.3
10-59 miles	29	9.2		10-59 miles	77	18.4		10-59 miles	17	9.2
Sub-total	176	55.9		Sub-total	160	38.2		Sub-totals	43	23.2
Elsewhere				Elsewhere				Elsewhere		
60-100 miles	7	2.2		60-100 miles	32	7.6		60-100 miles	3	1.6
>100 miles	16	5.1		>100 miles	64	15.3		>100 miles	14	7.6
Sub-total	23	7.3		Sub-total	96	23.0		Sub-total	17	9.2
Died 51-61	50	15.9		Died 51-61	14	3.3		Died	5	2.7
Unidentified	66	20.9		Unidentified	148	35.4		Unidentified	120	64.9
Sub-total	116	36.8		Sub-total	162	38.7		Sub-total	125	67.6
Totals	315			Totals	418			Totals	185	

*Males living away from home

⁵⁸ Cooper and Donald, *Households*, pp. 257-278.

The secondary literature focusing on population movement in the nineteenth century tends to dwell on the fall in numbers in rural areas and stress the rise in urban numbers. For example Lawton said that the country districts saw a sustained drop in population numbers over the second half of the nineteenth century, and any apparent population increases in the rural population could be attributed to the nearby presence of a town. Three settlements (Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh and Ulceby), did indeed see their population numbers fall over the half century from 1851–1901, and only one settlement (Eastville) showed population growth. Yet this observation gives only the slightest flavour of what was a complex migratory experience for these settlements, all of which remained agricultural entities throughout the century. The Heads of Household identified in each of the four settlements exhibited the least migratory movement, with the greater majority of identified males either remaining in the village analysed or migrating to locations within the same area (fifty six per cent). In all, seventy nine per cent of those males were located in other censuses or in death records, as opposed to twenty one per cent who were unidentifiable. Thus the analysis of the 1851 Heads reveals a good picture of migratory movements in the four settlements. The sons of the Heads were more adventurous with twenty three per cent migrating away from the settlements to other counties, but they also showed a reluctance to move away from familiar surroundings, with thirty eight per cent remaining in the settlement or in places in Lincolnshire. Three per cent were found to have died after 1851, and thirty five per cent were unidentified, so about sixty four per cent were reliably discovered in later censuses, which is also a positive result showing a good model of migratory movement from the younger males. The analysis of the unattached males in the four settlements in 1851 does not produced a good representation of migratory movement, because whilst thirty five per cent were found in subsequent censuses or in death records, sixty five per cent could not be found. As discussed earlier in this chapter, linkage between censuses for young males living away from home was problematic because of possible inaccurate Household Schedule entry, and also because there were no family members with whom to connect

them. Earlier analysis indicate that no unattached males remained resident in Addlethorpe, Ulceby or Eastville, but they did remain within the county. Burgh le Marsh was the only community where unattached males remained and can be found in later censuses for that settlement. In all, five remained, but the rest, the larger number, migrated within Lincolnshire. Such observations stand in distinction to much of the literature on the nature of migratory moves; for whilst the young men migrated away from their birth villages, they, by and large, remained in the county with agricultural occupations and did not move either to towns or industrial areas. There is no evidence that mechanisation of farm machinery plus the agricultural depression resulted in large numbers of young men seeking employment in industrial urban zones.⁵⁹ The numbers of identified males, whether Heads, sons or unattached, who emigrated to other countries are few, though it is likely that there were individuals who could not be accurately identified, and who had left Britain.

These are four quite different communities, with differing numbers of inhabitants, but all closely connected geographically and occupationally, and they all exhibited a similar tendency for the males to either remain resident in one of the settlements, or to migrate within a relatively small area of no more than forty or fifty miles. They certainly did not leave the land in large numbers and migrate to the rapidly growing towns and cities, even though, as Banks points out England was a small country and “a journey across the north of England from Liverpool to Leeds, for example, could pass through two other major cities, Manchester and Sheffield, and not one of these is more than forty miles from the next”. Banks also emphasises that Sheffield, for example, is in close proximity to Nottingham on the eastern side of England, which in turn, is less than fifty miles from Birmingham on the western side.⁶⁰ The argument here is that migratory movement was easy because the distances travelled were

⁵⁹ Lawton, R., ‘*Population Changes in England and Wales in the Late Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Trends by Registration Districts*’, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, (May 1968), Number 44, pp. 55-74.

⁶⁰ Banks, J.A., ‘*Population Change and the Victorian City*’, Victorian Studies, Volume 11, Number 3, p. 278.

short, however, this analysis of rural settlements on the east coast did not conform to Banks's hypothesis, and it has not been possible to locate any research that focuses on population numbers or migratory movements focusing on Lincolnshire in detail, and even less is there any secondary research analysing population characteristics of folk resident on the east coast of that county. It is therefore not possible to compare this research exercise with any other research scrutinising migratory patterns of people in this area of Lincolnshire over a full half century from 1851 to 1901, because it does not exist.

Chapter Four follows the same format as this chapter, but analyses the migratory movements made by the males who arrived in each of the settlements after 1851. This focus will give a more complete picture of the migratory regime applicable in rural Lincolnshire communities and a better sense of what was truly distinctive (in terms of the secondary literature on the nature and scale of migration) about Lincolnshire migration decisions.

Chapter Four: Male incomers 1861 - 1901

4.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of the male residents of Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh, Ulceby and Eastville, all situated on the east coast of Lincolnshire, between 1851 and 1901. Chapter three traced, where possible, males who were resident in any of the settlements at the time of the 1851 census for England and Wales together with their sons, and unattached males living away from home. In the four settlements combined, the overall average figure for those remaining in the same settlement or migrating only within Lincolnshire was 68 per cent, as compared to 28 per cent of all males in each settlement who left Lincolnshire. The majority of the males living in these four settlements migrated short distances as Ravenstein discovered with his far-reaching survey of the 1881 England and Wales Census Reports, but they did not migrate in step-wise movements away from the rural towards the urban environment. Rather, they tended to simply move in relatively tight circles, remaining in the same broad neighbourhood. There is some support here for Pooley and Turnbull's suggestion that "it is true that moves from small to large places were more likely to be over long distances than moves between small places, due to the high volume of short distance circulatory moves which (by definition) must have been between small places".⁶¹ Nonetheless, we have seen for these Lincolnshire communities that the majority of small migratory moves remained in the rural communities, whilst the long distance moves were, by and large, from the rural settlements to the large urban and industrial regions. The causes and consequences of this pattern of mobility are explored at greater length from Chapter Five onwards.

⁶¹ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1998), p. 325.

In the meantime, Chapter Three addressed only the out-migration of males from the four settlements, thus painting only part of the overall picture of movement in and out of the communities. Chapter Four now addresses that problem by analysing the movements (in and out) of those male Heads of Household, the sons of both female and male Heads of Household, and the unattached males who were living away from home, who migrated *into* the settlements after the 1851 census, and up to 1901.⁶² This will present a better picture of migratory movement in and of itself for this understudied county. The chapter retains the format of Chapter Three examining each settlement in turn to locate those who had moved in since the 1851 census and tracing whether those men stayed, left, or indeed left and then returned again. Only males that were reliably identified were included in the analysis, and in many instances it was possible to trace complete life paths, albeit, using one instance of location in each ten years slot. Although it was possible to add extra migratory locations between the census years by noting the birthplaces of children born to incomers (and it needs to be noted here that large families seemed to be the norm at that time) this is not a systematic and foolproof method for identifying the complete migratory life-cycle. The method also of course means the chapter has large sections discussing in- and out-migration in 1861 or 1871 and rather smaller sections covering the later censuses because observation censoring means that we can say little about those who moved into the four settlements for the first time in say 1891 or 1901. While this sort of approach is unusual in the wider

⁶² The thesis is concentrating on research of the migratory movements of the males who lived in the settlements during the second half of the nineteenth century. It means that the movements of women will not be examined because of the issues discussed in Chapter Three. In addition, it has not been possible to identify all incomers to the settlements, because many men were unmarried, or childless (the birthplaces of children could provide additional moves), and left no 'footprints' of their comings and leavings. Schürer discussed the problem of individuals who moved into and out of settlements between censuses and so could not be traced for any length of time, and put the figure of lost life paths at about forty per cent and even more for a large community, (Schürer, K., 'Creating a Nationally Representative Individual and Household Sample for Great Britain, 1851 to 1901 — The Victorian Panel Study (VPS)', *Historical Social Research*, (2007), Volume 32, Number 2.)

literature, it is an important component of the migration milieu in these Lincolnshire communities.

4.2 The Settlements

Table 4.1 Total population of the four settlements including incomers 1861-1901

MALE INC*	1861		1871		1881		1891		1901	
	Total Pop.	Inc*	Total Pop.	Inc*	Total Pop.	Inc*	Total Pop.	Inc*	Total Pop.	Incomers
The Four Settlements	1983	766 (39%)	1957	1013 (52%)	1914	1388 (72%)	1695	1320 (78%)	1643	1493 (91%)

*Incomers

Table 4.1 shows that the total population of the four settlements fell steadily over the half century so that by the time of the 1901 census there were approximately eighteen per cent fewer inhabitants. In compositional terms over the same fifty years the percentage of incomers steadily rose, from thirty eight per cent in 1861, to ninety per cent by 1901. Against this broad backdrop table 4.1 showed a general analysis combining the population numbers of each settlement for each census year from 1861 to 1901, whereas Table 4.2 focuses on each census year and looks at the migratory movements of the separate cohorts of male incomers in turn.

Table 4.2 Incomer Heads of Household 1861

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby w		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	4(17%)	Remain	13(43%)	Remain	2(15%)	Remain	3(7%)
<10 miles	4(17%)	<10 miles	3(10%)	< 10 miles	0	<10 miles	12(29%)
10-59 miles	2(8%)	10-59 miles	4(13%)	10-59 miles	5(38%)	10-59 miles	6(156%)
Sub-total	10(42%)	Sub-total	20(67%)	Sub-total	7(53%)	Sub-total	21(51%)
Elsewhere		Elsewhere		Elsewhere		Elsewhere	
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	2(8%)	100+ miles	2(7%)	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	2(5%)
Sub-total	2(8%)	Sub-total	2(7%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	2(5%)
Died	3(12%)	Died	1(3%)	Died	0	Died	1(2%)
Not I'd*	9(37%)	Not I'd*	7(23%)	Not I'd*	6(46%)	Not I'd*	17(41%)
Sub-total	12(50%)	Sub-total	8(27%)	Sub-total	6(46%)	Sub-total	18(44%)
Totals	24(100%)	Totals	30(100%)	Totals	13(100%)	Totals	41(100%)

*Not identified

In this context, we can turn our attention to the particular experiences of the individual settlements. In the 1861 CEBs relating to Addlethorpe, there were twenty four male incomer Heads of Household and they were all

Lincolnshire-born, with fifteen reliably traced to later CEBs, and nine where there was insufficient information to be able to take them forward. Four of the Heads remained in the settlement, and eight moved away. Only one Head among the incomers of 1861 can be reliably identified as having made a subsequent transition to London,⁶³ with one other Head migrating out of Lincolnshire and moving to Rochdale, Lancashire.⁶⁴ The remaining six Heads re-migrated between three and thirty miles away, but remained in Lincolnshire, moving from rural settlements to other rural settlements. Pooley and Turnbull suggest that moves to small places were the most usual type of migratory move, as we have seen, but also they argue that there was much rural to urban movement offset by movement in the other direction.⁶⁵ That, however, is not the case with these settlements; there was no counterflow from urban areas because the male incomers in the 1861 CEBs were all from rural locations.

Burgh le Marsh was a small market town supporting a number of trades ranging from shoemakers to grocers to plumbers. There was a resident doctor, a vet and landed gentry in the form of minor peerage;⁶⁶ and a railway station was a short distance away. However, and as we have already seen, Burgh le Marsh was small, and agricultural in character. It was, however, larger in size than Addlethorpe, with a total population of one thousand two hundred and twenty three in 1861, including four hundred and seventy four in-comers. The number of male incomer Heads of Household totalled thirty, twenty of whom came from settlements within twenty five miles away, two others were from Lincolnshire settlements that were further away, and three were from Yorkshire, Manchester and Durham.⁶⁷ One Manchester-born male migrated from Lancashire to Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire and finally returned to Lancashire.⁶⁸

⁶³ England and Wales Census. RG9 2376 40. Only this one Head of Household made the transition to London, where he appears to have adopted more menial occupations than his original occupation of farming sixty two acres of land.

⁶⁴ RG10 4126 94.

⁶⁵ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and mobility*, p. 145.

⁶⁶ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 27 13 30 27.

⁶⁷ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 4 30 6 28 23 24 91.

⁶⁸ One Head of Household had migrated from Manchester, settled for a few years in the settlement, although it is not possible to be certain for how long. He has not been identified in the 1871 censuses for England and Wales, but is found in the 1881 CEBs for

This man was unusual, in that he came from an industrialised area, had a child that was born in Hull, and another later, born in Staffordshire. His occupation as given in the 1861 CEBs was 'machine smith', and in the 1881 census as 'engineering traveller', so he probably was moving purely for occupational reasons. The majority of the Heads either migrated to Burgh le Marsh and settled there⁶⁹ or subsequently migrated away a few miles. They were not, as Pooley and Turnbull maintained, moving to larger urban areas, or moving from the urban centres to settle in the rural setting.⁷⁰

Ulceby is situated at the southern end of the Lincolnshire Wolds, within fifteen miles of the other three settlements. The population numbers are two hundred and twelve as listed in the 1861 England and Wales census including a total of one hundred and twelve incomers, which includes women and children. Fourteen incomer Heads of Household appeared in 1861, with ten having been born within fifteen miles of the settlement, and one other migrating from Aldershot, Hampshire.⁷¹ It is possible to follow six Heads during their migrations around this part of the country, for they did not venture far from the settlement, save for one man who migrated from his birthplace in Louth to two other Lincolnshire villages before Ulceby, and thence to Yorkshire, before returning to a village a few miles away from Ulceby.⁷² None of the other Heads moved more than fifteen miles distant.⁷³

Eastville was, as we have seen, a 'new' settlement and the residents had no roots extending over several generations linked to that community.

Their family histories had started in other settlements, so there were no

Salford, Lancashire. His two sons were born in Hull and Litchfield, so it appears that he criss-crossed the country possibly in connection with his trade as a 'machine smith'. 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3954 11.

⁶⁹ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*; Boyer, G.R., 'Labour Migration in Southern and Eastern England, 1861-1901', *DigitalCommons@ILR*:<http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/articles/513>.

1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 26 24 23 25. The Head from Manchester eventually was drawn back to his birthplace area, as was the schoolmaster from Devon.

⁷⁰ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*.

⁷¹ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2378 93.

⁷² 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2378 94.

⁷³ The Heads of Household who in-migrated to this tiny rural enclave did not move long distances throughout their lives.

familial ties to encourage permanent settlement. The 1861 population numbered 246 including 145 in-comers, from which forty one were males, and twenty four were reliably identified. Two came from settlements situated mostly between one and fifteen miles from Eastville, and two had come from outside of Lincolnshire – from London and from Newark, Nottinghamshire. However, the migratory patterns of the Heads leaving Eastville were limited to a small area of no more than fifteen miles in most cases, and there is traceable evidence of only one male migrating to a town.⁷⁴ We now turn to an examination of the sons of female and male Heads of Household.

Table 4.3 Incomer sons of Heads of Household 1861

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	2(8.0%)	Remain	3(17.6%)	Remain	3(13.0%)	Remain	0
<Ten miles	4(16.0%)	<Ten miles	1(5.9%)	<Ten miles	4(17.4%)	<ten miles	4(10.5%)
10-59 miles	1(4.0%)	10-59 miles	1(5.9%)	10-59 miles	4(17.4%)	10-59 miles	2(5.3%)
Sub-total	7(28.0%)	Sub-total	5(29.4%)	Sub-total	11(47.8%)	Sub-total	6(15.8%)
60-99 miles	1(4.0%)	60-100 miles	0	60-99 miles	2(8.7%)	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	3(12.0%)	100+ miles	7(41.24%)	100+ miles	4(17.4%)	100+ miles	3(7.9%)
Sub-total	4(16.0%)	Sub-total	7(41.2%)	Sub-total	6(26.1%)	Sub-total	3(7.9%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	14(56.0%)	Not I'd*	5(29.4%)	Not I'd*	6(26.1%)	Not I'd*	29(76.3%)
Sub-total	14(56.0%)	Sub-total	5(29.4%)	Sub-total	6(26.1%)	Sub-total	29(76.3%)
Totals	25(100.0%)	Totals	17(100.0%)	Totals	23(100.0%)	Totals	38(100.0%)

*Not identified

Twenty five incomer sons of Heads were listed in the Addlethorpe census records, and of those, eleven have been reliably identified in further census material. In all forty four per cent were located in subsequent CEBs, and none were reliably identified in the birth, marriage and death records as having died. This is a high percentage when compared with other people's work on migration in nineteenth century England and Wales.⁷⁵ Eighteen incomer sons of Heads of Household were listed in the

⁷⁴ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2372 56 54 55 57.

⁷⁵ Pooley and Turnbull do not distil migrant figures in the same manner, so it is not easy to arrive at a firm conclusion as to whether the thesis percentages are normal or

1861 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh, and thirteen have been reliably identified in later censuses. Two sons remained in the village, and four migrated less than ten miles away, one went to Grimsby and seven left Lincolnshire and went to Cheshire, Rochdale and Yorkshire, also to Manchester; other Lancastrian locations, and to Yorkshire.⁷⁶ There did not, however, seem to be a pull towards London, as suggested by Ravenstein and Bailey.⁷⁷ The sons of the Ulceby Heads, however, did migrate greater distances. Thus, for example, out of the twenty three incomer sons listed in the 1861 CEBs, London, Kent,⁷⁸ Hull, and Nottinghamshire were chosen destinations. The Rector of Ulceby had six sons and the two eldest remained in Ulceby, but the third son migrated to Surrey and was working as a Bank of England clerk in 1871. By 1881 he had moved north to Hull where he is listed as a 'gentleman in the 1881 CEBs. The fourth son followed his father and became the Rector of Ulceby; the sixth son had moved south to Kent by 1881 and trained as a solicitor, whilst the fifth son has not been identifiable in later censuses.⁷⁹ Thirty eight incomer sons have been found in the Eastville 1861 CEBs, with five having been born out of the county, and the others coming from settlements near Eastville. They, like their fathers, tended to settle within ten to fifteen miles of the community, except for two males who re-migrated to industrial areas of Yorkshire, with one who moved to an iron works in York, and the other who chose to settle in Hull and was employed in dock labouring work.⁸⁰ There are differences in migration distances between the four settlements with Ulceby showing the greatest number of incomer sons who did not leave the settlement and Eastville, the fewest number. Burgh le Marsh had the most incomer sons travelling long distances and leaving Lincolnshire entirely, but Eastville incomer sons showed the lowest percentage of males leaving Lincolnshire. However, the analysis of

otherwise, however, their research revealed that moves by males to a settlement of the same size between 1880 and 1919, amounted to about fifteen per cent. The moves by the Addlethorpe males up to approximately fifty nine miles were within Lincolnshire, and to settlements of similar size and came to twenty eight per cent.

⁷⁶ England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 24, 25.

⁷⁷ Ravenstein, *The Laws*, pp.167-235. Bailey, *Mid-19th Century Migration*.

⁷⁸ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2378 94 96 93.

⁷⁹ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2378 94 96 93.

⁸⁰ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2372 54 56.

Eastville was the least successful in identifying individuals, with almost three quarters of the incomer sons not definitely traceable. Addlethorpe had over half of that settlement's incomer sons unidentifiable, whilst just over a quarter of Burgh le Marsh's and Ulceby's incomer sons were not identified. Many of the failed identifications could have been because the males had emigrated, but there were not enough details on ship travellers lists to be able to link someone from these settlements. The last cohort of males to be examined involves the incomer males living in the communities away from their own families.

Table 4.4 Incomer males living away from home 1861

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	1(7.7%)	Remain	2(13.3%)	Remain	0	Remain	1(3.0%)
<Ten miles	2(15.4%)	<ten miles	2(13.3%)	<ten miles	1(11.1%)	<ten miles	0
10-59 miles	1(7.7%)	10-59 miles	1(6.7%)	10-59 miles	1(11.1%)	10-59 miles	4(12.1%)
Sub-total	4(30.8%)	Sub-total	5(33.3%)	Sub-total	2(22.2%)	Sub-total	5(15.1%)
60-99 miles	1(7.7%)	60-99 miles	1(6.7%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	1(7.7%)	100+miles	3(20.0%)	100+ miles	2(22.2%)	100+ miles	2(6.1%)
Sub-total	2(15.4%)	Sub-total	4(26.7%)	Sub-total	2(22.2%)	Sub-total	2(6.1%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	1(11.1%)	Died	0
Not I'd*	7(53.8%)	Not I'd*	6(40.0%)	Not I'd*	4(44.4%)	Not I'd*	26(78.8%)
Sub-total	7(53.8%)	Sub-total	6(40.0%)	Sub-total	5(55.5%)	Sub-total	26(78.8%)
Totals	13(100.0%)	Totals	15(100.0%)	Totals	9(100.0%)	Totals	33(100.0%)

*Not identified

Table 4.4 relates to the incomer males to the four settlements who were living away from home. There were thirteen unattached males in the 1861 Addlethorpe CEBs, and of those it was only possible to reliably identify six in further records. Three farm servants migrated between ten and fifty nine miles from the village but still remained in Lincolnshire,⁸¹ one migrated to Bedfordshire, and another went to Staffordshire.⁸² It has not been possible

⁸¹ 1861 England and Wales 1861 Census: RG9 2376 38 40.

⁸² Epton was eight years old in 1851 and living with his parents in Bratoft close to Addlethorpe. In 1861 he can be found in the Addlethorpe CEBs living on a farm where he is described as a 'horse keeper'. Thereafter, he migrated to Biggleswade in Bedfordshire and was employed as a railway signaller before working his way northward as a railway porter in Nottingham as shown by the 1881 CEBs for that town. In 1891 he was living in Staffordshire and his occupation is stated as 'station master', however, his children's birthplaces show that his migratory path moved from Bratoft and

to accurately identify the migratory paths of the other unattached males although the CEBs indicate that they were Lincolnshire-born. None of the men identified in the analysis so far, whether they were Heads, sons of Heads, or unattached males living away from home, exhibited the tendencies found in other research focusing on migration in nineteenth-century England, for they did not migrate towards the centres of commerce. Even though some migrated to the West Midlands, and Yorkshire, the others circulated in a fairly small area of their birth county of Lincolnshire. Moreover, with the exception of one migrant to London there was not the attraction as suggested by other historians.⁸³ There would appear to be considerable support in this data for King's assertion in relation to and from Calverley, Yorkshire that "the pool of effective kinship available to many families in their 'local country' was larger than microsimulation studies would have us believe".⁸⁴

Fifteen unattached male incomers were listed in the 1861 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh, and all were all born within 20 miles of the settlement, with ongoing traceable migratory patterns for nine of them. Four remained close to Burgh le Marsh, but the others migrated away to Hull, one of whom worked as a rail labourer in 1871, a coal trimmer in 1881/91, and graduated to become Assistant Pier Master in 1901; George Smith migrated to London and worked as a clerk, before entering the retail trade by 1881 and becoming a 'potato shopman'; Robert Clarke was listed as an ostler in the 1861 Burgh le Marsh CEBs, but had changed his occupation to that of 'bricklayer' by 1871 and was residing in Lancashire; and finally, a groom moved to Nottingham to work as a miller and then by 1881 as a general labourer.⁸⁵

Addlethorpe in Lincolnshire; to Bedfordshire; and to Retford, Newark and Nottingham in Nottinghamshire, before settling in Staffordshire. (CEBs HO107; RG9; RG11).

⁸³ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*; Boyer, *Southern England*.

DigitalCommons@ILR: <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/articles/513>.

⁸⁴ King, S.A., 'Migrants on the Margin? Mobility, Integration and occupations in the West Riding, 1650-1820', *Journal of Historical Geography*, (1997), Volume 23, Number 3, pp. 284-303.

⁸⁵ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2376 20 22 26 32.

Ulceby had nine unattached males listed in the 1861 CEBs, and none of them came from outside of the county. Four were traceable subsequently, with one Skegness-born male migrating from Addlethorpe to Ulceby, then returning to Addlethorpe, before settling in the Lincolnshire Wolds area again by 1901. Another male also stayed in the Ulceby area until 1881 when he moved to north Lincolnshire. Two others migrated out of the county, to Rutland, and to Middlesbrough, Yorkshire.⁸⁶ It appears that the younger inhabitants of Ulceby in 1861, like their Burgh le Marsh counterparts, exhibited more inclination to migrate greater distances than did the older inhabitants.

There were thirty three unattached males in Eastville, and whilst the Lincolnshire born males were born within a few miles of the settlement, four had come from Essex, Scotland, Hertfordshire and Ireland.⁸⁷ Seven young men could be identified in later censuses, with one man migrating south to Essex. However, the other young men remained living and working in close proximity to Eastville.⁸⁸ Analysis shows striking differences in the migratory patterns of residents in this village as compared to the other three settlements, for whilst families tended to remain in the vicinity, the unattached males migrated over considerable distances, though even here, the data do not bear out Baines figures for male migration from Lincolnshire, which he said stood at forty six point nine per cent between 1861 and 1900.⁸⁹ Even though Lincoln was less than fifty miles away from any of the four settlements, and had several successful and growing engineering firms, there was no migration to that city from the rural areas under scrutiny.⁹⁰ It is noticeable that the incomer Heads and sons who arrived in the settlements after 1851, were more

⁸⁶ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2378 93 94 95,

⁸⁷ 1861 England and Wales Census: RG9 2372 56 58.

⁸⁸ The area around Eastville was still the preference for most men, whether they were young or old. One would have expected that Boston, which was close to the village, to have been part of their migratory patterns, but when the birthplaces of their children are examined, that town does not appear.

⁸⁹ Baines, D., *Migration in a Mature Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 213.

⁹⁰ Brown, J., *The English Market Town*, (Marlborough, Wilts: The Crowood Press, 1986), pp. 87-90.

likely to move on again after a few years, suggesting that the males, particularly the Heads, who would have been older family men in the villages of 1851, had settled down. This, possibly reflected on their sons, who were also content to remain in a stable and familiar environment. The other observation is that even though the incomer males tended to re-migrate, with the exception of Eastville, their migratory patterns were still confined to the surrounding area.

We can continue this discussion by focusing on those migrating in between 1861 and 1871, starting once again with the incomer males now focuses on the 1871 census, and begins with the incomer male Heads of Household.

Table 4.5 Incomer Heads of Household 1871

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	3(18.7%)	Remain	29(31.5%)	Remain	5(29.4%)	Remain	2(12.5%)
<Ten miles	5(31.2%)	<ten miles	6(6.5%)	<ten miles	2(11.8%)	<ten miles	3(18.7%)
10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	4(4.3%)	10-59 miles	4(23.5%)	10-59 miles	3(18.7%)
Sub-total	8(50.0%)	Sub-total	39(42.3%)	Sub-total	11(64.7%)	Sub-total	8(50.0%)
60-99 miles	1(6.2%)	60-99 miles	2(2.2%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	0	100+miles	5(5.4%)	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	1(6.2%)
Sub-total	1(6.2%)	Sub-total	7(7.6%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	1(6.2%)
Died	4(25.0%)	Died	3(3.3%)	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	3(18.7%)	Not I'd*	43(46.7%)	Not I'd*	6(35.3%)	Not I'd*	7(43.7%)
Sub-total	7(43.7%)	Sub-total	46(50.0%)	Sub-total	6(35.3%)	Sub-total	7(43.7%)
Totals	16(100%)	Totals	92(100%)	Totals	17(100%)	Totals	16(100%)

*Not identified

Shifting our focus to males who migrated into these settlements between 1861 and 1871 reinforces many of the lessons already emerging out of Chapters three and four. Sixteen male incomer Heads of Household have been identified in the 1871 Addlethorpe CEBs, with one Lincoln-born man having migrated from Lincoln with his wife and son.⁹¹ There were three

⁹¹ 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3393B 37. This man had been born in the city of Lincoln and was familiar with the employment and social opportunities offered within that city, who had chosen to move his family to the marshland area of the Lincolnshire coast. It is not possible to follow his life any further because between the censuses of 1871 and 1881, he died, as evidenced by his wife's entry in the 1881 census as 'widow'.

other Heads who had migrated from inland districts, with one man coming from Blankney, near Lincoln, another Head, from Partney, and the third from Maltby, twenty three miles away. None of these Heads of Household had migrated more than forty miles. Burgh le Marsh's population had risen slightly by the 1871 Census for England and Wales, from one thousand two hundred and twenty three in 1861 to one thousand two hundred and thirty four in 1871, which included four hundred and eighty five incomers. The birthplaces of the male Heads of Household incomers varied considerably when compared to the previous two census years. Now there were men from London;⁹² Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Yorkshire, Ireland, Dover, Scotland, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Northants, and Durham, and of these, eighteen migrated out of the settlement after 1871 to Norfolk, Hull, London and Peterborough. Overall, however, the majority of incomer Heads remained there to 1881 or later.⁹³ Burgh le Marsh was the largest of the four settlements and was, in effect, a small town. It had shops and craftsmen supplying goods, a railway station, an Anglican church school, and later in the century, also had a college for missionary students. Thus it had reasonable connections with the outside world. Even here, however, and as observed above, the incomer Heads exhibited little desire to move beyond the local area. Table 4.5 reveals that forty two per cent of the incomers remained either resident in the settlement, or had re-migrated no more than sixty miles away, and were still living in Lincolnshire. Admittedly, fifty per cent were not identified or had died between 1861 and 1871, but the percentage that remained within rural Lincolnshire was high.

The population of Ulceby dropped again by the time of the 1871 census standing at one hundred and seventy nine including one hundred and twenty seven incomers. All of the new Heads came from settlements in Lincolnshire, from distances no greater than twenty miles away, and of

⁹² 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3393B 4 40 42.

⁹³ A tendency is apparent for incomers to migrate to various locations in England, including to Burgh le Marsh, but then at a later date, to return to their places of birth, or at least, to their home counties. They did not, however, gravitate towards the major centres of commerce or industry.

those, only two migrated more than twenty miles from the village during their lifetimes, one to a small settlement near Grimsby and the other to Nottinghamshire.⁹⁴ One Head who remained close to his birthplace was William Norton who was born in Aby, and worked as a farm servant in Belleau, which was a mere one mile away, before returning to Aby where his parents still lived. In 1871 he appears on the CEBs for Ulceby, having begun to raise a family. His children's birthplaces show that he had resided in the intervening decade in Hallington and Grainthorpe, however by 1881 he had migrated to Ludborough and 1891 found him and his family living in South Elkington where he stayed for less than ten years because 1901 saw him living and working in Utterby. This man had made at least eight moves during his working life, but his migratory pattern had followed a very limited route, for all of the villages he and his family lived in were within ten miles of each other.⁹⁵

Eastville saw a rise in population numbers, to three hundred and four inhabitants with incomers totalling two hundred and fifty eight, sixteen of whom were Heads of Household. Four had been born outside of Lincolnshire - the Station Master came from Swindon in Wiltshire and by 1891 had returned to London; a station porter came from Berkshire; there was a Surrey-born labourer. One male had migrated from Northamptonshire, and another had come from Leicestershire via Derbyshire. This man later re-migrated to two other small Lincolnshire settlements. As with the other settlements, the incomer Heads in Eastville in 1871 may have in-migrated to the place and almost fifty per cent were not identifiable, nevertheless, the percentage of males who stayed within Lincolnshire after 1871 was half, with thirty one per cent of those either remaining in Eastville or moving less than ten miles away. The persistence among these men was remarkable, for only the percentage of individuals from Burgh le Marsh, who remained or stayed within the county, dropped below fifty per cent, at forty six per cent. The other settlements had percentages of fifty per cent and over.

⁹⁴ 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3395 32.

⁹⁵ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2111 27.

It is very clear that the males who had migrated into these settlements between 1861 and 1871 followed the same migratory paths as the males who had been present there at the time of the previous censuses. There is little evidence to show that they moved long distances beyond Lincolnshire. Mostly a relatively tight, almost circular system of movement was followed, which rarely took the men from familiar territory. This core observation bears out Pooley and Turnbull's conclusion, plus that of White and Wood's,⁹⁶ that Ravenstein's assertion that step-wise movement always drew the migrant away from the rural and towards the urban setting is incorrect. These men remained agricultural in employment and rural in lifestyle. It is now necessary to analyse the migratory patterns of the incomer sons of Heads for the year 1871.

Table 4.6 Incomer sons of Heads 1871

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	2(14.3%)	Remain	17(17.0%)	Remain	0	Remain	1(2.1%)
<Ten miles	5(35.7%)	<ten miles	5(5.0%)	<ten miles	10(47.6%)	<ten miles	7(14.9%)
10-59 miles	4(28.6%)	10-59 miles	9(9.0%)	10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	2(4.2%)
Sub-total	11(78.6%)	Sub-total	31(31.0%)	Sub-total	10(47.6%)	Sub-total	10(21.3%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	5(5.0%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	1(2.1%)
100+ miles	0	100+miles	9(9.0%)	100+ miles	2(9.5%)	100+ miles	7(14.9%)
Sub-total	0	Sub-total	14(14.0%)	Sub-total	2(9.5%)	Sub-total	8(17.0%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	3(21.4%)	Not I'd*	55(55.0%)	Not I'd*	9(42.8%)	Not I'd*	29(61.7%)
Sub-total	3(21.4%)	Sub-total	55(55.0%)	Sub-total	9(42.8%)	Sub-total	29(61.7%)
Totals	14(100%)	Totals	100(100%)	Totals	21(100%)	Totals	47(100%)

*Not identified

The CEBs for Addlethorpe show that fourteen sons migrated in between 1861 and 1871. Only three could not be traced further to later England or Wales censuses. Of the eleven traceable men, only two remained in the village, and five stayed within ten miles of Addlethorpe. Four others re-migrated no further than fifty nine miles of the settlement, and none

⁹⁶ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 325. *the geographical impact of Migration*, ed. by White, P., and Woods, R., (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1980), pp. 36-37.

travelled beyond Lincolnshire. Therefore no incomer son re-migrated to any of the large urban areas. The analysis for the settlement is good because with more than three quarters of the males identified, there is positive evidence that migratory moves were of short distances and did not involve step wise motion towards the towns and cities. Analysis of Burgh le Marsh proved to be more problematic because fifty five per cent of sons who came to the village between the censuses were not traceable after 1871. Nonetheless, and as with Addlethorpe, the greater number of males who can be traced remained resident in Lincolnshire with seventeen per cent not moving from the settlement. The migratory patterns of other sons indicate that several moved to Yorkshire, and to north Lincolnshire, whilst three migrated to Boston, another was traced to London, and one went to Dewsbury, Yorkshire. Five sons out of the identifiable males stayed in a village local to Burgh le Marsh. The sons of in-migrating Ulceby Heads numbered twenty one. One son re-migrated with his wife and children but went to a settlement within a few miles of Ulceby. Another son left Lincolnshire entirely and re-migrated to Salford, Lancashire,⁹⁷ but the other sons remained in Lincolnshire upon reaching adulthood. Forty seven per cent of the incomer sons re-migrated away from the settlement but remained in Lincolnshire, though none stayed in Ulceby.⁹⁸ Two males (nine point five per cent) went to other areas of England, and only the same percentage were unidentified. Forty seven incomer sons were identified in Eastville. One son stayed in the settlement and nine re-migrated, but still stayed in Lincolnshire. Eight others left the county entirely,⁹⁹ but twenty nine males could not be identified at all. This amounted to nearly sixty two per cent of the incomer sons unaccounted for, and is markedly different to the other settlements unidentifiable males.

The analysis of the incomer Heads of Household and their sons so far, indicates that the developments in transport in the country and the

⁹⁷ 1901 England and Wales Census: RG13 3733 159.

⁹⁸ 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3393B 8 9 5 6 27 29 26.

⁹⁹ 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3387 56 58 60 61.

growing urban centres of industry were not exerting a pull for these men. They were continuing in occupations tied to agriculture and tended to stay in familiar territory. The incomer males who were living away from home in 1861 were less identifiable, because they had no family links to carry forward from one census to another. Thus the analysis was more inconclusive, so with this in mind, we move on to the 1871 analysis of males living away from home.

Table 4.7 Incomer males living away from home 1871

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	0	Remain	1(2.9%)	Remain	0	Remain	3(10.0%)
<Ten miles	0	<ten miles	1(2.9%)	<ten miles	2(12.5%)	<ten miles	6(20.0%)
10-59 miles	3(27.3%)	10-59 miles	6(17.4%)	10-59 miles	3(18.7%)	10-59 miles	3(10.0%)
Sub-total	3(27.3%)	Sub-total	8(23.5%)	Sub-total	5(31.2%)	Sub-total	12(40.0%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	1(3.33%)
100+ miles	1(9.1%)	100+miles	5(14.7%)	100+ miles	2(12.5%)	100+ miles	3(10.0%)
Sub-total	1(9.1%)	Sub-total	5(14.7%)	Sub-total	2(12.5%)	Sub-total	4(13.3%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	7(63.6%)	Not I'd*	21(61.8%)	Not I'd*	9(56.2%)	Not I'd*	14(46.7%)
Sub-total	7(63.6%)	Sub-total	21(61.8%)	Sub-total	9(56.2%)	Sub-total	14(46.7%)
Totals	11(100%)	Totals	34(100%)	Totals	16(100%)	Totals	30(100%)

*Not identified

Eleven males living away from home migrated into Addlethorpe between 1861 and 1871. Only four were reliably identified in subsequent censuses with none remaining in or within ten miles of the settlement. Three re-migrated away but did not leave Lincolnshire, and one man moved across country to Cheshire where he left his occupation and worked as a butler.¹⁰⁰ Seven men or sixty three per cent, could not be identified accurately. The situation for Burgh le Marsh is more certain for it has been possible to trace onwards thirteen of the thirty four incomer males living away from home, who had moved into the settlement between 1861 and 1871. As with Addlethorpe, in excess of sixty per cent could not be reliably traced to later censuses, however, twenty three per cent of those identified stayed in Lincolnshire, and five or nearly fifteen per cent moved

longer distances away from the county. Two of them went to Yorkshire working as labourers. Only one changed occupation radically and became a Leeds cab driver. The other male who left the county re-migrated to Nottinghamshire where he continued as a labourer, albeit now for a stonemason.¹⁰¹

For the village of Ulceby there were sixteen unattached males who moved in between 1861 and 1871. Two men remained resident within ten miles of the village, and three moved further afield but stayed in the county. Two other men re-migrated to different parts of England. One went to Devon and entered the prison service while the other man went north to the coal mines of Durham.¹⁰² Again, as with Addlethorpe and Burgh le Marsh, there were more than fifty per cent unidentified. The tendency for this group appears to be similar to the Addlethorpe settlement, with limited evidence of long-distance migration, which agrees with Pooley and Turnbull's research on the lifetime moves of sixteen thousand people from across the country. Pooley and Turnbull comment that "unskilled agricultural workers ... remained mainly within local labour markets ..."¹⁰³

In Eastville thirty unattached males moved in between 1861 and 1871, perhaps not unexpected given the status of this place as a new town. Of these just under half were unidentified. But the surprising finding is that forty per cent either remained in the settlement, or re-migrated just a few miles. It is the only settlement where incomer males who had arrived there unattached, remained. Four incomer males left Lincolnshire with one re-migrating to Nottingham where he changed occupation and worked as a railway engine driver. The other three men all moved to Yorkshire

There is evidence that some of the males were prepared to migrate reasonably long distances to urbanised areas but there is no evidence to justify Snell's assertion that there was "growing out-migration to the towns

¹⁰¹ 1871 England and Wales Census: RG10 3393B 4 16 33 13.

¹⁰² RG10 3395 32.

¹⁰³ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 153.

in the late nineteenth-century”,¹⁰⁴ but he was not referring to this county, and there is no secondary literature focusing on Lincolnshire migration patterns with which to make comparison. The next census year to be analysed is 1881, so we now explore the findings relating to the four settlements for that year.

Table 4.8 Incomer Heads of Household 1881

Adlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	4(17.4%)	Remain	16(23.2%)	Remain	3(27.3%)	Remain	8(21.6%)
<Ten miles	6(26.1%)	<ten miles	6(8.7%)	<ten miles	1(9.1%)	<ten miles	9(24.3%)
10-59 miles	7(30.4%)	10-59 miles	14(20.3%)	10-59 miles	4(36.46%)	10-59 miles	5(13.5%)
Sub-total	17(73.9%)	Sub-total	36(52.2%)	Sub-total	8(72.7%)	Sub-total	22(59.4%)
60-99 miles	1(4.3%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	1(4.3%)	100+miles	8(11.6%)	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	2(5.4%)
Sub-total	2(8.7%)	Sub-total	8(11.6%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	2(5.4%)
Died	2(8.7%)	Died	5(7.2%)	Died	0	Died	3(8.1%)
Not I'd*	2(8.7%)	Not I'd*	20(29.0%)	Not I'd*	3(27.3%)	Not I'd*	10(27.0%)
Sub-total	4(17.4%)	Sub-total	25(36.2%)	Sub-total	3(27.3%)	Sub-total	13(35.1%)
Totals	23(100%)	Totals	69(100%)	Totals	11(100%)	Totals	37(100%)

*Not identified

A focus on those who moved in to the villages between 1871 and 1881 and remained long enough to be captured by the 1881 census begins to introduce the problem of observation censoring. This takes two forms and is common to all census based studies: because the last reference point is 1901, less of the migratory life-cycles of all of those moving in will be traceable subsequently; and the sons of in-migrant Heads in particular will, statistically, have less chance of moving on before observation ends. While these problems become acute between 1881-1891 and 1891-1901 (that is the dates covered by the latter part of this chapter), it is inevitable that subtle biases also creep into the 1881 analysis. Against this backdrop, the CEBs for 1881 Adlethorpe showed that there were twenty three incomer Heads of Household after 1871, with two leaving Lincolnshire and re-migrating to other parts of the country after 1881.

¹⁰⁴ Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 378-380.

One, the Curate of Addlethorpe, had been born in Durham, stayed for a few years in the settlement, and had moved to Staffordshire by 1891. The other Head, a cottager, re-migrated to Yorkshire where he continued farming.

Nearly seventy four per cent of the remaining incomer Heads either settled in the village or re-migrated to locations within Lincolnshire, and none of them altered occupations from agricultural employment.¹⁰⁵

The 1881 census saw a greater variety of birthplaces for the incomer male Heads of Household to Burgh le Marsh. The majority of male incomer Heads originated from the surrounding villages, although there were more people giving their birthplaces as towns or cities, as shown by a migrant from Dublin, Ireland, and others from Rutland, Surrey, and Shropshire, and France and California, USA. It has been possible to trace the migratory patterns of forty four incomer Heads to the census years of 1891 or 1901. Fifty two per cent remained settled in the county, twenty three per cent of whom, remained in Burgh le Marsh. Almost twelve per cent re-migrated over one hundred miles from the settlement, with destinations ranging from Nottinghamshire, Northants, Northumberland, Hertfordshire, and London.¹⁰⁶ Overall, seventy per cent of the incomer Heads were positively identified therefore presenting a good picture of the migratory patterns of incomer Heads in this community. The figures appear to follow Pooley and Turnbull's conclusions that rural migration was essentially very local.

The 1881 census for Ulceby saw a further drop in population figures to one hundred and seventy six including one hundred and forty six incomers. Eleven of the incomers were male Heads of Household and of those, over seventy two per cent were reliably identified. All of them (eight in total) were traced to other CEBs that were all located in Lincolnshire.

¹⁰⁵ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 34 6 10 20 22 24 29 16.

¹⁰⁶ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 4 7 13 15 22 29.

Ulceby was a farming village and the men who re-migrated between 1881 and 1891 continued to follow agricultural employment.

Unlike the three other settlements, Eastville had not lost population by 1881, but now had three hundred and fifty nine people, including three hundred and forty one incomers. Thirty seven of these incomers after 1871 were Heads of Household, and largely Lincolnshire-born. Four Heads had migrated from Norfolk, and two had come from Cambridgeshire.¹⁰⁷ Eastville has the only two males - a father and son, who migrated to Lincoln to work in one of the engineering factories there,¹⁰⁸ whereas other Heads migrated in tight circles around their birthplaces, with only a few venturing further, as did the male born in Louth who migrated to Lancashire, returned to Eastville, and then by 1901 was living in London;¹⁰⁹ and the male who came from Freiston near Boston and by 1891 had moved to Manchester before migrating south to Essex. A Gedney-born Head went to Northamptonshire, could be found in the 1871 CEBs for Peterborough, and then in the 1881 CEBs for Eastville, but had migrated to Nottinghamshire by 1891 and then come full circle, back to Leake near Eastville by the 1901 census.¹¹⁰ No other Head in the 1881 CEBs had either migrated any great distances before or after that census year.

The next cohort of males to be analysed is that of the sons of the incomer Heads of Household. By 1881 these males are mostly still children living with their parents, so information on migration for this cohort is scarce, however, it is to the analysis of the incomer sons in 1881 that we now turn, but we can nonetheless obtain useful nuance for the study of migration given the cumulative analysis thus far .

¹⁰⁷ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 55 56 57.

¹⁰⁸ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 52.

¹⁰⁹ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253.

¹¹⁰ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 59 54.

Table 4.9 Incomer sons of Heads of Household 1881

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	0	Remain	8(17.9%)	Remain	0	Remain	1(1.5%)
<Ten miles	6(16.7%)	<ten miles	3(6.4%)	<ten miles	1(6.2%)	<ten miles	9(13.6%)
10-59 miles	11(30.5%)	10-59 miles	10(21.3%)	10-59 miles	2(12.5%)	10-59 miles	1(1.5%)
Sub-total	17(47.2%)	Sub-total	21(44.7%)	Sub-total	3(18.7%)	Sub-total	11(16.7%)
60-99 miles	2(5.5%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	1(1.5%)
100+ miles	2(5.5%)	100+miles	17(36.2%)	100+ miles	2(12.5%)	100+ miles	4(6.1%)
Sub-total	4(11.1%)	Sub-total	17(36.2%)	Sub-total	2(12.5%)	Sub-total	5(7.6%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	15(41.7%)	Not I'd*	9(19.1%)	Not I'd*	11(68.7%)	Not I'd*	50(75.7%)
Sub-total	15(41.7%)	Sub-total	9(19.1%)	Sub-total	11(68.7%)	Sub-total	50(75.7%)
Totals	36(100%)	Totals	47(100%)	Totals	16(100%)	Totals	66(100%)

*Not identified

As I observed above, the sons of the incomer Heads in the 1881 Addlethorpe CEBs are young but out of the thirty six incomer sons listed in the CEBs of that year, more than fifty eight per cent were reliably identified. After 1881, none remained in Addlethorpe but seventeen (forty seven per cent) stayed in the county. Four others left Lincolnshire migrating to Sheffield, Doncaster, Lancaster and Portsmouth.¹¹¹ Again, the incomer sons showed little inclination to move to urban settings. The sons of the incomer Heads between 1871 and 1881 in Burgh le Marsh numbered forty seven, and most of them had been born either in Burgh le Marsh or in the area around the village. Seventeen out-migrated away from Lincolnshire, to locations across the country, from Warwickshire, London and Essex, Berkshire, Staffordshire, Derby, and Yorkshire.¹¹² Eight incomer sons remained in the settlement upon reaching adulthood, thirteen other sons stayed in the county. There was no large scale movement towards large towns or cities, for only thirty six per cent re-migrated long distances and only one male took employment a factory, a glass bottle foundry.¹¹³ Even the county town of Lincoln was not chosen as a destination for any of these young men, even though there were

¹¹¹ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 35 38 39.

¹¹² 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 10 8 7 9 13.

¹¹³ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 8.

highly successful engineering companies employing several hundred of men located there.¹¹⁴ Between 1871 and 1881 Ulceby had sixteen incomer sons. Less success was achieved in identification with these males for only thirty one per cent were positively identified in later censuses. Three stayed in Lincolnshire although none remained in the settlement. Two males re-migrated, one to Middlesex and the other across country to Lancashire.¹¹⁵ Neither of them moved to industrial employment with one working in an office and the other working as a horse keeper. There were sixty six sons of incomer Heads in 1881 Eastville, but only sixteen were identifiable. Eleven (sixteen point seven per cent) stayed in Lincolnshire with one of those remaining in the settlement. Five incomer sons re-migrated longer distances to Hull, Sheffield, Essex and Cheshire.¹¹⁶ It is unfortunate that more than seventy five per cent of the Eastville incomer sons could not be accurately identified, because it results in difficulties in reaching a definitive conclusion on the migratory patterns of these males.

Table 4.10 Incomer males living away from home 1881

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	2(25.05%)	Remain	2(5.7%)	Remain	1(8.3%)	Remain	1(5.0%)
<Ten miles	2(25.0%)	<ten miles	8(22.9%)	<ten miles	1(8.3%)	<ten miles	3(15.0%)
10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	4(11.4%)	10-59 miles	1(8.3%)	10-59 miles	4(20.0%)
Sub-total	4(50.0%)	Sub-total	14(40.0%)	Sub-total	3(25.0%)	Sub-total	8(40.0%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	0	100+miles	2(5.7%)	100+ miles	3(25.0%)	100+ miles	1(5.0%)
Sub-total	0	Sub-total	2(5.7%)	Sub-total	3(25.0%)	Sub-total	1(5.0%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	4(50.0%)	Not I'd*	19(54.3%)	Not I'd*	6(50.0%)	Not I'd*	11(55.0%)
Sub-total	4(50.0%)	Sub-total	19(54.3%)	Sub-total	6(50.0%)	Sub-total	11(55.0%)
Totals	8(100%)	Totals	35(100%)	Totals	12(100%)	Totals	20(100%)

*Not identified

¹¹⁴ Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1982), pp. 137ff.

¹¹⁵ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3258 32 33.

¹¹⁶ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 54 57 54 53.

There were eight unattached incomer males listed in the 1881 Addlethorpe CEBs, and four (fifty per cent) have been reliably identified. Two of them remained in the settlement, and two re-migrated to other places less than ten miles away. This is a small sample illustrating migratory moves, but it is evident that they remained resident in rural surroundings. This is contrary to Brown's suggestion that "towns, small and predominantly agricultural, were caught up in the general movement of population away from the countryside".¹¹⁷ Thirty five unattached incomer males have been found in the 1881 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh, with two remaining in the settlement and twelve re-migrating to other areas of Lincolnshire. Two unattached males moved out of the county and went to London and to Yorkshire.¹¹⁸ Again, none of the identifiable incomer unattached males moved into industrial type employment.

The unattached males migrating into Ulceby between 1871 and 1881 numbered twelve in total, and of those, one had migrated north from Hampshire, and had returned there by the time of the 1891 census. Another man had migrated to Lincolnshire from Ireland, and there are no further details regarding him, and one had re-migrated to Warwickshire.¹¹⁹ Six unattached males (fifty per cent) could not be reliably identified, so whilst migratory patterns are evident from the six who were found in later censuses, there is not a clear indication of where all these men went. In turn, twenty unattached males had moved into Eastville between 1871 and 1881, and were captured by the 1881 census. Four of whom were Irish-born and cannot be found in subsequent censuses, so it was probable that they were 'temporary' migrants working on the land and then returning to Ireland.¹²⁰ One incomer male had been born in Canada to English parents. They returned to England and took employment as a railway clerk in Eastville. By 1901 he had re-migrated to Plymouth still

¹¹⁷ Brown, *Farming*, p. 118.

¹¹⁸ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3257 26 10.

¹¹⁹ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3258 30 32 31. The unattached male from Hampshire (Note 153) could have chosen to migrate to the London area as it was closer to his home village than Lincolnshire. There is no reliable way of discovering if he did 'touch' London in his travels, but he nevertheless confounded the received opinion, by living and working in an isolated rural corner of England such as the Lincolnshire Wolds.

¹²⁰ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 53 55 53.

employed in railway offices.¹²¹ The males of this community show a similar tendency to the other settlements in that, by and large, they do not move long distance. The males that have been identified as having left the county are in the minority. None of the settlements in this analysis conform to other people's research. Pooley and Turnbull, Snell, Redford et al have suggested that the general tendency was for people to move away from the rural setting, even if that involved simply moving to the nearest towns situated in the hinterlands of rural communities, and this was not the case here.¹²²

Table 4.11 Incomer Heads of Household 1891

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	9(36.0%)	Remain	10(23.2%)	Remain	3(27.3%)	Remain	10(30.3%)
<Ten miles	3(12.0%)	<ten miles	6(13.9%)	<ten miles	4(36.4%)	<ten miles	9(27.3%)
10-59 miles	2(8.05%)	10-59 miles	2(4.6%)	10-59 miles	2(18.2%)	10-59 miles	2(6.1%)
Sub-total	14(56.0%)	Sub-total	18(41.9%)	Sub-total	9(81.8%)	Sub-total	21(63.6%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	0	100+miles	2(4.6%)	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	2(6.1%)
Sub-total	0	Sub-total	2(4.6%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	2(6.1%)
Died	1(4.0%)	Died	1(2.3%)	Died	0	Died	0
Not l'd*	10(40.0%)	Not l'd*	22(51.7%)	Not l'd*	2(18.2%)	Not l'd*	10(30.3%)
Sub-total	11(44.0%)	Sub-total	23(53.5%)	Sub-total	2(18.2%)	Sub-total	10(30.3%)
Totals	25(100%)	Totals	43(100%)	Totals	11(100%)	Totals	33(100%)

*Not identified

Twenty five incomer Heads of Household appeared in the 1891 Addlethorpe CEBs with eighteen identifiable before 1891, and fifteen traceable to the 1901 CEBs. Two Heads came from other counties – Northamptonshire, and Yorkshire,¹²³ but the other Heads were Lincolnshire born, twenty of whom had been born within approximately six miles of the village. As with the analyses of the previous CEBs, it is clear from the children's birthplaces that these Heads had similar migratory

¹²¹ 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 2353 57.

¹²² Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 153; Snell, *Labouring Poor*, pp. 370-380; Redford, A., *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1926). p. 183.

¹²³ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2604 28.

patterns as those already scrutinised, in that they migrated only short distances and did not move towards any of the large towns such as Lincoln or the mill towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire.¹²⁴ The census of 1891 recorded a substantial drop in the number of people living in Burgh le Marsh, for the total population number was now nine hundred and sixty nine. Nonetheless in 1891 there were over seven hundred incomers in all. Twenty one (forty eight per cent) incomer Heads were reliably identified out of a total of forty three Heads. As with the previous census years, most of the males identified in the 1891 census remained in Lincolnshire. One had died in the years between 1881 and 1891, and two males had re-migrated to the west Midlands and to Guildford.¹²⁵ Whilst these men had moved from diverse places such as Hungerford, Berkshire, Kent, Nottingham, Edinburgh, Middlesex, London, Leicester, and Scotland,¹²⁶ the data in the 1891 census does not show evidence that they then re-migrated long distances away from the county.¹²⁷ The 1891 census for Ulceby saw a further drop in the number of inhabitants to one hundred and sixty, and one hundred and fifty six of that total comprised incomers. Eleven were male incomer Heads of Household, and of those, ten were locally born and one came from Durham.¹²⁸ Nine (eighty one per cent) of the incomers either remained in the village or re-migrated within Lincolnshire. None were found to have re-migrated out of the county, so the towns and cities of the rest of England did not exert a pull on these men. There were only two males unidentified (eighteen per cent), so the analysis of Ulceby gives a good indication of the migratory patterns of incomer Heads in this 1891 settlement. Thirty three incomer Heads had moved into Eastville between 1881 and 1891. Twenty three were identified (sixty nine per cent) and ten (thirty per cent) could not be

¹²⁴ There is nothing new in this specific analysis for the males are following the same migratory patterns as the residents from previous years. What is different, however, is the finding that even at the close of the nineteenth century, with accessible railway travel, the males of this area were not gravitating towards the towns and cities.

¹²⁵ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2604 5 21.

¹²⁶ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2604 5 9 11 13 19.

¹²⁷ In 1891 the trend remains the same with Heads of Household in-migrating from locations across Britain, although the majority were locally born and moved around the area that was familiar to them.

¹²⁸ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2605 136.

accurately located in the following census. Ten males remained in the settlement, which was not the case with the other settlements. Nine re-migrated less than ten miles and two went longer distances, but remained in the county. One man re-migrated back to Nottinghamshire, his birthplace, and the other man also re-migrated to that county.¹²⁹ The analysis of Eastville also shows that males were more likely to remain in rural locations and did not migrate to the large urban centres. We now look at the results of the analyses of the sons of Heads of Household in the four settlements for the year 1891.

Table 4.12 Incomer sons of Heads of Household 1891

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	9(36.0%)	Remain	0	Remain	0	Remain	0
<Ten miles	3(12.0%)	<ten miles	1	<ten miles	1(5.9%)	<ten miles	1(4.5%)
10-59 miles	2(8.0%)	10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	1(4.5%)
Sub-total	14(56.0%)	Sub-total	1	Sub-total	1(5.9%)	Sub-total	2(9.1%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	0	100+miles	0	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	1(4.5%)
Sub-total	0	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	1(4.5%)
Died	1(4.0%)	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	10(40.0%)	Not I'd*	0	Not I'd*	16(94.1%)	Not I'd*	19(86.4%)
Sub-total	11(44.0%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	16(94.1%)	Sub-total	19(86.4%)
Totals	25(100%)	Totals	1	Totals	17(100%)	Totals	22(100%)

*Not identified

There were twenty five son of Heads included in the 1891 CEBs for Addlethorpe, with fifteen (sixty per cent) reliably identified thereafter. One had been identified as having died, but the remaining fourteen males re-migrated within Lincolnshire, with nine (thirty six per cent) remaining in the settlement. Five other incomer sons re-migrated but stayed in the county, and no sons went any further. Ten (forty per cent) were not located in the next census, but there is nevertheless a reasonable indication that the urban scene was not drawing these sons. Burgh le Marsh had forty two incomer sons listed in the 1891 CEBs. All of these sons were children and living at home, but one adult incomer son was present in the settlement in 1891 and he had re-migrated to a village less than ten miles distant. There are no other incomer sons of working age to identify, therefore the

¹²⁹ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2601 53 56.

figure of one hundred per cent must stand for this one adult male. Twenty three incomer sons to Heads were included on the 1891 CEBs for Ulceby, and all except three were still living with their parents. Only one of those three sons was found in the later 1901 CEBs for Skegness, so again, most of the males come into the unidentified section of Table 4.13. Because the incomer sons were mostly below working age, it has not been possible to reach a conclusion on migratory patterns for this Ulceby cohort. Only three of Eastville's twenty two sons of incomer Heads of Household in 1891 Eastville had reached a working age at that time, and they followed their fathers' pattern of migrating around the east coast region. The only exception was an incomer son who re-migrated to London. The same observation applies to this settlement, in that there was not enough data with which to form a firm conclusion. The next section of male incomer cohorts covers the incomer males who had left home to live and work in the four settlements.

Table 4.13 Incomer males living away from home 1891

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	0	Remain	5(12.5%)	Remain	0	Remain	1(4.0%)
<Ten miles	2(22.2%)	<ten miles	0	<ten miles	1(11.1%)	<ten miles	2(8.0%)
10-59 miles	0	10-59 miles	4(10.0%)	10-59 miles	2(22.2%)	10-59 miles	4(16.0%)
Sub-total	2(22.2%)	Sub-total	9(22.5%)	Sub-total	3(33.3%)	Sub-total	7(28.0%)
60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	1(2.5%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	0
100+ miles	0	100+miles	0	100+ miles	1(11.1%)	100+ miles	1(4.0%)
Sub-total	0	Sub-total	1(2.5%)	Sub-total	1(11.1%)	Sub-total	1(4.0%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	7(77.8%)	Not I'd*	30(75.0%)	Not I'd*	5(55.5%)	Not I'd*	17(68.0%)
Sub-total	7(77.8%)	Sub-total	30(75.0%)	Sub-total	5(55.5%)	Sub-total	17(68.0%)
Totals	9(100%)	Totals	40(100%)	Totals	9(100%)	Totals	25(100%)

*Not identified

All of the nine unattached males who moved to Addlethorpe between 1881 and 1891 and stayed long enough to be captured by the 1891 CEBs had been born within ten miles of Addlethorpe, and none of them had left home before the 1891 census. It only possible to identify two accurately both of whom re-migrated to settlements within ten miles of Addlethorpe.

Forty unattached males had moved to Burgh le Marsh between 1881 and 1891, and they also came from a variety of locations, including Liverpool, Nottingham, and London¹³⁰ It has only been possible to identify the movements of ten males (twenty five per cent) and these incomers were all Lincolnshire-born. One incomer unattached male re-migrated to Hull,¹³¹ but the others either remained in Burgh le Marsh or in Lincolnshire settlements. Ulceby had nine unattached males, and four of them have been reliably traced from 1891 to 1901. Three males stayed in the same area, and one re-migrated to Leicestershire.¹³² Incomers to Ulceby continued to stay in the area, contrasting to Nair and Poynter's research that highlights an exodus from the countryside.¹³³ The unattached males in 1891 Eastville numbered twenty five, with one man, an older man, having been born in Yorkshire.¹³⁴ The other twenty two males had been born in Lincolnshire. Except for one male migrating to Cleethorpes, in northern Lincolnshire, and another moving to London, the rest remained in the local area. The analyses for the cohorts of incomer male Heads of Household, the sons of Heads, and the unattached males living away from home covered the census years from 1861 to 1891. They illustrate that there was the same absence of large scale abandonment of life in rural areas with these men, as had been shown with the analyses of the males resident in the four settlements in 1851. The urban areas, whether large or small, were not calling these men. Finally, it is time to close the analyses of the incomer males by turning to discussion of the 1901 census year.

¹³⁰ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2604 9 11 13. These males do not bear out the research of Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*; and Lawton, R., *Population Changes in England and Wales in the Later Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Trends by Registration Districts*. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, (May 1968), Number 44, because the lads were migrating from heavily urbanised areas to a rural location.

¹³¹ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2604 9.

¹³² 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2605 136.

¹³³ Nair, G., and Poynter, D., 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-West Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006), Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 167-186.

¹³⁴ 1891 England and Wales Census: RG12 2601 57 56 52.

Tables have not been added for the 1901 CEBs because it was not possible to forward trace any of the inhabitants from the four settlements, so only information relating to migratory journeys *to* the settlements has been used. The 1901 CEBs shows twenty three incomer male Heads of Household, with only two having been born outside the county – one in Wisbech, Norfolk, and the other, in Nottinghamshire. The birthplaces given for the children of the Nottinghamshire male show that he had migrated to Huntingdonshire where he settled for several years.¹³⁵ The other nine Heads were all born in Lincolnshire settlements, and all of those settlements were within twenty miles of Addlethorpe.¹³⁶ Eighty three male Heads of Household were incomers to Burgh le Marsh in the 1901 CEBs, with birthplaces such as Toronto, Canada; the south west of England; Rotherham, Yorkshire; Kings Lynn, Norfolk; Nottinghamshire; Leeds; and London. The men who had been born in Lincolnshire tended to come from settlements within twenty to twenty five miles distant, and had migrated via small villages which were not always on a direct route with the settlement. For example, a farmer had been born in Rauceby, forty miles from Burgh le Marsh, his three eldest children were born in Wainfleet, about five miles away, his fourth child was born in Friskney near Boston, but their fifth child was born in Burgh le Marsh, therefore they retraced their steps. Another man came from Woodhall Spa, to the west but two of his children were born in Grimsby, north of Burgh le Marsh, and his third child was born in Burgh le Marsh.¹³⁷ Finally, in order to illustrate the randomness of the patterns of migration in this area, another Head of Household had come from Swineshead, which is located a few miles south of Boston. He and his wife moved to Lincoln and then settled in Burgh le Marsh where their second son was born.¹³⁸ Burgh le

¹³⁵ 1901 England and Wales Census: RG13 3077 29.

¹³⁶ Whilst there is evidence that some men were migrating longer distances, largely the origins of these 1901 incomers were local with most having been born in Lincolnshire within twenty miles of Addlethorpe.

¹³⁷ 1901 England and Wales Census: RG13 3077 24 18 5 8 14 21 7 12 23.

Heads of Household who appeared as resident in the 1901 census came from near and far, as had their forerunners in 1891, and yet again, they did not choose the large urban places, but smaller settlements such as Burgh le Marsh. This is not confirming Ravenstein et al findings that all roads led to London and the cities. (Redford, *Labour Migration*, p. 183. Baines, *Mature Economy*, p. 213.

Marsh shows a greater diversity in the origins of its incomers than did Addlethorpe, for migrants came from urban areas and industrial towns such as Leeds, Rotherham near Sheffield and London. This is new, for research has so far only focused on migration from the countryside to the towns and cities, or the analysis of a limited number of census years to highlight in- and out-migration without following lifetime migratory patterns. Here in this community of approximately one thousand inhabitants, which was still grounded in an agricultural economy, males can be found migrating away from urban and industrial life and not towards it.

In 1901 there were twenty three identifiable male Heads of Household resident in Ulceby, of which twenty one had been born within fifty miles of the settlement, and two had migrated from Yorkshire. All the males had migrated from birthplaces to other settlements before settling in Ulceby, with distances travelled varying considerably. One male left the market town of Spalding, Lincolnshire, migrated thirty six miles to the village of Brinkhill on the Lincolnshire Wolds, then moved to Louth, another small market town nearby, before migrating a further eleven miles to Ulceby between the 1891 and 1901 censuses, whereas another male had been born in Skegness and had lived in Candlesby, a small settlement within five miles of Ulceby.¹³⁹ None of the male incomer Heads migrated to urban areas between their births and the 1901 census, and the fourteen unattached males resident in Ulceby at that time had all been born in rural settlements within a twenty miles radius of Ulceby, and remained resident in the country. There is no evidence of a pull towards an urban location, and no evidence of step-by-step movement away from the rural towards the urban. These males moved in circular movements staying close to familiar surroundings.

There is a further drop in population numbers in 1901 Eastville, with two hundred and eighty seven inhabitants resident in the settlement, all of whom were incomers. There were thirty six incomer Heads of Household,

¹³⁸ Brown, *Farming*, pp. 87-90.

¹³⁹ 1901 England and Wales Census: RG13 3080 72.

with one migrant from Yorkshire, one from Surrey and one from Nottinghamshire.¹⁴⁰ There were one hundred and eighty two incomer sons included in the 1901 census for the four settlements collectively and they were all living with their parents. Their places of birth were of course reflected in their parents' places of birth. Sixty five unattached males living away from home were also on the 1901 census for the settlements, and they all had migrated into the settlements from settlements within a twenty to thirty miles radius.

Although there is no forward progression in tracing migratory movements with the 1901 census information, the birthplaces of the incomer males reflect that the overwhelming majority of individuals migrated and re-migrated around a particular area. They were mostly Lincolnshire-born, and mostly remained in the county of Lincolnshire. Even by 1901, with rail transport more accessible, with large mill towns and the large urban conurbations also easily accessible, the incomer males remained rural in character.

4.3 Conclusion

Table 4.14 Four settlements incomer males 1861-1901

Heads	No.	Sons	No.	Males**	No.
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	118(23.6%)	Remain	34(9.2%)	Remain	14(4.6%)
< 10 miles	74(14.8%)	<10 miles	41(11.1%)	< 10 miles	30(10.0%)
10-59 miles	71(14.2%)	10-59 miles	70(19.0%)	10-59 miles	46(15.3%)
Sub-total	263(52.6%)	Sub-total	145(39.3%)	Sub-totals	90(30.0%)
Elsewhere		Elsewhere		Elsewhere	
60-100 miles	7(1.4%)	60-100 miles	19(5.1%)	60-100 miles	6(2.0%)
>100 miles	24(4.8%)	>100 miles	50(13.5%)	>100 miles	24(8.0%)
Sub-total	31(6.2%)	Sub-total	69(18.7%)	Sub-total	30(10.0%)
Total	294(58.8%)	Total	214(58.0%)	Total	120(40%)
Died	27(5.4%)	Died	0	Died	5(1.7%)
Not I'd*	179(35.8%)	Not I'd*	155(42.0%)	Not I'd*	176(58.5%)
Sub-total	206(41.2%)	Sub-total	155(42.0%)	Sub-total	181(60.1%)
Totals	500(100%)	Totals	369(100%)	Totals	301(100%)

*Not Identified **Males living away from home

Table 4.14 shows the combined figures for the settlements and combined census years, split into the groups already presented, i.e. Heads of Household, sons, and males living away from home. The Heads represented the largest percentage of men who remained in the

¹⁴⁰ 1901 England and Wales Census: RG13 3073 60 63.

settlements (twenty three point six per cent), whilst few males who lived away from home generally remained (four point six per cent). More of the males tended to remain within Lincolnshire (c. forty per cent), with fewer leaving the county (eleven point six per cent). It needs to be remembered that these settlements were on the east coast of the second largest county in England, so migration out of the county involved travelling distances in excess of sixty miles, with the nearest large industrial areas up to and over one hundred miles distant. There was an average of forty seven per cent of unidentified males throughout the census years and covering the male groups, and it was probable that some of those men had emigrated. Unfortunately it was not possible to accurately pinpoint any of the 'missing' males when the only information available are shipping passenger lists which contain only name, age, occupation and country of birth, for there were often multiple men listed with the same details on ships passenger lists bound for various ports in various countries. Further uncertainty over how to interpret the patterns emerging from the data in this chapter springs from the decision to focus solely on the males and ignore the females, in effect, tracing only half the migratory picture. The decision to devote the thesis to the male population took into account the problems attached to accurately identifying females, for they frequently left home in their early teens in order to go 'into service' in another household, where the same problems as those attached to males living away from home, pertained. Moreover, and as Chapter Two explored, females usually changed their surnames to that of their husbands upon marriage so there was a danger that a female's life path could not be easily and accurately followed. Nonetheless, the analysis of the four settlements has produced some distinctive features. For example, the research indicates that migration in this area focused on movement within familiar territory, and London and the other large areas of commerce were not an attraction. The research has also suggested that the movement from agricultural employment was not a factor here, for even those migrants who moved away from Lincolnshire tended to remain in farming or agrarian type work. Comparing this complex picture with the wider literature that I referred to in Chapter One and to the key questions

and themes I set myself in that chapter is revealing. Ravenstein researched the 1881 census reports for England and Wales and then presented a paper which he called the 'laws of migration', at the Royal Institute in 1885 and 1889. He concluded that citizens were leaving the rural districts to live in the towns and cities.¹⁴¹ Many historians have, since then, used 'the laws' as a basis for their research, and have largely agreed with his findings that the cities and large urban areas drew people away from the country.¹⁴² McQuillan also argued that the cities drew the "overwhelming amount of migration" from the country,¹⁴³ and Cooper's research into Cardiganshire migration between 1841 and 1881 suggested that the major destinations for migrants (she does not specify whether this was rural to urban or urban to urban migration) were London firstly, and then Manchester and Liverpool.¹⁴⁴ Research on migration in Britain in the nineteenth century has focused on the national trends thus ensuring that movement to the cities is accentuated (Feldman), or looks at migration into and away from chosen communities, usually between relatively short time spans.¹⁴⁵ Feldman argued that the moves people make between streets in one community are not regarded by historians as 'migration', but simply 'mobility',¹⁴⁶ so it is as if the only migration worthy of that name is long-distance, 'big' moves from rural settings to the large urban conurbations. Feldman goes on to suggest that whilst rural to urban migration "did not typify the pattern of mobility for individuals", between 1840 and 1880, the main movement was away from the countryside.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Ravenstein, *The Laws*, The Royal Statistical Society.

¹⁴² Redford, *Labour Migration*; Lawton, *Population Changes*; Baines, *Mature Economy*; Smith, C.T., 'The Movement of Population in England and Wales in 1851 and 1861', *The Geographical Journal*, (Jun., 1951), Volume 117, Number 2.

¹⁴³ McQuillan, K., 'Moving to the City: Migration to London and Paris in the Nineteenth Century', *Sociological Focus*, (January, 1983), Volume 16, Number 1, pp. 49-64.

¹⁴⁴ Cooper, K.J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 210.

¹⁴⁵ See Sill, M., 'Mid-nineteenth century labour mobility: The case of the coal-miners of Hetton-le-Hole, Co. Durham', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 1979), Number 22; Sheppard, J., 'Out-migration 1821-1851 from a Wealden parish: Chiddingfold', *Local Population Studies*, (Autumn 1997), Number 59,; Clark, A., 'Family migration and infant mortality in rural Kent, 1876-1888', *Family & Community History*, (November 2003), Volume 6 Issue 2, Number 3; Nair, and Poynter, *South West Shropshire*, pp. 167-186; t Bailey, *Mid 19th Century Internal Migration*.

¹⁴⁶ Feldman, D., 'Migration', *Cambridge Histories Online* @Cambridge University Press, (2008), p. 186.

¹⁴⁷ Feldman, *Migration*, p. 189.

Whilst there is a consensus that the towns and cities tended to draw migrants from their hinterlands, as Walton says, the seaside resort of Blackpool drew its population from the surrounding Lancashire countryside, with only a tiny percentage coming from areas outside that county.¹⁴⁸ This did not happen in eastern Lincolnshire. The Earl of Scarbrough was developed the settlement of Skegness during the 1870s and 80s, to turn it into a seaside resort along the lines of Bournemouth, and this involved creating houses, shops, and roads to accommodate the hoped for holiday makers.¹⁴⁹ The four settlements under investigation were close to Skegness – Addlethorpe and Burgh le Marsh were situated within five miles and it could have been expected that males from those settlements would have changed from agricultural employment to construction work, even if they continued to reside in the same settlements, for they were undoubtedly within walking distance. However, this did not happen even though Skegness would have been a hive of industry and a growing town at this time.

Broad averages have been used for information gathered from around England, which tends to submerge the small migratory moves into the large moves that cut a swathe across the country. The result is that almost nothing is known about migration between small settlements, or within a specific district like that analysed for Lincolnshire here. Together Chapters Three and Four make it apparent that a mass exodus from the land was not happening in eastern Lincolnshire, because the migratory patterns exhibited by the movement of residents of the four settlements between 1850 and 1901 show that people moved around the same localities throughout their lives. Their children and the unattached males also followed the same pattern albeit with some (usually temporary) changes to this pattern for individual census years in some communities. This finding disagrees with Pooley and Turnbull's work on migration, where they argued that there was much movement from large to smaller

¹⁴⁸ Walton, J.K., *Blackpool*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 33.

¹⁴⁹ Robinson, D.N., *The Book of the Lincolnshire Seaside*, (Buckingham: Baron Books, 1989).

places as well as in the opposite direction, but they were relating their research to urban migration.¹⁵⁰ Together the chapters do not provide evidence that this type of movement was dominant, most movement was from small rural settlements to similar rural settlements. Similarly Boyer includes Lincolnshire in his work on migration, but places the county within the data for East Anglia, so his results are flawed in relation to Lincolnshire. For example his Table 1 states that 'Rural East Midlands' (in which he has placed Lincolnshire), had thirty per cent of migrants moving to London in 1861, but none of the four settlements here had any more than two of three London-bound migrants in any of the census years.¹⁵¹

This analysis across the two chapters changes the way internal migration should be viewed, because it indicates that whilst London and the other cities may have drawn most of their migrant populations from their hinterlands, there was busy movement between hamlets, villages and small rural towns all contained within their own 'country'. This has been overlooked and under-researched, and now this research has thrown surprising light on the apparent disinclination for the male residents of these four settlements to migrate even to the small town growing in their midst – Skegness. These perspectives add to the research of Reay who analysed a group Kentish settlements where he found that movement was predominantly short distance and remained within the same locality,¹⁵² but whereas he focused on fewer census decades, this thesis uses all the available census data from 1851 to 1901, and serves to indicate that no one district, county or region is entirely the same as another. Broad research can reflect broad trends of migration across Britain, but localised scrutiny of individual districts, counties and regions will provide a rich and varied view of the way migration impacted on each and every human

¹⁵⁰ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 306.

¹⁵¹ Boyer, *Southern England*, pp. 191-215.

¹⁵² Reay, B., *Microhistories Demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 258.

being living on this island, and the thesis has shown that the migratory patterns of the residents of the four settlements in 1851, and the incomers of the following years signify that the patterns of migration, and the reasons for moving to other settlements, did not conform to accepted thinking – that people were leaving the land and moving to urban locations. This thesis is the beginning of that journey.

Having gathered the migration information by analysing the CEBs, and having reached the conclusion that the overwhelming majority of residents in these settlements stayed within their own localities during their lifetimes, it is necessary to discover over the course of the following chapters what factors may have influenced their decisions. Therefore the following questions that were presented in Chapter One, will now be asked of each settlement:

1. did the development of the railway system affect residential choice
2. was the industrialisation of Britain a factor in people's migratory patterns
3. was education important in the choice of employment and did it affect social mobility
4. were family links a factor in informing people's decisions affecting employment and residence
5. did the agricultural depression impact on the communities.

Research has been conducted on specific communities or areas in order to establish if in-migrants tended to settle into their new communities, for example King found that incomers to the West Yorkshire settlement of Calverley, often found acceptance from the established residents was hard to achieve.¹⁵³ Olney, when studying migration in Lincolnshire found that "Lincolnshire was on balance an emigration rather than an immigration county." He maintained that even early in the 1800s, people were looking for employment outside of Lincolnshire,¹⁵⁴ but this did not

¹⁵³ King, S., 'Migrants on the margin? Mobility, integration and occupation in the West Riding, 1650-1820', *Journal of Historical Geography*, (1997), Volume 23, pp.284-303.

¹⁵⁴ Olney, R.J., *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1979), pp. 72ff.

happen in the area of Lincolnshire subject to this research. So, the above questions need to be asked in the context of how far the changes in transport and the developing industrial towns informed the decision making of the males in the four settlements. Whether railways aided migration to urban areas, and if the new education acts helped to lift males from agricultural labouring employment. In addition, the question asked as to if the presence of familial links in the wider world encouraged migration away from east Lincolnshire is important. Finally, the question of how much the agricultural depression affected the males of the settlements was asked.

Chapter Five will take two of these questions to examine how far the advent of railway building affected the lives of the people in these settlements, and also investigate how far the growth of industry – the engineering factories of Lincoln, the mill towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the smaller manufacturing businesses such paper making and boot manufacture, affected the east Lincolnshire people. The railway was within walking distance of all the four settlements, in fact two – Burgh le Marsh and Eastville – had stations within their communities, therefore it is necessary to discover how the Lincolnshire railway system linked to the rest of England, whether its primary purpose was to transport goods or convey people and whether it offered employment opportunities to local inhabitants. The growth and influence of factory-based industry will be investigated taking into account the engineering industry located in Lincolnshire, the cotton and wool mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the stocking and lace-making mills of Nottinghamshire, and the question will be asked as to how far these industries enticed east Lincolnshire males away from familiar surroundings, and why, as the evidence has shown in this chapter and in Chapter Three, did the east Lincolnshire inhabitants not move to the areas of commerce.

Chapter Five: Industry, urbanisation, transport systems and Lincolnshire migration

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we begin to explore, at both the macro-level (the county as a whole) and the micro-level, some of the push and pull factors that fed into individual and familial migration decisions by men. The previous chapter has commented on the research carried out on the four communities where it has been shown that the males resident in the settlements, their male offspring, and the 'incomer' males who migrated in after 1851, showed a propensity to move relatively short distances, and this has prompted the questions of why these males did not choose to migrate to the large urban areas including London. Though Pooley and Turnbull acknowledge that migration was largely undertaken over short distances with large towns and cities attracting migrants from their hinterlands, and contend that only London provided the magnet for migration from across all parts of Britain,¹ this clearly does not apply to Lincolnshire's east coast communities. There are also reasons to doubt other central tenets of the migration literature, at least in so far as Lincolnshire migrants are concerned.

Cooper argued that in 1851 "not only were rural and urban populations 'equally balanced' for the first time, but it was revealed that a large proportion of the population of the 'market towns, the county towns, the manufacturing towns, and the metropolis had been born in rural areas". Cooper quoted directly from the population tables produced in 1852 from the census of the previous year.² A few years earlier, Feldman had argued that most mobility occurred within short distances and within urban settings. However, he stated that "(A)t least 40 per cent of the demographic growth of urban Britain in the nineteenth century can be

¹ Pooley, C.J., and Turnbull, J., 'Migration and Mobility in Britain from the Eighteenth Century to the Twentieth Centuries', *Local Population Studies*, (Autumn 1996), Volume 57, pp. 50-71.

² Cooper, K.J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire*, (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2011), p. 87.

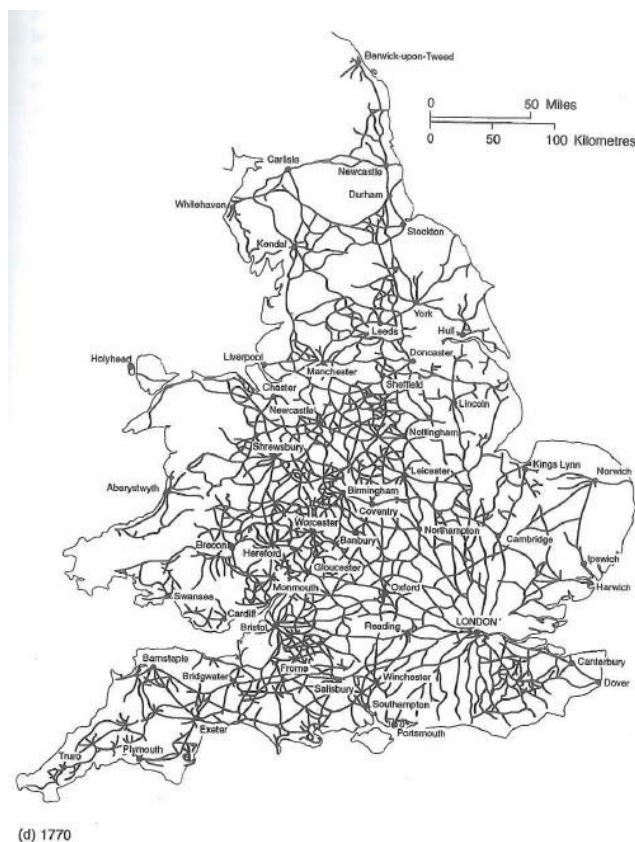
attributed to movement away from rural areas”, and went on to say that the second half of the nineteenth century showed such dramatic migration from agricultural areas that the rural population steeply declined.³ The research on my four eastern Lincolnshire communities as outlined in Chapters Three and Four has not held up these conclusions. Most migrants from these settlements remained in the county. The county town of Lincoln, Grantham and Gainsborough (boasting successful engineering works, all bordering Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire), Boston in the south of the county and Grimsby in northern Lincolnshire (both busy ports); did not prove great attractions for out-migrants from the four communities. In addition, the considerably smaller towns of Alford, Horncastle and Louth, which were all situated within approximately twenty miles of the settlements and were thus parts of their hinterlands, attracted few migrants. It is clear that migration in and out of the four settlements was as much part of normal life as the migratory patterns discussed by Pooley and Turnbull, Cooper and Feldman, but what is different in the thesis is that these migrants did not conform to research that found that most people went to the towns and cities, and therefore it has been necessary to establish the motivations for the migration, and the directions of that movement. Two questions that relate to the theme of ‘regionality’ need to be asked, and they are (i) how far industrialisation affected the lives of those male residents, and (ii) did the advances in transport in the form of the improved turnpike roads, the canals and navigations, and the development of the railways play a part in the decisions to migrate to other places in England and Wales; to emigrate to other countries; or to remain close to familiar people and places. This chapter will address both questions together, because the growth of industrial England depended on the growth and development of the different modes of transport which were canals and waterways, the road and the railway network. Therefore, and at the macro-level, the road system in England and Lincolnshire will be examined first, followed by waterways and canals with the railway

³ Feldman, D., Migration, *Cambridge Histories Online* @Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 189.

'explosion' ending the transport section. Industrialisation will be discussed in the next section, however, the development of the industrial infrastructure and its influence on the transport systems will also be referred to in the relevant transport sections, because explanation of why roads were improved, canals built, and railways developed is needed. The chapter then switches to the micro-level and discusses the four settlements and the migratory patterns of their male inhabitants, and concludes with a summing up of the research findings and a brief introduction of Chapter Six, in relation to these macro-level observations.

5.2 Industry and Transport

Map 5.1 Turnpiked roads 1770



Source: Transport 1720-1850 (The View from the Mountain – WordPress.com)⁴

⁴ The Growth of British Transport: 1720-1850, *The View from the Mountain-WordPress.com*.

It is necessary to begin by examining the availability of transport, albeit road, canal or rail, in the corner of Lincolnshire under investigation, for travel within the immediate area, or the same region, or to other parts of England, is only possible if the means to access those places were accessible and the travel was affordable. Therefore this examination will begin in the centuries before 1851 in order to assess whether transport links evolved and if so, to explore the reasons why that happened and with what effect. English roads were in a parlous state in early modern England, and amounted to little more than rough stony, muddy tracks linking one community to another. It was not until the roads began to be turnpiked in the seventeenth century that travelling became easier. Bogard relates that by “1770, turnpike trusts proliferated throughout England and Wales,” as can be seen in Map 5.1, giving turnpike trusts the right to levy tolls which were used for maintenance of the roads. In the eighteenth century West Midlands, the towns of Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield were in the early years of the industrial revolution and the improved road networks were an integral component of that transformation.⁵ Once they were generally adopted, turnpiked roads lessened travel times considerably, although it was still an expensive mode of travel.⁶ Stobart tells us about the thriving coach services plying between the towns of the West Midlands and London, carrying not only people, but also letters, newspapers and all things connected with commerce.⁷ However, the road system, even though turnpiked, did not offer country-wide ease of travel, for as can be seen in Map 5.1 the eastern side of Lincolnshire had only one turnpike, which was the main link between Boston and Grimsby. In short, Lincolnshire had few good roads and this extended to the period I am interested in. For example, Hull in south eastern Yorkshire, could only be reached from Lincolnshire

⁵ Bogard, D., ‘Turnpike Trusts and Property Income: New Evidence on the Effects of Transport Improvements and Legislation in Eighteenth-Century England’, *The Economic History Review*, (Feb. 2009), New Series, Volume 62, Number 1, pp. 128-152.

⁶ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 64-66.

⁷ Stobart, Jon, *The first industrial region*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 48.

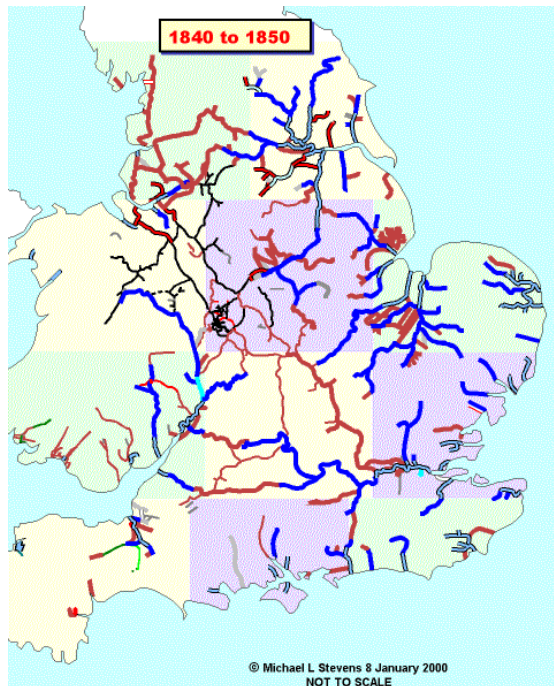
via ferry across the River Humber, which was not bridged until the last quarter of the twentieth century, thus northern Lincolnshire was effectively cut off from north eastern counties in the nineteenth century. Indeed, we are told by Obelkevich that:

*In the nineteenth century it was still an isolated county, largely surrounded by water and cut off from the rest of England: an island within an island. Its long coastline [...] lacked natural harbours, and in the south it was separated from adjoining counties by the Fens. The river Trent in the north-west was spanned only twice in thirty miles, and even then by toll bridges.*⁸

Lincolnshire did not, in other words, have direct access to the industrial regions of the Midlands or London in the early phases of industrial development, and as already mentioned, the River Humber also had only a ferry boat service between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, so communication and migration away from the east coast was problematic in the century before 1851. There is a vast literature available on transport in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the thesis has only touched upon the subject in order to illustrate the possible hindrances that people may have experienced when moving from one place to another, because the focus here is on migration and how the transport of the time impacted on people's ability to migrate. It is apparent that the road network in Lincolnshire was never a priority because industrial progress remained on the western edge of the county, where the roads serving Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire were turnpiked as a priority, while the roads on eastern side of the county were poorly maintained.

⁸ Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society South Lindsey 1825-1875*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 2.

Map 5.2 Waterways, canals and navigations 1840-1850



Source: Waterways of England and Wales: their history in maps (Michael L Stevens, 8 January 2000)⁹

An alternative to the road network had to be found because at this time most goods were transported by packhorse from Sheffield, where manufactured tools and cutlery were sold in London; wool went by packhorse from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire to the weaving districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire; and coal was moved by horse from the Forest of Dean to the towns and cities in the West Country.¹⁰ The growing need for coal in industrial processes and in homes meant that a better and more efficient means of transport was needed, and as coastal shipping was already used to ship coal from the Durham coalfields to London, and from South Wales to England, water transport was seen as a logical means of moving more freight, more economically, and with less risk of damage. In particular, “navigations and canals” [rose] “to prominence” as the eighteenth century wore on,¹¹ and helped both

⁹ Stevens, M.L., *Waterways of England and Wales: their history in maps*, www.canalmuseum.org.uk 8 Jan. 2000.

¹⁰ Perkin, H., *The Age of the Railway*, (Newton Abbott, Devon: David & Charles (Publishers) Limited, 1970), p. 29.

¹¹ Stobart, *First Industrial Region*, p. 52.

industrial and urban growth in England.¹² The Bridgewater Canal, built in 1759/60 by the Duke of Bridgewater, became the first canal built specifically to move coal from the Duke's mines in the Worsley, West Midlands to Manchester.¹³ The Duke's success with this venture led to canals and navigations being built wherever they were needed in the Midlands region.¹⁴ The Bridgewater Canal was located in Lancashire, West Midlands where much of the industrial growth was concentrated, for example, the pottery industry was to be found in Staffordshire, and cotton mills were thriving in the Manchester area, whilst hosiery and lace-making centred on the east and central Midlands, and tool and cutlery manufacture was located in Sheffield, Birmingham and Wolverhampton.¹⁵ Therefore 'England from Kendal to Portsmouth, from the Severn to the Thames, came to be covered with a vast network of canals¹⁶ Figure 5.2 clearly shows that Yorkshire and Lancashire were well-served by the canal network with links between both counties, and connections via waterways to the industrial West Midlands and London. Hudson comments that those waterway systems were built to provide transport for specific purposes, i.e. carry coal or move manufactured products, but they remained firmly regional in character.¹⁷ Lincolnshire, however, had few canals, one of which was the Horncastle Navigation which was a mere eleven miles long connecting the rivers Bain and Waring to the River Witham between Boston and Lincoln. Thus this navigation enabled that area of Lincolnshire, including the eastern seaboard region, to have access to the engineering industry of Lincoln, and also provided a link with the port of Boston.¹⁸ However, the canal ceased operating in 1871 because the railway, opened in 1855, effectively took over.¹⁹ Hadfield

¹² Stobart, *First Industrial Region*, p. 52.

¹³ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Perkin, *Age of railway*, p. 63.

¹⁵ King, S.A., & Timmins, G., *Making sense of the Industrial Revolution, English economy and society 1700-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 34 and 35.

¹⁶ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 64.

¹⁷ Hudson, P., *The Industrial Revolution*, (London: Arnold, 2005), pp. 102 and 122.

¹⁸ Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1982), p. 34.

¹⁹ Gladwin, D.D., *The Canals of Britain*, (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1973), pp. 178 and 179.

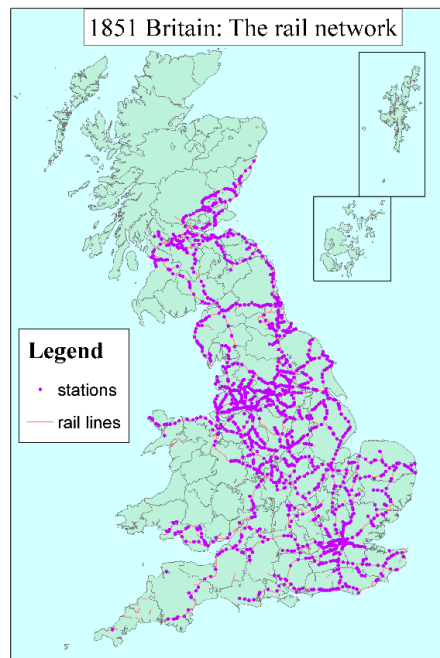
underlined the fact that Lincolnshire had few canals when he stated in a couple of sentences that the navigation linking the River Trent with Lincoln had been built by the Romans, followed in the Middle Ages by “two short canals [...] to carry stone for the building of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire”,²⁰ and the Horncastle navigation was mentioned in relation to rioting by the workmen.²¹ The remaining canals, Louth and Ancholme simply got a passing mention, which, in fact, illustrates the lack of industry and the need to find transportation to move materials to production sites and finished goods to the markets.

In short, the roads in the period that I am interested in were poor, and the canal and waterway system in the county was inadequate to provide transportation of raw materials or finished goods. Therefore, the lack of transport facilities in Lincolnshire, at a time when much of England had many turnpike roads, and a proliferation of canals and waterways, must have had consequences for migration both from and into the communities under investigation in this thesis. The lack of sufficiently good roads and the lack of canals that were longer than a few miles in length, ensured that most males inhabiting the four settlements had little alternative than to walk or use the services of a carrier and his cart in order to migrate, and thus their migratory journeys would, of necessity, be more complicated than other scholars, for instance, Michael Anderson, have suggested for their areas. In addition, Lincolnshire is a large county, where travel from any of the four settlements to a large industrial town would involve a journey of at least forty miles, (i.e. Lincoln), which would probably have to cover several days changing carriers en route, and also involve staying overnight on the journey. This would have been beyond an agricultural labourer’s pocket, particularly if he had a family with him, so migration around a circumscribed area on familiar territory was probably the only option at that time.

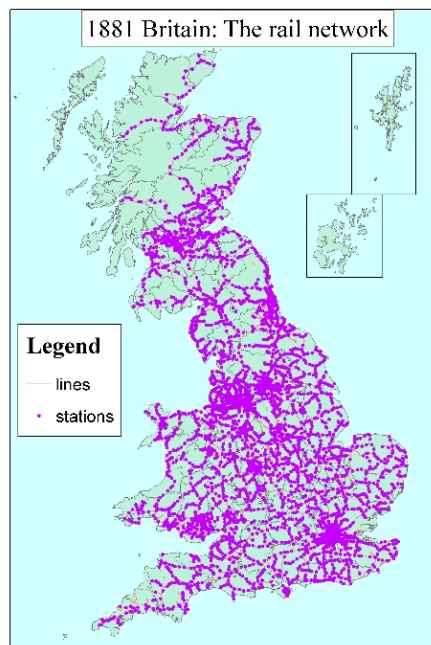
²⁰ Hadfield, C., *British Canals*, (Newton Abbott, Devon: David & Charles, 1979), p. 28.

²¹ Hadfield, *British Canals*, p. 41.

Map 5.3 The railway network in 1851



Map 5.4 The railway network in 1881



Source: *The Railways of Great Britain, A Historical Atlas*, Col. M. Cobb (Shepperton edn. 2005) and The Department of Geography, Cambridge University²²

²² *The Railways of Great Britain, A Historical Atlas*, Col. M. Cobb (Shepperton edn. 2005) and The Department of Geography, Cambridge University

Map 5.3 shows the extent of railway construction by 1851, the start of the core period covered here. It is apparent that there is just one railway track in the eastern section of the county. Figure 5.4 depicts the rail situation twenty years later in 1881, and whilst there is more evidence of railway building in the county in the form of a line linking the two north-south lines, there does not appear to any concerted effort during that decade, to emulate the construction covering the rest of the Midlands. The first public railway of any size was the Stockton and Darlington Railway which was started in 1822 and

*It was the beginning of the railway revolution that was to transform the country. [...] Henry Booth, the treasurer of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, said in 1830: 'We must determine Whether it be desirable that a nation should continue in the quiet enjoyment of pastoral or agricultural life, or that it should be launched into the bustle and excitement of commerce and manufacture.'*²³

The fast growth of industrial processes and production began to outweigh the existing methods of transport by road and canal, which resulted in the desire for more speed and a greater ability to carry larger and heavier loads. No longer were the roads and canals able to meet the demands of manufacturers, for they were unable to provide the means of moving materials to the factories and mills, or of delivering the finished products to the shops, markets and homes of the populace.²⁴ The desire for a more efficient and speedier method of transport led to industrialists and entrepreneurs to develop railway building into a serviceable mode of transport that was able to carry materials and goods from one destination to another, without the need for horse power as was necessary for carriages, packhorses and barge-towing on canals. The result was remarkable, for even the first railways of the 1830s and 1840s created

²³ Coleman, T., *The Railway Navvies*, (London: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1965), p. 21.

²⁴ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 66.

'sharp demands in specific trades and manufactures and employments'.²⁵

In addition, the population discovered that railways gave them the means of reaching their chosen destinations faster and with greater ease than of yesteryear, therefore, without those conditions, the urgency, desire and expense of railway building would have been absent.²⁶ Railway travel undoubtedly reduced journey times, for instance, a train journey between London and Manchester took over seven hours in 1844, and was reduced to four and a quarter hours by the 1890s, by which time, not only had the travel time reduced but the cost was also within reach of the ordinary working man.²⁷ The explosion of railway building ensured that movement between towns, cities, urban and rural areas, held few problems for travellers, for apart from the new 'railway towns' such as Crewe and Swindon, where rolling stock was built and maintained, other towns were founded because of the proximity of the railways. Eastbourne and Middlesbrough, for example, owe their existence to the railway age.²⁸

Thus, mobility between villages and towns was made easier with the advent of the railway age, for in 1863 George James Dew, wrote in his diary on 23rd July, that "Papa went to Worcester by an Excursion Train to see the Royal Agricultural Show- A cheap day for 2/6."²⁹ Mr Dew continued diary keeping after he had been appointed Relieving Officer to the Bletchington district of the Bicester Poor Law Union, and he reported the arrival of a puppy purchased from a contact in Maidstone, Kent. He wrote on 18th April 1877 "We had from Maidstone today by the 6 o'clock train [...] a Newfoundland bitch pup, all black except a spot on breast."³⁰ This extract from a diary of the time typifies the availability of railways in much of the rest of England. The same could not be said of Lincolnshire,

²⁵ Robbins, M., *The Railway Age*, (Manchester: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 136.

²⁶ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 48.

²⁷ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th Century*, (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1998), p. 65.

²⁸ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 122.

²⁹ *Oxfordshire Country Life in the 1860s: The Early Diaries of George James Dew (1848-1928) of Lower Heyford*, ed. by Horn, P., (Abingdon, Oxon: Beacon Publications, 1986), p. 11.

³⁰ Horn, Dew, p. 69.

for railway building came late to the county, and was severely limited in scope.

The East Lincolnshire Railway (later to become part of the Great Northern Railway), opened in 1848 and covered towns and settlements between Boston and Grimsby,³¹ with railway stations at Eastville and Burgh le Marsh, which therefore gave access to residents of Addlethorpe and Ulceby which were located within ten miles of the latter railway station, so the residents of those settlements would have had access to the most modern (at that time) form of transport that would connect them to the south of England and to the Midlands, as well as to the industrial regions in Yorkshire and Lancashire. However, railway access to other regions was not easy, for there was not the myriad of lines as there were in the West Midlands, for example, where “The first lines from Manchester to the south – main lines to Birmingham and Chester – were opened in 1839 and 1849.” The opening of those lines led to railways to newly developing suburban districts around those cities with “..stations in between – Sale and Stretford ... Heaton Moor, Cheadle Hulme, Bramhall and Wilmslow ...”.³² This sort of railway building did not take place in Lincolnshire, for there was no demand for residential suburbs on the fringes of towns, simply because even the industrialised towns of Lincoln, Grantham and Gainsborough were relatively small in size. Therefore it is conjectured that the railway in Lincolnshire was perceived as a means of travel to quite distant points in England which would involve long distance migratory journeys that were more likely to be undertaken by men of professional standing rather than agricultural labouring men.³³

There had been a direct Lincoln to London railway planned, as was a direct connection between Lincoln and York, but they were never built, whilst a line connecting East Anglia to Lincoln via Spalding and Sleaford was not opened until 1882. Links from the county to Yorkshire and

³¹ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 132 and 133.

³² Perkin, *Age of Railway*, p. 242.

³³ Wrigley, E. A., *Poverty, Progress, and Population*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 264-266. (Wrigley was referring to 17th century migration in England, but his comments are relevant to this research).

beyond were, in effect, blocked by the River Humber, though the fishing port of Grimsby attracted the attention of a business consortium which was to become the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway (MS&LR) and work on the railway started in 1847.³⁴ Several branch lines to small towns such as Horncastle, were built between 1850 and 1860, but services were not regular, and some of the branch lines were eventually stopped by 1871.³⁵ In fact, despite the *Sheffield Independent* newspaper of 1848 proclaiming that the new branch line of the Great Northern putting the city of Lincoln in touch with the “great railway systems in the kingdom”³⁶, this did not apply to the rest of this very large county. As late as 1886, it can be learned from the *Nottingham Evening Post* that there was a proposal to build a branch from Great Grimsby in the north of the county to Mablethorpe on the coast mid county. It was entitled the Lincolnshire Marshes and East Coast Railway, and would offer farmers the means of accessing inland markets. It was opposed by the Great Northern and East Lincolnshire Railway, the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, the Sutton and Willoughby Railway Company and others”, although the line would have only been thirty miles in length.³⁷ As late as 1899, when ironstone was in production in the Scunthorpe area, the only transportation means available was by road, or the Ancholme Navigation, so the North Lindsey Railway company put forward the case that the line “would serve the district of Scunthorpe [...], and would open up a district utterly devoid of railway facilities”.³⁸

Even when railway building was forging ahead throughout England, the *Hull Packet* carried an article in 1848, harking back to Elizabethan days. The article described the region between Lincoln and Cambridge as “a great morass [which was] inhabited by fen-men, [...] a kind of people,

³⁴ Stennett, A., *Lincolnshire Railways*, (Marlborough, Wiltshire: The Crowood Press Ltd., 2016), p. 19.

³⁵ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p.185.

³⁶ ‘Lincolnshire and its Railways’, *Sheffield Independent*, Saturday, April 1, 1848, Volume 29, Issue Number 1468, Page Number 6, British Library Newspapers.

³⁷ ‘Lincolnshire Railways’, *Nottingham Evening Post*, Tuesday, March 23, 1886, Issue Number 2448, Page Number 3, British Library Newspapers.

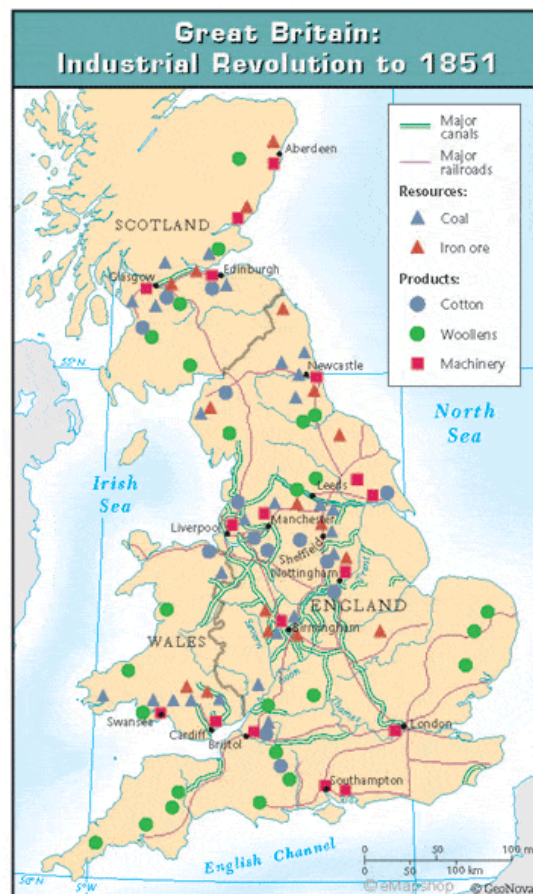
³⁸ ‘Lincolnshire Light Railways’, *Stamford Mercury*, Friday, February 24, 1899, Volume 205, Issue Number 10636, Page Number 3, British Library Newspapers.

according to the nature of the place where they dwell, who, walking high upon stilts, apply their minds to grazing, fishing, or fowling. [the article goes on to say that a violent opposition arose, and innumerable prophecies were made both as to the injury which would arise to the *valuable race of fell-men*" (my italics) if their livelihoods were removed, and also, the land when reclaimed would be barren.³⁹ Although the article references thoughts and views from the Elizabethan era, the descriptions are vivid and seem to be suggesting that the fell-men are quite alien, rather frightening, and live in a land that is predominantly bog. It is an image that survives to the present day! In the mid-nineteenth century, the lack of rail transport must have had an effect on people's ability to migrate to and from the area. However, the males from the four settlements could have made use of the East Lincolnshire Railway line (ELR) which was opened in 1848, and that ran through or close to each village, with a railway station at Eastville and also at Burgh le Marsh, however, Addlethorpe was without station or railway line, but was less than five miles from Burgh le Marsh so the ELR was accessible to the residents in that settlement. The nearest railway station to Ulceby was at Louth, eleven miles distant, however the turnpike road from Boston to Grimsby ran through the settlement, so accessibility to the new steam powered travel was relatively straightforward. The ELR linked with the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway (MSLR) at Grimsby, giving access to the western side of England from Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford to Manchester; and the Lincolnshire line also linked to the Great Northern Railway (GNR) via the MSLR at Doncaster, thus opening up routes to northern Yorkshire and Northumberland. The ELR also took travellers in a southerly direction by joining the GNR at Peterborough and continuing the line to London, and Peterborough is also the railway station where the Midland Railway (MR) connected to the Midlands, therefore it is apparent that the east coast area of Lincolnshire was better served by the railway companies than by either road or waterway. However, as illustrated by the

³⁹ 'Lincolnshire and its Railways', *Hull Packet*, Friday, March 31, 1848, Issue Number 3297, British Library Newspapers.

newspaper articles of the day, large areas of the county, even in northern Lincolnshire, where industry in the form of ironstone mining was growing, there were no railway lines. Almost a century after railways building had started, a branch line to aid the mining industry was opposed. Thus it remains to be seen if the males from these settlements took advantage of the rail building explosion in the rest of England and substantially broadened their horizons.

Map 5.5 Industrial Revolution to 1851



Adapted from Checkland, S.G., *The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1964), p. 151.⁴⁰

It is abundantly clear from Map 5.5 that the eastern county of Lincolnshire had no industrial growth of any size whatsoever. There were no coal mines, iron had yet to be exploited in northern Lincolnshire. Cotton and

⁴⁰ Checkland, S.G., *The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1964), p. 151.

woollen manufacture did not exist in the county, and machinery manufacture was concentrated in the districts abutting Nottinghamshire. Thus, most, save a narrow western margin of Lincolnshire, had little in the way of any advances in industrialisation, with the exception of a carpet making factory in Louth situated towards the southern end of the Lincolnshire Wolds,⁴¹ and two boot and shoe manufactories located in Horncastle which was also in the southern Wolds. Both of these boot and shoe companies however had ceased trading by 1886.⁴² Changing occupation from a palette of rural trades, then, necessarily involved a move to a more distant part of Lincolnshire or (more likely) to another county. The only large rivers in Lincolnshire were the Humber in the north of the county, and the Witham in the south, and neither of them attracted the type of industry that was found in the mill and factory towns of the central and west Midlands, Yorkshire or Lancashire. There were active and successful engineering works to be found in the western areas of the county, with Lincoln supporting several factories producing portable engines, and Boston, Gainsborough and Grantham providing additional scope for employment in engineering manufactories. Clayton and Shuttleworth of Lincoln were particularly successful with the number of portable engines manufactured, which during the 1850s alone, amounted to two thousand four hundred machines, giving nine hundred and forty men employment.⁴³ Tuxford's of Boston produced, in addition to portable engines, iron bridges and pile-driving machinery, although it is noted that possibly the lack of an accessible rail link into the Boston works caused the business to lose custom to the establishments nearer to the western borders of the county where transport links were more easily available.⁴⁴ In the northern part of the county, the newly burgeoning settlements that would later form Scunthorpe became important for the mining of

⁴¹ Robinson, David, *Adam Eve and Louth Carpets*, (Louth: The Louth Naturalists', Antiquarian and Literary Society, 2010).

⁴² Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 211.

⁴³ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration*, p. 140.

⁴⁴ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration*, p. 142.

ironstone, and was attracting labourers from the surrounding countryside.⁴⁵

An investigation of the towns in Lincolnshire, shows that the only large-scale industrial development was based in Lincoln, Boston, Grantham and Gainsborough,⁴⁶ but there was none of any size in the rest of the county. For example, the town of Horncastle, which is approximately ten to fifteen miles from the four settlements, had many commercial premises such as butchers, bakers and candlestick makers, but as already mentioned, the only factories there had closed down by the late 1880s. Louth, likewise, although situated on the River Lud, boasted only the aforementioned carpet factory. The largest town in the area, Spilsby, again had all the commercial premises one might find in a busy market town, but had only one factories, albeit a large one, for both Spilsby and Louth had 'soap-boilers on a large scale throughout the second half of the nineteenth century'.⁴⁷ This type of town, Brown tells us, stagnated or lost population to the big industrial centres. "[T]hus it was that these towns, small and predominantly agricultural, were caught up in the general movement of population away from the countryside."⁴⁸ It might be, then, that four settlements that were badly connected to each other and badly connected to the areas and towns that might have provided longer distance jobs, meant that males resident in this area had few opportunities to leave the land and acquire new skills. In short, the lack of transport, not only hampered the agricultural workers, but conversely, it also stopped industrial progress, and thus, the acquisition of new skills.

The rest of the chapter investigates, at micro-level, issues such as this. Tables 5.1 to 5.3 set out the number of males who migrated but remained in Lincolnshire, the number who left the county and the counties or regions to which they moved, and the males who have been identified as

⁴⁵ Pooley, and Turnbull, *Migration*, p. 143.

⁴⁶ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 137ff.

⁴⁷ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, pp. 209.

⁴⁸ Brown, J., *The English Market Town*, (Marlborough, Wiltshire: The Crowood Press, 1986), p. 118.

having emigrated to other countries. Each table shows a different cohort of males, starting with the Heads of Household as recorded in the 1851 CEBs for each settlement, followed by a table for the sons of both male and female Heads included in the 1851 CEBs plus any sons born to those Heads in subsequent censuses, and the last table includes all the males living away from home either as lodgers, boarders, apprentices, tradesmen assistants, servants or agricultural servants living with their employers. The three tables contain figures that are not large, but this study has focused on settlements with small populations. Cooper analysed migration figures from Cardiganshire in the nineteenth century, and her results show much greater migratory figures. However, her work focused on towns where the populations in 1851 ranged from between five hundred and ninety three, to twenty three thousand seven hundred and fifty three.⁴⁹ Therefore, there was no real comparison between her Cardiganshire analysis and the analysis of these four settlements. In addition, the tables in this thesis deal only with male Heads, sons of male and female Heads, and males living away from home. All of whom were present in the villages in 1851, or, in the case of the sons of Heads, were either present in 1851 or were born in later years. Thus, between 1851 and 1901, the numbers would have decreased as individuals aged and died, in addition to the males who could not be identified in subsequent censuses.

5.3 The migratory patterns in the four settlements 1851 to 1901

Table 5.1 Heads of Household – migration destinations 1851-1901

	Addlethorpe	Burgh le Marsh	Ulceby	Eastville
Remain in Lincs	14(50.0%)	25(22.1%)	3(20.0%)	12(48.0%)
London	0	1(0.9%)	0	1(4.0%)
South	0	2(1.8%)	0	0
East Anglia		0		
Midlands	0	1(0.9%)	1(6.7%)	0
Yorks	0	5(4.4%)	0	1(4.0%)
Lancs	0	1(0.9%)	0	0
N. East				
N. West				
Wales				
Manchester				
Hull	1(3.6%)	3(2.7%)	0	1(4.0%)
Emigration**	1(3.6%)	1(0.9%)	0	1(4.0%)

⁴⁹ Cooper, K.J., Cardiganshire, p. 90.

Died	8(28.6%)	34(30.1%)	5(33.3%)	3(12.0%)
Not I'd*	4(14.3%)	40(35.4%)	6(40.0%)	6(24.0%)
Total	28(100%)	113(100%)	15(100%)	25(100%)

*Not identified **Emigration, or possible emigration

Table 5.1 illustrates the similarities between the three smaller settlements of Addlethorpe, Ulceby and Eastville, with the greater percentage of Heads remaining in Lincolnshire. Only one Head, from Eastville moved to London, and one each from Eastville and Addlethorpe went to the Yorkshire port of Hull. In contrast Burgh le Marsh, with a larger population, saw Heads migrating to across the northern part of England, but like Eastville, with only one Head migrating to London. However, Burgh is no different to the other settlements in that the most Heads who left Burgh le Marsh, remained in Lincolnshire.⁵⁰

The percentages in Table 5.3 show that those males who were living away from their homes, were the same as the males in the preceding tables, for those too remained close to home, with Ulceby and Eastville exhibiting the least desire, it seems, to experience life beyond the borders of Lincolnshire. These three tables highlight the opposite of other people's research, because these males did not migrate in large numbers to the cities even though historians such as Brown has said – "Although between 1841 and 1901 about half a million in each decade left villages for towns, in earlier times migrants went to existing villages ...".⁵¹ These male residents did not leave Lincolnshire in their droves, and the question needed to be asked why they stayed and what motivated them to simply move from settlement to settlement in a reasonably limited area.

The first settlement to be analysed was Addlethorpe, the village situated on the far eastern seaboard of Lincolnshire, approximately one mile from the sea in the Outer Marsh, as we saw in Chapter Two. It was a place of cottagers, each farming a few acres, a handful of farmers with a hundred

⁵⁰ Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 39-40.

⁵¹ Brown, D., 'The rise of industrial society and the end of the self-contained village, 1760-1900?', *The Self-Contained Village?*, ed. by Dyer, C., (Hatfield: The University of Hertfordshire, 2007), p.119.

or so acres each, a public house, a mill and a resident Anglican priest.⁵² The male Heads of Household as listed in the 1851 CEBs numbered forty eight, and only one migrated away from the immediate area, and he was the Curate of Addlethorpe, who could be found in the 1871 CEBs following his calling and resident in Sussex. However, by the time of the 1881 census, he had relocated and returned to Lincolnshire and was now the Rector of Thornton le Moor where he remained until his death in 1901.⁵³ The remaining Heads from the 1851 CEBs either stayed in Addlethorpe or migrated to other settlements within Lincolnshire, with no male settling more than thirty miles distant from Addlethorpe. It was difficult to arrive at a conclusion as to whether this migratory pattern was usual or special to this settlement, because this type of analysis has not been popular among historians. Pooley and Turnbull analysed migratory movements in their ground-breaking investigation of migration and mobility, however the information for their research was gathered from family historians across the country and not from one specific place or places.⁵⁴ Cooper had taken the population of Cardiganshire districts and shown the increase or decrease in population numbers, but had not delved into the life journeys made,⁵⁵ and Woods made a blanket statement that “most migrants came from the same or neighbouring counties”.⁵⁶ Whilst Olney asked the question of where migrants from the village of Binbrook, Lincolnshire went, he then suggested that the extensive dock works in Grimsby had not attracted men from the village, and there seemed to be no analysis of settlements in the immediate area, so, therefore, he conjectured, they were probably lured to the gold fields of California and Australia!⁵⁷

⁵² Other people found that males who had established their families are less likely to migrate, and it was mainly the young unmarried people who migrated away from the familial home and community.

⁵³ England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 149.

⁵⁴ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration*, pp. 31ff.

⁵⁵ Cooper, K.J., *Cardiganshire*, pp. 87ff.

⁵⁶ Woods, R., *The Population of Britain in the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p. 23.

⁵⁷ *Labouring Life on the Lincolnshire Wolds, A Study of Binbrook in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Olney, R.J. (Sleaford: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1975), p. 18.

The second settlement to be scrutinised was Burgh le Marsh, which was five miles inland from Addlethorpe, and situated on the Middle Marsh, where the land was less fertile than the Outer Marsh, although it supported larger farms as well as cottagers. Burgh le Marsh was a small market town servicing the settlements of its hinterland and as such, had a variety of retail premises such as grocers, greengrocers, tailors and shoe and boot makers.⁵⁸ In 1851 there were two hundred resident male Heads of Household, and of these, fourteen migrated away from the immediate area. One, a farmer, chose to retire to Scarborough, a genteel seaside resort on the Yorkshire coast, whilst a shoe maker migrated to Lancashire. Three male Heads migrated to Hull, Yorkshire, and one travelled to Bradford, and one went to Leeds. An I.R. Officer moved to Muirfield, and the remaining Heads travelled to Seaton, Devon via Brixton, London, to London, to Cambridgeshire, and to Peterborough. None of these Heads migrated to the large towns and cities in order to find employment in the factories and mills, but continued working in the same trades as when resident in Burgh le Marsh.⁵⁹ It would, however, been relatively easy to travel to all of these destinations, because although Burgh le Marsh was not situated on the turnpike road between Boston and Grimsby, the settlement did (as we have seen) boast a railway station on the East Lincolnshire Railway (ELR) from 1848, linking the settlement to Grimsby and thence to the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway (MSLR). The ELR also linked with Boston in the south of Lincolnshire, so provided opportunities to migrate to Peterborough and

⁵⁸ White's Directory for Lincolnshire 1856 (www.historicaldirectories.org)

⁵⁹ These migrants moved to very different destinations, and did not seem to conform to other researchers finding, because they did not follow kin, and it was not possible to locate any other migrant resident at the receiving destination who had migrated from the same area. Jackson and Moch stated that the "personal information field that each potential migrant possesses about possible destinations, employment opportunities, and social support explains why people are attracted to certain destinations and jobs." (Jackson, J., and Moch, L., 'Migration and the social History of Modern Europe', in *Time, Family and Community*, ed. by Drake, M., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1994), pp. 181ff.) This explanation is only born out in the findings in this thesis, if these males had the support suggested by Jackson and Moch, but it is difficult to accept their conclusions when there are no obvious links of any sort between the sending and receiving communities.

further south to London.⁶⁰ Even so, approximately sixty four per cent of those males identified did not migrate away from Lincolnshire.

Ulceby is the third settlement to be analysed and was not connected to the ELR railway network so did not have a railway station. However, it was situated on the turnpike road which ran between Boston and Grimsby, and as importantly (as we saw earlier) linked to the ELR railway station in Louth, which was only eleven miles away, thus connecting travellers to the MSLR system running across country to Manchester.⁶¹ There were, therefore, sufficient opportunities for the residents of this village to migrate beyond the confines of their familiar locality, but only one male Head of Household out of four identified made the journey away from east Lincolnshire. He did not change occupation but continued working as a gamekeeper, even though he migrated to Cheshire on the western side of England, which was a major area of industrial growth. He then returned to Lincolnshire to retire in Alford, a small town three miles from Ulceby.⁶² As with Burgh le Marsh, the greater majority of males stayed in Lincolnshire.

The final settlement examined was Eastville, which was situated within ten miles of Boston, and was located in the Fen Borders area which, once it had been drained, had rich agricultural soil. Eastville also boasted a railway station on the ELR line,⁶³ so provided access to other regions. There were thirty five Heads of Household listed in the 1851 CEBs and out of the sixteen identified Heads who migrated, four moved out of the area entirely, with one other male who move to Leicestershire, but then returned to a settlement five miles from Eastville after some years. (Anthony Smith). The four who left permanently, migrated to London, Hull, and Grimsby, and to America, all destinations with the exception of Grimsby, that were long distance moves. The Eastville station master

⁶⁰ *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* ed. by Bennett, S., & Bennett, N., (Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 2001) p. 112.

⁶¹ Bennett & Bennett, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 79 and 112.

⁶² 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 3706 405.

⁶³ White, W., *History, Gazetteer & Directory of Lincolnshire 1856*, (Sheffield: R. Leader, 1856), p. 777.

migrated to London and changed his occupation to clerk, and a railway navvy opened a grocer's shop upon returning to his birthplace of Barrow on Humber, Lincolnshire,⁶⁴ but the other migrants continued working in the same occupations as before i.e. agricultural labour, joiner, bootmaker, farmer. The settlement followed the same pattern as the other settlements with between sixty four and eighty seven per cent of the Heads remaining within Lincolnshire.

There is nothing in this analysis of Heads of Household migratory patterns to suggest that the large urban areas drew the males who were married with families away from their rural surroundings, for only twenty two Heads out of a total of three hundred and fourteen resident in the four settlements in 1851 left the east coast of Lincolnshire, with six migrating north to Grimsby and Hull, and two travelling to London. No Head made the occupational transition from the work they carried out in any of the four settlements, to work that was linked to the Industrial Revolution. Nair and Poynter also found this applied to their analysis of an area in Shropshire in the late nineteenth century, for they commented that although there was some evidence of rural to urban movement, the numbers of migrants were small.⁶⁵ It may have been the case that some migrants in Nair and Poynter's research moved between agricultural and industrial work according to the season, as Wright suggested when discussing the ironstone district in north Lincolnshire. He said that "Nearly all the men working in these quarries came from agriculture and there was

⁶⁴ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2109 78; (Clapham), and 1870 United States Federal Census: M593_1742 Page 93A, Film 553241; (Clapham, Wisconsin, USA). Emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century was encouraged because the fares had reduced during the first half of the century, and by 1852 the Sunday Times reported that "from Liverpool the charge is only from 50s to £3;" (Killick, J., 'Transatlantic steerage fares, British and Irish migration, and return migration, 1815-60', *The Economic History Review*, (2014), Volume 67, Number 1, pp.170-191). It was not, however, possible to identify immigrants from the eastern area of Lincolnshire accurately, because ships passenger lists provided the barest of information, which was largely, name, age, occupation and country of birth of each traveller. The only immigrants that have been reliably identified have been those males who migrated with their families, so identification could be achieved through record linkage of several members of the same family.

⁶⁵ Nair, G., and Poynter, D., 'The Flight from the Land? Rural Migration in South-East Shropshire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Rural History*, (2006), Volume 17, Number 2, pp. 167-186.

probably movement between the two occupations on a seasonal as well as a long-term basis".⁶⁶ This analysis cannot be compared to any other research because it has not been possible to find work that follows life patterns of as many residents in any one settlement as possible. There are many analyses, for example, Schürer's research on Hatfield and Dengie,⁶⁷ that follow residents in one settlement at the time of one census but do not trace their whereabouts if absent from the settlement in the following census. It is now the moment to move to the analysis of the sons of both female and male Heads of Household.

Table 5.2 Sons of Heads of Household – migration destinations
1851-1901

	Addlethorpe	Burgh le Marsh	Ulceby	Eastville
Remain in Lincs	29(45.3%)	72(30.4%)	16(47.0%)	40(44.0%)
London	4(6.2%)	14(5.9%)	0	4(4.4%)
South	1(1.6%)	1(0.4%)	1(2.9%)	2(2.2%)
East Anglia	0	1(0.4%)	0	1(1.1%)
Midlands	1(1.6%)	8(3.4%)	3(8.8%)	3(3.3%)
Yorks	7(11.0%)	14(5.9%)	4(11.8%)	4(4.4%)
Lancs	0	2(0.8%)	0	1(1.1%)
N.East	1(1.6%)	4(1.7%)	1(2.9%)	1(1.1%)
N. West	0	1(0.4%)	0	0
Wales	0	0	0	0
Manchester	0	2(0.8%)	0	2(2.2%)
Hull	4(6.2%)	4(1.7%)	1(2.9%)	3(3.3%)
Emigration**	3(4.7%)	0	4(11.8%)	0
Died	0	0	0	0
Not I'd*	14(21.9%)	114(48.1%)	4(11.8%)	30(33.0%)
Total	64(100%)	237(100%)	34(100%)	91(100%)

*Not identified ** Emigration, or possible emigration

In Table 5.2 the percentages of the sons who migrated were no different to their parents. Most of them continued to live in Lincolnshire even if the greater majority of the sons did leave their 'home' settlements and move away. Only approximately thirty nine per cent moved south to London and the southern counties, west to the Midlands, and north from Lincolnshire, whereas sixty per cent stayed in Lincolnshire, so illustrating again, as with the Heads, that the urge to migrate away from rural locations to settle in urban places was not great. This does not conform to other people's

⁶⁶ Wright, Lincolnshire Towns, p. 165.

⁶⁷ Schürer, K.S., 'The role of the family in the process of migration', ed. by Pooley, C.G., and Whyte, I.D., *Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration*, (London: Routledge, 1991).

research where migrants were pulled to towns and cities to seek better employment than agricultural work. Bailey attributes the reason for the small number of migrants to London from Sussex villages as lack of information, for she determined that the towns in that county “acted as hubs of information”, whereas the villages were isolated.⁶⁸ This was not something that appeared to happen in these four settlements, for few of the migrants moved to towns, even if, as was the case with Burgh le Marsh and Eastville, there was a railway line and station present, or the settlements were situated on a turnpike road linking Grimsby in north Lincolnshire to Boston in the south, and thus providing links to other parts of England, as in the case of Ulceby and Eastville.

There were fifty identifiable sons in Addlethorpe who were either resident in the settlement in 1851, or had Heads who were resident there, and twenty one left the area, with some going to Grimsby, others to Hull, and to London, Durham and Middlesbrough. It was noticeable that two brothers followed each other to London, and three brothers went northwards, the eldest to Durham, and the two younger brothers to Middlesbrough approximately twenty three miles away. It was also apparent that they were all prepared to pursue different occupations to that of their fathers, for five were railway employees ranging from signalman, GNR checker, or porters. There was also evidence of occupations that would have been ‘new’ and part of the industrial advances of that time, as in ‘waterworks labourer’, ‘steel mill labourer’, and colliery worker. None of the other sons moved to industrial regions, and none chose more mechanised work.⁶⁹ In addition to those males who

⁶⁸ Bailey, C., “‘I’d heard it was such a grand place’: Mid-19th century internal migration to London”, *Family and Community History*, (October 2011), Volume 14, Number 2.

⁶⁹ Townsend observed when analysing migration in the Midlands that “The consensus in the literature seems to be that the East Midlands has always lacked a coherent and consistent identity as a region”. There was, she said, no major city to which migrants may have been drawn, as for example, the West Midlands could claim that Birmingham fulfilled that role there. In fact she states that “the East Midlands was only constructed as a spatial entity by planners, geographers and historians in the twentieth century, being defined initially as the *North* Midlands in 1939, and not renamed the East Midlands until 1965”. (Townsend, C., ‘County versus region? Migrational connections in the East Midlands, 1700-1830’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, (April 2006), Volume 32, Issue 2, pp. 291-312). Townsend’s comments are interesting in the context of migration from east coast Lincolnshire, because, although she did not include Lincolnshire in her analysis,

migrated to other parts of England, two have been reliably identified as having emigrated to the American continent, with one male settling in Canada via Kansas, USA, and continuing his occupation as a farmer,⁷⁰ and the other emigrating to New York via Canada, where he can be found on the 1891 Census for Canada, and in 1900 in New York.⁷¹ The emigration of these males suggest that information about settlement abroad was available, and this may been because the British government was eager to encourage emigration and also sponsored it,⁷² however, it needs to be repeated that the greater majority of males did not respond to the enticement to emigrate, or even to move beyond Lincolnshire's borders.

Burgh le Marsh had a larger population than Addlethorpe and therefore a correspondingly greater number of sons of Heads who had been resident in the settlement at the time of the 1851 census. Four hundred and eighteen sons were listed on the England and Wales Censuses between 1851 and 1901, with fifty one identified as having migrated away from the east coast region during their lifetimes. Seven of the sons remained working as agricultural labourers, even though they moved to more industrial regions. For example, one male migrated to Nottinghamshire, where hosiery lace was manufactured, and another moved to the Yorkshire, whilst another son worked as an agricultural labourer also in Yorkshire, but returned to eastern Lincolnshire to work firstly as an engine driver in the Skegness sewage works, and then returned to agricultural employment in settlements nearby. Two males made farming their

the county is undeniably situated in the East Midlands region, and that lack of any major urban development may partly explain the east coast residents who migrated being drawn to places such as Grimsby, Hull, London, and Durham as in the cases of the males and their destinations discussed here.

⁷⁰ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110/146; and 1900 United States Census: Stafford, Stafford, Kansas, Page 4, Enumeration District 0309, FHL microfilm 1240501. (Sizer, Kansas, USA).

⁷¹ Census of Canada, Ontario, Toronto City, St. Stephens Ward, Family Number 274. 1900, New York City, Manhattan District 0707, (Parker Holmes).

⁷² Brown said that "From 1831 the British government sponsored emigration to Australia ... and also encouraged settlers to move to Upper Canada and the Cape through appointing local recruiting agents, advertising assisted passages, and offering free land". Brown, K., *Passage to the World*, (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2013), p. 4.

occupation – one in Bedfordshire and then Cambridgeshire, and the other in Hull. A number of the sons went into the drapery trade, with one young man serving his apprenticeship in his uncle's establishment in Doncaster, before migrating across the Pennines and starting his own business in the Manchester and Cheshire area, and two males worked in the drapery business in Yorkshire. There is also evidence that Yorkshire proved an attraction to other migrants from Burgh le Marsh, for instance, one male worked as a labourer in an engineering works in Sheffield before moving to labouring in an ironworks in Rotherham. Sheffield was the temporary residence for another son, who then moved back to eastern Lincolnshire. Labouring in ironworks in the towns of Middlesbrough and Stockton on Tees was attractive to some young men as were the Durham coal fields, and railway work also attracted sons, for example, as a railway shunter in Leeds, Yorkshire, in Peterborough as an engine driver; and in London and Hertfordshire, as a signalman, and a station porter. Several sons went into the retail trade, migrating to Nottingham, and to Manchester. Although sons of Heads migrated considerable distances from Burgh le Marsh and went to London, Manchester, Nottingham, Durham, Hull and Grimsby, save for the relatively few males already discussed, there was not a great exodus of males seeking work in the great industrial regions of England, even though, as Snell discussed, it was relatively easy for farm workers to move occupations in the north of the country, because they had access to yearly hiring fairs held in areas close to industrial development.⁷³

The 1851 – 1901 CEBs for Ulceby reveal that thirty sons of Heads were either resident in the settlement at the time of the 1851 CEBs, or born to Heads that were there in 1851. Fourteen of those sons left the area entirely, the chosen destinations being similar to those chosen by Addlethorpe and Burgh le Marsh sons of Heads i.e. Grimsby, Sheffield, Durham, Leicestershire. Some have emigrated to New Zealand,⁷⁴ and

⁷³ Snell, K.D.M., *Parish and Belonging*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 157. The hiring fairs in this part of Lincolnshire were held in Boston, which was not heavily industrial town, and Horncastle, a small rural town on the southern end of the Wolds.

⁷⁴ 1851 England and Wales Census for Ulceby: the Forman brothers and John Keightley.

Canada,⁷⁵ although definite identification was not possible for the Forman brothers has not been possible. Two young men migrated to Durham and Derbyshire and were railway workers, and a male went to Sheffield as an apprentice draper, whilst the remaining migrant sons worked as labourers in Hull, and Grimsby, or followed their fathers occupation as farmer, in Norfolk, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire.⁷⁶ Thus those sons continued in occupations “such as gardener or work with horses (e.g. groom), that used what are essentially the skills of the farm worker”.⁷⁷ It is becoming noticeable that the railway system in England was possibly, or even probably, assisting some sons in their migratory journeys, for most of them either migrated north, to Grimsby, Hull and Sheffield, or journeyed south to Oxfordshire, and they would have been able to make use of the railway lines linking the larger towns of the central Midlands such as Nottingham and Leicester.

The final settlement to be examined is Eastville, which is situated on the Fen Margin, approximately ten miles from Boston, and in 1851 was a township that had been newly formed by Act of Parliament forty years previously, as we have already seen. The very fact that Eastville had been deliberately created in order to assist people to purchase a few acres of land on which to live and farm, meant that there was not the usual long-standing family and friendship links associated with other settlements. People choosing to reside in Eastville did not have family roots in the village, and they had not necessarily grown up there with other residents, for they had been, in effect, mostly incomers to the settlement within the previous ten or twenty years. However, out of the fifty five sons of Heads identified, only thirteen moved away from the area,

⁷⁵ Card Manifests (Alphabetical) of Individuals Entering through the Port of Detroit, Michigan, 1906-1954; *NAI*: 4527226; Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; (Mawer, 1924).

⁷⁶ One of Ravenstein's laws stated that 'chain' migration was a feature of people's motivation to move. He said that migrants would follow either kith or kin to a new location, and White and Woods argued that "chain migration is the most natural means by which a migration stream can develop," (*The geographical impact of migration*, ed. by White, P., and Woods, R., (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), p. 38.)

⁷⁷ Nair & Poynter, South-East Shropshire, pp. 167-186.

and each of them migrated long distances with none remaining in Lincolnshire. Three brothers, migrating independently of each other, went to London where they pursued careers in the licencing trade, as a teacher of horse riding, and as a dairy manager. London was also the destination of another son from Eastville, who worked as a hairdresser, whilst his three brothers migrated to diverse corners of England – Lancashire, Hull, and Hampshire. In the same fashion, two other brothers migrated to different towns with one going to Manchester, and the other moving to Sheffield. The growth of engineering factories did not prove to be attractive to the young men, because whilst Yorkshire drew one young man to the ironstone mines in Yorkshire, largely, as with the previous three settlements, the greater majority of males stayed in some form of rural occupation. They did not become participants in the industrial advances that were dominating other areas of the central and west Midlands. Deacon observed when researching Cornish migration, that family links helped to facilitate any move from one settlement to another.⁷⁸ Jackson and Moch, when discussing migration in Europe in general, concluded that “migrants tend to go where neighbours have gone”,⁷⁹ but there has not been overwhelming evidence of that in eastern Lincolnshire. So although some young men went with, or followed siblings to other locations, the greater majority did not, for example, the Cowhams migrated to Hull, London, Lancashire and Hampshire. The Coupland brothers settled in Manchester and Sheffield, and as with the other settlements, the new railway system seemed to that benefited these men, because their migratory routes followed the railway routes north and south, or from east – Grimsby, to west – Manchester.

The final cohort of males examined, were those men who had left their homes to work in one of the four settlements. They included agricultural labourers who lived with their farmer employers, apprentices living and learning a trade with craftsmen, male servants living with their employers,

⁷⁸ Deacon, B., ‘Communities, Families and Migration: Some Evidence from Cornwall’, *Family and Community History*, (May 2007), Volume 10, Number 1.

⁷⁹ Jackson and Moch, *Modern Europe*, p. 186.

and boarders and lodgers renting accommodation. These people are included here because they formed part of the male population in the settlements even if they had moved on between censuses and those that are traceable add migratory information that can inform the thesis. In fact, their migration patterns are possibly more important than that of the Heads of their sons, because they were already 'on the move' on arrival in the settlements and were not settled. This presents problems because many males could not be traced in subsequent censuses, but the destinations of the identified males nevertheless add to the information gathered overall even though the percentages are very small.

Table 5.3 Males living away from home – migration destinations
1851-1901

	Addlethorpe	Burgh le Marsh	Ulceby	Eastville
Remain in Lincs	8(33.3%)	21(21.0%)	7(28.0%)	22(43.1%)
London	0	1(1.0%)	0	1(2.0%)
South	1(4.2%)	1(1.0%)	1(4.0%)	0
East Anglia	0	0	0	0
Midlands	1(4.2%)	2(2.0%)	0	0
Yorks	1(4.2%)	3(3.0%)	0	1(2.0%)
Lancs	0	0	0	0
N. East	0	0	0	0
N. West	0	0	0	0
Wales	0	0	0	0
Manchester	0	0	0	0
Hull	0	0	0	1(2.0%)
Emigration**	1(4.2%)	0	1(4.0%)	1(2.0%)
Died	0	0	0	0
Not I'd*	12(50%)	72(72.0%)	16(64.0%)	25(49.0%)
Total	24(100%)	100(100%)	25(100%)	51(100%)

*Not identified **Emigration or possible emigration

The 1851 CEBs for Addlethorpe lists twenty one male servants, lodgers or boarders resident on the census night, five of whom left Lincolnshire entirely in the decade following the 1851 census. One man, having lived on a farm as a farm servant during 1851, then migrated to Cambridgeshire, before joining family members who were resident in Darlington. Eventually, he returned to the Lincolnshire east coast and settled in a community near Addlethorpe. Throughout his migrations he held the same type of agricultural employment as he had held when a young farm servant in 1851 Addlethorpe. Another lad was an apprentice miller, living with the miller and his family in Addlethorpe, but he changed

occupational direction completely, and migrated south to Aldershot in Hampshire and joined the British Army. He is lost sight of on census returns until the late 1880s when he can be found living out his retirement days on the other side of England, in Shrewsbury, Shropshire, and although he may have visited Lincolnshire-based family during his army career, his Shrewsbury address as given on CEBs did not change throughout the latter part of the century, indicating that he never returned to settle in the county. Yorkshire was the chosen county for a gardener, whereas one young man migrated to the West Country, married a local girl, and settled in Somerset.⁸⁰ There is reliable evidence that one farm servant emigrated to Australia, where he joined forces with another immigrant and together they ran a hotel in a gold rush area of New South Wales. He later farmed and ran a sizeable herd of cattle; he was successful in local elections firstly as a councillor and finally as mayor.⁸¹ Hasthorpe was sufficiently a 'noted' citizen in the area that his obituary notice appeared in two newspapers in New South Wales. None of these males changed occupation, even the Australian émigré remained true to his roots and farmed for a living.⁸² There is no evidence that any male moved into factory or mill employment, even though some of these young men migrated to towns and cities such as Darlington and Hull where there was work that was not connected to agriculture. However, the migratory journeys they made still followed the paths of the north to south railway lines as did the migratory journeys of the Heads and their sons, and even the British Army soldier would have found little difficulty in travelling from

⁸⁰ Preston, Lancashire was the focus for Anderson's research on family structure, and he found when analysing the occupations and receiving communities of individuals, that agricultural workers tended to move to similar settlements as their 'home' villages, thus suggesting that "most movements within the country areas were confined to villages of a similar economic type". (Anderson, M., 'Urban migration in nineteenth century Lancashire ; some insights into two competing hypotheses', *Annales de Demographie Historique*, (Annee 1972), 1971, pp. 13-26.

⁸¹ 1851 England and Wales Census: HO107 2110 153; *Northern Star* (Lismore, NSW: 1876-1954), Friday 7 August 1925, Obituary; (Hasthorpe, New South Wales, Australia), and *The Land* (Sydney, NSW, 1911-1954), Friday 14, August 1925, Obituary; (Hasthorpe, New South Wales, Australia).

⁸² *The Yarragon, Trafalgar and Moe Settlement News* (Vic.: 1904-1920) Thursday 14 June 1906. (Hasthorpe).

an army base in southern England across country following the railway lines from London to Bristol before making his way to Shrewsbury.

Eighty four males living away from home as listed in the 1851 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh had moved only short distances by the time of the 1861 England and Wales Census, and twelve males had migrated considerable distances, with only two of them remaining within Lincolnshire – one man going to Grimsby and the other to Grantham. Five males migrated to various settlements in Yorkshire with all but one following the same type of employment as when resident in Burgh le Marsh, with the one exception joining the gas industry, as a ‘gas refiner’. Two others migrated west, with one settling in Burton upon Trent, and the other travelling further west, to Cheltenham, Gloucestershire where he ran a sports equipment manufacturing business. London drew three males from Burgh le Marsh, and whilst two remained in the service industry, as a housekeeper, and as a waiter, the third man held a variety of jobs between 1871 and 1901, from ‘smith and oilman’ to ‘smith’ and finally to ‘grocer’. Save for the two men who worked in the gas industry, and Friskney who was the proprietor of a sports equipment manufactory, none of the other males who had been living away from home in 1851, moved into industrial employment. This finding appears to be contrary to that of Brown who contends that in the second half of the nineteenth century most migrants from village communities went to towns but “in earlier times migrants went to existing villages with domestic industries ...”⁸³ It is clear from this analysis that migrants continued to go to village communities that were agriculturally based and offered no employment in the new industrialised processes that were dominating some regions. However, all of the migrants from Burgh le Marsh would have been able to take advantage of the railway system that was being constructed across England, the males in this category also migrated north to Yorkshire, or south to London, and those males who moved westward would have still been able to connect to railway lines linking Nottingham and Leicester.

⁸³ Brown, D., *Self-Contained Village*, pp. 114-137.

Ulceby had twenty eight young men listed in the 1851 CEBs, who were living in the settlement away from their homes, and of those men, four migrated away. Only one of them remained in Lincolnshire, for he returned to his home town of Grimsby, whilst a farm bailiff migrated to Oxfordshire where he had a farm extending to several hundreds of acres. It would appear that the Industrial Revolution passed these men by, for there is no suggestion in the occupation statements given in the CEBs that they pursued any other employment than that with which they were familiar. Unlike a region such as the Staffordshire Potteries, which was in fact a series of towns and surrounding small rural settlements where labourers lived whilst working in the factories,⁸⁴ this area of east Lincolnshire was entirely devoid of industrial employment opportunities. The males were, however, able to take advantage of the growing rail network spreading across England, because as with other migrants from these settlements, the males also were migrating north to Yorkshire and south to Oxfordshire.⁸⁵ Eastville's 1851 CEBs contain details for forty men who lived in the settlement away from home as servants, The remaining three males went to Grimsby, and to Hull, and third went to Pudsey via Bradford and Hull. This third man appears on the 1851 Eastville CEBs as a railway station porter, and he continues his career in the railway industry, and by the time of the 1891 England and Wales Census he can be identified as a railway station master in Pudsey, Yorkshire. He is the only male in this settlement, living away from home, to be part of the railway explosion.

⁸⁴ Reay, B., *Rural Englands*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 14.

⁸⁵ The males migrating away from Ulceby did not, however, go to the cities. They did not even move to towns other than the Lincolnshire town of Grimsby. Richards argued that there were, inevitably, areas on the edges of the regions where the industrial revolution was at its most productive, and he stated that "to say that there were margins in the Industrial Revolution is merely to say that the process was unequal, and to recognise the extraordinary reach of the tentacles of industrialization." Ulceby, and the other settlements in eastern Lincolnshire, simply were not touched by those 'tentacles'. Industrialisation in the form of mills and factories did not happen. (Richards, E., 'Margins of the Industrial Revolution', ed. by O'Brien, P., and Quinault, R., *The Industrial Revolution and British Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

It is evident from this analysis of the four communities that there was no “pull towards [an] associated urban settlement”,⁸⁶ which may have supported some type or types of industrial development, for these males had to make the decision to migrate away from the familiar surroundings of their own communities and the areas in which they were situated, if they wished to find work that may have paid more, and would have certainly offered them year round employment that was not subject to the vagaries of the weather as was agricultural work. The analysis so far suggests that a mere handful of males were prepared to take that route, but it is noted that it has been more difficult to correctly identify males living away from home because the CEB evidence is dependent on the true information being given to the census takers. It is easy to imagine the farmer listing the farm servants living with him whilst they are out working on the fields. There is no guarantee that he provided the right age or birthplace for the men, and no possibility for the researcher to correct errors which would enable further research. Nonetheless, a clear pattern emerges in which those with any solid connection with the four communities tended either to stay put or to migrate relatively short distances. The subtly different migratory experiences of unattached males, however, might point to the existence of a more fluid element of the local population, and for this reason we now move on to look at the experiences of the males who settled in the villages, however briefly, in the years following 1851.

5.4 Incomer Heads of Household in the four settlements 1861-1901

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Remain	20(22.7%)	Remain	68(29.0%)	Remain	13(28.3%)	Remain	23(17.8%)
<10 miles	18(20.4%)	<10 miles	21(9.0%)	<10 miles	7(15.2%)	<10 miles	33(25.6%)
10-59 miles	11(12.5%)	10-59 miles	24(10.2%)	10-59 miles	15(32.6%)	10-59 miles	18(13.9%)
Sub-total	49(55.7%)	Sub-total	113(48.3%)	Sub-total	35(76.1%)	Sub-total	74(57.4%)
60-100 miles	2(2.8%)	60-100 miles	2(0.8%)	60-100 miles	0	60-100 miles	0
100+ miles	3(3.4%)	100+ miles	17(7.3%)	100+ miles	0	100+ miles	7(5.4%)

⁸⁶ Ibid Reay, p. 17.

Sub-total	5(5.7%)	Sub-total	19(8.1%)	Sub-total	0	Sub-total	7(5.4%)
Died	10(11.4%)	Died	10(4.3%)	Died	0	Died	4(3.1%)
Not I'd*	24(27.3%)	Not I'd*	92(39.3%)	Not I'd*	11(23.9%)	Not I'd*	44(34.1%)
Sub-total	34(38.6%)	Sub-total	102(43.6%)	Sub-total	11(23.9%)	Sub-total	48(37.2%)
Totals	88(100%)	Totals	234(100%)	Totals	46(100%)	Totals	129(100%)

*Not identified

The CEBs from 1861 to 1901 have been examined to establish which males migrated into the settlements, and if possible, to discover to where they migrated if they did not remain settled in the village. In Addlethorpe twenty four Heads of Household had moved into the village between 1851 and 1861, and they had all arrived in the settlement by way of living in other villages within twenty miles of Addlethorpe. Only two of them then left the area entirely, with one who was an agricultural labourer migrating to the heavily industrial area of Rochdale, Lancashire, and the second man migrating south, to London. The Rochdale man did not swap his rural-based occupation for one that might have been easily available at his chosen destination, so it reasonable to suggest that Reay's assertion regarding The Potteries in Staffordshire and the intermingling of urban and rural spaces, is as appropriate to the Rochdale area as it was to Stoke on Trent.⁸⁷ The census of 1871 saw sixteen Heads migrate into the settlement, and all except two had been born within twenty miles of Addlethorpe, and these were a miller from Blankney, near Lincoln and a professional man from Lincoln. It has not been possible to identify any of the 1871 incomer Heads in the census years following,⁸⁸ but Incomers identified on the 1881 CEBs for Addlethorpe number twenty five, with

⁸⁷ Reay, *Englands*, p. 17.

⁸⁸ Only males who can be identified through linkage to following censuses, using names, ages (within 2 years), birthplaces and occupational appropriateness, plus linkage with other members of family if available, are used for analysis. If a single male's details satisfy the personal information of name etc. they are also deemed as being 'identified'. However, if just one of those details is different, that male is rejected, so there can be wide gaps in the research. However, it has become apparent that the males who were resident in the settlements and their sons, were mostly unambiguous in the information presented in the CEBs, so any males with questionable details have rightly been ignored. The same cannot be said for the incomers for much of the information given cannot be verified in later censuses. I believe the anomaly happened because the 1851 males and their sons were settled in the communities and were well-known, not only generally, but also to the census enumerators, hence the accuracy of their personal details.

birthplaces as diverse as Durham, Wiltshire, and Surrey.⁸⁹ The Surrey farmer, however, had a Lincolnshire connection for his wife was from Hogsthorpe, five miles from Addlethorpe, and the other two men were the curate and rector of Addlethorpe. The Rector was aged sixty six, had not been identified in subsequent censuses or located in burial records, so it was not known whether he left the settlement for this world or the next, whereas the curate has been identified in the 1891 England and Wales Census in a settlement in Staffordshire. The remaining incomer Heads were all born within Lincolnshire, within thirty miles of Addlethorpe, and those that can be reliably identified, migrated away from the village and remained within ten to fifteen miles. Twenty seven Heads migrated into Addlethorpe between the censuses of 1881 and 1891, but only two had migrated from outside Lincolnshire, a cleric from the London area, and a shepherd from Yorkshire, who may have had familial connections with the settlement but he, his wife and children all were Yorkshire-born. He did settle in Addlethorpe and remained in the area as an agricultural worker. All the other Heads hailed from settlements in Lincolnshire, and those that can be reliably identified, remained in the area throughout their lives. Twenty three incomer Heads have been identified in the Addlethorpe CEBs for 1901, with just one Head migrating from another county who had come to the settlement from his birthplace in Nottinghamshire via farming in Huntingdonshire. The remaining Heads had all been born in Lincolnshire and all were employed in agricultural work, although there were now hints of industrialisation with one man's employment listed as a 'thrashing machine owner', and another saying he was a 'hay presser', which may have involved machinery of sorts. The incomer Heads displayed the same tendency to remain in the same type of rural occupation as the Heads listed in the 1851 CEBs, and whilst it might have been expected that these males, because they were already migrants when they arrived in Addlethorpe, would have been more prepared to

⁸⁹ One incomer had migrated to Addlethorpe, a heavily agricultural community, from Durham. The coal mines of that area "became the basis for a diversified economy which included iron shipbuilding and engineering with associated spin-offs". However, it is interesting and worthy of note, that one individual migrated in the opposite direction, away industrial development. (Hudson, *Industrial Revolution*, p. 127).

move on to fields anew and fresh modes of employment, that did not happen. The reason may have been because the settlement had no other occupations to offer except farm work, and there was no happy cross-over between rural and industrial work as Reay suggests.⁹⁰ The same pattern of railway transport is still apparent, with most long distance movement occurring north and south, with very little migration east and west.

The total number of incomer Heads of Household in the 1861 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh was thirty three, out of which, one male had been born outside the county, in Devon. He was a teacher who had migrated from Burgh le Marsh by 1871 and taught in Hull. He went on to work once more in Devon before finally moving back to the Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire areas by 1891. Another incomer Head, a brickmaker born in Burgh le Marsh but not present at the time of the 1851 England and Wales Census, also migrated northwards after 1861 and settled in Cleethorpes near Grimsby. The remaining incomer Heads had originated from locations near the settlement, and those who out-migrated after 1861, moved only short distances and continued in rural employment. Collins commented that both industrialisation and the lessening of available casual farm work, meant that labourers were leaving agriculturally-based work⁹¹, but in this analysis that is not the case, for even when farm labourers migrated from this settlement they continued working as agricultural labourers, and there is evidence in this census that at least one agricultural labourer was prepared to migrate a considerable distance, in this case, to Northumberland, to continue working as an agricultural labourer.⁹² This information does not reflect Woods assertion that one should “consider internal migration in terms of selective urban

⁹⁰ There are instances throughout the later CEBs for each settlement of agricultural mechanisation, for instance, ‘thrashing machine owner’, ‘steam engine owner’, but there is no evidence of large-scale movement to machinery aided farmwork. (Reay, *Englands*, pp. 30-31).

⁹¹ Collins, E.J.T., ‘Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, (Feb. 1976), Volume 29, Number 1, p. 40.

⁹² This individual migrated north to Northumberland, where as already commented, industrial advancement in the shape of coal mining and the resulting associated developments was established, but he did not change his occupation from agricultural labourer, in spite of the employment opportunities surrounding him.

growth and rural decline”,⁹³ these out-migrants were not moving to towns or cities, but either settling in the same village or moving no more than twenty miles away. The 1871 census saw five incomer Heads who had been born further afield, with three of them being church ministers from Northumberland, Ipswich and Lincoln. The fourth man came from Northamptonshire and was a craftsman – a saddler by trade - whilst the fifth Head was a male who came from Nottinghamshire. The clerical gentlemen all migrated considerable distances after 1871, and moved to Norwich, London and Somerset. All the remaining incomer Heads came from settlements in the area surrounding Burgh le Marsh, and save one identifiable man, they either settled in the village or out-migrated only short distances; the exception was a local man who moved to London.⁹⁴ Newcastle, Rutland and Shropshire were the birthplaces of three 1881 incomer Heads, with one working as a ‘gas engineer’, one was a farmer, and the third was a ‘commercial agent’. There were six out of a total of seventy five incomers who out-migrated and left the county after 1881 and migrated to destinations to the north – Northumberland; to the south – Hertfordshire; and to the west of Lincolnshire – Northamptonshire and Kettering. Again, the overwhelming majority of incomer Heads remained either in Burgh le Marsh or within twenty to thirty miles of the settlement. There is not sufficient data available to accurately assess migratory movements after the 1891 census for England and Wales, so the 1891 and 1901 data will simply state from whence incomer Heads originated. To this end, out of forty six incomer male Heads listed on the 1891 CEBs, only four had been born outside Lincolnshire, and two of those counties were in the south of England – Berkshire and Kent.⁹⁵ The other two

⁹³ Woods, *Population of Britain*, pp. 22/23.

⁹⁴ These incomers also illustrate the access to information that residents in Burgh le Marsh had, which would have enabled them to seek work opportunities in other areas of England, but scrutiny of the CEBs show that it was the incomers who also out-migrated to other counties, whilst the long-term residents moved short distances within Lincolnshire. This is interesting knowledge, and new. There is no other literature that charts a settlement’s incomers ongoing migrational journeys, therefore similarities or otherwise in other people’s research, cannot be referred to.

⁹⁵ This is remarkable. Berkshire and Kent are close to London, and historians have found that the city was a magnet for migrants from all parts of England, and even by “1911, South-East England was attracting the largest numbers of migrants ..”, but two males

counties were closer to Lincolnshire i.e. the Midlands, and East Anglia. The 1901 census recorded sixteen out of eighty three incomer Heads who had been born at some distance to Burgh le Marsh, and again, they came from diverse points of the compass. Three have been identified with birthplaces in Yorkshire and northern Lincolnshire, four were identified with birthplaces in East Anglia, three were identified having been born in counties to the west of Lincolnshire, one man came from the West Country, two were from London and Berkshire, and one male had migrated from Canada. The findings for 1901 suggest that the railway explosion of the fifty preceding years facilitated travel as never before. Now there were people migrating to Burgh le Marsh from several hundred miles away, indeed in the case of the Canadian gentleman, several thousands of miles.⁹⁶ It is apparent that travel had largely been along the north to south railway lines and the east to west link between Hull, Grimsby and Manchester, but in the 1901 CEBs there is evidence of incomers from other parts of England which are remote to the east coast of Lincolnshire. As Perkin states 'The railways were the great connector, linking up the furthest corners of the country, and making one England out of many'.⁹⁷

The Rector for Ulceby had been born in Dorset, though he remained in the settlement with his family, but all the other incomers had come from settlements in the area, and none migrated out of the area after 1861. The CEBs for 1871 show a similar picture, for there were no migrants from further afield in Lincolnshire, or from outside of the county, and only one man who was listed in the CEBs as a shepherd in 1871 moved further than twenty miles distant. He migrated to Lincoln and changed his occupation to that of 'grocer's porter'. There were thirteen incomer Heads included in the 1881 Ulceby CEBs, and none came from locations outside of the locality, and none migrated away from that same area. However

moved from that area and went to east Lincolnshire. (Pooley and Turnbull, Migration, p.3).

⁹⁶ There is evidence of immigrants from the United Kingdom returning to their birthplaces, (Wyman, M., *Round-Trip to America*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), but unusually, the male who came from Canada had been born in that country.

⁹⁷ Perkin, *Age of Railway*, pp. 96ff.

1891 saw a difference in the data, for one male, a 'groom and gardener' settled in the village from Durham. There is no obvious link between this man and the settlement, for his wife and children had been born in Yorkshire, however he came and he settled and can be found in the 1901 Ulceby CEBs.⁹⁸ This incomer Head is the only male to have migrated into the community from any distance, and there are no identifiable out-migrating Heads who moved further than twenty miles away. The census of 1901 saw two incomer Heads of Household appearing on the census records, who had migrated from Yorkshire. They were both agricultural labourers and one had the same surname as the 'groom and gardener' from Durham, who had migrated to the village in the years before 1891, so there may have been a familial connection. The other male had moved around Lincolnshire in the four to five years before 1901 as shown by his children's birthplaces of Grainsby and North Thoresby, and his wife came from Stenigot in north Lincolnshire, but there are no other obvious connections with the village. This settlement was small but was situated on the turnpike road which ran between Boston and Grimsby, and was ten miles away from the East Lincolnshire Railway station at Louth, which connected to the Manchester to Grimsby railway, but there were virtually no migratory patterns evident of people using that rail link to move elsewhere.

On the other hand, the final settlement to be analysed regarding incomer Heads of Household is Eastville on the edge of the Fen Margin, and ten miles from Boston. The 1861 CEBs for the community shows that there were twenty four incomers with two of them migrating from other parts of the country. One male incomer Head came from Newark and was a railway station porter, and the other, also a railway employee, was London-born and was the Eastville station master. The remaining

⁹⁸ This is another instance of migration away from industrialised regions into a highly agricultural settlement. Geary and Stark compared regional GDP per worker over the 1861 to 1911 census years, and their findings show that the North, assumed to include Northumberland and Durham, indicate that in 1881 GDP per worker stood at 136.6, and the East Midlands was 123.2, so movement to east Lincolnshire involved movement to a less affluent area. (Geary, F., and Stark, T., 'Regional GDP in the UK, 1861-1911: new estimates', *The Economic History Review*, (February 2015), Volume 68, No. 1.

incomers came from the surrounding locality, and those out-migrating after 1861 went no further than the same area. There was an increase in the number of male incomer Heads shown in the 1871 CEBs, with two agricultural labourers coming from Leicestershire, and Surrey.⁹⁹ Two other incomers were, like the two incomers in 1861, employed by the East Lincolnshire Railway company. They were the station master from Swindon, Wiltshire, and a railway porter from Berkshire. As with the 1861 CEBs no-one from the 1871 Eastville census has been reliably identified as having migrated away from Lincolnshire in the years up to and including 1901. Forty four incomer male Heads have been identified in the 1881 Eastville census records, and once again, there are agricultural labourers from other counties. There are four in all – two from Norfolk, and two from Cambridgeshire. As before, two males were associated with the railway, with both working as station porters, and once again, there were migrants coming into the county, but none leaving. There were only two identifiable incoming Heads as shown in the 1891 CEBs for Eastville, and they were railway employees – station master and a Nottinghamshire signalman. The remaining identifiable incomer Heads were all Lincolnshire-born males, and none have been identified as having moved out of the area after 1891. There are no railway employees as incomers in the 1901 census for the settlement, but there are two males who were associated with agriculture, the first being a market gardener from Nottinghamshire, and a ‘cattleman’ from Yorkshire. The other incomer came from Surrey and was the Eastville rector. The railway men were the most obvious of incomers who were associated with the Industrial Revolution, and new railway men featured in all the CEBs until 1901, however the majority of the incomers continued to have rural occupations. Beckett informs us that the canals network and then the railways opened up communications between Lincolnshire and the rest of the country, but he found, as has been found in the course of this research, that there is a dearth of secondary research into life patterns of migration relating to

⁹⁹ Surrey is the birthplace of a migrant to the settlement, which is notable, for Surrey was very close to London, and was part of the agricultural hinterland of the city, but the male moved one hundred miles north, to Lincolnshire.

Lincolnshire, or, indeed to any area of England.¹⁰⁰ The sons born to incomer Heads of Household followed similar migratory patterns to their fathers, for the greater percentage of young men tended to remain settled in Lincolnshire, but with a lower number of males remaining in the settlements, as compared to the resident males in the 1851 CEBs. A sense from the unattached males analysed earlier in the chapter that there may have been a fluid and longer distance migratory element to these village populations recedes when we consider incomer Heads.

Table 5.5 Sons of Incomer Heads of Household in the four settlements 1861-1901

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	6(5.9%)	Remain	25(15.1%)	Remain	3(3.8%)	Remain	2(1.1%)
<Ten miles	17(16.7%)	<ten miles	8(4.8%)	<Ten miles	8(10.1%)	<ten miles	21(12.1%)
10-59 miles	18(17.6%)	10-59 miles	19(11.5%)	10-59 miles	16(20.2%)	10-59 miles	6(3.5%)
Sub-total	41(40.2%)	Sub-total	52(31.5%)	Sub-total	27(34.2%)	Sub-total	29(16.8%)
60-99 miles	4(3.9%)	60-100 miles	5(3.0%)	60-99 miles	2(2.5%)	60-99 miles	2(1.1%)
100+ miles	5(4.9%)	100+ miles	33(20.0%)	100+ miles	8(10.1%)	100+ miles	14(8.1%)
Sub-total	9(8.8%)	Sub-total	38(23.0%)	Sub-total	10(12.6%)	Sub-total	16(9.2%)
Died	0	Died	0	Died	0	Died	0
Not I'd*	52(51.0%)	Not I'd*	75(45.4%)	Not I'd	42(53.2%)	Not I'd*	128(74.0%)
Sub-total	52(51.0%)	Sub-total	75(45.4%)	Sub-total	42(53.2%)	Sub-total	128(74.0%)
Totals	102(100%)	Totals	165(100%)	Totals	79(100%)	Totals	173(100%)

*Not identified

Eleven sons of incomer Heads of Household to Addlethorpe have been identified as migrating away from the settlement, with four leaving Lincolnshire entirely. One son migrated to Doncaster via Cleethorpes, working as a railway 'carman'; and another migrated to Cheshire on the western side of England where he continued his occupation as a saddler.

¹⁰⁰ Beckett, J.C., 'Lincolnshire and the East Midlands: A Historian's perspective', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, (1992), Volume 27, p. 24.

Two brothers, both of whom were stone masons, moved to Yorkshire and Lancashire respectively, before one of them migrated to London. There were no identifiable sons from the 1871 and 1881 CEBs who migrated any more than ten to twenty miles from Addlethorpe, and it is not necessary to scrutinise the 1891 and 1901 Addlethorpe CEBs for sons who had been born to incomer Heads of Household, because they would have still been living with their parents at those times. It is apparent, however, that employment in factories or mills did not attract these young men, and even railway employment only attracted one identifiable son between 1861 and 1901.

The identifiable sons of incomer Heads as shown in the 1861 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh who migrated away from Lincolnshire numbered seven, and all went either to Yorkshire or its neighbouring county of Lancashire. Yorkshire was the destination for two brothers, a gardener and a coachman, and Lancashire claimed a 'rail checker'. The same pattern for 1871 incomer sons applies, in that there was only one male out of the nine who were identifiable and out-migrated, who took employment as a railway station porter in London.¹⁰¹ There were no sons of incomer Heads listed in the 1871 CEBs as having agricultural employment, only general labouring work, however, none were listed as working in an industrial environment either. By the time of the 1881 census, the CEBs record sons who had migrated to London, Berkshire, Yorkshire, Berkshire and Warwickshire. The investigation into the 1880s CEBs for Burgh le Marsh show there is some indications that young men were beginning to embrace the industrial changes that were taking place at this time, for occupations in the gas industry and in factory work (glass bottle foundry) are now in evidence. There are however, no signs of employment in the

¹⁰¹ The analyses of the four settlements has shown that a number of males migrated away and took employment as railway employees. London, the west Midlands and the north-east were chosen destinations. Cromar commented that the growth of the railways in the towns attracted migrants from their hinterlands. (Cromar, P., 'Labour migration and suburban expansion in the north of England', ed. by White, P., & Woods, R., *The Geographical impact of migration*, (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), p.130). As already found there were few towns of any size close to the settlements, however, Lincoln, Leicester, and Nottingham had railway stations, but appear to have been ignored by the males from this area.

mills and factories of the central and west Midlands, and no evidence of railways enticing these young males away from the land, for the occupations listed in the CEBs are largely concerned with the land, or the type of shopkeeping that would have been usual before industrial development gained importance. Sons of incomers as listed in the 1891 and 1901 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh have not been examined because they were mostly young and still living with their parents.

Ulceby had, as already mentioned, a small population, and a correspondingly small number of incoming Heads of Household and sons of those Heads. No sons of incomers were recorded as migrating permanently out of Lincolnshire between 1861 and 1901, although one son trained as a Wesleyan minister in London but returned to Lincolnshire to continue his ministry. No other son left Lincolnshire or left agricultural-based occupations and the life paths of the 1881 sons of incomer Heads indicate that they also did not migrate away from the Ulceby area. As with Burgh le Marsh, the CEBs for 1891 and 1901 have not been analysed because of the young age of the sons who were still living with their parents, however, it can be seen from the previous census evidence of migratory paths, that the sons of incomer Heads to this settlement did not leave the land or agriculturally linked occupations and move to the towns and cities of industrial development in any great number. In short, the Industrial Revolution passed them by.

In Eastville most sons of incomer Heads tended to migrate only short distances from the settlement. Three left the county entirely, and in 1861 one young male made the journey out of the county, by crossing the River Humber to a docks labouring job in Hull. Five sons migrated out of the county in 1871, with three moving northwards, to Yorkshire, to work as a 'traffic manager', and to Calverley, Leeds as a clerk, and the third going to labouring work in Stockton on Tees, whilst another male took employment in the Nottinghamshire lace-making industry. These males show a mix of labouring and industrial employment, but there is still an adherence to more traditional forms of work i.e. carter, labourer. The same destinations are evident in the migratory moves of 1881 sons of incomers, with

Sheffield, rural Yorkshire and Hull in the north; London and Essex in the south; Cheshire and Lancashire on the western side of England. One difference in the 1881 CEBs entry for one son, is his occupation, for he is listed with his father living in Lincoln and working with him in one of the engineering factories in the city. These two males are the only ones to be reliably identified as having made the relatively short migratory move to Lincolnshire's county town to work in one of the highly successful engineering manufactories situated there.¹⁰² One other male moved to Yorkshire and was employed as a railway platelayer, and another worked in the Sheffield steel mills, but the others remained in traditional employment associated with the land. Only one male is identified as having migrated out of Lincolnshire by the time of the 1891 census, and he, a grocer, moved to London. As stated with the previous settlements analyses, the sons for 1901 have not been analysed because they were children and still living with their parents.

Table 5.6 Incomer males living away from home 1861-1901

Addlethorpe		Burgh le Marsh		Ulceby		Eastville	
Lincs		Lincs		Lincs		Lincs	
Remain	2(4.9%)	Remain	10(8.0%)	Remain	1(2.2%)	Remain	4(6.25%)
<Ten miles	6(14.6%)	<ten miles	10(8.0%)	<ten miles	5(10.9%)	<ten miles	15(23%)
10-59 miles	4(9.7%)	10-59 miles	15(12.0%)	10-59 miles	7(15.2%)	10-59 miles	11(17%)
Sub-total	12(29.3%)	Sub-total	35(28.0%)	Sub-total	13(28.3%)	Sub-total	30(47%)
60-99 miles	1(2.4%)	60-99 miles	2(1.6%)	60-99 miles	0	60-99 miles	1(1.6%)
100+ miles	2(4.9%)	100+miles	11(8.8%)	100+ miles	8(17.4%)	100+ miles	7(10.9%)
Sub-total	3(7.3%)	Sub-total	13(10.4%)	Sub-total	8(17.4%)	Sub-total	8(12.5%)
Died	1(2.4%)	Died	1(0.8%)	Died	1(2.2%)	Died	0
Not I'd*	25(61.0%)	Not I'd*	76(60.8%)	Not I'd*	24(52.2%)	Not I'd*	26(41%)
Sub-total	26(63.4%)	Sub-total	77(61.6%)	Sub-total	25(54.3%)	Sub-total	26(41%)
Totals	41(100%)	Totals	125(100%)	Totals	46(100%)	Totals	64(100%)

*Not identified

Finally it is necessary to analyse the migratory patterns of the males who were living away from home either as farm servants living on a farm, renting lodgings or boarding with a family in each of the four settlements

¹⁰² 1881 England and Wales Census: RG11 3253 52.

after the 1851 Census for England and Wales. The settlement of Addlethorpe shows two males in the 1861 CEBs who migrated away from the east coast area. They were both farm servants based at the same farm and one moved to Kings Lynn, East Anglia, working as a 'road pavior', whilst the other male migrated south to the Bedfordshire town of Biggleswade and worked as a railway employee. He then worked his way northwards, becoming a station master in the process. Between 1871 and 1901 no other servant, lodger or boarder left the east coast area, and the same applied to the males living away from home in the next settlement to be examined.

The CEBs for Burgh le Marsh between 1861 and 1881 show that four males can be identified as having migrated away from Lincolnshire. The city of Manchester and the county of Lancashire were the destination for two, and two others went to Hull in Yorkshire. It is interesting to note that the incomer males living away from home exhibited the same tendency as the sons of incomer Heads in this village, some of whom were prepared to leave familiar surroundings.

The evidence is slightly different with the Ulceby incomer males living away from home, because two made the move out of the area, and left the county. One joined the Middlesbrough iron works, and the other moved west to Rutland where he took employment as a farm bailiff. The 1871 census saw two males who had left the county, one changing employment quite radically because he joined the prison service in Devon, and the other moving north to Durham and working as a 'coke drawer', whilst Leicester was the chosen city for a coachman. The assumption may be drawn that the males of this settlement migrated further and possibly changed occupation because Ulceby was too small to support them in employment, whereas the lack of movement and occupational change in a settlement the size of Burgh le Marsh typified the exact opposite.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Ulceby showed that information reached the settlements for the male who migrated to Devon had to have learned of prison employment available there, and it is quite probable that he found the information in a newspaper. Ruth Richardson said that even "For

The 1861 CEBs for Eastville saw two males living away from home in the settlement and who had out-migrated before the 1871 census. Romford, Essex in the south was the destination for one of the males who became a 'job master', and the other travelled to Durham as a labourer. Three males from the 1871 CEBs left the immediate area to live and work in Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire. In 1881, one young man immigrated to England from Canada with his parents, and appears on the CEBs for that year, but by 1901 he had migrated once more and could be found on the census documents for Plymouth and working as a 'railway agent'. The Eastville CEBs for 1891 and 1901 do not show any male living away from home who can be reliably identified therefore they cannot be used for analysis. This settlement shows the same trends as the other three settlement, in that, of those reliably identified, the males living away from home largely remained settled in the same district and followed the same agricultural occupations as were evident in the early years of the nineteenth century and before.

5.4 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was to take the scale and direction of migration that was identified from the Census Enumerators' Books in Chapters Three and Four, and to begin to explain why people moved in the numbers they did, and why they moved or did not move to certain types of places. As Pooley reminds us, demographic processes "rarely examine the role of specific places in constructing these processes", and so detailed micro-analysis of the four villages has been at the core of this chapter.¹⁰⁴ The micro-analysis found that the existence of only one

those who could not afford to buy a newspaper, no doubt word-of-mouth was a very efficient means of transmission for local news, especially for reporting exciting national news like battles or disasters. But newspapers were read for their detailed news coverage, from cover to cover, and not just by those that could afford to buy them: after they had been discarded by their employers, they were often read by house-servants in snatches of time between tasks. Then newspapers might travel again, so they were potentially read third or fourth-hand and doubtless circulated further afield before they were torn up for other uses:" (Richardson, R., 'Street Literature', www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/street-literature (May 2014).

¹⁰⁴ Pooley, C.G., 'The influence of locality on migration: a comparative study of Britain and Sweden in the nineteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, (Spring 2013), Number 90, p. 13.

turnpike road, few navigable rivers and little investment in canal building by either the government or business enterprise, almost certainly ensured that the east coast failed to attract heavy industry. As Brown puts it:

Lincolnshire in the mid-19th century was, if not isolated, at least on the periphery of England. The Great North Road skirted the south-western corner of the county on its way to York. The main line of the Great Northern Railway followed suit, even missing out Stamford, which the road went through. The industrial revolution, too, was almost entirely by-passing the county”.¹⁰⁵ However, Lincolnshire was not alone in experiencing poor roads, however, for George Dew commented in 1871 on the “state of our public roads [which are] abominably muddy and bad.”¹⁰⁶

The advent of the railway age offered some occupational alternatives to farm labour, with engineering works at Boston on the east coast, and Lincoln which was near the county border with Nottinghamshire, and gave a certain ease of travel between Lincolnshire and the northern counties of Yorkshire and Northumberland, and southern counties such as Kent and Middlesex. However, the east coast of Lincolnshire never equated to Reay’s description of villages that had ‘rural work [that included] mixed occupations but also our definition of rural worker needs to include communities of weavers and colliers as well as agricultural labourers and subsistence farmers.’¹⁰⁷ Reay’s version of an industrial/agricultural village may have existed in those parts of the country where industrial development had grown, and certainly existed in northern Lincolnshire where the five townships of Appleby, Scunthorpe, Frodingham, Brumby, and Ashby were to be united in 1911 and given the name they are now known by of Scunthorpe. This was ironstone country and in the late 1800s when the ironstone was still being extracted in opencast quarries, Wright tells us that most of the labourers came from agricultural stock, and they

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *Market Towns*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Horn, Dew, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷ Reay, *Englands*, pp. 30 and 31.

‘probably [moved] between the two occupations on a seasonable as well as a long-term basis’,¹⁰⁸ but that type of growth simply did not exist in this region of Lincolnshire. It is interesting to observe that the settlement of Binbrook, situated on the Lincolnshire Wolds and closer to areas of industry such as the ironstone mining operation, also did not conform to Reay’s hypothesis, for a study of that settlement has found that “even the ‘outsiders were mostly local people” who had in-migrated from distances of no more than twenty miles away, and were overwhelmingly involved in agricultural-based occupations.¹⁰⁹

Turning to the four villages themselves, record linkage was not always easy. Those individuals who could not be reliably traced from one census to another were discarded, so the identified males from each settlement proved to be small, particularly in the case of the ‘males living away from home’ – the labourers living with the farmers, apprentices, lodgers and boarders – because those men could not be linked to any family members, and in many cases there was too much variation in personal details for inclusion in the analysis. Nevertheless, the multitude of detail contained within the analysis provides a rich picture of migration in and around this set of four settlements, and it is clear from the life journeys of the male Heads, sons and males living away from home, that although they took advantage of the railways and the industrialisation of various areas of Britain by migrating to Yorkshire and London via the GNR, Lancashire and Manchester via the MSLR, and Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Cheshire via the MR, the numbers of migrants from the broadly defined east coast area was small. Even when railways linked virtually all parts of the country by the later years of the nineteenth century, migratory patterns in this corner of Lincolnshire did not actually conform to any sort of pattern as set down by Ravenstein et al. The migrants from the four settlements did move to many destinations, but most moved to nearby agricultural areas within Lincolnshire, and only a handful went to the big cities of London, Liverpool or Manchester, with the

¹⁰⁸ Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 165.

¹⁰⁹ Olney, *Lincolnshire Wolds*, p. 18.

other long distance migrants remaining in agricultural occupations. The regionality of the areas favoured by the migrant males in this part of Lincolnshire involved northern Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham and to a lesser extent the southern regions of the country including London and East Anglia. However, like their urban counterparts, those males who did migrate, probably found, as Pooley has commented, that the new “transport technologies and opportunities”,¹¹⁰ offered a speedier and more comfortable means of travel. The over-riding finding of this analysis, however, is the fact that more than half of the Lincolnshire males researched ignored the railways, and remained in their birth county of Lincolnshire, usually, within twenty to thirty miles of their birthplaces. Even the transformation of Skegness, located in the same area as the settlements, did not attract males from those places, even though there were not enough men resident in Skegness in the early 1870s to supply all the lesser skilled labour necessary”.¹¹¹ Lincoln, with its booming engineering factories likewise, did not attract men from the four settlements – only two, a father and son from Eastville (as already noted) have been reliably identified as working in one of the factories. Hudson commented that the railways “improved mobility and information flow, easing the process of migration and labour transfer”.¹¹² This just did not happen in eastern Lincolnshire, for even the industries that were developing in the west Midlands, the manufacturing companies in Yorkshire, the woollen and cotton mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and the metropolis of London did not attract them. While Pooley and Turnbull amongst others have also pointed to the importance of a circulatory migration sphere, that in Lincolnshire was very restricted in depth, scope and distance, and larger numbers of males than in other studies simply remained where they landed. This observation refines the questions we need to ask about motivation for migration, and in the next chapter we will

¹¹⁰ Pooley, C.G., ‘Travelling through the city: using life writing to explore individual experiences or urban travel c1840-1940’, *Mobilities*, (2017), Volume 12, Issue 4, *Mobility and the Humanities-An Introduction*.

¹¹¹ Gurnham, R., ‘The Creation of Skegness as a Resort Town by the 9th Earl of Scarborough’, *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, (1972) Volume 7, p. 70.

¹¹² Hudson, *Industrial Revolution*, p. 91.

therefore consider how far education helped the males make informed choices of residence and occupation, and what part relationships within families, either nuclear or extended, might have played in those choices.

Chapter Six: Kith and kin, education and social mobility

6.1 Introduction

The thesis began with an introduction to other people's approaches to migration history both countrywide and in Lincolnshire in Chapter Two, and then focused on the geographical, industrial and demographic characteristics of Lincolnshire, before moving on to introduce the four settlements to be analysed in Chapter Two. The following two chapters focused on the minutiae of the in- and out-migrations of males resident in 1851 and then moves to the migratory patterns of those males who arrived in the settlements after 1851. Chapter Five addressed the influence, if any, that transport and industrialisation had on the movement of males in eastern Lincolnshire. The core lesson of these learned from the previous chapters is that the settlements were similar in the sort of migratory journeys that took place, for the males mostly remained in agriculture even if (though of course most did not) they travelled long distances away from their home county. Migrants from the settlements who did migrate longer distances, tended to follow the railway routes, with most migrating males moving northwards to Grimsby in north Lincolnshire; to Hull in south-east Yorkshire on the River Humber; further north to Middlesbrough, also in Yorkshire, and to Northumberland, all located on the eastern side of England. Other males used the trans-Pennine rail routes across Yorkshire to Manchester, whilst some travelled westwards to Nottingham and Leicestershire, and some went south to East Anglia and the London area.¹ However, the distances travelled were principally of short distance within Lincolnshire and were chiefly, to other settlements of comparable size. Such findings contrast with other aspects of the secondary literature. For example, Greenwood and Thomas argued in 1973 that although migrants who travelled from their 'home' county to another were mostly drawn to the 'great centres of commerce and industry', often they were more likely to migrate to centres that were located within their 'home county'. They also suggest that the migration

¹ See Chapter Five, pp. 16ff.

involved large numbers of agricultural workers who transitioned to non-agricultural employment, precisely the opposite of what we see in the communities here.² Similarly, King and Timmins discussed the migration of people to the northern and Midland industrial regions, suggesting that longer distances were evident with people migrating, not from southern England but from the northern rural regions such as Westmorland and East Riding.³ There is no evidence from these four communities that Lincolnshire provided a similar supply route to broadly proximate industrial regions and counties, but there was migration of males out of the four communities. In this context, the micro-level history of the settlements will focus on the following questions of (i) did kinship or contact through neighbours and local residents, affect migrational routes taken, and (ii) if the burgeoning educational legislation that was taking place in the early 1870s, had an impact on the children of the settlements regarding scholastic prowess, and did that affect their destination choices and enhance their social mobility. It does seem that migration from the eastern side of Lincolnshire was dependent on the presence of the railway system, and indeed, Woods may have had a valid point when he commented that “if there is no transport, only the brave or the very desperate will pioneer the route ...”⁴ It is not immediately apparent, however, from the census records, if the migrants received information from other migrants; the families of migrants who had remained behind in the settlements; or if they had responded to newspaper advertisements, so the focus of this chapter is in part the question of kinship and friends and neighbourly contact, in order to establish any possible links between individuals and families that may have existed during the nineteenth century. As has already been shown in Chapter Five a feature of the migration from the four settlements has tended to focus on rural to rural movement within the east Lincolnshire area, a point that Pooley and

² Greenwood, M., and Thomas, L., ‘Geographical labor mobility in nineteenth century England and Wales’, *The Annals of Regional Science*, (1973), Volume 7, Number 2, p. 98.

³ King, S.A., and Timmins, G., *Making sense of the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 248.

⁴ Woods, R., *The population of Britain in the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 24.

Turnbull discussed, in that it was a common feature of migration thus enabling migrants to keep in contact with family members.⁵

6.2 Kinship and Education – the macro-influences on migration

Discussion about the importance or otherwise of family or neighbourly connections prompting migration to new villages, towns or cities, has been difficult to find. It appears not to be a subject that has been focused on in depth, but used almost as an afterthought by historians when analysing migratory trends countrywide, or in any given locale. Anderson did use research into family links when investigating family structure and migration in Preston, Lancashire in the 1850s. He argued that migrants who went to Preston would have probably joined family members who had already made the move to the town, and he felt that “it seems clear, then, that *positive* efforts were being made by migrants to build up and maintain kinship bonds in the towns”.⁶ Pooley and D’Cruz also made use of family linkage when discussing family members and their methods of migration, for example they found that the Shaw family’s migratory moves showed that:

*Evidence from the migration history of members of the Shaw family suggests that much movement was undertaken in family groupings: people not only moved through a fairly familiar area, but they also moved with or to family who could provide support and assistance.*⁷

The evidence offered by Pooley and D’Cruz, however, is limited to the written family history of one family, so it is not possible to replicate in a

⁵ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 130 & 131.

⁶ Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 152.

⁷ Pooley, C.G., and D’Cruz, S., ‘Migration and urbanization in north-west England circa 1760-1830’, *Social History*, (Oct 94), Volume 19, Issue 3.

study such as this thesis, which involves the inhabitants of four communities.

The second question asked concerned the provision of education in Lincolnshire, focusing on the four settlements. Education in eastern Lincolnshire, and the 1873 Education Act, which attempted to stop the employment of very young children by requiring all children to attend school until the age of twelve years, will be looked at in order to establish if there was a positive or negative impact on the young people in the four settlements under analysis. So it must be asked if the introduction of reading and writing skills to all children in England aided social mobility and encouraged movement from unskilled employment to higher paid work. The CEBs will be examined to see if sons of labouring fathers were indeed given the opportunity to progress further up the employment ladder because they now had the means of an education hitherto denied them. In addition newspaper articles relating to specific schools in the four settlement areas will be used in order to provide a local context to this examination. School record books relating to the schools located in or serving the four settlements have not been kept, so even though CEBs may show children as 'scholars' in the occupation column, there is no sure method of establishing if they actually did attend school in the local area. It has been possible to identify some boys, from families running large farms, because those boys, when searched for on the main search programme within ancestry.com have been shown as attending, and living at boarding schools outside the settlements being researched in 1851. They are the sons from three families, who were identified in later CEBs, with three from two families in Addlethorpe, where their fathers were brothers, and the other male was reliably identified as the son of an Ulceby farmer. The boys from Addlethorpe can be identified as coming from the same family tree for they bear the same surname, which is specific to that settlement in the 1851 CEBs.⁸ In short, there is only one boy who can be definitely placed in one of the families, because his first

⁸ One son also bears the same first name, was born in the same year (according to the age given on the 1851 CEBs), and was born in Addlethorpe.

and second names are quite different to his cousins' names,⁹ however, it is believed that a representative sample has been made which is sufficient to show an accurate picture of the educational system that was available.¹⁰ As a result of the inability to access school records, this analysis will make the assumption that those male children who can be reliably identified from one census year to the next, will have had only the most rudimentary education, if any at all. The assumption will be based on the CEBs showing that they were engaged in agricultural labouring occupations as were their fathers, and were probably found in the census records working as labourers as young as ten or twelve years of age. Particularly in Lincolnshire, child labour was considered an important part of farm management and much use was made of young children in the agricultural context.

Until relatively recent times, children were considered to be an important part of the wage-earning household, but by the mid-nineteenth century, concern was being levelled at the use of child gangs in agricultural work and in factories. These concerns culminated in the Children's Employment Commission recommendations which were adapted to become part of the 1867 Agricultural Gangs Act. This Act prohibited the employment of children under the age of eight and produced much discussion and revision, which "constituted an important aspect of the

⁹ The Addlethorpe sons were from two families named Davey. The Heads were farming brothers and they both had sons born in the same year, and gave them the same first names, so it is difficult to accurately identify the sons in later censuses. Another common surname in the settlement was Hides or Hydes. There were several families of that name, they had sons of the same ages and same first names, and it was found that they were relaxed regarding the way their surnames were spelt. Burgh le Marsh had one group of families that posed identification problems because the surname was the same, and they also had sons of similar ages, first names and birthplaces, making it difficult to precisely place them in any particular family. These families have, therefore, only been included in the research if the record linkage was rigorously applied.

¹⁰ Anderson used a one in ten sample of the CEBs for his analysis of Preston's population, (Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 19); Reay used family reconstruction when researching three parishes in nineteenth century Kent, and from the information on the Family Reconstruction Forms, he selected a core sample of 401 families as being the most worthwhile for his purposes, (Reay, B., *Microhistories Demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

background to the debates of the 1870s”.¹¹ So the education of children appeared to loom large within the corridors of power, and in 1875 the Agricultural Children Act was passed into law. The Act aimed to ensure that educational responsibility remained largely with the Church of England, that children under the age of ten should not be employed in gangs, and children, in general, should not be employed under eight years of age. The Act also ensured that local magistrates had the power to suspend school attendance if the need arose, i.e. if young children were needed on the land at specific times of the year such as harvest time. This provision was included in order to placate the farming fraternity, particularly in eastern England, where there was a high concentration of arable farms, where there was a greater dependence on children for stone picking, weeding and scarecrowing. In addition, the farmers, again in the eastern counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincolnshire voiced their concerns that agricultural labourers did not need to be educated, and if they were, they would leave the land to seek more lucrative work in towns. So, there was much hostility to the Act from the land owners and farmers, for as John Gorst, the Conservative national agent, confided to Disraeli in 1873 “county gentlemen and farmers in agricultural counties really dislike education and school boards”.¹² The school boards were part of the Elementary Education Act,¹³ and were elected by the ratepayers throughout England, and administered by the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, although they were intended to be non-sectarian. The elected membership of each board ranged in size from five to fifteen members depending on the number of schools under their stewardship, for example, “the London School Board was responsible for over 1400 schools,¹⁴ whereas rural areas might only have one school to administer.

¹¹ Stewart, J., ‘The Political Economy of Agrarian Education: England in the Late Nineteenth Century’, *British Agricultural History Society*, (1994), Volume 42, Number 2, pp. 126-139.

¹² Stewart, Political Economy, p. 135.

¹³ Elementary Education Act 1870 (19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers 1876, Page 11.283, Volume 2).

¹⁴ Smith, J.T., ‘The enemy within?: the clergyman and the English school boards, 1870-1902’, *History of Education*, (2009), Volume 38, Number 1, pp. 133-149.

The clergy of the three churches saw an opportunity to wield considerable influence on ongoing educational provision by election to the boards, for example, after the second elections in 1873, several clerics serving on the London School Board “attacked the Board’s building programme as profligate and deeming the existing provision as adequate.”¹⁵ Throughout the 1870s there were running battles between the clergy who ran their own denominational schools, and the board schools, with the Bishop of Lincoln announcing in 1870 that the board schools would provide “a godless unchristian education [therefore] they would have a godless unchristian people”.¹⁶ The literacy of the adult population was the subject of Rosalind Crone’s investigation, and to achieve it she interrogated the prison registers of Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. She looked at the literacy skills of first-time offenders, as recorded in the registers, and found that the forty-one to fifty age group male prisoners showed evidence of an adequate education, however, the youngest group, those males of fifteen years and younger, were largely, illiterate.¹⁷ So, there is evidence that the farming fraternity in the eastern counties viewed education for the agricultural labourers as being dangerous because they, the farmers, wanted to ensure the labour needed, remained available to them. In addition, the farmers and landowners in the arable regions of eastern England were vocal in their protestations against educating children, and limiting the age they were allowed to work, and there is evidence that the clergy, particularly in the eastern counties, were also vocal in their condemnation of the new regulations.¹⁸ Crone also highlights the lack of literacy in young males and boys who had served prison terms in Suffolk gaol,¹⁹ again an eastern county with arable farming traditions. On the other hand, Reay argues that the word ‘literacy’ can mean an individual’s ability merely to be able to sign his or her name, which does not necessarily mean that the individual can actually read and

¹⁵ Smith, *Enemy*, p. 137.

¹⁶ Smith, *Enemy*, p. 139.

¹⁷ Crone, R., ‘Educating the labouring poor in nineteenth century Suffolk’, *Social History*, (2018), Volume 43, Number 2, pp. 161-185.

¹⁸ Stewart, *Political Economy*, pp. 126-139, and Smith, *Enemy*, pp. 133-149.

¹⁹ Crone, *Suffolk*, pp. 161-185.

understand the written word in a piece of prose. Reay also commented that a craftsman or artisan was more likely to be able to read than rural labourers. The implication thus is, as in eastern Lincolnshire, children of agricultural labourers were employed on the land and did not regularly attend school. Reay does tell the reader that he was able to access “a detailed picture of educational provisions in the area” in mid-century Kent, so we know that the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic was on the curriculum in at least one school in the group of Kent villages he examined.²⁰ Reay’s statement that the term “literacy” may have just meant that an individual could write his or her name, is taken further by Vincent’s paper in which he referred to a government survey of 1839 that aimed to find out the literacy level of the nation. The survey analysed the number of people in each county who used “marks” instead of a signature when signing marriage registers, because that would indicate how many of the population were unable to read or write. The government report also stated that if a person was able to write one’s name, it follows that that person would be able to recognise his name when written by another, and so would be able to recognise “other familiar words when he sees them in print”. The report also maintained that it was even probable he would spell his way through a paragraph in a newspaper.²¹ It seemed, therefore, that there was, and still is, a degree of uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the word literacy, but in the twenty first century, as a teacher of adult literacy, the researcher of this thesis found that whilst an adult carried on their person, handwritten details of their name and address, the ability to read a text was beyond them. So, based on this knowledge, it may be conjectured that any real degree of education that can be attributed to the inhabitants of the four Lincolnshire settlements was quite probably absent.

²⁰ Reay, B, ‘The Context and Meaning of Popular Literacy: Some Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Rural England’, *Past and Present*, (May, 1991), Number 131, pp. 89-129.

²¹ Vincent, D., ‘The invention of counting: the statistical measurement of literacy in nineteenth century England’, *Comparative Education*, (2014), Volume 50, Number 3, pp. 266-281.

The next subject to be discussed is the analysis of the four settlements in relation to kith and kin ties affecting migration in the country in general and in the region in which the four settlements are located. The chapter will then move on to Education and the governmental changes that happened in the nineteenth century together with discussion covering the influence the changes had for the lives of Victorian children. Finally, the chapter will present the results of the analyses in the conclusion, and will introduce the following chapter which will concern the last theme which involves the consequences of the railway building frenzy, the Industrial Revolution, education, kith and kin connections, social mobility and the Agricultural Depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century on the migratory patterns of the four settlements.

6.3 The kith and kin links to the four settlements

Table 6.1 Kith or kin links to the Heads of Household

Heads of Household	Total Heads taken from 1851 census	Total left Lincs 1861-1901	Kith or Kin Links
Addlethorpe	74	2 (2.7%)	0
Burgh le M	202	17 (8.42%)	0
Ulceby	31	1 (3.2%)	0
Eastville	35	2 (5.7%)	0
Total	342	22 (6.4%)	0

As shown in Table 6.1 only twenty two Heads (six point four per cent) in total migrated out of Lincolnshire in the second half of the nineteenth century, but none of them lived with members of their families or with people who come from the settlements being analysed, although one Head from Burgh le Marsh was married to a Hull-born woman, and it is in Hull that the couple may be found in the 1881 CEBs.²² This finding, albeit using very small numbers, is unlike the results of Anderson's analysis of Preston, Lancashire, where he stated that "migrants were also quite likely, indeed as likely as were the Preston born, to have living in their

²² Anderson found that migrants to Preston frequently lived with kin who had preceded them to the town. (Anderson, Family Structure, p. 152). This was not the case in this example, but it does illustrate the preparedness to offer a home.

households, kin who must either have preceded them, come with them as *kin*, or come to join them in the town.”²³ It needs to be born in mind whilst that at the time of the censuses, many migrants from Lincolnshire did not live with either kith or kin, the census record is a solitary snapshot of one night in the decade. It also needs to be remembered that whilst there are elderly widowed males who have left the settlements in order to live with adult children, as found in the CEBs, there are many more males who cannot be linked to family members in later censuses. These males may have lodged or boarded with elderly females who, in turn, could not be positively linked to the families of the males. Anderson pointed out, a widowed grandmother was more likely to offer lodging than a grandfather would.²⁴ Reay did not use the census night as an example in his research of family structure and kinship links in a group of Kent parishes, but he did argue that most, if not all, households could change throughout the years, from nuclear families comprising parents and children, into extended families that included grandparents, siblings of the parents, aunts, uncles and so on.²⁵

Table 6.2 Kith or kin links to sons of Heads of Household

Sons	Totals taken from 1851-1901 censuses	Total left Lincs	Kith or Kin Links
Addlethorpe	82	22 (26.8%)	6 (27.3%)
Burgh le M	196	55 (28.1%)	14 (25.4%)
Ulceby	34	10 (29.4%)	1 (10%)
Eastville	31	14 (45.2%)	4 (28.6%)
Total	343	101 (29.4%)	25 (24.7%)

²³ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 152.

²⁴ Anderson, *Family Structure*, pp. 141-144. (It is a short-coming of the thesis that analysis of the females was not included, but because females change surnames upon marriage, and were more likely to migrate away from their birthplaces, coupled with the abundant use of certain first names such as Ann/Annie, Mary, Hannah, Sarah etc. that made them difficult to trace accurately once they had left the family circle. The decision, therefore, was made to concentrate solely on the males).

²⁵ Reay, B., 'Kinship and the neighbourhood in nineteenth-century rural England : the myth of the autonomous nuclear family', *Journal of Family History*, (Jan. 1996), Volume 21, Number 1, pp. 87ff.

Table 6.2 illustrates the number of sons who left Lincolnshire and boarded or lodged with family members is small, but as Table 6.1 shows, there was a significant difference as compared to the Heads of Household. Five of the six Addlethorpe males either accompanied or followed siblings to the same town or city. Three were brothers who migrated north and settled within twenty miles of each other in Durham and Middlesbrough, and two brothers from another family moved south to Islington, London to employment in London railway stations.²⁶ The sixth man migrated a relatively short distance across the River Humber to Hull where he took in boarders from Langrickville, near Eastville, and from Orby. The male from Orby was named Oldham Carrott and it is surmised that there was a close family connection with the Vears, because the mother of Benjamin Vear (the landlord from Addlethorpe) had the maiden name of Carrott, and Benjamin's younger brother was named Oldham. The next settlement from which individuals migrated was Burgh le Marsh, and Hull was the destination for some of them. Hull was a growing sea-port and attracted a number of Lincolnshire migrants between 1851 and 1901. The Walmsley brothers had settled there by 1881, and the Parker brothers can be found in the 1881 Census living a few doors from each other in the same town. It is possible Jesse Houghton and William R Houghton (listed in the 1891 CEBs for Hull), were also related, even though they lived in different streets and their earlier family history placed one in Addlethorpe and the other in Burgh le Marsh. Just one son from Ulceby moved in with his in-laws, migrating also to Hull and living with his father-in-law, but Eastville saw four brothers follow each other to London and the South East. Three settled with their wives and children in London, and their brother remained in agriculture in Hampshire.²⁷ So there is some evidence of family

²⁶ The brothers were examples of chain migration as explained by Pryce and Drake. They wrote that a young family member would make the initial move to a new place, and other family members, in this case, younger brothers, would follow. Pryce, W.T.R., and Drake, M., 'Theories and explanations of migration', in *Studying Family and Community History*, ed. by Pryce, W.T.R., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 15.

²⁷ Ruggles, S., *Prolonged connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth-Century England and America*, (Wisconsin, USA: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 54. Ruggles disputes Anderson's findings that migrants to Preston were likely to live with family members. He maintains that it was more usual for affluent households to extend residency to members not in their immediate family group. The thesis tends to

communications and neighbourly links that may have assisted later migrants to settle into their new communities.

Table 6.3 Kith and kin links to males living away from home

Males living away from home	Totals taken from 1851 census	Total left Lincs	Kith or Kin Links
Addlethorpe	20	11 (55%)	0
Burgh le M	37	10 (27%)	1 (10%)
Ulceby	18	6 (33.3%)	0
Eastville	35	4 (11.4%)	0
Total	110	31 (28.2%)	1 (10%)

Only one servant from any of the four communities left Lincolnshire, and he was the coachman and groom employed by the Burgh le Marsh rector who took a living in the Hampshire. The servant and his wife migrated with his employer, and remained in the southern counties after his employer moved back to Lincolnshire. Thirty one males living away from home, servants, lodgers or boarders left Lincolnshire during the second half of the nineteenth century, but only one male, the coachman/groom from Burgh le Marsh, seemed indicate any sort of loyalty towards his employer.

The research to this point has focused exclusively on the male Heads of Household, the sons of male and female Heads of Household who were present at the time of the 1851 census or were born in subsequent years. The males present in the settlements who were living away from home, either as live-in farm servants, lodgers, or boarders, at the time of the 1851 Census for England and Wales have also been included in the analysis. The identifiable males have been tracked through later censuses, ships passenger lists, and overseas censuses, where appropriate, in order to present as clear a picture as possible of the migratory patterns of the men leaving Lincolnshire from the four settlements. However, in order to present a more rounded analysis of migration in the settlements, it is necessary to include the males who

reflect Ruggles conclusions, in that there are few males from the four settlements to be found living in the same households as other family members.

migrated into the communities in the years after the 1851 census, up to and including the census for England and Wales for 1901. To date, the literature has not addressed that aspect of migration, or analysed migration either into or out of the settlements, so study of the movements of all the incomer males, where identifiable, between 1861 and 1901, filled a much needed gap in the literature.

The research method was the same as that of the males who were present in the 1851 CEBs, so the males have been divided into Incomer Heads of Household, Sons of Incoming Heads of Household, and Incoming Males living away from Home.

Table 6.4 Kith and kin links to incomer Heads of Household

Incomer Heads	Total remained in Lincs	Total left Lincs	Died	Total not l'd*	Total l'd*	Total post 1851-1901	Kith or Kin Links
Addlethorpe	35(55.6%)	5(8.0%)	9(14.3%)	14(22.2%)	49(77.8%)	63(100.0%)	0
Burgh le M	118(47.4%)	20(8.0%)	13(5.2%)	98(39.3%)	151(60.6%)	249(100.0%)	0
Ulceby	35(67.3%)	0	0	17(32.7%)	35(67.3%)	52(100.0%)	0
Eastville	75(55.1%)	6(4.4%)	5(3.7%)	50(36.8%)	86(63.2%)	136(100.0%)	0
Total	263(52.6%)	31(6.2%)	27(5.4%)	179(35.8%)	321(64.2%)	500(100.0%)	0

*Not identified

The Heads of Household who migrated into the four settlements after the 1851 Census of England and Wales, and then migrated out of Lincolnshire in subsequent years, numbered thirty one. As is shown in Table 6.4, it was not possible to identify kith or kinship links in the receiving settlements for these men, even though they themselves were traceable.

Table 6.5 Kith and kin links to incomer sons of Heads of Household

Incomer sons	Total remained in Lincs	Total left Lincs	Died	Total not l'd*	Total l'd*	Total post 1851-1901	Kith or Kin Links**
Addlethorpe	35(46.7%)	8(10.7%)	0	32(42.7%)	43(57.3%)	75(100.0%)	2(4.6%)
Burgh le M	54(33.7%)	35(21.9%)	0	71(44.4%)	89(55.6%)	160(100.0%)	7 (7.9%)
Ulceby	25(43.1%)	10(17.2%)	0	23(39.6%)	35(60.3%)	58(100.0%)	2 (4.6%)
Eastville	31(40.8%)	16(21.0%)	0	29(38.1%)	47(61.8%)	76(100.0%)	3 (6.4%)
Total	145(39.3%)	69(18.7%)	0	155(42%)	214(58%)	369(100.0%)	14 (6.5%)

*Not identified **Percentage achieved from Total Identified

Table 6.5 reveals the number of incomer sons who migrated to places where either family or friends had moved. Two sons left Addlethorpe after their arrival in the settlement between 1851 and 1861, and were found in Yorkshire, where they settled in towns approximately forty miles apart. Thirty five Burgh le Marsh incomer sons migrated out of Lincolnshire, but only seven had any familial or east coast Lincolnshire connections with their new residences. Two had family connections in Lancashire, and, another incomer son, who also moved to Lancashire, lived with his sister and brother-in-law, and a Burgh le Marsh family who had migrated to Hull, was landlord to a young Burgh le Marsh male. Whilst there were no obvious familial links between him and the hosting family, they all came from the same settlement, which was not large, so the families would probably have been familiar to each other. In much the same way three males who had moved to Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire respectively, and who had no definite links to their surroundings, except they all lived in streets where other people resided who had also migrated from the same general Lincolnshire area.²⁸ One incomer son who migrated from Ulceby, went to Hull to live with his wife's parents, whilst one Eastville incomer son moved, with his brother, to Calverly, Yorkshire, and two other Eastville incomer sons boarded with migrants from east coast Lincolnshire families in Nottinghamshire and Manchester. There is, then, some evidence of migrants linking up with other people who may have known either them or their families in one of the four settlements. Certainly word of mouth may have encouraged migrants to move to locations inhabited by Lincolnshire migrants. Nevertheless, the percentages of incomer sons migrating to places where other migrants from the east coast area had settled, was small. Many more males appeared to have moved to locations far removed from people who would have been familiar to them in their sending settlement, and this is an important aspect in the

²⁸ Anderson, *Family Structure*, pp. 103-106.

research, because it does not reflect research carried out by other people.²⁹

Table 6.6 Kith and kin links to incomer males living away from home

Incomer males living Away from home	Total remained in Lincs.	Total left Lincs	Died	Total not I'd*	Total I'd*	Total post 1851-1901	Kith or Kin Links**
Addlethorpe	12(29.3%)	3(7.3%)	1(2.4%)	25(61.0%)	16(39.0%)	41(100.0%)	0
Burgh le M	33(26.8%)	12(9.7%)	1(0.8%)	77(62.6%)	46(37.4%)	123(100.0%)	2(4.3%)
Ulceby	13(28.3%)	7(15.2%)	0	26(56.5%)	20(43.5%)	46(100.0%)	0
Eastville	32(35.2%)	8(8.8%)	3(3.3%)	48(52.7%)	43(47.2%)	91(100.0%)	1(2.3%)
Total	90(30%)	30(10%)	5(1.7%)	176(58.5%)	125(41.5%)	301(100%)	3(2.4%)

*Not identified **Percentage achieved from Total Identified

Few 'males living away from home' ventured beyond the borders of Lincolnshire, and only three were identified out of the total number of males, who had kith or kin links with the four settlements, in later censuses. Two of these appeared on the 1861 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh, one of whom, a Welton le Marsh-born man then migrating to London and boarding there with another Welton le Marsh-born man. The other male migrated to live with his wife's parents in Yorkshire after 1861.³⁰ There were no obvious kith or kinship links relating to the Ulceby incomer males who lived away from home, and migrated out of the county after 1861, and only one Eastville incomer male who migrated to Hull taking his wife, children and father with him.

In addition to researching kith and kinship links by looking at the locations where migrants lodged, boarded or lived when moving to different counties, a further method was used in order to find links with communities outside of Lincolnshire. This method looked at the

²⁹ Pooley and Turnbull found that migration from small settlements to the larger urban areas was usually undertaken by people without the backup of family or friends in their receiving settlement. (Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 145/6); however, Anderson and Reay argued that kinship links were important – Anderson found that families provided assistance to newcomer members of their families in Preston, (Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 53); whereas Reay maintained that kinship was strong in the three parishes in Kent he studied, and found to spread to the surrounding settlements. Therefore, although it was not included in Reay's research, it is reasonable to suggest that members of families who moved further away, may have given board and lodging to migrant kin. Reay, *Kinship*, pp. 156-75.

³⁰ These two examples show the opposite of Pooley and Turnbull's findings, for these males – one single and one married – who did use the support of friends and family. Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, pp. 145 and 6.

birthplaces of residents, to find the males who had not been born in any of the four settlements, and to this end, the 1851 CEBs for Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh, Ulceby, and Eastville were scrutinised, and the results tabulated as below:

Table 6.7 Birthplaces outside of Lincolnshire as shown in the 1851 Census for England and Wales

BIRTHPLACES	ADDLETHORPE	BURGH le MARSH	ULCEBY	EASTVILLE
Herts	1	1		
Yorks	2	9		3
Middx	1			
Glos	1			
Norfolk	1	5	1	
Notts		18		1
Ireland		10		2
Staffs		1		
Kent		1		
Cambs		6		
Cheshire		1		
Durham		1		
Surrey		1		
Derbyshire		1		
Camarthenshire		1		
Lancs		3		
London		9	1	
Rutland		3		
Leics		2		
North'berland		3		
Northants		1		
Italy		1		
Devon		1		
Berks		1		1
Dorset			1	
Bucks				1
Sussex				1
Warwicks				1
Totals	6	80	3	10

Table 6.7 includes males and females who migrated into the four settlements before 1851, and the results show that Burgh le Marsh had more migrants from outside Lincolnshire, than the other settlements being studied. Cooper, when reporting her findings on Cardiganshire, said that

the exodus from that county was in the direction of London, but the Burgh le Marsh 1851 CEBs contain the information that the wife of an agricultural labourer from Hertfordshire, came from Hendy in Carmarthenshire, which is the adjoining county to Cardiganshire.³¹ It is also interesting to note that counties such as Kent, Cheshire, Durham, Northumberland, Devon, Warwickshire, who 'sent' migrants to the four settlements, also 'received' migrants from those places, which certainly helps to explain why men, who were mostly of the labouring classes, opted to migrate to locations so far distant. So there must, it seems, to have been communication via word of mouth, letters, visits by friends and/or relatives happening between the four settlements and the 'sending/receiving' locations.³² Sadly, those communicative links are not available, and it has not been possible to relate these findings, particularly the birthplace data, to other people's research, although Pooley and Turnbull made use of such interplay between families when researching the migratory movements of individuals in various parts of England in their ground-breaking exploration of migration and mobility. Laslett researched the out- and in-migration in two communities in Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, however he did not investigate the migratory movements of the residents of the villages, but simply established the numbers of people who came or went, and focused on one decade of the seventeenth century.³³ Migration in this region may also have been assisted by lectures and talks by the Great Northern Railway, which were held in village halls along its route, and may have helped young men's decisions to migrate, and helped to widen knowledge of other areas close to the Lincolnshire east coast. The *Cambridge Independent Press*

³¹ Cooper, K.J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 83). It is not clear how the Hertfordshire labourer met his Welsh-born wife, but as Cooper explained, females at that time were very mobile, and domestic service may well have taken her to Hertfordshire. Why the couple moved to Lincolnshire is not known.

³² Anderson, *Family Structure*, pp. 103-106. Anderson found that there was interaction within community groups, albeit districts within towns or entire small settlements, where local information may have filtered back to the sending locations. So, even though migrants from the four settlements may have had no direct kin living in the receiving places, they may have gained information 'through the grapevine'.

³³ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 38, and Laslett, P., *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 68.

reported at the time that “the following good series of lectures, each illustrated by about 100 fine views, have been prepared by the Great Northern Company: (1) Lincoln and Lincolnshire; (2) Lynn, Sandringham, the Norfolk Broads and Coast Resorts; ...”.³⁴ Therefore it is possible that the residents of the four settlements might have had access to lectures of this type, which could have helped them decide to migrate.

There is little evidence that males who migrated *within* the county, moved to places where they had links to friends or relatives. However, much of the movement involved travel of short distances, so it was possible that there were kith or kin resident there. Alternatively, word of mouth via previous migrants from the four settlements might have given the impetus for migration. This was probably the reason that the north of Lincolnshire attracted a number of Ulceby residents, and whilst there appears to be no familial links between the settlement’s residents, Ulceby was a small community of approximately two hundred souls, so word of mouth between individuals was a possible means for information to travel, for example, from the north Lincolnshire town of Grimsby. Another reason could have been occupational links, for example, two men, both labourers, migrated from Ulceby to Grimsby, where both continued working as labourers. Another settlement which was situated within two miles of Grimsby, was Cleethorpes, which was also bordered by the North Sea, and it was to this town that two brothers from Burgh le Marsh migrated. The eldest brother moved first and the younger brother followed a few years later. The brothers’ migration shows that family ties provided a migratory link.

6.4 Education and the four settlements

The second question to be asked in this chapter is how far the education system in this area helped or hindered people in their employment prospects and ability to migrate away from the rural societies into which they had been born. The 1873 Agricultural Children Act has already been

³⁴ *Cambridge Independent Press*, (Cambridge, England), Friday, September 17, 1909, Vol. CIII, Issue 4866, p. 3.

referred to, and the problems that arose because of the provisions contained within it. The eastern counties were most vociferous in their opposition to the implementation of the Act, as we have seen, because it was “an area whose main agricultural produce was grain. There was, consequently, a much higher demand for labour at certain times, such as harvest, than at others.”³⁵ Caird commented in 1852 that he had noted that gangs of children were employed in Norfolk to keep the fields free from weeds, and schools were closed throughout late summer and autumn.³⁶ As already mentioned, Board Schools were being introduced throughout the country, although the rural areas lacked the support that the urban areas enjoyed. For example, we learn from Smith that London controlled in excess of 1400 schools,³⁷ but in the east Lincolnshire region under scrutiny, there was a dearth of schools. In the 1872 White's Directory are to be found the following:

Addlethorpe: the children attended the British and Foreign School Society establishment located in Ingoldmells, one mile distant. More than seventy children were reported to attend the school, which had one certified master.

Burgh le Marsh: Bishop Tozer's (unknown how many children attended or the age groups); Burgh le Marsh Middle Class, run by the Reverend Thomas Archbold M.A.; National Schools(Girls); Palmer's school; and Wesleyan school run by Thomas D. and Mrs. Elizabeth Spain.

Ulceby: children were required to walk several miles to Well. It is noted in the directory that “the parish is entitled to send free scholars to Alford Grammar School.

Eastville: this school appeared to be some form of ‘private’ establishment, for the directory says “the school is attended by about 80 children, and is supported by subscription and the children's pence”.³⁸

³⁵ Stewart, *Political Economy*, pp. 126-139.

³⁶ Caird, James, *English Agriculture in 1850-51*, pp. 480, in op cit Stewart, p. 127.

³⁷ Smith, *Enemy*, pp. 133-149.

³⁸ White's History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire 1872.

It is clear from these directory details that the provision of education was not a priority in Addlethorpe, Ulceby or Eastville. Burgh le Marsh, the largest of the settlements fared somewhat better with several schools offering schooling to a range of ages, but there is little evidence of how the establishments operated. However, there is limited information available in the newspapers of the time, as illustrated in the *Grantham Journal* of 1870 which said that the sum of £10 had been granted to the Ingoldmells school for the provision of a certified teacher. Nothing more can be found relating to that school,³⁹ but there is more information to be found regarding the schools at Burgh le Marsh, with the *University Herald* reporting that “J. Wheldale of the Middle Class School gained a Second Class pass in his studies, and W. J. Carter and J. W. Dawson have passed their examinations”.⁴⁰ J. W. Dawson can be found in the 1861 and 1871 CEBs for Burgh le Marsh where he was listed as the son of a farmer who had 130 acres and was an employer of agricultural labourers, but it has not been possible to accurately identify the other two boys in subsequent censuses. The *Grantham Journal* of 1871 also gave an indication of the types of subjects being taught at the Middle School, which were “Holy Scripture, catechism and prayer-book geography, reading, writing, arithmetic, English history, and grammar.” Girls also attended the school, and it was reported that “the girls were also examined in needlework.”⁴¹ Another newspaper entry, this one was from the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, noted that J. R. Holmes “Satisfied Examiners” at Burgh le Marsh, but although the surname Holmes is a well-established name in Burgh le Marsh and Addlethorpe, it has not been possible to accurately identify the J. R. Holmes mentioned here.⁴² The Anglican clergy were prominent in running the Middle School in Burgh le Marsh in the 1870s, and there is newspaper evidence of prize-winning

³⁹ *The Journal*, *Grantham Journal* 16 July 1870, p. 4. *British Library Newspapers*.

⁴⁰ *The University Herald*, *Cambridge Independent Press*, 22 Feb 1868, p. 5.

⁴¹ “Our Inside Pages Contain – Cricket Intelligence News FROM THE Villages”, *Grantham Journal*, 17 June 1871, p. 4.

⁴² “Cambridge University Local Examinations”, *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 10 March 1876, p. 3.

pupils plus mention of the examiners, all of whom were schoolmasters at the school.⁴³

A perusal of trade directories issued later in the century suggests that the state of educational provision had not markedly altered. The Kelly's directory for 1896, some twenty years after the Agricultural Children Act, gave the details of scholastic provisions in the four settlements, and noted that a board school was started in 1876, and "the children of this place [Addlethorpe] attend the Board school at Ingoldmells." So Addlethorpe was still sharing school facilities with the adjoining village, as was Ulceby, whose children were required to attend the National School at Well as did the village of Claxby. The Directory noted that the total number of children from the three villages was sixty, but the average attendance totalled twenty four (forty per cent). New Leake and Eastville also shared a school that was a "Board School, New Leake (mixed) erected in 1890, for 160 children, average attendance, one hundred and thirty five (eighty four per cent). In 1896, Burgh le Marsh was again the best served of the four settlements regarding schools, in that the Grammar school that was founded in the mid-1700s continued to flourish, together with the National school which was enlarged in 1864 and took both boys and girls plus infant children. It is apparent that if the Burgh le Marsh schools mirror the schools in the other settlements studied, that there was much attention placed on Scripture and "prayer-book geography", with possibly, the subjects being off-shoots of that teaching. The most important subject for the girls to be examined in, was, it appears, needlework. It is hard to imagine that the list of taught subjects given in the *Grantham Journal* could equip any child to aspire to an enhanced occupational career.⁴⁴ Attendance at the schools in three of the settlements varied from forty per cent at Well (for Ulceby), to eighty four per cent at New Leake (for Eastville). The numbers of children who attended school at Ingoldmells, including Addlethorpe children, was not given.

⁴⁴ The Church of England Schools Prize Scheme, *Grantham Journal*, (24 June, 1871), p. 2.

The sons of the landowners and tenant farmers fared somewhat better, because they were sent away to boarding schools. The CEBs contain information concerning four boys, sons of farmers in Addlethorpe and Ulceby. Three of the boys were cousins, whose fathers farmed several hundred acres in Addlethorpe, and can be found in the 1851 CEBs at a boarding school in Boston, approximately twenty five miles from Addlethorpe. The other boy was the son of a farmer in Ulceby, and he was found in the Louth CEBs as a boarder at The Priory.⁴⁵ Other boys, sons of landowners and/or farmers appeared as adults on CEBs after 1851, which indicated that they were born before 1851, so it would be reasonable to assume that they were resident at boarding schools outside of the immediate area during the time of the 1851 census. It has not, however, been possible to accurately identify their residential locations.

There were, as I noted earlier, no school records available from any of the schools commented on here, with the only accessible information being the newspaper articles and the CEBs for Boston and Louth already mentioned. Therefore when that information was added to the details given in the 1872 and 1896 Trade Directories regarding the school attendance records, and the general lack of schools in the east coast area, it appeared that education of the children of the labouring classes was not well-regarded. Gritt comments in his opening statements in the paper on the English agricultural labour force, that “in the North of England, farm service remained a significant feature of the rural social structure until well into the nineteenth century, which as Howkins has suggested, reflects the employment patterns of a backward, perhaps inefficient, agrarian regime where innovation and agrarian capitalism were alien.”⁴⁶ It appears that the east of England followed the same pattern, but the difference was that the region was still following that pattern at the end of the century rather than “well into the nineteenth century”, which

⁴⁵ John H., Alfred J.; and John C. Davey – 1851 CEBs - Boston, Lincolnshire. Robert Cartwright – 1851 CEBs Louth, Lincolnshire

⁴⁶ Gritt, A.J., ‘The ‘survival’ of service in the English agricultural labour force: lessons from Lancashire, c. 1650-1851’, *The Agricultural History Review*, (2002), Volume 50, Number 1, pp. 25-50.

suggests that the working practices of the agricultural labourers and their children also lagged behind the rest of England.

The census examination of children born in any of the four settlements seems to substantiate this attitude towards children's education, because the sons of farmers who went to boarding school pursued farming careers, owning or renting farms of several hundred acres. Other sons who may have attended the schools in the settlements, but whose fathers were farmers or tradesmen, left Lincolnshire for London careers, or migrated to Manchester, and York. Another young male left Addlethorpe to build a greengrocery business in Kent, and an Eastville son also migrated south and ran a grocery business, whilst there is no clear evidence of any young men leaving Ulceby to pursue careers elsewhere, which suggests that the lack of schooling was detrimental to social mobility. There is CEB evidence of sons following their agricultural labourer fathers into the same work, with residents from Ulceby who migrated a few miles away and continued employment as farm workers, which was very probably begun in childhood. Addlethorpe males tended to remain within a few miles of their birthplace, as did the Ulceby males, and broadly within the same occupational groups as their fathers. There is no evidence that young males from Eastville ventured many miles beyond their birthplace and they too continued employment in farm work, as did the sons of agricultural labourers resident in Burgh le Marsh, although two males did migrate and settle in Yorkshire.⁴⁷

6.5 Conclusion

Although it has been established in this chapter that kith and kin links with the rest of the country, outside of Lincolnshire, played a part in would-be migrants decisions to move to new areas, town or cities, it has also been seen that siblings moved with, or followed other siblings to places such as London and Durham. They were few in number however, with three

⁴⁷ Social mobility is a fertile ground for research, particularly 19th century social mobility. Reay addressed the subject when gathering information for his study on several Kent parishes, and he came to the conclusion that there was no evidence that a labouring man could move further up the occupational ladder. He put it thus: "All the indications are that they were essentially a socially static group". Reay, *Microhistories*, pp. 133-155.

brothers going from Addlethorpe to the Middlesbrough and Durham area; two brothers, also from Addlethorpe migrating to locations near to each other in Yorkshire; and the Kemp brothers going to London. Burgh le Marsh had two brothers settling in the same street in Hull, and Smalley brothers from the same settlement moving to Northumberland, possible to join the male of the same surname from Addlethorpe, although a familial link has not been established. Three other sets of brothers migrated to the same areas from Burgh le Marsh, whilst the three Nicholson brothers from Eastville moved to London. No siblings from Ulceby have been reliably identified as having followed brothers to any other locations, but some migrants from the four settlements had moved to locations where there were no obvious family links. It is interesting, however, to have identified in-migrants to the four settlements whose sending communities were those locations – places such as Devon, Warwickshire and Northumberland/Durham.⁴⁸ This research has also found that migration from the four settlements that involved movement within Lincolnshire, extended from short distances of one mile to distances of approximately thirty miles, and within this range, many surnames appearing in the 1851 CEBs for either Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh, Ulceby with Fordington or Eastville, appear in one or more of the other settlements being analysed, and also in communities in and around the four settlements.⁴⁹

So, there is evidence of migratory patterns conforming to other people's research, in that the east coast Lincolnshire individuals, in some instances, followed kith and/or kin when deciding to leave their familiar surroundings. However, other research tends to veer towards large numbers of migrants leaving the countryside and verging on the urban and industrial conurbations, which was, of course, the reason for Ravenstein's analyses of the 1871 and 1881 Censuses of England and

⁴⁸ King and Timmins argued that kinship links may have been stronger than previous research had found, and the findings of this thesis does suggest some strong familial links, where brothers were prepared to migrate to the same urban areas. King and Timmins, *Making Sense*, p. 254. In addition, there is evidence from the research of the four settlements that there may have been some strong friendship or neighbourly connections as well.

⁴⁹ See Table 6.7

Wales. The growth of the capital city in particular, perturbed Ravenstein greatly, so he extracted the relevant figures from the census reports and concluded that people were moving to urban areas in their droves.⁵⁰

However, the evidence from the research involved for this thesis, does not agree with other people's evidence. Firstly, no-one else has approached the subject of migration in this manner, i.e. by following the life patterns of individuals in specific settlements or communities over a full half century. It has not been possible to reliably identify each and every male from the chosen four settlements, but most have been tracked for at least on census following the 1851 census, and many have been tracked throughout their lifetime. The information gathered from each census from 1851 to 1901, showing any changes in residence from one decade to the next, plus taking note of the birthplaces of any children born during those decades, helps to build a reasonable picture of an individual's migratory journey. In addition, the relevant CEBs were scrutinised when it was found that a male had migrated to a different county, to find out if there were other residents in the new locality who might have originated from the male's 'sending' community. Other people have taken specific communities and looked at in- or out-migration over two or three census years, but not over a full half century, and the life patterns of migration have not been researched. This research shows how different these four settlements were for the males mostly stayed within their familiar localities, or within Lincolnshire generally, and there appeared to be little use made of kith or kinship links.

Secondly, the research of education and the agricultural labouring community for this thesis, has produced some surprising results, in that the children of labourers were treated as workers in the field, rather than as children who needed to be educated in the three R's. It has been learned that Lincolnshire children were required for weeding, bird scarring and stone picking, therefore landowners and farmers were, by and large,

⁵⁰ Ravenstein, E.G., 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, (1885) 48, and (1889) 52.

not in favour of compulsory school attendance, and this reluctance seemed to have extended to the great estates of Northumberland as well. Hattersley comments that “Boys were also employed on estates as beaters for organized shoots.” She goes on to say that some teachers were not happy with that situation, and that “in 1890 the schoolmaster, Mr Charlton, wrote to the managers regarding boys ‘being taken away from school for purpose of “beating” on shooting days without the permission being asked of the Master”.⁵¹

Research into the life paths of the males resident in the settlements of Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh, Ulceby with Fordington and Eastville between 1851 and 1901 indicate that social mobility was unknown. Boys born into labouring families inevitably became labourers themselves, because they did not have access to schools. Even if there were more schools in a community rather than facilities shared by several geographically close villages such as Addlethorpe, Ulceby and Eastville who each shared just one school with at least one other community in their neighbourhood, they were not encouraged to attend school by the men with the authority i.e. the landowners and farmers. The children were more ‘valued’ for weeding, scarecrowing and picking stones in the fields. Burgh le Marsh did have the availability of offering more education to the residents, however, the schools were not board schools but run by the various religious denominations and payment was required in order to attend, so this financial liability plus the farmers wish to employ them, effectively limited any scholastic involvement. It was probably considered better to earn a few pennies on the farm and contribute to the family income, than to attend school.

In fact, one might argue that Lincolnshire was similar to Cumbria in northern England, which was the subject of Whyte’s focus. He quoted Searle who said that this region was an “odd corner of England” where rural society remained well behind the advances of the rest of the

⁵¹ Hattersley, A., ‘Paternalism and Education on Landed Estates in Rural Northumberland, 1850-1900’, *Northern History*, (March 2007), Volume XLIV, Number 1, p. 115.

country.⁵² This thesis indicates that the findings suggest that Lincolnshire was also “an odd corner of England”, and was a place that did not conform to the received opinion of what was happening in Britain at large. There is huge controversy over the subject of social mobility in nineteenth century England, with some historians’ research suggesting that the Industrial Revolution encouraged upward mobility in the north of the country, whilst the south did not benefit greatly.⁵³ Whyte thought that some might have been pulled towards the urban environment hoping to acquire new skills, higher wages and thus, a higher social status,⁵⁴ but Dentith focused on an hitherto ignored section of society, the ‘self-educators’. Dentith believed that “for some self-educators, doubtless, their pursuit of knowledge under difficulties was a form of self-help of the kind advocated by Samuel Smiles, and it led to their eventual translation out of their class”.⁵⁵ Finally on the subject of social mobility, Mingay summed up the position of the agricultural labourers studied in this thesis, when he commented “He [the labourer] was still too poorly educated, too ignorant, too apathetic and too lacking in initiative for that [independence].”⁵⁶

The composition of the migrating individuals will be interrogated through the final question outlined in Chapter One which is how far did the agricultural depression affect the lives of this predominantly rural and

⁵² Whyte, I.D., ‘Cumbrian village communities: continuity and change, c.1750-c. 1850’, *The Self-Contained Village*, (Hatfield, Herts: The University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), pp. 97ff.

⁵³ Boberg-Fazlic, N., and Sharp, P., ‘North and south – long-run social mobility in England and attitudes towards welfare’, *Cliometrica*, (2018), Number 12, pp. 251-276.

⁵⁴ Whyte, Ian D., *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 2000), p. 70.

⁵⁵ Dentith, S., *Society and Cultural Forms in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 60.

⁵⁶ Mingay, G. E., *Rural Life in Victorian England*, (Gt. Britain: William Heinemann Ltd., 1977) p. 226.

agricultural corner of England, and how far did the depression change men's working practices, forms of employment or places of residence. It is becoming evident from the research set out in this thesis, there were poor transport facilities; there was little or no industrial development; education depended on the whim of the county elite; and kith and kin interaction largely played out on a very local level. So, the number of males who migrated, their age ranges and their ability to cross social barriers; plus the problems associated with the agricultural depression will add to the general knowledge of life in the rural areas of England. Additionally, this work will add a further dimension to the micro-history relating to small, isolated communities, because no community has been subjected to such detailed research covering the lives of people over a period of half a century, as does this study. This is, in effect, new research not hitherto undertaken.

Chapter Seven: The Agricultural Depression

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we focus down onto the dominant occupation of both Lincolnshire people in general and those who lived, came to, and left the four communities that stand at the core of the thesis: agricultural workers. In particular, we will examine the effects that the Agricultural Depression during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century might have had on migration into and out of the four settlements. Chapters Three and Four analysed the basic mechanics of migration – who went where, who came in and how far they travelled. It was learned from those chapters collectively that most of the males who migrated from the four settlements remained in other settlements that were within twenty to thirty miles of their starting point. While unattached males who subsequently moved in proved to be a particularly fluid group in terms of subsequent migration, most other males who moved into the four settlements and then moved on again also tended to circulate in a narrow area.

The suggestion was that the absence of railway links to the large urban areas may have inhibited travel, as did the lack of major industrial development in Lincolnshire. In addition, there were few towns situated near to the railway line that ran through this eastern area, and this detail ties in with Bailey's exploration of migration in nineteenth Sussex, Devon and Norfolk. She suggested that the London to Brighton Railway which was in operation by 1841, some twenty years before railway building started in eastern Lincolnshire, reduced journey times considerably. However, she discovered that the people living in the villages situated near the track were not the major users of the railway. Instead, it was the towns in the vicinity of railway lines that "acted as hubs of information", and it was those places that "produced a significant percentage of migrants".¹ Bailey's research covered an area in southern England which

¹ Bailey, C., 'I'd heard it was such a grand place: Mid-19th Century Internal Migration to London', *Family & Community History*, (October 2011), Volume 14 Number 2, pp. 121-140.

was close to London, and was more densely populated than Lincolnshire. The railways she looked at served towns between Brighton and London, however, the railway line in eastern Lincolnshire was built to transport goods and fish from the Grimsby docks to Boston,² and the only towns between those two points were Louth and Alford, both of which were small market towns that had no rail connections to Lincoln or any part of England, save the Grimsby to Boston line. Thus Bailey's suggestion that migration only happened where railways were built in towns that therefore acted as hubs of information holds true. Returning to the Lincolnshire context, the area of the four communities also lacked an adequate educational system, and that also may have deterred movement and a change to a different form of employment. The result of poor transport facilities, little industrial growth, and poor education, seemingly gave family members or friends little encouragement to blaze a trail to the new industrial regions of Yorkshire or Lancashire, and no incentive to seek new lives in London. There were few familiar faces in distant potential host communities available to help and support new migrants from the four settlements. This is an important backdrop, but one further obvious question remains: how far did large exogenous shocks act as push factors from distant rural communities such as those in east Lincolnshire. The nineteenth-century has many such "shocks": Cholera, the cotton famines, the arrival of substantial numbers of Irish migrants before, during and after the famine, all of them willing to undercut local labour, and a host of others. It is, however, the great agricultural depression that was likely to have had most immediacy to Heads, sons and other males in the four settlements and we can use this period as a lens to understand the likely impact of such broad shocks on the migratory systems of rural England.³

Damage was certainly the topic in many newspapers, both in Britain and in America, with reports of the downturn in farming fortunes. For example,

² Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns*, p. 179.

³ The previous questions have examined the effects of the Industrial Revolution; the road, canal and rail networks; kith and kin connections; and educational changes upon the rural population, and these last two questions help to add a more rounded picture of life as lived in a rural and agricultural environment such as the east coast area of Lincolnshire.

the *London Telegraph* reported that “the depression in the agricultural districts is fully as great as it was represented by many speakers in the debate in the House of Commons ...” The report also said that the Midlands, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and unspecified other regions, suffered badly.⁴ The American newspaper, *The New York Times* stated in 1898, that the eastern counties and “some of the southern counties of England” were in a parlous state.⁵ Hence, the effects of the depression were severe, and there was a need for an examination of the effects on the populations of the settlements under investigation.

The sense of what we might expect to have been the impact based upon the second literature is contradictory. Some have argued that the depression was the cause of migration away from rural areas to the urban conurbations, as for instance Cooper found when studying migration in Cardiganshire. She learned that agricultural worker numbers had dropped markedly at the time of the depression.⁶ Her findings were also confirmed by McQuillan, who wrote that there was a “considerable outflow of population from its [England] rural agricultural counties” during the last half of the nineteenth century. McQuillan did not specifically ascribe the outmigration to the depression, however, he refers to the “last fifty years of the nineteenth century” therefore including that period in his observations.⁷ Reay also commented on the decrease in the agricultural labour force by 1891, but he did not attribute the fall in numbers to the depression, rather attributing it to young men moving from the locality being researched to seek farm work elsewhere.⁸ Recently, Hunt and Pam explored the depression by focusing on the farmers of Essex at that time. They found that the farms there had hitherto, relied largely on the production grain crops, and as a result of severe bad weather, the farms

⁴ The *London Telegraph*, March 26, Proquest Historical Newspapers

⁵ *New York Times* (1857-1922: March 20, 1898), ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶ Cooper, K J., *Exodus from Cardiganshire: Rural-Urban Migration in Victorian Britain*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

⁷ McQuillan, K., ‘Economic Factors and Internal Migration: The Case of Nineteenth Century England’, *Social Science History*, (Autumn, 1980), Volume 4, Number 4, pp. 479-499.

⁸ Reay, B., *Microhistories: Demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 25-26.

were in grave difficulties. Contemporary observers had come to the conclusion that the farmers were “stubborn, short-sighted, and prepared to let land lie derelict rather than adopt alternatives to cereals.” Hunt and Pam’s research had found that there was evidence of Scots migrating south to farm in Essex in the 1880s, and they noted that they were dairy farmers who brought their farming methods with them. Those methods proved successful, and were additionally helped by the locations of the farms, which were close to the railway linking them to the London market. It seems from this research that if the farming community was prepared to change the style of farming the agricultural depression was less likely to bite.⁹ The impression received was that out-migration from rural areas was happening across the country, but there appeared to be little consensus on cause. So, an analysis of the four settlements had been necessary in order to cast some light of the effects, if any, of the agricultural depression upon the eastern side of Lincolnshire.

The Royal Commission of 1897, which investigated the circumstances of the great depression found four points of interest:

1 The causes of this were (i) the east and south suffered unfavourable seasons beginning in 1892 and including two years, 1893 and 1895, of exceptional drought, the former being 'quite unprecedented', whilst the north and west had 'enjoyed far more favourable conditions'; (2) the east and south suffered greater in proportion because they were the chief wheat growing districts; (3) there was a comparative absence of small farms in the south and east and small farmers had done better owing to a preponderance of family labour, more attention to smaller products, and more dairying than corn growing; (4) 'burdens on land' in the south

⁹ Hunt, E.H., and Pam, S.J., ‘Agricultural Depression in England, 1873-96: skills transfer and the ‘Redeeming Scots’, *The Agricultural History Review*, (2011), Volume 59, Number 1.

*and east in the shape of tithe, land tax, and local rates were as a rule much heavier.*¹⁰

Lincolnshire was included in the Royal Commission of 1897, which looked into the facts or fiction surrounding the depression. Francis Allerton Channing MP reported on his study of the evidence contained in the Royal Commission, and the conclusions he drew were that Lincolnshire had a diversity of soils, (the geology of Lincolnshire was discussed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis) therefore the effects of the depression were not so great as in other English regions, or as Channing put it "... where the nature of the soil has led to mixed farming, there the losses and deterioration of agriculture have been materially lessened."¹¹

7.2 The macro-influences of the agricultural depression on Lincolnshire

The agricultural depression which ranged from 1873 to 1896 was chosen as the final question for this thesis, because east Lincolnshire was predominantly agricultural in character. There was a wide range of farm sizes, from those of several hundred acres, to small cottager holdings with between one or two acres up to around ten to twenty acres. Wheat and other cereals were found by Fletcher, to be major crops in many parts of England,¹² but in the area of the four settlements, the emphasis was on vegetables crops, and as Turner explained, "[T]he lighter side of the depression was the relatively better fortunes enjoyed by the pasture farmers," because the coastal strip of east Lincolnshire, providing rich grazing land for fattening the Lincolnshire Wold sheep and cattle.¹³ This type of farming was also evidenced by Perry, who found that "there was relative absence of failure in the grazing counties of the east Midlands, on

¹⁰ Fletcher, T.W., 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture 1873-1890', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, (1961), Volume 13, Number 3.

¹¹ Allson Channing, F., M.P., 'The Truth About Agricultural Depression', *An Economic Study of the Evidence of the Royal Commission*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897).

¹² Fletcher, Great Depression, pp. 417-432.

¹³ Turner, M., 'Agriculture 1860-1914', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 133-160.

the Jurassic limestone from Dorset to Lincolnshire".¹⁴ There was, then, some indications that the farmers and cottagers of the four settlements which were situated in or close to the Fens and coastal strip, fared better during the depression, than some others. There was a mixture of arable and pastoral farming, with the marshland areas extensively used for grazing and fattening animals for market. The Lincolnshire Wolds, which were the uplands of the county, were moving by this time, from animal husbandry to arable farming, as the farmers learned to make use of fertilisers to enrich the soil.¹⁵ The change to arable farming helped the Lincolnshire uplands to become a principle wheat-growing region.

The chapter then continues the examination of the four settlements by analysing the numbers of farmers and agricultural labourers resident in each settlement between 1851 and 1901, including the residents of 1851 and capturing the incomers that arrived in the communities after 1851.

7.3 The agricultural workforce of the four settlements

Table 7.1 The composition of the Agricultural Workforce

		Addlethorpe			Burgh le M			Ulceby			Eastville		
		R*	Inc**	Total	R*	Inc*	Total	R*	Inc*	Total	R*	Inc**	Total
1851	Farmers	16	0	16	40	0	40	9	0	9	10	0	10
	Ag. Labs	48	0	48	140	0	140	51	0	51	60	0	60
1851-61	Farmers	17	7	24	28	8	36	3	3	6	9	5	14
	Ag. Labs	48	23	71	97	20	117	23	19	42	23	72	95
1861-71	Farmers	9	5	14	30	18	48	3	1	4	15	5	20
	Ag. Labs	24	18	42	90	67	157	10	31	41	37	47	84
1871-81	Farmers	6	6	12	19	18	37	1	0	1	1	6	7
	Ag. Labs	20	23	43	39	51	90	7	29	36	4	63	67
1881-91	Farmers	2	10	12	11	17	28	1	0	1	0	4	4
	Ag. Labs	9	32	41	35	31	66	0	28	28	0	48	48
1891-1901	Farmers	24	10	34	6	21	27	0	6	6	0	3	3
	Ag. Labs	34	19	53	12	29	41	0	75	75	0	47	47

*Residents **Incomers

¹⁴ Perry, P. J., 'Where was the 'Great Agricultural Depression'? A Geography of Agricultural Bankruptcy in Late Victorian England and Wales', *The Agricultural History Review*, (1972), Volume 20, Number 1, pp.30-45.

¹⁵ Brown, J., *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945*, (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 2005), pp. 69-70.

The analysis might be expected to have reflected the dire situation in which the agricultural depression had plunged England. However, Table 7.1 indicates that, although the population numbers for the four settlements fluctuated overall throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, with Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh and Ulceby losing population by 1901, and Eastville gaining in numbers, it is apparent that individuals were migrating into the communities, and in some instances, replacing the out-migrants, those who had reached an age when they could no longer work, had retired, or had died. For example, the number of Addlethorpe agricultural labourers had peaked by the 1861 census, but ten years later at the 1871 census the number of labourers was almost at the same level as in 1851, and remained steady at just over forty agricultural labourers for the rest of the century. This is in spite of the agricultural depression, and in spite of the advent of automation in the fields. The number of farmers in Addlethorpe who worked twenty one acres or more had more than trebled by 1901, and the cottagers who farmed small acreages of twenty or less, no longer existed by the time of the 1901 census. This may be explained by the remarkable rise in larger farms absorbing the land once tilled by cottagers, because the 1861 CEBs lists fourteen cottagers but that number dropped to one in 1871, and never really recovered.

Burgh le Marsh experienced a gain in farmers, cottagers and agricultural labourers between 1861 and 1871 with forty eight farmers and cottagers, and one hundred and fifty seven agricultural labourers. The numbers of all the agricultural occupations then dropped and the settlement experienced the most losses in agricultural workers from 1881 to 1901, with farmers falling from forty in 1851 to twenty seven in 1901. Those men who worked a few acres – the cottagers who had twenty or less acres numbered fourteen in 1851, rising to twenty six by 1871, but then the numbers fell to just one cottager listed in the 1901 CEBs. This drastic reduction may be attributed to land consolidation, with individual landowners and tenants becoming fewer but holding greater acreages. The number of agricultural labourers, however, was reduced in number the most in Burgh le Marsh,

gradually dropping from a work force of one hundred and forty in 1851 to forty one by 1901.

Ulceby was the smallest of the four settlements with one hundred and ninety one inhabitants in 1851, as compared to two hundred and eighty eight in Addlethorpe, one thousand two hundred and thirteen in Burgh le Marsh, and two hundred and seventeen in Eastville.¹⁶ The agricultural workforce of this settlement also exhibited the same drop in numbers of both the farmers and the agricultural labourers during the half century, with a steady reduction of farmers (cottagers were not a great feature of this community with only three listed in the 1851 CEBs and none by 1901), from nine in 1851 throughout the next four decades, but then Table 7.1 reveals a remarkable rise between 1891 and 1901 with six farmers listed in the Ulceby CEBs. The agricultural labourers resident in the settlement showed a reduction of numbers between 1871 and 1891, but from fifty one in 1851, a small reduction in the next two censuses and then two censuses indicating sharp declines. Yet between 1891 and 1901, the number agricultural labourers, all of whom were incomers to the settlement, rose to seventy five and the labouring workforce ended the century with twenty four more agricultural workers than there were in 1851, in spite of mechanisation.

Eastville had a population similar to that of Addlethorpe, and was an area of large farms. The ten large farms listed in the 1851 CEBs had contracted to three by 1901, although there was an increase to twenty farmers and cottagers by the time of the 1871 census. Cottagers, those farmers who cultivated a few acres, and were the reason that the settlement was created at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in order to encourage labourers to stay on the land and help to ensure the nation's food supply, had all but disappeared by 1851. There was only one cottager listed in the 1851 Eastville CEBs, and it was not until the 1881 census that cottagers were to be found in the settlement once more, where there were four listed, but by 1901 the total had fallen back to one

¹⁶ See Chapter 2, page 29.

again. It was noted that there were nine farmers and one cottager in the 1851 CEBs for the settlement, and two farmers and one cottager to be found in the 1901 census, demonstrating the change in farm acreage over the half century, from farms of relatively few acres, to farms cultivating several hundred acres. The agricultural labouring force in the settlement also, as with the other settlements showed a rise in numbers from sixty in 1851 to ninety five during the following ten years, but then decreased over the following forty years to forty seven between 1891 and 1901.

The farmer and agricultural populations in the four settlements differed in numbers between 1851 and 1901. Addlethorpe and Eastville both had increases in farmers and agricultural labourers between 1851 and 1861. The Addlethorpe farmers' numbers rose in that time by sixty point six per cent from sixteen to twenty four, and Eastville's farmers' numbers rose by seventy one point four per cent, from ten farmers in 1851 to fourteen by the time of the 1861 census. The agricultural population of Burgh le Marsh and Ulceby dropped in number between the same dates, with Burgh le Marsh farmers showing a small decrease of ten per cent, as compared to Ulceby's farmers' population falling by forty per cent. However, the Ulceby figure was small at nine in 1851 and six by 1861, thus this drop may have simply been a case of three smaller farms merging with larger ones. The agricultural labourers in both settlements experienced a similar drop in numbers at around twenty per cent. The populations of agricultural workers in all the settlements fluctuated over the remaining years of the nineteenth century, but by the 1891-1901 decade, there was a marked change. Addlethorpe was the only settlement to have an increase in farmers (forty seven per cent), while Ulceby, having lost farmers throughout the half century, had regained its 1851-1861 number of six. Burgh le Marsh and Eastville exhibited large falls in both farmers and agricultural labourers. Burgh le Marsh's farmers dropped by forty eight per cent, but the agricultural labourers had a massive drop from one hundred and forty labourers in 1851 to just forty one by 1901. In Eastville it was the farmers who decreased – by two hundred and forty per cent – although it needs to be pointed out that in 1851 Eastville had ten farmers whilst fifty

years later there were three. Thus, this lower figure suggests amalgamation of farms rather than farmers leaving the land. Eastville's agricultural labourers also fell in number over the same time span, but by, in comparison, a mere twenty eight per cent. The agricultural depression had come about because of "a run of exceptionally bad seasons, in which poor weather led to poor harvests and some disastrous financial results for farmers".¹⁷ However, by the turn of the new century, farmers were adapting and profits were being made once more as wheat prices rose from twenty two shillings per quarter in 1894, to thirty three shillings per quarter in 1898. The recovery was slow, prices rose and fell¹⁸ but the agricultural population began to experience positive changes. I suggest that the rise in both farmers and agricultural labourers in Addlethorpe was very likely because the area supported small farmers or cottagers who produced vegetables rather than wheat, and who could offer rich grazing land on which the Wolds farmers could fatten their livestock. Ulceby had experienced a large increase in labourers by 1901 but the number of farmers stayed fairly steady, thus the indications are that conditions had improved to the extent that more labour was needed in that settlement. The settlements showed quite different results in the analysis of the farming population, which almost certainly suggests that the different topography as discussed in Chapter One influenced people's occupations.

At the time of the agricultural depression, between the censuses of 1871 and 1901, the incomer population of each settlement was mostly robust. Thus there were sixteen farmers or cottager farmers, cottagers resident in Addlethorpe in 1851, and by 1871 incomers had taken the number up to twenty four men farming twenty one or more acres. 1881 seemed to be the time when possibly the agricultural depression affected the farming community in Addlethorpe. It was from this date a fall in the number of farmers and cottagers was noticeable, even though then however, the agricultural labourers continued to be represented in robust figures. The

¹⁷ Brown, *Farming*, p. 120.

¹⁸ Brown, *Farming*, p. 179.

other three settlements showed the numbers of farmers, cottagers and labourers fluctuated markedly over the half century, all dipping between 1871 and 1891, but all gaining some ground by the time of the 1901 census. Addlethorpe and Ulceby, which were, arguably the most isolated of the settlements showed, surprisingly, the most increase in the labouring population, whilst Burgh le Marsh and Eastville lost agricultural population. Those two places were dissimilar in size of inhabitants, but one, Burgh le Marsh, benefitted from its more diverse population comprising the farming fraternity, tradesmen, artisans, Anglican schools and retirees, who would have been able to publicise working opportunities in other areas. Eastville, the other settlement that lost farming populace, although smaller in size, was situated within ten miles of Boston, which was a busy port, wool marketing town, and had rail links to the rest of the country, thus offering would-be migrants the opportunity to move away from the settlement.

Overall, however, Table 7.1 indicates that instead of males leaving the land because of the depression, they were remaining or migrating into the settlements. In the case of the four settlements, there was an average of more than thirty eight per cent influx into each place over the half century. Such observations coincide with Haresign's contention that small farms were better able to withstand the problems of the agricultural depression because they were less affected by foreign competition. Those small farmers or cottagers he explained, could focus on fruits, vegetables, poultry and dairy products.¹⁹ Nonetheless, and as Table 7.1 hints, the small farms and the cottagers were in decline throughout the second half century, for the sum total of farmers in the four settlements with acreage of twenty or less in 1901 was two, as compared to twenty six in 1851. Larger farms of twenty one or more acres rose from fifty five in 1851 to seventy by 1901, and was almost certainly because farms had amalgamated and become larger, and had also incorporated the smaller

¹⁹ Haresign, S. R., 'Small Farms and Allotments as a Cure for Rural Depopulation on the Lincolnshire Fenland 1870-1914', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, (1983), Volume 18.

'cottager' establishments into their acreages. The agricultural labour force more widely was robust with the number of three hundred and seventy four farmers and agricultural labourers resident in the four settlements in 1851 decreasing by thirty one per cent to two hundred and eighty six by 1901, suggesting that as the farms increased in size, even with the growing availability of agricultural machinery, the toil of the labourer was still needed.

The question of why the eastern Lincolnshire farms fared better during the depression has not been answered, however. Haresign (as we have seen) and others have posited that the small farms and cottagers were the saviour of the farming community at that time, but the figures extracted from the 1851 to 1901 censuses point in the opposite direction, for the cottagers disappeared and the large farms grew. Nevertheless, the labouring force did not seem to be greatly affected, for Table 7.1 illustrated that throughout the half century agricultural labourers from other areas were available to fill empty places. The prosperity of this area was probably due to the type of crops grown, which was borne out by Haresign when (we saw above) he said that fruit, vegetables, poultry and dairy products were not affected by competition from other countries. The soil of the Outer Marsh (Addlethorpe) and the Fen Margin (Eastville) was highly rich and was therefore very productive, whilst the soil of the Middle Marsh (Burgh le Marsh) and the southern tip of the Wolds (Ulceby), was supportive of cattle and sheep aided by the rich grassland on the outer Marsh which was used for fattening the stock prior to market.

There is, in fact, little evidence that rural migration from this area had any connection with the depression.²⁰ In the four settlements, large farms with larger acreage became dominant, and people were still moving into the settlements as shown in Table 7.1. Consequently, the conclusion to be drawn regarding the fall in the numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers during the years up to and following the 1871 census returns for the four settlements, may have been simpler. It may have been a case of

²⁰ Banks, J.A., 'Population Change and the Victorian City', *Victorian Studies*, Volume II, Number 3, pp. 277-289.

the existing residents having reached an age when they could no longer work, or had died, therefore there were occupational vacancies for immigrants to the settlements. In short, the drop in the number of agricultural workers in the years surrounding the 1871 census may not have been due to the agricultural depression that was affecting other parts of the country, but merely because the residents of the settlements were no longer present in a working capacity. Some support for this view emerges if we think about further lessons of Chapters Three and Four: though there were flourishing engineering firms in the county based in Lincoln, Grantham and Gainsborough, and though all those towns were situated on the western side of Lincolnshire, close to the Nottinghamshire border,²¹ labourers did not migrate to those towns, any more than they moved out of the county to other places that were involved in industrial development. They, and the farmers who employed them, seem to have been locked in a circulatory migration system which was remarkably resilient in the face of exogenous shock.

7.4 Conclusion

Having accurately identified the male residents as far as was possible, it seems that the position of the farming community in eastern Lincolnshire, was healthier than that of farmers in some of the other areas of England. The *New York Times* had highlighted the plight of those farmers in its article of 1898: “the position of tenant farmers must, with few exceptions, be described as a critical one”.²² The newspaper article was published in 1898, but as Brown suggested earlier, improvement was already being experienced in Lincolnshire. Some anomalies, however, have appeared. The four settlements progressively lost small farms and the occupation of cottager virtually stopped appearing in the CEBs. This could only mean that farms had grown larger by absorbing the smaller establishments. Certainly, the farming population grew less over the half century, and the figures for farmers and labourers in Burgh le Marsh and Eastville indicate

²¹ Wright, N., R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914*, ((Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1982), pp. 137ff.

²² Agricultural Depression in England, from the Yale Review, *New York Times* (1857-1922): Mar 20, 1898, Proquest Historical Newspapers: The *New York Times* with Index

a quite considerable reduction. For example, Burgh le Marsh had forty farmers and one hundred and forty agricultural labourers listed in the 1851 CEBs, but only twenty seven farmers and forty one labourers in the 1901 census. Eastville, similarly had losses, with ten farmers and sixty agricultural labourers in 1851, and three farmers plus forty seven agricultural labourers in 1901. Incomer farm workers were still entering the settlements, but the suggestion has to be that the farmers were fewer, partly because of old age and death, but also because the farms were larger. Also, not so many labouring men were required possibly because mechanisation was more readily available. In short, the agricultural depression appeared to have had little effect on the migratory patterns of the males of these settlements. Even at the close of the century they chose to remain in rural surroundings. They did not alter their migratory journeys but continued moving within a very limited area, and they did not alter their occupations.

Chapter Eight will reflect on the migration choices of the males in the four settlements between 1851 and 1901, by returning to the preceding chapters and drawing the research together, from the examination of the regionality, and scale, to the composition of migration in the area. From there, the innovations in transport and the industrial advances will be linked with the possibility that kith and/or kin and education made a difference to the migration choices of the males of four settlements. The agricultural depression will finish a retrospective look at the analysis so far. Chapter Eight will also bring the analysis up-to-date by looking at the four settlements in the present day, to see what changes have come about, if any.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter looks back over Chapters One to Seven and reflects on the research that was discussed in relation to the migratory patterns of males who resided for a sufficiently long time to be picked up in the nineteenth-century censuses for the four settlements of Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh, Ulceby and Eastville. The settlements were situated in the far eastern area of Lincolnshire which is a good focus for the research because it is an isolated part of England that has been overlooked in historical research on migration in England and Wales. The research has focused on four themes: the regionality of migration from the settlements; the scale of that migration; its composition; and some of the potential macro- and micro-explanations for the patterns that we can observe. The latter included, inter alia: whether transport and industrial development in Lincolnshire and the wider regional context affected men's motivation to move; whether migrants might have been motivated by kith and kin presence in other areas; whether the implementation of the Education Act in 1873 helped men from the settlements to increase their occupational choices, and thus influenced migrational patterns; and whether the agricultural depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century impacted on the agricultural workforce sufficiently to influence the scale, direction and composition of migration.

Throughout the chapters it was emphasised that the reasons for electing to focus only on males were for ease of identification purposes, because women usually changed surnames upon marriage, and because there were a number of females who shared the same names, birthplaces and ages in the settlements, making them hard to accurately identify. The weakness of excluding females from the analysis is that only half the picture of migration is seen. Men may have been motivated to migrate because females had migrated. Thus the receiving destination may have been determined by female migration. Nevertheless, the analysis of the male Heads of Household and their sons (including the incomer males)

has shown good results with over half having been reliably identified in subsequent censuses. The unattached males living away from home, including both the males living in the settlements in 1851 and the incomers after that date, have not been successfully identified. There was no means of record linkage with those males, therefore less than half of these males in each of the settlements between 1851 and 1901 have been identified after their first appearance. Chapter Eight reflects broadly on these questions and themes and will also bring the discussion forward to the twenty first century in order to discover how the passage of one hundred and fifty years has changed life in the Lincolnshire communities.

8.2 The Chapters

Chapter One explored the literature pertaining to migration in England and Wales in general, and there was a discussion of the lack of research into migration in Lincolnshire. The merits of a macro-historical approach were discussed in Chapter Two with the explanation that it involved the examination of the history of a region or country on a general level. This was then contrasted with micro-history or total history, which focuses on the history of specific smaller areas or places in relation to the events of the wider world. The discussion centred on the advantages of using the micro-history approach, in order that the small migratory moves would then be highlighted. Chapter Two continued by looking at the geological aspects of Lincolnshire, and the different types of soil composition which offered diverse growing mediums. The population statistics of the county were examined and indicated that Lincolnshire was sparsely populated. There then followed a discussion on the sorts of industry to be found in the county, and it was established that the engineering factories which were highly successful, were all located on the western side of Lincolnshire. This had ensured that they had access to the roads, canals and railways serving the West Midlands and the routes to London. The chapter closed with an introduction to the four settlements to be analysed throughout the thesis. Their locations, population numbers, and the different types of agricultural production were presented. The focus for Chapter Three was the four settlements of Addlethorpe, Burgh le Marsh,

Ulceby and Eastville, and the chapter examined the migratory patterns of the three cohorts of males within each settlement – the Heads of Household, the sons of the female and male Heads, and the males living away from home. The cohorts analysed were those males who had been resident in the settlements at the time of the 1851 census, or were the sons of Heads who had been born after that date. The discussion continued in Chapter Four which looked at the in and out migrations of the three cohorts of males who moved into the settlements after 1851. The analyses of all of the males tracked their movements between 1851 and 1901 as far as was possible. This was a complex process involving linking family members details to the male being traced. For example, a Head of Household could be traced by making sure that his name, place of birth and occupation agreed from one census to the next. It was accepted that the age given might differ by one or two years (it seldom strayed further than that). Assuming that the Head's details agreed, his wife's details and his children's information would also be checked. If those details agreed, then that male was marked as identified. Of course, a wife may have died, the Head may have remarried, but if his details still tallied and his children's information remained the same, he was still marked as identified. The same process was followed with the sons who were tracked via the parental details, and when they moved from the family home if their details still agreed with the information from the previous CEBs, then they were marked as identified. The births, marriages and deaths civil records were also consulted for additional information, thus the results for the Heads of Household and their sons, both for the 1851 residents and for the incomers, was largely successful with more reliably identified males than those who were unidentifiable. Therefore an excellent picture was revealed of the migratory patterns of males in east Lincolnshire.

Chapters Three and Four provide a good picture of male migration in this area. We have seen that the Heads of Household and their sons, between 1851 and 1901, were remarkably stable in their migratory patterns. They tended to remain within the county, and mostly only migrated up to thirty

miles away from the settlements. Their migratory patterns were largely circular in character and remained rural in location. Movement to urban areas was not common, and movement to London was rarer still. As previously commented, the unattached males were harder to identify, however, those whose details were captured, also remained in Lincolnshire. Even if migrating further afield, they, like the Heads and sons, remained in employment as agricultural workers. The settlement that stood out as being slightly different in the character of its migration patterns, was Eastville. Here there was more movement out of the settlement for all the male cohorts. It may have been because, as commented in earlier chapters, Eastville was a newly formed township aimed at helping agricultural workers to own a few acres of land to provide a living for themselves. Also, because the settlement had only been created by Act of Parliament in the early 1830s, there were few long-term family links or community traditions associated with the place, thus there were few ties to persuade inhabitants to stay.

Having established the evidence of migration in and out of the four settlements, Chapter Five looked at the journeys men made in terms of distance and receiving communities. Using the first two questions, the chapter studied the impact of the transport systems on the migration journeys, and in particular, whether the improved roads, the canals and the explosion of railway building, motivated males to migrate away from rural areas and move to the urban environment. The second question related to any evidence that the growth of industrialisation in the country, and the new mechanisation which had facilitated woollen cloth and cotton manufacturing in the burgeoning mill towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire affected migration patterns. The research, however, did not find movement from the four settlements to those places where the Industrial Revolution was at its greatest. Even though males were found to have migrated to Yorkshire, Lancashire and London, they did not find work in the spinning and weaving factories, but mostly stayed on the land or followed occupations with which they would have been familiar, such as waggoner, horse keeping or cab driving (using horses). It was found that

some males did take up labouring in the steel and iron works in Sheffield and Middlesbrough, but they were always working as labourers. London drew some migrants who mostly became railway employees as porters, signalmen, or, in just two cases, men worked their way up the hierarchy and were employed as station masters in the West Midlands and Yorkshire. However, the instances of males leaving the settlements and moving to towns were few, and their job opportunities if they did migrate was still labouring work. But most migrants either moved within Lincolnshire which was a rural county so they continued working as agricultural labourers, or even when migrating further afield, they remained in agricultural type occupations. The chapter argued that initially, from the beginning of the study in 1851, until about the mid-1870s, long distance migration would have been difficult because the roads were either poor, or turnpike roads were few; there were not many canals and they were of insufficient mileage; and the railway age did not touch the area under investigation until well into the period being researched. However, by the mid-1870s, access to the rest of England could have been achieved by rail travel, and information via word of mouth and newspapers would have been available. Nevertheless, the males from the four settlements were not seduced by better and more regular pay in the mill towns, and did not migrate in any large numbers to the cities such as Manchester or London. They did not leave the agricultural life.

Chapter Six examined a further two questions. The first referred to the existence of kith and kin links in receiving communities, and examined if the presence of familiar faces might have encouraged movement away from the settlements. Anderson, when researching migration into Preston, Lancashire, suggested that incomers to the town often relied on the support of members of the family who had moved there in previous years.¹ Reay had found that the assistance of friends was also important

¹ Anderson, M., *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

when he studied family and friendship relationships in an area of Kent.² However, the research into the male inhabitants of this area of Lincolnshire found limited instances of either kith or kin links in the receiving settlements to which the males migrated. There were examples of brothers following each other, for example, three brothers from Addlethorpe, settled in Middlesbrough and Durham; four brothers from Eastville, migrated south to London and the Home Counties; and two brothers from Burgh le Marsh, were found to be living a few doors from each other in a street in Grimsby. Yet these examples are almost the sum total of family links to be found when tracing the males of the settlements. There are no obvious friendship links to be found at all, save that one or two migrants were found on CEBs to be living in the same area as others from the Lincolnshire area, but not from the same settlements. The second question asked in Chapter Six was that of the education provision evident in the four settlements. It was queried whether the improved educational system as set out in the 1873 Education Act with the requirement of children to attend school until the age of twelve, helped men's employment prospects, and if there was evidence of social mobility among the males in the four settlements. Research found that the three smaller settlements of Addlethorpe, Ulceby and Eastville, had only one establishment each and shared that facility with at least one other settlement situated nearby. Children up to the age of ten, and after 1873, up to the age of twelve, were taught in these schools. There are no school records available for the settlements, but usually there would have been a trained teacher assisted by pupil teachers. The larger settlement of Burgh le Marsh fared better and had a school supported by the Anglican Church, and staffed by clerics, in addition to a National School. However, the farmers in this highly agricultural region opposed education provision for the children of their labourer employees. Children were considered part of the farming workforce – stone picking, weed clearing, scarecrowing, and helping at planting and harvest time - so their attendance at school was sporadic at best. Therefore children from labouring families entered adult

² Reay, B., *Microhistories*, ((Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

life with a rudimentary knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, which did not prepare them for occupations other than labouring for a living. In addition, it was found that sons of tradesmen and craftsmen tended to follow their fathers into the same occupation. Frequently, sons of drapers were apprenticed in towns in the East Midlands, or south Yorkshire at the age of approximately twelve years, in order to learn the trade. Sons of craftsmen such as cordwainers and blacksmiths, were taught by their fathers, so almost certainly, were working at a young age. It signifies that, with the exception of the sons of more affluent farmers, who were sent away to boarding schools, the young males from these settlements entered adulthood with little education, and were inevitably channelled into continuing in the occupations that were followed by their fathers. The survey of educational provision led to the conclusion that the prime reason that males did not leave the land and seek different employment in the towns and cities, was because they had not been offered the educational means to do so. Much was made at the time of 'bettering' oneself,³ and of achieving ways of attaining social mobility, but without reading, writing and arithmetic ability, work that was superior to labouring on the fields was unobtainable.

When the migration of males (including the incomers) to and from the four settlements as presented in Chapters Five and Six is taken together, the conclusion suggests that the unavailability of a good transport system was not a factor. Even the information gained from the later CEBs at the close of the century, indicates that transport still would not have been important. Men from the settlements were unable to access different and possibly better occupations away from Lincolnshire in the industrial and urban environments, because the lack of education hindered their prospects. Farmers required children for work on their fields, which ensured that attendance at school was haphazard to say the least, and the labouring families needed the income that their children provided. Thus, social mobility was not a feature of life in this area of Lincolnshire, and any

³ Dentith, S., *Society and Cultural Forms in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 60.

inclination to move away from familiar surroundings was severely hampered. The earlier question in the chapter asking whether family or friend links were applicable is also relevant to the query regarding education. The same lack of education would have applied to other people who could have migrated in previous years and therefore could have offered useful links in the form of information relating to work opportunities, or offered accommodation. They too would not have had the educational skills to equip them for life other than agricultural employment. Therefore even work in the mills and factories of Yorkshire and Lancashire did not offer motivation to migrate away from the rural setting. For if the men had little formal education, no family or friends to help them in new surroundings, and poor transport links, then the Industrial Revolution was irrelevant to them. Social mobility for the men in these four settlements did not take place. In effect, as the CEBs showed, a son born to an agricultural labourer in the four settlements, was inevitably going to follow the same occupation.

Chapter Seven focused on just one theme which was the particular impact of the agricultural depression of the last quarter of the nineteenth century as an example of a macro-shock on the migration system of the four settlements. The farmers and the agricultural labourers were the specific focus, and only one question was asked. It referred to the impact the agricultural depression of the last twenty five years of the nineteenth century may have had on the agricultural workforce. In the analysis the males of the four settlements were not divided into three cohorts as in previous chapters, but simply put into either the “farmer” group or the “agricultural labourer” group, but with separate figures for the incomers to each settlement. Each community was looked at separately and each decade from one census year to the next was analysed. Apart from Burgh le Marsh, which showed losses of both farmers and agricultural labourers between 1871 and 1901, there were only small declines in the farming community in the other three settlements. However, when the statistics for the incomer farmers and agricultural labourers are analysed, it is noteworthy that men were arriving in the settlements after 1851 and up to

1901 to work as agricultural labourers. A total of thirty eight farmers (average seven) farmers migrated into Addlethorpe during that time, and one hundred and fifteen (average twenty three) agricultural labourers also moved there; Burgh le Marsh welcomed eighty two farmers (average thirty nine) and one hundred and ninety eight or an average of sixteen agricultural labourers into the settlement during the same fifty years; ten (average two) farmers migrated to Ulceby, but one hundred and eight two (average thirty six) labourers made Ulceby their home, but whilst Eastville only averaged four farmers (twenty three in total), there was a remarkable two hundred and seventy seven or an average of fifty five incomer agricultural labourers during that time. These incomer results showed that although the numbers of agricultural workers were fewer in Burgh le Marsh and Eastville at the end of the century than at the middle, large numbers of men, particularly agricultural labourers were migrating into the communities throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The conclusion reached in the chapter was that the agricultural depression did not drive a marked movement away from the land, and in fact, the analysis shows us that there was marked movement *into* all the settlements, with specific reference to two of the smallest ones – Addlethorpe and Ulceby – where the incomer agricultural labouring workers were especially plentiful.

The examination of the migratory patterns of males from four settlements in Lincolnshire has revealed contrasts with the secondary literature on the subject of migration. I have made many comparisons with Pooley and Turnbull's iconic study. One major difference between their work and this thesis is that they used the data gathered by several thousands of family history researchers for analysis.⁴ My own research on the four Lincolnshire settlements, mines down to the detailed characteristics of a set of small communities in one area of the country, however there are similarities in the research. My research agrees with Pooley and Turnbull's study that circulatory moves were usual between settlements

⁴ Pooley, C.G., and Turnbull, J., *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1998).

close to one another, and that moves from small settlements to large ones were more likely to take place over long distances. They also contend that there was much movement between urban and rural places but this has not been found to be the cases with the four settlements. The difference lies in the fact that few of the males from any of the four settlements made those long distance moves. In contrast, Anderson selected a one in ten sample of Preston, Lancashire for his research on migration, and used the data from the 1841 to 1861 censuses (the only censuses publicly available at the time of his study). The difference between Anderson's research and this work is that he looked especially at the role of kith and kinship in migration and the interplay between family and friends who had already settled in Preston, but he focused on migration to the town and not forward movement from that place to any other destination.⁵

Anderson's core finding was that there were family or friend links in Preston who would have been available to offer accommodation and help in finding work for the incomers. There was, he found, a solid community of people who could welcome and ease the migrants move to urban life. My research did not find any meaningful numbers of kith or kin relationships that the migrants from the four settlements might have followed when moving, particularly when migrating away from Lincolnshire and settling in an urban environment. Neither Pooley and Turnbull or Anderson took a set of small communities and focused entirely on the migratory patterns of individuals over a long period of time, and linked the data to the events that were possibly impacting on their lives, occupations and reasons to migrate or remain.

"The implications of the microstudy ..." was the term used by Reay when introducing his study of Blean in Kent. He used family reconstruction; births, marriages and deaths records; court, school and newspaper information, in order to research his chosen area. However, although he focused on the particular and specific aspects of life in nineteenth-century Kent,⁶ he did not use his data to follow individuals throughout their

⁵ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 19.

⁶ Reay, *Microhistories*.

lifetimes, or track their migration journeys as does this thesis. Reay's focus was levelled on the inhabitants of Blean and he looked at their demography, society and their culture, he did not actually study migration. In fact, a glance at the index of *Microhistories* and it can be noted that "migration" does not have an entry. Anderson suggested that kinship ties were not important when young people grew to adulthood, however he maintained that there times in life when help and support was vital, he believed that it was "advisable, or even well-nigh essential, for kinsman to make every effort to keep in contact with and to enter into reciprocal assistance with kinsman, if life chances were not to be seriously imperilled".⁷ The majority of the males who moved away from the four settlements went short distances to other small communities, where it was almost certain that they would have had either familial or friend contact relatively near. However, this research established from examination of the relevant CEBs, that there was no evidence of kith or kin, or even individuals who had migrated from the same general area as the males who had migrated away from Lincolnshire. Anderson also maintained that because of the migrational movement from a town's hinterland into the town, they "were often *united* into *one* kinship network with *reciprocal* exchange of services, and, indeed, reciprocal transfer of members".⁸ This reciprocity and "support network" simply did not exist in or around the four settlements. This was quite different to the research by Anderson. Overall, it was discovered that migration away from the rural to the urban setting was not general. It was also discovered that the large urban centres, the mill towns and factory towns were not necessarily magnets for the inhabitants of rural Lincolnshire, and it was discovered that London held little attraction for the residents of this area of the county.

8.3 Conclusion

Chapters One to Seven covered the micro-history of east Lincolnshire in the second half of the nineteenth century. We now turn the focus on the same area and same communities in the twenty first century. The 2011

⁷ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 137.

⁸ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p. 159.

census report shows that three hundred and thirty three lived in Addlethorpe which about one hundred more people than one hundred fifty years ago. The same applies to the population of Burgh le Marsh with two thousand and sixteen residents. The population of Ulceby stood at one hundred and forty six which is less than the nineteenth century census figures, and the population of Eastville remained almost the same at two hundred and fifty seven.⁹ A search of the internet in 2019 reveals six farmers who have Addlethorpe addresses,¹⁰ and four can be found on the same internet site for Burgh le Marsh. Ulceby has two farmers listed whilst only one farmer can be found with an Eastville address. It is not possible to find numbers of agricultural workers, but there are several internet sites that include advertisements for farm workers in the general east coast area, thus the area remains highly agricultural in character.

The thesis asked questions on transport availability, industry, and education in the nineteenth century. Now, in 2018 the same questions were part of a House of Lords select committee. In 2018 a group of peers from the House of Lords studied the future of seaside towns. They travelled from the South Coast to Yorkshire and Lancashire, and then came to Skegness. This is a town as mentioned in earlier chapters that is situated within fifteen miles of the four settlements, therefore the Lords conclusions are particularly relevant. In a case study supplied by the Bishop of Lincoln it is learned that it is difficult for young people to find employment in and around the town if specific skills are needed because there is an “absence of easily accessible and flexible further education (FE) opportunities for training in the hospitality sector. The nearest FE institutions were in Lincoln (42 miles away) or Boston (19 miles away), accessible only on poorly configured roads, with few options regarding buses and trains”. The Lords report concluded that “inadequate transport connectivity is holding back coastal communities ...”¹¹ The Select

⁹ www.citypopulation.de

¹⁰ www.yell/.com

¹¹ Select Committee on Regenerating Seaside Towns and Communities (4 April 2019) HL Paper 320.

Committee Report focused on seaside resorts including Skegness, Lincolnshire. The town has not been used as part of the thesis except in the context of its proximity to Addlethorpe and Burgh le Marsh, but the Report does highlight facts that are relevant to the analysis of the four settlements. In the twenty first century the educational facilities on the east coast area are poor, and the roads are poorly maintained and the railway system serving Skegness and therefore by definition, the town's hinterland, does not help young people to access higher education facilities which would enhance their ability to improve their occupational prospects. Social mobility, is in effect, denied to the majority of eastern Lincolnshire's residents.

What we have learned is that there are parts of England and Wales that are isolated geographically. They are situated in places far from the centre of power and government, which is London. They are emblematic of forgotten places. The Lords Select Committee Report was a fact-finding exercise emanating from the House of Lords in London. The facts that they found however, are as relevant to the road and rail conditions of one hundred and fifty years ago. Their report on the lack of education resonates with the information gathered on the four settlements of the nineteenth century.

The research for this thesis using the micro-history approach has shown that detailed examination of the inhabitants of a specific settlement or area, can illuminate the failings of ignoring the seemingly insignificant data, because the results may, as in this case, change the existing information entirely. In addition, when the approach to historical research has used the macro approach, in order to establish migrations trends for England and Wales as a whole, Lincolnshire has either been ignored, or the small-scale trends that typify migration within the county are hidden. Thus, the information contained in the thesis is new because no-one has subjected the migratory patterns of the male inhabitants of a set of specific communities to an intense examination. The result differs from Ravenstein and others' conclusions that migration happened in step-wise motions from the rural environment in small stages towards the urban

setting. These Lincolnshire males largely moved in short distances in circular movements within the same territory. They did not, mostly, move towards the towns and cities.

In conclusion, a note of caution needs to be addressed regarding the claim that this thesis aspires to the concept of 'total history' as discussed in Chapter One. The thesis has explored the various avenues of research that have been available, in order to present as comprehensive view as possible of life and migration choices available to the residents of the four settlements that have been scrutinised. The study has explored the effects the changing transport opportunities had on potential migrational journeys; whether the Industrial Revolution, the Education Acts of the second half of the nineteenth century or the existence of kith or kin proved to be a 'pull' factor in migration in the east of Lincolnshire; and finally whether the agricultural depression of the final quarter of the century was a factor in the choices people made. However, the thesis, whilst researching the life-journeys of individuals from the four settlements from the viewpoint of exogenous events, cannot show a complete history of any individual's life, because the major sources used were the Census Enumerators Books covering 1851 to 1901. These give a snapshot of an individual's life on one day in a decade, although it was also possible to track migratory movements during each decade by taking note of the birthplaces of their children, and most family units at this time were conveniently large. Trade directories also had some use, and newspapers provided additional information, but Poor Law Union records and school log books had not been retained, and there was an absence of personal diaries, so as Theodore Zeldin quoted '[T]o attempt to incorporate the whole of life into history is to attempt the impossible,'¹² Therefore from the perspective of 'total history' and the sources available for research, it not possible to reach the thoughts, ideas and motivations

¹² Zeldin, Theodore, 'Social History and Total History', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 10th Anniversary Issue: Social History Today and Tomorrow? (Winter, 1976), pp. 237-245.

that each individual would have had in order either to remain in the familiar area or move to a new life elsewhere.

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