

**BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE:
THE POOR LAW COMMISSION'S MIGRATION SCHEME, 1835-37**

by

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STUDENT DECLARATION

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution.

I declare that no material contained in this dissertation has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P.B. Park', with a horizontal line underneath.

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ABSTRACT

Between January 1835 and June 1837 over 500 families, comprised of more than 5,000 individuals, moved from the agricultural counties of southern and eastern England to the manufacturing districts of the north. Their migration was carried out under the auspices of the Poor Law Commission's home migration scheme (one of the first attempts at social engineering by a modern British government agency), but approximately the same numbers followed them independently. The research described investigates the aspirations of several of the principal stakeholders and compares them with the outcomes of the scheme, to establish whether it was a success.

A few families failed and returned home fairly quickly, but over seventy percent of those that migrated considered themselves better off than their kin in the south and chose to remain in the manufacturing districts. Indeed, acting primarily on their advice, an equal number of their kith and kin had followed them independently. For these families the scheme may be considered a success.

One of the two migration agents seems to have derived no benefit from his association with the scheme other than the immediate financial rewards. The other benefitted by his promotion to assistant poor law commissioner in the short term; in the longer term contacts that he undoubtedly made while serving in Ireland in that capacity provided clients for his business when he returned to England.

Comparison of the poor-rates in the migrants' home parishes before and after the scheme shows that the rates of the scheme parishes decreased, but to no greater extent than parishes where the scheme did not operate thus the decreases were due to factors other than the scheme and parishes did not benefit from it.

The migrants were generally well received by the indigenous population in the north, the few cases where there was local dissent over their arrival appear to have arisen as a result of poor industrial relations between the employers and the local workforce.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ag. Hist. Rev.</i>	Agricultural History Review
CEBs	Census enumerators' books
<i>Econ. Hist. Rev.</i>	Economic History Review
GRO	General Register Office
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
IGI	International Genealogical Index
LDS	Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints (Mormons).
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MALS	Manchester Archives and Local Studies Library
MED	Medway Archives and Local Studies Centre.
PP	Parliamentary Paper
SoG	Society of Genealogists
TNA	The National Archives
VRI	Vital Records Index

Counties (Chapman Codes)

BDF	Bedfordshire
BKM	Buckinghamshire
BRK	Berkshire
CAM	Cambridgeshire
CHS	Cheshire
DBY	Derbyshire
DOR	Dorset
ESS	Essex
GLS	Gloucestershire
HAM	Hampshire (Southamptonshire)
HRT	Hertfordshire
KEN	Kent
LAN	Lancashire
LEI	Leicestershire
LIN	Lincolnshire
MDX	Middlesex
NFK	Norfolk
NTH	Northamptonshire
OXF	Oxfordshire
SFK	Suffolk
STS	Staffordshire

SRY	Surrey
WRY	West Riding of Yorkshire
YKS	Yorkshire

If a county code precedes a document reference then the appropriate county record office is indicated.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Gentlemen, the distress we sometimes suffer cannot be conceived by you. Several of us, when we attended the magistrates this morning at 2 o'clock, had been without food since yesterday evening. [...] If we could consent to be starved ourselves, we must not let our wives and children starve; this would not be right.¹

I would be glad if you would let me have two families for my works at Q[uarry]. Bank by way of an experiment, and the sooner the better, being in much want of them. I have at this moment two houses vacant and shall keep them so until hearing something from you – being anxious to try the experiment myself as to the quality of workmen which the southern rustics will supply.²

The letters from which these two extracts are taken precipitated one of the first attempts at social engineering undertaken by a modern British government agency. The research described in this dissertation investigates the success of the home migration scheme that was introduced under the auspices of the Poor Law Commissioners shortly after implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The scheme directly facilitated the migration of some 5,000 men, women and children from agricultural areas of southern and eastern England to the manufacturing districts of Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire between January 1835 and June 1837. The concept of transferring labour from areas of low employment to the manufacturing districts was not new, in 1826 William Cobbett. In *Rural Rides*, ridiculed the 'Scotch feelosofers', particularly 'Dr Black' (John Black, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*) for 'calling upon the farm labourers to become manufacturers!' Cobbett 'remonstrated with the Doctor at the time; but, he still insisted, that such a transfer of hands was the only remedy for the distress in the farming districts!' This discourse, Cobbett reflected, had taken place some 18 months previously and so predates the Poor Law Commission scheme by about 11 or 12 years.³ In addition, it is well reported that thousands of workhouse children, many of them from as far afield as London and Brighton, had been apprenticed to work in the cotton mills in the north and the east midlands since the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴

1 Extract from a letter from 32 paupers of Bledlow in Buckinghamshire to the Poor Law Commissioners, 4 December 1834. Published in *The Times*, 11 December 1834, p.1.

2 Extract from R H Greg's letter offering work to two Bledlow families in his mill at Styal in Cheshire 'as an experiment', The National Archives (hereafter TNA), ref: MH12/525, 25 December 1834.

3 Cobbett. (1830), p.352.

4 For instance the Hammonds (1917), pp.143 *et seq.*; Marshall (1981) pp.52-3; Rose, M B (1996), p.21; Honeyman (2007). Waller (2005) chronicles the life story of one such child, Robert Blincoe, who was sent from St Pancras workhouse to the mills of Derbyshire in 1799.

While the scheme has been the subject of some previous discussion, the research has largely been of a 'top down' nature, based mainly on parliamentary papers. Only three, small scale, detailed investigations regarding its implementation, administration, impact and success have been conducted.⁵ Indeed, the major studies previously carried out were done at a time when much of the archival evidence on which this current research is based was not readily available. The central aim is to consider how successful the scheme was in meeting the aims and aspirations of some of the main stakeholders. The study builds on the work of previous scholars, but adds to our understanding of the operation of the scheme as a consequence of the methodological approach. By focusing on the participants at a micro-level, the research analyses the scheme to a degree not previously attempted. There were a number of stakeholders whose potentially conflicting interest in the scheme is investigated. Of the previous scholars referred to above, only Redford made any allusion to the success of the scheme, tacitly assuming that, overall, it was a failure. From the Poor Law Commissioners' viewpoint and, by implication, the Government's, it might well have been. However, the migrant families themselves; the ratepayers of the migrants' source parishes; the northern manufacturers; the indigenous workers in the manufacturing districts; the agents who administered the scheme; and the anti-poor law movement, also had an interest in the success, or failure, of the scheme – and each group would have measured that success or failure with its own yardstick, or even yardsticks.

A number of questions may be asked about the scheme. Did the migrants achieve an improved quality of life? Was there a positive impact on poor relief bills? Did the host population feel threatened? Were the careers of the agents enhanced by their involvement in the scheme? What was the impact on the southern agricultural parishes? Were the migrants predominantly young adults (who are often the most mobile) or families with large numbers of young children (frequently the most significant drain on poor relief)? Was migration a response to the threat of familial segregation in the workhouse? What was the impact on the receiving communities? Where did the migrants come from and go to and how long did they stay? These questions are addressed through the analysis of a variety of source documentation. The Poor Law Commissioners' correspondence with southern poor law unions, their assistant

5 Mackay (1899), Redford. (1926), Rees. (1991), Worship. (2000).

commissioners and the scheme's agents, for the period January 1835 to at least June 1837, and relevant Parliamentary Papers provide evidence for the 'official' response to the administration of the scheme. A sample of migrant families was selected from a Parliamentary Paper of 1843 (hereafter the 1843 Report) in order to trace their subsequent fortunes.⁶ Digitisation and indexing of nineteenth century census enumerators' books and General Register Office indexes of births, marriages and deaths and their subsequent availability on-line has enabled previously labour-intensive techniques, long employed by family historians, to be applied to the sample. Additionally other local records including poor law union minute books and, where they survive, company records were employed for investigating individual families. Correspondence from the migrants and their employers and newspaper reports sheds light on the feelings of the indigenous workers' in the manufacturing districts towards the migrants as a potential threat to their employment and wage rates. The anti-poor law movement's attitude is reflected in newspaper reports of public meetings, in published tracts and pamphlets, as well as *Hansard*, Parliamentary Papers and Home Office correspondence. The agents' careers are traced *via* diverse sources, including *The Imperial Calendar*, *The London Gazette*, correspondence, trade directories and census enumerators' books. Details of the use made of these and other primary sources is discussed fully in Chapters Two to Five.

The scheme was in operation at a significant turning point in the political structure of Britain. The 1830s saw the beginnings of a new regime, in which a number of statutes were passed which provided for central government agencies to intervene directly in proceedings at a local level. In matters as diverse as schools of anatomy, factories, lunatic asylums, poor law administration, prisons and the registration of births, deaths and marriages the Home Department took control from local bodies such as parish vestries and the quarter sessions,⁷ thus signalling the beginning of a recognisably modern state. These reforms were introduced in direct response to the far-reaching changes caused by economic, social and demographic change in the preceding decades

6 PP 1843 XLV (254).

7 The relevant statutes were: *Schools of Anatomy Act*, 1832 (2 & 3 Will IV, c.75); *Factory Act*, 1833 (3 & 4 Will IV, c.103); *Lunacy Act*, 1833 (3 & 4 Will IV, c.36); *Poor Law Amendment Act*, 1834 (4 & 5 Will IV c.76); *Prisons Act*, 1835 (5 & 6 Will IV, c.38); *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act*, 1836 (6 & 7 Will 4, c.86).

which had generated unprecedented social and political problems.⁸ A significant part of this reform was the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which was to alter English social welfare policy beyond recognition. Faced with rising relief bills under existing poor laws, especially in the south of England, the 1834 Act introduced Benthamite ideology into the administration of social welfare.⁹ The Poor Law Amendment Act met with open hostility especially in the north of England, where the Anti-Poor Law League gained widespread popularity.¹⁰ In the south of England economic change in agriculture coupled with rapid population growth created chronic under-employment and, from the late eighteenth century, a significant disparity in wage levels between the north and south of England was increasingly apparent – even in agriculture.¹¹ Ravenstein's laws of migration would suggest that the economically rational response of the poor would have been migration to area of high wages, such as the industrialised parts of the north, but the cultural divide between the north and south, as well as ties of kinship and community, the settlement laws and the expense and effort involved in travelling undoubtedly restricted this migration.¹²

It is within this context that this study has been conducted. The actual numbers of migrants and employers was small – indeed, this is one of the most significant features of the scheme.¹³ However, the importance attached by contemporaries, in particular by radical Tory politicians and the anti-poor law movement, to its success or failure for many years after the scheme had ended shows it had greater social and political significance than the numbers may suggest. Together with the newly formed factory inspectorate, the home migration scheme represents the implementation of a new regime, in which central government agencies intervened directly in proceedings at a local level.

The dissertation is arranged as follows: Chapter Two examines the historiography of the scheme including a description of its operation. It also explores the socio-economic

8 Midwinter (1968).

9 Fraser (1976).

10 Driver (1993), Knott (1986); Edsall (1971).

11 Armstrong (1988).

12 Snell (1987); Gaskell (1855); Deane (1990) pp.153-5.

13 Edsall (1971) p.52 suggests that one reason why so few families migrated was the lengthy negotiations that were involved, together with the need for provision of housing on the part of the employers.

background of the scheme, in particular the economic plight of the southern labourers and the employment of children in factories as well as migration theory and the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. In Chapter Three the main sources and methodology used for the research are detailed. Chapters Four, Five and Six describe and discuss the results. Chapter Four examines the experience of the migrant families and the direct and indirect benefits of the scheme to the migration agents. Chapter Five investigates the issue of whether the families were subjected to pressure to move. Chapter Six studies the effect of the scheme on the families' source parishes and the response of the host communities to their arrival. In the final chapter conclusions are drawn.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORIOGRAPHY

This chapter first examines the limited historiography of the migration scheme, before briefly discussing a number of background factors that affected it. These include the economic conditions of the southern labourers, the employment of children in factories, migration and, lastly, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.

The home migration scheme

Although frequently referred to in the literature, relatively little research has been conducted into the migration scheme as a whole. Indeed, many historians only make passing reference to it in the text, or demote it to a footnote. For instance, Deane dismissed it in one sentence ‘There was some relatively long-distance migration in the 1830s when the new poor-law commissioners transferred whole families under short-term contracts from the southern counties to Lancashire, but for the most part migration was local in character.’¹ In fact the contracts were for three years, which, to men employed on a daily basis, if at all, must have seemed like an eternity. Even Thompson, in *The making of the English working class*, had little more to say on the subject:

Even in times of ‘labour shortage’ in the manufacturing districts, his [the mature labourer with a family] migration was not encouraged. When, after 1834, the Poor Law Commissioners sought to stimulate such migration, principally to the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire, – perhaps as a counter blow to the trades unions – preference was given to widows with large families of children, or handicraftsmen ... with large families. Adult men could not acquire the requisite skill for the superior processes of the factories. Labour markets were set up in Manchester and Leeds where mill-owners could scan the details of families – age of children – character as a workman – moral character – remarks (‘exceedingly healthy’, ‘fine of their age’, ‘willing to take on themselves the part of parents of three orphans’) – like stock for sale. ‘We have a number of small families’, one hopeful Suffolk guardian appended, ‘such as a man and wife, willing if you could engage them together, say man 8s., woman at 4s’.²

In nearly all cases the historiographical source cited is Redford’s *Labour migration in England, 1800-1850*, first published in 1926 (with later revisions) – Hilton devotes four lines to the scheme, citing Finer, but Finer’s source was Redford.³ Redford’s coverage was predated by a quarter of a century in Mackay’s multi-volume *History of the English poor laws*.⁴ In chapters nine and ten Mackay considered ‘The absorption of a surplus

1 Deane (1990), p.154.

2 Thompson (1972), pp.146-7.

3 Hilton (2006) p.579; Finer (1952) pp.123-4.

4 Redford (1926), Chapter 6; Mackay (1899) Chapters 9 and 10.

population'. In these two chapters he provides a description of the scheme based almost entirely on references to it which appeared in the first two Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners. This is followed by a rather rambling discussion on the philosophy of the provision of relief, which, he concludes, 'suggests to him [the pauper] a way of satisfying his wants which is burdensome to his neighbours, and ultimately destructive of the social fabric to which he is a part'. He made no attempt to analyse the scheme itself, or to comment on it.

Redford produced the most comprehensive overview of the scheme. Like Mackay, he took a 'top down' approach, again relying largely on Parliamentary Papers, but on a wider range, which he supplemented with newspaper reports (particularly from the *Manchester Guardian*) and from *Hansard*. By relying heavily on the *Manchester Guardian* Redford received a Whig perspective which was generally in favour of the scheme. This viewpoint would have been more balanced had he also used, for instance, the Tory leaning *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* or *The Times*. Like Mackay, Redford provided a narrative account of the scheme, but he also included some social, political and economic perspectives. Redford also compared the scheme with the concurrent scheme for emigration to the colonies financed by Treasury loans (which Mackay had mentioned in passing). One of his conclusions was that the scheme had been 'a remarkable experiment in social economics'.⁵

Neither Mackay nor Redford had access to the vast amount of relevant documents which have subsequently been deposited with The National Archives, in particular the voluminous correspondence of the Poor Law Commissioners with local poor law unions, private individuals, their own Assistant Commissioners and the two migration agents, Richard Muggeridge and Robert Baker. The minutes, letter books and ledgers of poor law unions and parish vestries have also been made accessible in county record offices. Additionally, one of the most valuable sources for this research, the census enumerators' books (CEBs) for the period 1841-1901 are now available.⁶

Since these sources became available only three pieces of research into the scheme *per se* have been published. In 1969 Horn produced a paper on the scheme from the aspect of the

5 Redford (1826), p.101.

6 The CEBs have recently become available in a fully-searchable format online

Bledlow migrant families who went to work for the Ashworths at Egerton in Lancashire and the Gregs at Styal in Cheshire.⁷ Like Redford's and Mackay's work, it is largely descriptive with little analysis, relying heavily on official printed sources, although none that Redford or Mackay had not used previously. She provided some local background, unfortunately without quoting her sources. However she did follow up three families who went to work for the Gregs in the 1841 and 1851 CEBs. Her primary conclusion was that 'the Bledlow migrants – and others like them – gradually became absorbed into the life of the new northern industrial communities – just as did the Buckinghamshire-born mother and aunt of the heroine in Mrs Gaskell's novel, *Mary Barton!*'.⁸ In 1842 William Taylor writing of in-migrants to Manchester had noted that 'these men have speedily laid aside their old habits and associations, to assume those of the masses in which they are mingled'.⁹ Two decades after Horn, Rees considered the effect that the scheme had on one of the destination communities – Preston.¹⁰ Nine years later Worship looked at the scheme and its effects on a source county, Buckinghamshire.¹¹

After a brief overview of the scheme, Rees investigated the impact of eight families employed by four companies in the Preston area. She searched the 1841-61 CEBs of Preston for the families and came to the conclusion that most had probably returned home. Rees also concluded, not unsurprisingly considering how few of them there were, that the migrants had virtually no impact on Preston. In passing, she noted the lack of involvement in the scheme by the Preston employers, in particular asking why most of the larger mills were not involved – Paul Catterall's being the only large company – but she offered no thoughts as to why this should be the case. Considering how few employers did take part, perhaps a more relevant question might have been 'why did the

7 Horn (1969).

8 *Mary Barton* was published 1848, so Elizabeth Gaskell was probably aware of the scheme, although she makes no reference to it either in the book or in her published correspondence of the period, Chapple & Pollard (1997). Benjamin Disraeli makes a reference to the scheme migrants in *Sybil* during a conversation between Mick and his friends: "I pity them poor devils from the country" said Mick; "we got some of them at Collinson's – come from Suffolk they say; what they call hagricultural labourers, a very queer lot, indeed." "Ah! them's the himmigrants", said Caroline; "they're sold out of slavery, and sent down by Pickford's van into the labour market to bring down our wages." "We'll teach them a trick or two before they do that" urged Mick. ... "It is infamous," said Mick, "aynt we to have no recreation? One might as well live in Suffolk, where the immigrants come from, and where they are obliged to burn ricks to pass the time." Disraeli (1845), pp.130, 134).

9 Taylor (1842), p.7.

10 Rees (1991).

11 Worship (2000).

few that took part, do so?’

Although she doesn't seem to have been aware of Horn's work, Worship's paper overlaps geographically with it, but is a more in-depth study. Using locally- and nationally-held sources as well as parliamentary papers including the Poor Law Commissioners' Annual Reports, she looked specifically at migration from the 14 parishes in Buckinghamshire which took part in the scheme. She examined the problems in Bledlow before the migration (using the vestry minutes) and the fate of some of the migrant families (using CEBs) – several eventually emigrated. She also attempted to assess the scheme with reference to the migration theories of Ravenstein and Bogue and suggested a link between individual source parishes and specific employers. By comparing poor relief expenditure for the years 1831-34 with the year ending 25 March 1837 she concluded that the migrations resulted in short term poor-rate reduction in the parishes of origin, although she made no comparisons with the poor-rates of the any of 214 Buckinghamshire parishes not involved in the scheme.

Considering the consequences for the migrant families, Worship considered that originally the families went to good conditions in country areas, but later families were sent with insufficient funds to overcrowded mill towns and that subsequently they suffered from disease, particularly smallpox and typhoid, giving examples of the distress of individual families.¹² Worship also suggested that the families' wages never reached the levels contracted for – quoting one estimate which claimed their wages were only two thirds of those paid to native workers.

Worship is the only commentator to question the figures given in the 1843 Report which lists 47 migrants from Bledlow and 56 from Princes Risborough. But, as she pointed out, in a report to the Poor Law Commissioners in June 1835, Assistant Commissioner William Gilbert stated that 83 migrants had gone from Bledlow and 102 from Princes Risborough. She suggested there may have been political reasons for minimizing numbers involved. However the 1843 Report was based on *some* of Richard

¹² Razzell has suggested that smallpox was an endemic disease of childhood in the northern counties, but occurred epidemically in the south where it affected both children and adults. He further expands to suggest that the disease's case-fatality is age related, being more fatal to young children and adults than older children and adolescents. Razzell (2003), pp. xiii, 166-68.

Muggeridge's registers and reports from Robert Baker which were in the possession of the Commissioners at the time of its compilation. Muggeridge and Baker were not appointed until autumn 1835, hence any migration before that date was not recorded by them; most of the Bledlow and Princes Risborough migrants evidently went before scheme was put onto an organized footing. In a final conclusion Worship proposed that it is difficult to determine the views of the migrants themselves, since, although there are some first hand accounts available, most were published by the authorities in order to advertise the positive aspects of the scheme.

The company histories of two of the leading advocates of the migration scheme, the Ashworths of Turton near Bolton and the Gregs of Styal in Cheshire, discuss the scheme from the perspective of the employers. The Ashworths and Gregs were the first mill owners to employ southern families, in a precursor of the scheme, when they took the families from Bledlow early in 1835, following the letter from the Bledlow paupers to the Poor Law Commissioners. As progressive employers their involvement in the scheme is of particular interest. Edmund Ashworth and R H Greg had each written to Edwin Chadwick, one of the Royal Commissioners looking into the poor laws, some months before the paupers' letter, requesting that labourers and their families be sent from the south to the manufacturing districts of the north. Indeed Ashworth had requested that provision for such movement should be included in the Bill that was to become the Poor Law Amendment Act.¹³

While not dwelling at great length on the scheme or the Styal workforce, Rose did discuss the migrants who arrived at Styal, emphasising the part that the Gregs played in the scheme. She looked briefly at two migrant families and their lives after they arrived, recording that another family had been sent back. Her major sources were the Poor Law Commissioners' first three Annual Reports, the extensive Greg papers held at Manchester Central Library and documents held by the National Trust at Styal.

She pointed out that by 1834 Samuel Greg & Co was one of largest coarse spinning and weaving companies in the country with five spinning and weaving mills in Lancashire and Cheshire, at Low Mill, Caton; Moor Lane Mill, Lancaster; Hudcar Mill, Bury;

¹³ Boyson (1970); Rose, M B. (1986).

Lowerhouse Mill, Bollington and Styal Mill, Wilmslow, employing in excess of 2,000 hands. In 1833 some 360 hands were employed at Styal. Mills situated in small communities such as those at Styal, the Ashworth's at Egerton and the Ashton's mill at Hyde needed to import labour, particularly during an upturn in trade such as in the mid-1830s. This created a need for housing and the Gregs erected 42 cottages, a school and chapel at Styal in the 1820s as they sought to establish a stable labour force. Factory colonies such as this usually provided simple but clean and well constructed housing and were often regulated by the employers.

Rose suggested that the transfer of experienced operatives from Styal to Lowerhouse Mill at Bollington in 1834 encouraged Robert Hyde Greg to bring in pauper labour from the southern counties. However the imported hands were children, not skilled spinners as she herself pointed out. Adult men and older boys from the south were employed on the Gregs' Oak Farm. The migrant children, Rose noted, fulfilled two functions: they met the immediate labour shortage of the mid-1830s and become part of the permanent labour force in the longer term. Rose's figures for the numbers of families and individuals involved in the scheme as a whole and Styal in particular, are understated. She uses Muggeridge's figures from the 1836 Poor Law Commission Annual Report (2,673 individuals), with 30 individuals coming to Styal (the Stevens, Howlett and Veary families). But in the Poor Law Commission Annual Report for 1837 Muggeridge claimed that about 5,000 people had been moved under the scheme and the 1843 Report indicates that 72 people comprising seven families and a group of eight orphan girls had moved to Styal.

The Ashworths took ten families from the south, employing 54 individuals at their Egerton Mill – some 10% of the workers there. Boyson devoted three chapters to the Ashworth brothers' workforce in their mills at New Eagley and Egerton, near Turton, one chapter being solely concerned with the migration scheme. He discusses in some detail the political aspects of the scheme – the Ashworths were involved in local and national politics being strong advocates of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws, although they strongly opposed factory legislation. Boyson appears to have identified somewhat with the Ashworths and is perhaps not quite as objective as he might have been in some of his interpretations of events and the motivation for their actions – Edsall suggested that the Ashworths'

motives for involvement in the scheme was an attempt to undermine the growing trade union movement of the early 1830s.¹⁴

Boyson was insistent that the brothers, particularly Henry, were paternalistic towards their workforce – providing cottages, schools and chapels for them – although their motives were not entirely charitable – ‘... from 1818 to the 1840s, Henry Ashworth consciously attempted to unite the interests of his workers with himself; his mills were well known for the care taken of the operatives as for their strict discipline. He sought healthy and contented workers to maintain and expand his profits and he was proud of his name as a model employer. No visitor to the Ashworth mills ever complained of the conditions of the workers; most were full of praise for all that they saw.’ He reports that a minority of the workers lived in high quality company housing and there was a great demand for them at both Egerton and Bank Top – the Ashworths’ village serving their New Eagley Mill.¹⁵ However, Timmins has shown that the quality of the Ashworths’ housing was variable, ranging from four bedroomed properties with private rear yards to back-to-back and cellar dwellings, with workers living, in some cases, in very overcrowded conditions.¹⁶

The 1980s saw a flurry of work by a number of family historians, notably Benton who published a listing of migrants from Suffolk listed in the 1843 Report. He does not make it clear whether he used any other sources, but he included some names not recorded in the Report, although he omitted a number who were listed. Other family historians searched census enumerators’ books for 1841-1861, in the areas where the migrants were sent to, in an attempt to find them, while others made efforts to identify those that had returned to their parishes of origin.¹⁷ In no case was any attempt made to analyse the scheme, or put it into a social or economic perspective.

Both Mackay and Redford outlined the main characteristics of the scheme. Initially the Poor Law Commission had minimal involvement – from January 1835 they limited themselves to encouraging manufacturers to contact parish officers in the southern and

¹⁴ Edsall (1971) p.52.

¹⁵ Boyson (1970), p.91.

¹⁶ Timmins (2000) pp.21-37.

¹⁷ For instance: Benton (1982-3); Benton (1983); Benton (1984); Benton (1985); Benton (1986); Hirst (1985); Pryer (1983); Todd (1985).

eastern counties with offers of employment for their pauper families. Human nature being what it is, a number of parish officers saw this as an opportunity to rid themselves of the feckless and the idle. On the complaint of a number of manufactures the Commissioners subsequently took a more proactive part in the proceedings. In the autumn of 1835 they appointed Richard Muggeridge, Robert Baker and Charles Marshall as Migration Agents, based in Manchester, Leeds and London respectively. Muggeridge's and Baker's roles were to act as go-betweens connecting the parishes and the employers. Many families travelled *via* London. Marshall was responsible for co-ordinating the transfer of families by canal from London to the north, although his function was not of major significance to the scheme as a whole.

The agents set up a system to oversee and administer the migration, with Muggeridge (who was employed full time) taking the leading role. In brief, parish officers were to fill in pre-printed forms with descriptions of families wishing to migrate – giving names, and ages with occupations of the father and children. They also had to supply a character reference, signed by an employer of the head of the family (or an upstanding member of the community) giving details of length of employment and/or how long the referee had known him or her. The lists and references were forwarded to Muggeridge or Baker *via* the Poor Law Commission office in London. The agent then approached employers to find work for the families. If they were successful, arrangements were made for moving the families to the manufacturing district. From most areas, the families were taken by road to London where Marshall organised their transport north by canal. Before the agency system was established, contracts of employment were drawn up between the employer and the head of the family after they arrived in the north. Under the agency, contracts were drawn up before the migrants' departure from their parishes. The contracts were normally for three years at stated, incremental wage rates. It was not usually expected that men and older boys would work in the mills, but they were often found employment in their own trade – shoemaker, carter, labourer, etc., thus 'widows with large families' were preferred. The scheme came to an end when depression hit the textile industries in the spring of 1837. When trade improved in the mid-1840s it was not resurrected.

Redford appears to assume that the scheme was a failure, largely because it ended abruptly with the onset of the trade depression and it was not revived when trade

eventually picked up again. There were of course sound, practical reasons why the scheme was ended – with the falloff in trade the employers did not need any more workers and so stopped recruiting. Additionally, it had become the object of much attention from the anti-poor law movement. Edsall suggested that although the migration scheme was relatively unimportant in the overall history of the New Poor Law, it did provide the movement in the north ‘with their first effective issue, the first concrete example of the local workings of the dreaded Commissioners in London’.¹⁸ When Edmund Ashworth had written to Chadwick on 9th June 1834 (at the time the Poor Law Amendment Bill was being drafted), he said ‘I am most anxious that every facility be given to the removal of labourers from one county to another according to the demand for labour; this would have a tendency to equalize wages, as well as prevent in degree some of the turn-outs which have of late been so prevalent ...’.¹⁹ In September of the same year R H Gregg wrote along similar lines: ‘Next year will, unless some unforeseen accident occurs, be naturally a year of increase in our manufactures, buildings, &c., and should this prove the case, any farther demand for labour would still further increase the unions, drunkenness and high wages.’ Knott quotes from a letter from Henry Ashworth to Chadwick, written on the same date as his brother’s. After commenting on the ‘superabundant population’ of the agricultural districts, Ashworth continues:

The Cotton & Woollen, together with the other manufacturers of the Country furnish a most extensive field for labour, and mostly a high rate of wages to the industrious classes – the present condition of this form of labour I cannot better describe, than by saying it is very inadequately supplied with labourers, attributable chiefly to its being fenced in upon one side by the obstinacy and short sightedness of those who are the administrators of the Poor Laws and upon another side it is most successfully hemmed in by the domineering influences of Trades Unions:– I am therefore of opinion that if an alteration in the poor Laws and an overturning of the Trades Unions were effected our manufacturing employments would then become fairly opened for general unrestricted competition – the rate of wages would assimilate more nearly with those paid for the general labour of the Country and little or nothing would be heard again of superabundant population.²⁰

Edmund Ashworth’s and Greg’s letters became common property when they were published in the press and appeared in the Poor Law Commissioners’ *First Annual Report*.²¹ Whether Henry Ashworth’s letter was published is not made clear by Knott, but nevertheless Edmund Ashworth’s and Greg’s letters were seized upon by anti-poor law agitators, such as Richard Oastler, Mathew Fletcher, W B Ferrand and the reverends

18 Edsall (1971), pp.51-53.

19 Quoted in Edsall (1971), p.52.

20 Knott (1986) 252-3.

21 Edsall (1971) pp.51-3, 57; Knott (1986) 252-3.

Stephens and Bull. The letters were used to dispute the claims of the Poor Law Commission that the sole object of the scheme was the relief of pauperised labourers in the south and not the reduction of wages, the breaking of trades unions, or an attempt to introduce large numbers of children into the factories in order that relay systems could be established as a way round the restrictions on juvenile working hours imposed by the 1833 Factory Act. In many respects the Commissioners may have been relieved when the scheme came to an end.

The proto-scheme had come into being in an *ad-hoc* manner in January 1835, at the time of Peel's short-lived Tory government. Coinciding with Melbourne's Whig administration the scheme was put on a more formal footing with the appointment of the agents in the autumn of that year. By the time of the more favourable economic climate, Peel's government, now back in power, contained a number of MPs in its ranks with anti-poor law feelings, men such as Thomas Wakely, John Walter (proprietor of *The Times*) and W B Ferrand, MPs for Finsbury, Berkshire and Knaresborough respectively and Benjamin Disraeli and the 'Young England' group.²² This suggests that should the Poor Law Commissioners have been tempted to revive the scheme, they may have had difficulty getting support from their political masters.

The plight of the southern labourers

In the mid-1820s William Cobbett reported on the standard of living of labourers in the countryside of southern England in *Rural Rides*. In August 1826, while travelling through the Avon Valley in Wiltshire, he summed up a situation that applied to many rural areas in the southern and eastern counties:

In taking my leave of this beautiful vale I have to express my deep shame, as an Englishman, at beholding the general extreme poverty of those who cause this vale to produce such quantities of food and raiment. This is, I verily believe it, the worst used labouring people upon the face of the earth. Dogs and hogs and horses are treated with more civility; and as to food and lodging, how gladly would the labourers change with them! This state of things never can continue many years! By some means or other there must be an end to it; and my firm belief is, that the end will be dreadful.²³

Eight years later little had changed, as is witnessed by the Bledlow labourers' letter, despite the 'Swing Riots' which swept across the southern counties of England between

²² Disraeli attacked the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act in his novel *Sybil* in 1844.

²³ Cobbett (1830), p.320.

1830 and 1832.²⁴ The causes of the Swing riots were many and complex, but one of the factors was the introduction of threshing machines which reduced the amount of work available during the winter months. The 1834 Report of the Poor Law Commission suggests that winter wages were half those of harvest time.²⁵ The difference between summer and winter wages were only part of the problem. Gash quotes examples of high levels of unemployment during the winter months in Sussex in 1830s: in 1831 at Kindford of 118 married men only 72 were employed; in Pulborough 176 were unemployed out of 308; at Wisborough Green during the five winters up to 1831/2 there was an average of 80 men unemployed.²⁶ Endemic poverty affected every county in the south and east of England.²⁷ The deficit in winter earnings was not the only difficulty besetting the labourers of the south. Loss of gleaning and other rights of common due to enclosure also had an effect on the extent and severity of their poverty.²⁸ In some areas the labour market was swelled by loss of by-employment, as rural industries declined.²⁹ Enclosure and other developments in the agrarian economy created increases in productivity, and lowered the demand for labour. These changes occurred at the same time as rapid population growth, and resulted in a widespread surplus of manpower.

Hunt tabulated wages for agricultural labourers by county.³⁰ while there are some problems with his sources,³¹ he does show large variations between English counties in the 1830s and 40s. With the exception of the home counties, wages in the south and east were particularly low. Only in Norfolk and Suffolk did they exceed ten shillings per week and in Dorset they were less than eight shillings. By comparison, in Cumberland and Westmorland they were in excess of 11 shillings and in Lancashire over 12 shillings. In 1838 Assistant Poor Law Commissioner J P Kay sent a questionnaire to large farmers in Norfolk and Suffolk requesting details of the earnings of labourers and their families.³² The returns provided details of different sized families incomes, broken down into a number of sources: day-work, task-work, harvest wages, wife's earnings, children's earnings and the value of corn gleaned. The mean income was 14 shillings

24 For example Hobsbawn and Rudé (1969) *passim*; Holland (2005) *passim*.

25 Quoted in Clark (2001), p.4.

26 Gash (1935), pp.90-91.

27 Wrigley (2004), p.212.

28 King (2000), p.123.

29 For example Blaug (1963), p.172; Digby (1975); Evans (1985), Chapter 6; Pritchard (1951) *passim*.

30 Hunt (1986), p.965.

31 Lyle (2007), p.96.

32 Kay, (1838)

and eight pence per week, of which six shillings and 11 pence came from the man's day-work (the wife contributed one shilling). In the north of England single men were employed as farm servants on contract for six or 12 months and were provided with accommodation, often in the employer's own home.³³ Although a number of authors have identified areas in the south where farm service survived,³⁴ since Kussmaul's seminal work on the employment of agricultural labour it has been generally accepted that by the 1830s the most common form of employment in agriculture in the south and east was on a casual basis as day-labour.³⁵ Consequently deficiencies in income were compounded by the uncertainty of regular employment. Both Hunt's and Kay's figures represent full time employment, which was far from the case in the southern and eastern counties where families were reliant on hay and harvest wages for items such as clothes, boots and tools. The *Suffolk Chronicle* listed the outgoings of a labourer earning ten shillings per week with a wife and five children below the age of ten, they were: flour 6s 10½d, yeast 3d, rent 1s 7½d, coals 10d, candles 3½d – leaving a surplus of 1½d for other necessities.³⁶ As the letter from the Bledlow paupers which opened the Chapter One indicates it was not uncommon for them to go hungry. Living on wages below subsistence level it is small wonder that for some six months of the year their meagre earnings needed to be subsidised by poor relief payments.³⁷ As the costs of poor relief and poor-rates escalated, in particular in southern counties,³⁸ a government enquiry was initiated which resulted in the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.

Factory children

The large families of the early nineteenth century created high levels of child dependency in England, while in 1671 there were 657 children under 15 for every 1,000 adults, by 1826 there were 1120. This high dependency coupled with household poverty encouraged child entry into the labour market at an early age.³⁹ It had been long accepted that children would contribute to their own upkeep and they had traditionally played a role in the domestic system of textile manufacture, carrying out tasks such as

33 Caunce (1997), Gritt (2000, 2002), Mutch (1991), Winstanley (1996).

34 Goose (2004); Howkins and Verdon (2008).

35 Kussmaul (1981a).

36 *Suffolk Chronicle* 13 April 1839, quoted in Fearn (1962), p.153.

37 Blaug (1963), p.162; Baugh (1975), p.57.

38 Lees (1998), p.84.

39 Kirby (2003), pp.27-8.

carding,⁴⁰ and latterly operating small spinning jennies.⁴¹ During the last quarter of the eighteenth century textile production saw technical changes with significant consequences for child labour, as manufacturer moved from domestic production into factories where the increasing complexity and strength requirements of machinery became too much for children to operate and they were relegated to ancillary roles.⁴² The early, water-powered, mills were commonly situated in remote, sparsely populated, areas and labour needed to be imported. Rose has indicated that the solution to the labour shortage was the use of pauper apprentices 'in the time honoured way facilitated by social attitudes dating back to the sixteenth century',⁴³ and that the eighteenth and nineteenth century factory system reflected the contemporary outlook on the education of poor children.⁴⁴ The employment of pauper children in textile manufacture pre-dated the factory system – there were '22,000 children in charity schools in England in 1729 who were almost certainly dominantly, if not exclusively employed in textiles', most of these schools were economic failures.⁴⁵

Initially the pauper apprentices were recruited locally, but from the mid-1780s they came from further afield particularly from London. The first pauper apprentices from London were employed by William Douglas of Pendleton, they arrived in 1784 from St Martin-in-the-Fields. The trade in pauper children continued until after the end of the Napoleonic wars.⁴⁶ Pauper children went mainly to large companies, as small firms were able to meet their limited needs locally.⁴⁷ Changes in social attitudes during the 1810s and 1820s saw a decline in the numbers of workhouse apprentices, and from the mid-1830s the Poor Law Commission was hostile to the system, so that by the 1840s it had all but disappeared,⁴⁸ with the Greys at Styal being one of the last to employ pauper apprentices.

Redford suggested that no more than one-third of the labour force were parish children.⁴⁹ The numbers of children employed by firms varied. In 1816 only 3% of

40 Davies-Shiel (1975)

41 Kirby (2003), p.71-2.

42 Kirby (2003), p.71-2.

43 Rose M B (1989), p.5.

44 Rose M B (1989), p.6.

45 Cunningham (1990), p.129-30.

46 Rose M B (1989), p.15.

47 Rose M B (1989), p.19.

48 Kirby (2003), p.40.

49 Redford (1926), p.28.

McConnel & Kennedy's Manchester workforce were children, whereas 17% of Greg's rurally based workers were,⁵⁰ and Horrocks, Miller & Co. of Preston had at one time 73% of its workforce aged under 18. In flax and woollen the numbers were higher, particularly in large companies.⁵¹ Silk mills depended on child labour to a greater extent with children starting at six or seven compared with nine or ten in cotton mills.⁵² The increasing tendency for cotton mills to be located in towns meant that by 1835 it was relatively easy to substitute other kinds of labour for children. At a national level the textile industries employed relatively few children in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1841 the number of boys employed in the woollen and cotton industries was about 86,000, in agriculture there were about 187,000.⁵³ Ten years later there were still over twice as many boys aged ten to 14 employed in agriculture (34.6%) as in textiles (15.4%), for girls, of the same age 34.1% were working in textiles with 21.6% in agriculture, 25.3% in domestic service and 23.0% in workshops and small handicrafts.⁵⁴

Factory expansion was rapid in 1820s and 1830s as power-looms were installed. Developments in the technology of spinning increased the demand for young workers as piecers, scavengers and doffers. In the 1790s each spinner only needed one piecer, by the 1830s he needed three. Most piecers were hired and paid by the spinner out of his piece-work payments,⁵⁵ resulting in a tendency for them to employ family members as assistants.⁵⁶ Kirby suggests that this resulted in a two tiered system of child employment in which children of operators usually received better jobs and training and only a minority of piecers could hope to become adult spinners.⁵⁷

Starting in 1802 Parliament passed a succession of acts regulating the employment of children in textile mills. The most important one to affect the migration scheme was that of 1833. Under this Act children under the age of nine could not be employed in cotton, flax or woollen factories; within six months of the passing of the Act children under the age of 11 could only work a maximum of 9 hours per day and a 48 hour week. After 18

50 Nardinelli (1980), p.743-5, quoting Ashton, T S. (1948) *The industrial revolution, 1760-1830*, London, p.81.

51 Pollard (1963), p.259.

52 Pollard (1963), p.259.

53 Kirby (2003), p.71.

54 Kirby (2003), p.52.

55 Booker *et al* (1995), p.30.

56 Anderson (1971), pp.115, *et seq.*

57 Kirby (2003), p.73.

months this restriction was to apply to children under 12, and after 30 months to children under 13; children below the age of 13 years were to be certified by a physician as being 'of the ordinary strength and appearance' of a child of his or her stated age; younger children were to attend school for at least two hours on six days a week; night work was restricted to persons of 18 and over; children under the age of 18 were not to work more than 12 hours per day or 69 hours per week and to be allowed one and a half hours for meals. The Act also gave powers for the appointment of paid inspectors, because provisions of previous acts 'were not duly carried into execution, and the Laws for the Regulation of the Labour of Children in Factories have been evaded'. The inspectors were empowered to enter factories at any time in order to examine children and young adults and to enquire into their condition, employment and education.⁵⁸

The significance of this Act to the scheme is twofold: by restricting the working hours of the younger children it created a shortage of young assistants for the spinners; it also came into force at a time when many mills were being expanded and new mills being built, so that the demand for more workers was increasing. In 1835 Kay estimated that some 45,000 extra hands would be required to man new mills in Lancashire alone.⁵⁹ It was hoped that the scheme would go some way to meeting this shortfall.

Migration

Since the publication of Ravenstein's two seminal papers on migration in the 1880s there have been many monographs and papers on all aspects of the subject.⁶⁰ While many publications have been of general nature, a number have looked at migration into specific regions. Of particular interest is a body of work that examines movement into Lancashire during the nineteenth century: Lawton and Pooley looked at migration into Liverpool during the mid-century;⁶¹ Anderson's work on Preston included a study of migration into the town;⁶² Pooley and D'Cruz analysed the diary of Benjamin Shaw, a Preston mechanic, for the travels of his extended family over four generations;⁶³

58 3 & 4 Wm IV c.103.

59 PP 1835 XIV (500), pp.186-88.

60 Ravenstein (1885) (1889). For example Redford (1926), Bogue (1969), Souden (1984), Landau (1990), Pryce (1994), Pooley and Turnbull (1998) and Whyte (2000).

61 Lawton and Pooley (1976).

62 Anderson (1971).

63 Pooley and D'Cruz (1994).

Jackson looked at migrant glassworkers in St Helens;⁶⁴ while Turner looked at in-migrants to Accrington in the early part of the century.⁶⁵ The picture that emerges from these studies is one of predominantly short distance movement by young single people, with the exception that highly skilled specialists commonly moved long distances. Pooley and Turnbull point out that a number of more recent studies stress the importance of family migration – questioning Ravenstein’s contention that most migration was undertaken by the young and single.⁶⁶ However their own work suggests that the peak age of migration in the first half of the nineteenth century was about 23 years, so that most ‘normal’ migrating families would have been relatively small.⁶⁷

James Phillips Kay, in his contribution to the Poor Law Commissioners’ first report, calculated, by subtracting the excess of christenings over burials from the increase in population, that the boost to Lancashire’s population due to in-migration was in excess of 45,000 in the period 1801-1810, over 88,000 between 1811-1820 and almost 170,000 from 1821 to 1830.⁶⁸ These crude figure correspond to 5.5, 8.4 and 12.7% of the population at the end of each period. The 1841 census abstracts provide a figure of 20.6% of persons born outside the county,⁶⁹ and although this is a lifetime migration figure and cannot be directly compared with Kay’s figures, it does confirm that there was significant in-migration to the county. Kay maintained that the majority of the migrants came from the adjacent counties, although he acknowledged that there were large numbers of Irish living in Liverpool and Manchester. He estimated their numbers in 1835 to be in the region of 50,000 and 60,000 respectively.

Long distance migration in response to inequalities in economic opportunities was relatively infrequent – there were obvious barriers, such as cultural differences (dress, dialect and diet),⁷⁰ the length, and hence expense, of the journey and, by the 1830s, differences between the north and the south in patterns of farming which made integration of southern labourers into the north difficult.⁷¹ In periods of economic

64 Jackson (1982).

65 Turner (1996).

66 Pooley & Turnbull (1998), p.17.

67 Pooley & Turnbull (1998), p.207, fig.6.2b.

68 PP 1835 XIV (500), p.184.

69 Calculated from PP 1843 XXII (496) p.398.

70 Mingay (1989) pp.660, 788.

71 Dean (1990) pp.153-5; Landau (1990) *passim*.

recession people prefer to be unemployed in a familiar area with existing family and friend support networks.⁷² The settlement laws also imposed restrictions on mobility. The combination of endemic unemployment in the south and the risk of removal from a new parish provided a definite deterrent to migration on the part of labourers, particularly those with families.⁷³ Consequently while unemployment and under-employment was acute in the agricultural areas of the south and east in the 1830s, there were periodic shortages of labour in the expanding industrial towns of the north and west despite the in-migration. Cobbett maintained that as soon as there was any serious trade depression, the manufacturers sent their unemployed labourers back to their places of settlement,⁷⁴ and Austin notes that when some 5,000 workers were laid off in the Macclesfield silk industry in 1826, between 60 and 80 families left for their home parishes.⁷⁵ However, in the industrial areas a parish or township might not want its in-migrants to move on.⁷⁶ Henry Coppock, clerk to the Stockport Union, giving evidence to a Select Committee of 1847 explained ‘the industry of the town would be seriously impaired if skilled workers were dispersed in every trade depression’ and that it was ‘preferable to maintain them on short term outdoor relief, in readiness to resume work when trade improved’. The practice was subsidised by non-resident relief from the workers’ parishes or townships of settlement and was widespread in the north of England,⁷⁷ despite the Poor Law Commissioners’ opposition to it. Between 1839 and 1846 some 20% of relief in the manufacturing towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire was provided on a non-resident basis.⁷⁸

Pooley and Turnbull showed that in first half of the nineteenth century migration was most commonly undertaken by people in their late teens or twenties – peaking at about age 23, with a rapid fall in the late twenties and early thirties.⁷⁹ Given the nature of the migration scheme, it would be expected that the peak age would occur in the early to mid-teens (the children) with a secondary peak representing people in their late thirties to late forties (the parents). Thus, those migrating under the scheme were to some

72 Pooley & Turnbull (1998) p.151.

73 Snell (1987), p.61.

74 Cobbett, *Political Register* 14 May 1821, quoted in Deane (1990), pp.153-5. Cobbett also alludes to this in *Rural Rides*, p.352.

75 Austin (2001), p.35.

76 Taylor (1991), p.188.

77 Taylor (1991), p.192.

78 Rose, M E. (1976) p.35.

79 Pooley & Turnbull (1998), p.207, fig.6.2b.

extent, at least, atypical migrants – they travelled long distances in large family groups, with the majority of individuals either older or younger than the norm. In addition Pooley and Turnbull's work has shown that London would have been the destination of choice for migrants from East Anglia and south eastern England where most of the families originated.⁸⁰ They also showed that long-distance migrants were usually skilled workers, which the vast majority of those who migrated under the scheme were most decidedly not.⁸¹ One example of skilled workers moving long distances is provided by Jackson in his study of St Helens, where the 1851 CEBs showed that over half of the more highly skilled glassmakers came from outside Lancashire and Cheshire – many from Tyneside.⁸² For a slightly earlier period the settlement examinations of Mitcham in Surrey between 1784 and 1814 provide evidence of the migration of skilled calico printers, dyers and bleachers from distant places such as West Ham and Waltham Abbey in Essex and Crayford in Kent.⁸³ Nicholas and Shergold also concurred that longer distance migrants were more likely to be skilled and literate than to be unskilled and illiterate, and they proposed that migration was a self-selecting process in which migrants made positive decisions and were 'not simply chaff from the rapidly changing rural economy'.⁸⁴ How free the scheme migrants were to make these decisions is examined in Chapter Five.

One aspect of the migration experience that has been recently explored is that of acceptance by the host community. Snell has argued that in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England and Wales, people identified strongly with their locality, which usually meant their parish.⁸⁵ This sense of identity extended to a suspicion of outsiders which manifested itself across a spectrum from name-calling to outright violence, even (in some cases particularly) towards the inhabitants of neighbouring parishes. He paints a picture of almost unremitting warfare throughout the countryside, referring to it as 'local xenophobia'. Most of Snell's evidence, largely from secondary sources, relates to rural areas mainly in the south, the midlands and Wales and not to the

80 Pooley & Turnbull (1998), Appendix 5.3b (migration from south-east England); p.342 Appendix 5.7b (migration from eastern England).

81 Pooley & Turnbull (1998,) p.348 p.13.

82 Jackson (1982), p.123 (Table 3).

83 Berryman, B. (1973) *passim*. In 1796 Thomas Stevens, a Mitcham calico print cutter, enrolled as a naval quota-man for the Manchester township of Ardwick, Park (2001), p.60.

84 Nicholas & Shergold (1987) p.38.

85 Snell (2003a).

rapidly growing manufacturing communities of the north. But Walton suggests that operatives in the cotton towns could be hostile to outsiders,⁸⁶ and in a study of the worsted manufacturing township of Calverley in the West Riding of Yorkshire King has shown there was also resistance in-migrants – even towards those with kin living in the township.⁸⁷ He found they were marginalised, particularly with regard to employment and housing, and rejected by survival networks. This exclusion often overrode other loyalties such as religious and occupational association. The *Preston Guardian* reported on community solidarity in Bamber Bridge in 1848 when bailiffs were twice driven away by a crowd when they tried to distraint the goods of two residents.⁸⁸ Apart from social exclusion Landau also noted ‘official’ resistance to in-migration, discernable in high levels of ejection under the settlement laws.⁸⁹

If this was indeed the situation, then the migrant families might have expected a very cool reception from the indigenous workforce in the manufacturing districts. Apart from anything else their ‘otherness’ would have been highlighted by their accents. Additionally the scheme itself incorporated features that could have potentially caused friction between the migrant families and the established workforce. Boyson reported that company housing belonging to the Ashworths at Egerton was in high demand by their employees.⁹⁰ If this were the case, the provision of cottages to the migrants on their arrival was highly likely to create discord between the newcomers and the established workers. The question of the migrant families’ acceptance by the host communities is investigated in Chapter Six.

1834 Poor Law Amendment Act

During the first 30 or so years of the nineteenth century there was increasing concern with the system of welfare provision for the poor in England and Wales, not least with its seemingly ever escalating cost to the ratepayers. Following a Select Committee investigation, the *Poor Law Amendment Act*, ‘The New Poor Law’, came into force at

86 Walton (1987), p.181.

87 King, S. (1997).

88 *Preston Guardian*, 9 September 1848, quoted in King, J E. (1981) *Richard Marsden and the Preston Chartists, 1837-1848*, Lancaster, Centre for North-west Regional Studies.

89 Landau (1990).

90 Boyson (1970), p.91.

the beginning of September 1834.⁹¹ Apart from its philosophy the Act introduced little that was absolutely new, but it did tidy up many of the anomalies that had arisen since two Elizabethan acts of 1597-8 and 1601.⁹² There were however two novel features – the creation of a central executive in the form of three Poor Law Commissioners based at Somerset House in London and the combining together of all parishes, chapelries and townships in England and Wales into unions. Under the Act, approximately 15,600 ‘parishes’ were grouped into about 650 unions. A typical union consisted of a market town and its surrounding social and economic catchment area. Every union was to have a workhouse, with the limits of the union being restricted, ideally, to a maximum of ten miles from it. While the concept of the union was not new – the first incorporation of parishes for poor relief purposes had been in London in 1647 – until 1834 the formation of a union was voluntary on the part of the parishes involved. Now, despite a fierce rearguard action by many parishes and townships, particularly in the north, not only was it mandatory, but the composition of the unions was imposed from above on the recommendations of the Assistant Commissioners and often, particularly in the case of northern unions, with a minimum of consultation locally.⁹³

The Commissioners had three major objectives. Firstly to make relief available only to those entering the workhouse; all out-relief to paupers in their own homes was to cease, with a rigorous application of the ‘workhouse test’ for pauperism. Secondly to enforce strict discipline in the workhouse together with a basic diet and monotonous work, with the intention that only the most desperate of the poor would accept the conditions and apply for relief, the notorious principle of ‘less-eligibility’. Lastly there was to be uniformity in dealing with the poor throughout the country, with overall control in the hands of the Poor Law Commissioners. To accomplish these objectives the Commissioners had been given with wide ranging powers to make rules and regulations as guidance for day-to-day interpretation of the Act at a local level.⁹⁴ As has been seen, the Commissioners initially adopted a *laissez-faire* attitude to the labourers’ migration, but were forced to take a more hands-on role when totally unsuitable families were sent by the southern parishes.

91 1834 Act: 4 & 5 Wm IV c.76.

92 1597-8 Act: 39 Eliz c.3; 1601 Act: 43 Eliz c.2; Frazer (1976), *passim*; Lees (1998), *passim*; Wells (1997), *passim*.

93 Frazer (1976), *passim*; Lees (1998), *passim*; Wells (1997), *passim*.

94 Midwinter (1969) *passim*; Frazer (1976) *passim*.

The migration scheme started before many unions were fully operational, indeed before most of them had been formed. Few of the newly created unions were in a position to apply the workhouse test and so, with the approval of the Commissioners, were still providing out-relief. The introduction of the scheme provided the southern parishes with an apparently financially attractive alternative to out-relief, since the costs of transport, etc. were considered as relief to the migrant families and, under the 1834 Act, all relief was to be regarded as a loan to be repaid out of future wages or pensions.⁹⁵ Since the migrants' prospective wages were high there was a good chance that the loans would be repaid as they were to be deducted at source by the employers. With wages at or below subsistence levels in their home parishes, there was little chance that the authorities would be able to claw back the cost of any relief provided to the families if they remained in the parish.

Throughout the literature of the home migration scheme there has been no real attempt to judge its success. Redford concluded that it ended 'obscurely and ignominiously',⁹⁶ and that overall it was a failure. Although he gives no concrete reason for arriving at this conclusion. The micro-level research described in the following chapters sets out to assess the success or failure of one of the earliest experiments in social engineering by a modern British government agency, from the viewpoints of two of its most important stakeholders: the migrant families themselves (Chapter Four) and the poor-rate payers of their home parishes (Chapter Six). Given the perceived financial benefit to their parishes for pauper families to migrate, it is perhaps surprising that none of the previous commentators have investigated the question of whether parish officers pressurised families to move. This question is considered in Chapter Five. Two other aspects are examined: whether the two migration agents' careers derived any benefit from the scheme, and the response of the indigenous communities to the migrants (Chapters Four and Six respectively).

95 4 & 5 Wm IV c.76 ss.58, 59.

96 Redford (1926), p.101.

CHAPTER THREE: MAJOR SOURCES AND THE MIGRANTS DATABASE

In this chapter the major primary sources are discussed. These are a Parliamentary Paper published in 1843 (hereafter the 1843 Report) which lists some 4,600 migrants,¹ the correspondence of the Poor Law Commissioners, records of poor law union boards of guardians and the census enumerators' books (CEBs) for 1841 and 1851. While they have been used by previous commentators on the scheme the CEBs and the guardians records have not been analysed so extensively. The databases collating the data from these and other sources, discussed as appropriate in Chapters Four to Six, are also described.

The 1843 Report

The House of Commons ordered the 1843 Report to be printed 13 May 1843 after William Busfield Ferrand, member for Knaresborough, had demanded the production of 'a return of the numbers of persons who were removed from their parishes in the agricultural districts into the manufacturing districts, under the authority and sanction of the Poor-law Commissioners ...' on 20 February. Ferrand's reason for demanding the returns was to 'prove to the country the shameful means which had been resorted to by the emissaries of the Poor Law Commissioners to induce the poor people in the south of England to emigrate to the north in order to become the slaves of the manufacturers there.'²

The Report was produced by W G Lumley, Assistant Secretary to the Poor Law Commission. It runs to 52 pages, of which all but four provide details of individuals who migrated under the scheme. In the Preface it claims to be a

copy of the correspondence relating to, and a Return of, the Number of Persons who were removed from their Parishes in the Agricultural Districts into the Manufacturing Districts, under the Authority and Sanction of the Poor Law Commissioners; with the Dates and Modes of their Removal, the names of the Parishes from where they were taken, and the names and residences of the Persons to whom they were assigned; with a particular Account of the Numbers, Sexes and Ages in each family, when they were removed; and also of the Number of Deaths, by Accident or otherwise, which have since taken place among them; also, an Account of those who have been maimed in their Employment; and a Statement of the Amount of the Wages agreed upon when consigned, with the actual Wages they received; and also, the Account of their present Residences, Employment and wages.

¹ PP (1843) XLV (254).

² *House of Commons Journal*, 98, 1843; *Hansard*, LXVI, 2-27 Feb 1843.

The migration sanctioned by the Poor Law Commissioners was carried on from the latter end of 1835, until the spring of 1837, entirely under the management of two gentlemen, Mr. Muggeridge at Manchester, and Mr. Baker at Leeds, whose Reports upon the subject have been published in the Second and Third Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners. Those gentlemen received all the documents and returns, which would have supplied a much fuller information than that now given; but as their engagements with the Commissioners as agents for migration have long since ceased, they have not preserved those documents, with the exception of some registers kept by Mr. Muggeridge. From those registers and from some reports made by Mr. Baker, now in this office, the information set forth below has been obtained. It will be seen that the information is confined to certain parts only of the return, and the Poor Law Commissioners have no means of supplying the rest.³

It admits that it is not necessarily a complete listing of all the migrants who moved under the scheme. Muggeridge's registers were probably compiled at the time the migrants arrived in the north and appear to be no longer extant. Baker's reports are filed among the correspondence of the Leeds Poor Law Union. They were evidently prepared in 1838 and provided the last known whereabouts, together with other details, of 1,050 of the migrants settled by Baker in Yorkshire, including a number of families who had returned to their home parishes.⁴ The 1843 Report lists few of the families who moved before the appointment of the agents in the autumn of 1835. Its listing does not entirely live up to the promises of the Preface: there is no reference to the deaths of migrants; there is no account of those maimed; nor are details of the 'present' (1843) whereabouts and the 'actual Wages' of the families provided.

Another problem is the inconsistency of detail given. In the best cases details of the parent(s) and all children are included. In other cases only the parents and children old enough to work are listed, with an indication of the number of other children. At a lower level of detail, only the name of the head and total number in the family is supplied. In the worst cases only a name, 'young single man', 'young married man', or '8 orphan girls' is provided. Normally the names and ages of the migrants, year of migration, source parish, destination and employer are given, but, in many instances, actual date of migration, mode of transport, and contracted, incremental wage rates for three years are also supplied (Figure 3.1).

³ PP (1843) XLV (254), p4.

⁴ Reports, TNA, ref: MH 12/15224. The reports, bound out of sequence in the correspondence and separated from their covering letter, are marked up for the typesetter. In many cases Baker lost contact with the migrants once they arrived, so their 'last known whereabouts' was where they were originally sent to. On the other hand, the locations of some of the families are where they were in 1838, rather than where they originally went to.

RETURN of the Number of Persons who were removed from their Parishes in the Agricultural Districts into the Manufacturing Districts, &c.—continued.

NAME OF FAMILY.	Age.	Number in each Family.			Date of Removal.	Mode of Removal from London.	Date of Arrival.	PARISH from whence removed.	Name and Residence of Employer.		Weekly Wages agreed for.		
		Number.	Males.	Females.					Name.	Residence.	1st Year.	2d Year.	3d Year.
										s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Cracknell, James	40	-	-	-	1836	-	-	-	-	-	10 -	11 -	12 -
— Sarah	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 -	8 -	9 -
— James	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 -	7 -	8 -
— John	17	13	not stated	not stated	month not stated	not stated	July	Eyke	Charles Ainsworth & Co.	Bolton	4 6	5 6	6 6
— Sarah	15										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Miles	13										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Mary Ann	12										2 6	3 -	4 -
— and Six others	not stated										-	-	-
Goodenham, Lionel	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 -	11 -	12 -
— Mary Ann	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 -	8 -	9 -
— William	31	10	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Thorndon	ditto	ditto	7 -	8 -	9 -
— Lionel	18										4 6	5 6	6 6
— Edward	15										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Emma	12										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Charles	10										1 6	2 6	3 6
— and Three others	not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pattle, William	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
— Wife	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
— Maria	20	7	2	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	Wyverstone	Horace Mason	Bakewell	6 -	7 -	7 -
— Sophia	18										5 -	6 -	7 -
— George	15										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Keria	12										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Patience	10										2 6	3 -	4 -
Fellingham, Thomas	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 -	11 -	12 -
— Wife	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 -	6 -	7 -
— William	14	10	not stated	not stated	ditto	ditto	ditto	Mendlesham	ditto	ditto	4 3	5 -	6 -
— Mary	13										3 -	4 -	5 -
— Maria	12										2 6	3 -	4 -
— Hannah	10										2 6	3 -	4 -
— and Four others	not stated										-	-	-
Gobbett, Widow	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 3	5 9	-
— Eliza	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 9	7 9	-
— Jeromiah	17	8	ditto	ditto	ditto	by canal	ditto	Wingfield	Peter Taylor & Co.	Hollinwood	4 3	5 3	-
— James	15										3 3	4 3	-
— Lewis	14										2 9	3 8	-
— John, and	11										2 9	3 8	-
— Two others	not stated										-	-	-

Figure 3.1: Example of details of families migrating under the home migration scheme provided by the 1843 Report. The 1841 census shows the Fellingham family living in Derby, by 1851 they had returned to Suffolk; by 1841 Rachel Gobbett was back in Wingfield, the 1851 census shows she had an eleven year-old son born 'Holywood, Lankushire'.

Sources: PP XLV (1843) *Return Relative to the Removal of Labourers from Agricultural to Manufacturing Districts*, p.32; TNA, refs: HO 107/188/2 f.10 p.15.

The Poor Law Commission's correspondence

A second valuable documentary source was the Poor Law Commission's correspondence with the 650 or so poor law unions.⁵ It comprises some 16,500 volumes, arranged by county and union and is largely unindexed.⁶ The correspondence with 256 poor law unions, mainly south and east of a line approximately from The Wash to Portland Bill, the correspondence with the 19 Assistant Commissioners and with the Migration Agents Richard Muggeridge and Robert Baker for the period January 1835 to at least the end of June 1837 was examined.⁷ The minutes of the Poor Law Commissioners' daily meetings provide lists of much incoming and outgoing mail, together with the subject and serve as a partial index to the correspondence files; the minutes were checked from January 1835 to December 1839.⁸

Boards of guardians' records

The minutes of the Boards of Guardians and, where they survive, other pertinent documents of 43 poor law unions in Berkshire, Hampshire, Kent, Middlesex, Suffolk and Surrey (all deposited in the appropriate record office) were examined for the period January 1835 to at least June 1837.⁹ The main problem with these records is that for many unions the minutes are the only documents for the period that have survived. The minutes record decisions arrived at by the board of guardians, but none of the discussions that led to them; guardians meetings were held in camera at the time, so there are no press reports of the proceedings. The topics covered are wide ranging, but include the permission and finance for the families who migrated under the scheme. Some early books also list the paupers applying for relief, occasionally with the reason for it being refused. Other documentation includes correspondence (usually outgoing

5 The correspondence is held in TNA series MH 12.

6 The correspondence for the Southwell Union in Nottinghamshire has been indexed up to 1871, the first two volumes for Manchester, up to 1845, have also been indexed. TNA made an unsuccessful application to the Heritage Lottery Fund to enable indexing of 20 groups of unions across the country up to 1871 to be undertaken.

7 The Assistant Commissioners' and Muggeridge's correspondence is in TNA series MH 32; That for Baker is among the Leeds Union correspondence in series MH 12. The unions and TNA references are listed in Appendix I.1; the Assistant Commissioners and TNA references are listed in Appendix I.2. TNA Series MH 15 comprises indexes to the Commission's correspondence, but appears to only record correspondence in which a precedent has been set. Some of the correspondence, giving personal details of migrants, was published at various times in *The Times* and also in the Commissioners' Annual Reports for 1835, 1836 and 1837.

8 The minutes are in TNA series MH 1. The Poor Law Commissions' minutes examined and TNA references for them are listed in Appendix I.3.

9 The unions and record office references are listed in Appendix I.4.

only), outdoor and indoor relief books and accounts ledgers. For no union are they all extant, those for the Bradfield Union in Berkshire are most complete of the unions examined with all except indoor relief registers surviving. These documents, again, provided more details for known families, confirmed that some families had actually migrated and identified others, as well as providing other useful information.

Census enumerators' books

The CEBs for 1841 and 1851 (and a few cases later years) gave details of families and individuals after the migration, in particular their whereabouts, they also provided occupations, confirmation of ages, indications of marriages and in many cases the details of family members not identified in the 1843 Report. They also provided evidence of chain migration as friends and relatives of the scheme families joined them in the north. The strengths and weaknesses of census material have been widely discussed,¹⁰ and their use was not entirely without difficulty, as is described below.

The Migrants Database

The details of all individual migrants listed in the 1843 Report were entered into a Microsoft Excel™ spreadsheet (hereafter the Migrants Database). In addition to the details supplied in the Report extra fields were added: sex, position in family (head, wife, child 1, child 2, etc.), marital condition (single, married, widowed), whether the individual or family was listed in the 1843 Report and a field for remarks; each individual was given a two part number identifying the family and their position within it. The database enabled investigations of individuals and families and also supplied raw data for numerical analysis of a number of aspects of the scheme.

‡

From the Poor Law Commissioners' correspondence it was possible to amplify the details of a number of families and to identify some 500 extra individuals who migrated under the scheme, but who do not appear in the 1843 Report, in particular a number of families who migrated before the agents were appointed. Information from these sources was added to the Migrants Database, with all individuals flagged as having migrated under the scheme. In addition, about the same number of people were identified who either applied, or were nominated for the scheme, but for whom there

10 For example Higgs (1996) and Mills and Schürer (1996).

was no indication that they actually moved; their details were also added to the database and flagged that it was not certain that they had migrated. Frustratingly, some of the correspondence refers to unidentified families being sent to named employers.

Information from the boards of guardians' records was also added to the Migrants Database. Members of several migrant families were examined by the Commons and Lords Select Committees into the poor law during the 1837-38 session of Parliament, again where new details were provided, they were added to the database.¹¹ In a number of cases the information from the 1843 Report about the families was further enhanced using the International Genealogical Index (IGI) and the UK Vital Records Index (VRI).¹² For instance the only personal information provided in the 1843 Report about Silas Painter, his wife and seven children, from Iwerne Minster in Dorset, was Silas's age and the names of the children, but not that of his wife. While there was no further information about the family on the IGI, use of the VRI enabled the dates of the christenings, and hence the approximate ages, of six of the children and the name of his wife to be established.

Another source used to supplement the Migrants Database was the CEBs, mainly for 1841 and 1851. Although the CEBs are now fully searchable on-line, when this research started the on-line facility was not available. Therefore the search for the migrants was started using microfilms of the books. The 1851 CEBs for 32 registration districts, with a population of about two million people, in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire were searched.¹³ This trawl enabled the positive identification of members of 128 known migrant families still living in the manufacturing districts in 1851. Subsequent to the trawl, the census enumerators' books became available on-line, together with nominal indexes. This enabled searches for specific families or individuals to be undertaken throughout the country.¹⁴ Some 95% of families selected for detailed research in the Sample Database (see Chapter Four) were identified in the CEBs.

11 Much of the evidence was published verbatim in *The Times* within days of it being given.

12 The IGI and VRI are indexes to baptisms and marriages in parish registers produced by the Genealogical Society of Utah. The IGI is accessible on-line at www.familysearch.org. Earlier versions are available on fiche or CD-ROM. The VRI is only available on CD-ROM.

13 The registration districts, with their populations and TNA piece numbers are noted in Appendix II.1.

14 The decennial censuses from 1841 to 1901 are available on-line, by subscription, at ancestry.co.uk

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Parish or Township of		Ecclesiastical District of		City or Borough of		Town of		Village of	
No.	Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of Male Persons	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where born	Whether Blind, Deaf, or Lame	
46	Bridge Street	Edward Barratt	Husband	Married	40	Builder	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Mary Barratt	Wife	Married	38	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Ann Barratt	Daughter	Single	11	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Charles Raven	Husband	Married	40	Builder	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Mary Raven	Wife	Married	38	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Ann Raven	Daughter	Single	11	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		John Barnes	Husband	Married	40	Builder	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Mary Barnes	Wife	Married	38	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None
		Ann Barnes	Daughter	Single	11	Wife	Suffolk Eye	Married	None

Figure 3.2: Example of damaged page from 1851 census for Bridge Street, Gorton, Lancashire. Ann Barratt (second from top) was the married daughter of Charles and Mary Raven (second family); all were born at Eye, Suffolk. The details of the last two members of the Barnes household at the foot of the page are almost totally obliterated.

Source: TNA, ref. HO 107/2219 f.329 p.23.

About half of the 1851 CEBs for the Manchester area have been badly water damaged and were originally considered unsuitable for filming by TNA. They represent the details of some 180,000 persons. Of particular interest were the books for Gorton and Ashton-under-Lyne, to where a number of families had gone. Members of the Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society were given access to the original books and, with the help of ultra-violet lamps, were able to transcribe and index much of the previously unreadable content. However the details recovered are still far from complete, generally for entries at the bottom of pages – in a number of cases some two-thirds of the page is physically missing.¹⁵ The contract between TNA and Ancestry.co.uk to put the 1851 census on-line allowed Ancestry to digitise the damaged Manchester enumerators' books thus making them available to the public for the first time. Inevitably, mistakes were made in the subsequent indexing, but there were particular difficulties with the damaged books (for which the family history society indexes are far superior). For instance the Raven family, who went to Gorton from Eye in Suffolk, are

¹⁵ The Manchester registration sub-districts and townships affected, together with TNA piece numbers are noted in Appendix II.2.

indexed as 'Ronan' (Figure 3.2). Strategies were required to overcome such problems – in this instance the index was searched by looking for individuals born in Suffolk between 1815 and 1835 enumerated in the Gorton sub-district. The fact that Ann Barratt was living in the same house as the Ravens and was also born at Eye suggested that she might have been related to them. Searches on the LancashireBMD and FreeBMD websites showed that Ann Raven had married Leonard Barratt at St John's Church, Manchester in the December quarter of 1841.¹⁶ Leonard Barratt was also born at Eye and had been living with the family at Gorton in 1841.¹⁷ He is not on the Migrants Database, so it is likely that he had followed the family from Suffolk independently.

Some searches were more convoluted. Peter Richardson and his family, also from Eye, went to work at Ainsworth's mill in Little Bolton in August 1836. Even though Richardson is a widespread surname they should have been easy to trace, since the 1843 Report named the working children as Keliyah, Aseneth and Azubah (and 'three others'). The girls could not be found in the 1841 or 1851 census indexes, although a Peter Richardson of about the right age to be their father was living in Norwich in 1851 with a married daughter Clarissa Harvey and his two sons, Augustus and Thornton. Keliyah, Aseneth and Azubah may have married, so a search was made on FreeBMD and LancashireBMD, but to no avail, although the death of 14 year old Aseneth Hester Richardson was registered in Little Bolton registration sub-district in the March quarter of 1838. A search of the IGI revealed the christening, of both Clarissa Zillah and Aseneth Hester, daughters of Peter and Mary Richardson, 9 June 1824 at Eye in Suffolk.¹⁸ This confirmed that the Peter Richardson in Norwich in 1851 was the head of the family that had migrated in 1836. FreeBMD revealed that Clarissa Zillah Richardson had married Henry Harvey at Norwich in the December quarter of 1848. As this is the first sighting of the family after Aseneth Hester's death in Bolton in 1838, it is not possible to pinpoint the date of the family's return with precision.

16 FreeBMD.org.uk provides a fully searchable index to birth, marriage and death registrations in England and Wales 1837-c.1910, this project is ongoing; another ongoing project at LancashireBMD.org.uk provides a searchable index to birth, marriage and death registrations in the County Palatine, 1837 to date, there are similar projects for other counties, most notably Cheshire.

17 TNA, ref: HO 107/581/13 f.26 p.16

18 The CD-ROM version of the IGI enables searches to be made for the christenings of children of named parents on a county (or multiple county) basis. This facility is not available on the Internet version.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PEOPLE

This chapter begins by summarising the 1843 Report, giving a breakdown of the numbers involved in the scheme in terms of families and persons; the source and destination counties and parishes/townships; and the progress of the migration scheme. It then looks at the migrant families, in particular their characteristics with respect to family size and age distribution, and heads of households. It investigates whether the scheme was a success for the migrants, addressing the question of ‘migration fatigue’ – looking at those who returned to their home parishes and those that stayed in their new surroundings. It considers the children’s wages, their occupations in the mills and the legality of their contracts. Finally it discusses briefly the effect the scheme had on the careers of the two migration agents, Richard Muggeridge and Robert Baker.

The 1843 Report

Despite its drawbacks the 1843 Report does provide details of 519 families, comprising 4,483 individuals, together with 231 single persons and eight ‘young married men’, who migrated after the scheme was placed under the superintendence of the migration agents (Table 4.1). In all 1,772 individuals are named explicitly. For 345 of the families (2,711 individuals) only the names of the fathers and sizes of the families are supplied.

Number of person in families	4,483
Single persons and ‘young married men’	239
Total individuals	4,722
Number of families ¹	519

Table 4.1: Breakdown of individuals and families listed in 1843 Report.

In addition to information on the migrant families the 1843 Report provides details of the parishes/poor law unions they came from and the employers they went to work for. The migrant families came from 184 parishes in 84 unions spread across 18 counties (Table 4.2).

¹ Includes five families where the number of members could not be determined.

County	Number of Families	Number of Individuals	Number of Unions	Number of Parishes	Comments
BDF	35	274	3	12	11 families/77 individuals parish/union not given
BKM	45	390	3	10	1 family/7 individuals parish/union not given
BRK	15	139	5	9	6 families/58 individuals parish/union not given
CAM	16	142	6	7	3 families/20 individuals parish/union not given
DOR	2	15	2	2	
ESS	13	114	5	7	6 families/51 individuals parish/union not given
GLS	3	-	2	2	2 families size not given
HAM	5	47	2	2	2 families/18 individuals parish/union not given
HRT	3	24	2	2	1 family/11 individuals parish/union not given
KEN	22	182	7	10	9 families/65 individuals parish/union not given
LIN	1	9	1	1	parish/union not given
NFK	65	556	19	9	42 families/344 individuals parish/union not given
NTH	1	8	1	1	
OXF	16	134	4	6	3 families/26 individuals parish/union not given
SFK	242	2069	14	91	32 families/278 individuals parish/union not given
SRY	1	7	1	1	
SSX	7	62	3	6	
WIL	9	82	5	7	2 families/22 individuals parish/union not given

Table 4.2: Counties of origin of migrant families listed in 1843 Report.

The families were sent to at least 114 employers (many families were sent to unspecified employers) in seven counties, predominantly to Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, although a significant number went to Cheshire (Table 4.3).

County	Number of Employers	Number of Families	Number of Individuals	Comments
CHS	30	100	898	includes 16 children not in families
DBY	10	55	476	
LAN	53	196	1651	includes 7 children not in families
SOM	1	-	17	all single girls
STS	3	9	83	
WAR	1	1	4	father and 3 sons employed on railway construction
YKS	19	137	1239	includes 92 children not in families

Table 4.3: Identifiable destination counties and employers of migrant families listed in 1843 Report.

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the data from the 1843 Report was supplemented from a number of sources to enhance the Migrants Database.

The migrant families

Rate of migration over the course of the scheme

Figure 4.1 shows the numbers of migrant families per month from the first to move in January 1835 to the last in June 1837. The apparent sudden increase in January 1836 is due mainly to under-recording in the period before the agents were appointed and while they organised the system – for about three months after the agents took office many parishes were still negotiating directly with employers. Another 109 families are known to have moved during 1835, but the month is unrecorded. Lesser contributing factors were probably a growing awareness of the scheme as a result of the efforts to promote it to potential employers by the migration agents and to parish and poor law union officers by the assistant commissioners and the buoyant outlook for trade during the first half of 1836.

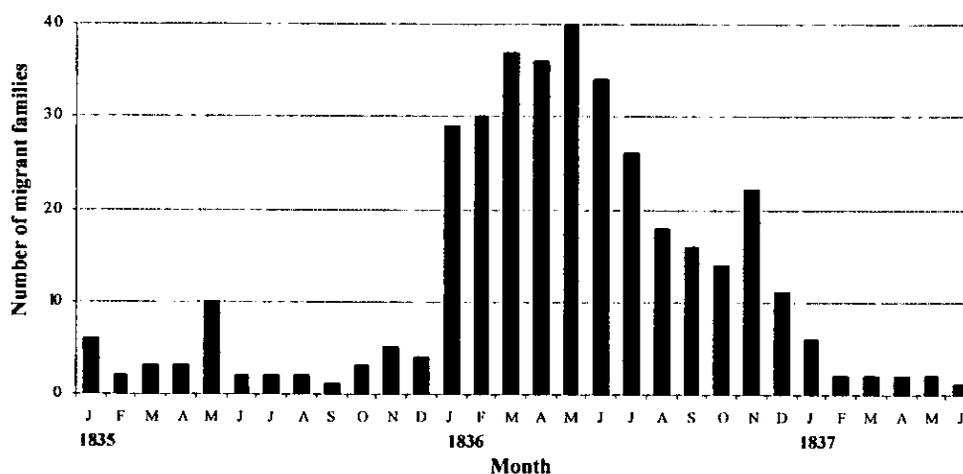


Figure 4.1: Numbers of families migrating per month, Jan 1835-Jun 1837.
Source: Migrants Database.

Migration under the scheme reached its peak in the spring and early summer of 1836, when up to 40 families were moved in a month. From July there was a steady decline in numbers, with the exception of November, as the trade depression began to take hold. There is no obvious explanation for the November phenomenon – although about one-third of the families came from the Woodbridge Union in Suffolk they came from a number of parishes and went to different employers. There is a sharp decrease after

December 1836 as travelling was suspended because of extremely cold weather in January and February, not only were the children in danger of suffering from exposure on the journey, but the canals were frozen over. By the time the weather improved, the economic climate had deteriorated to such an extent that many families' contracts were cancelled by the employers. The last family, that of Samuel Brooks, arrived at Woodhouse Mill near Rochdale from Essendon in Hertfordshire in June 1837.

Migrants' characteristics

Using the Migrants Database it is possible to define some of the characteristics of the migrants, in particular their age-profile and family size. As discussed in Chapter One, it is to be expected that the age profile of the families would be different from that described by Pooley and Turnbull, Figure 4.2 confirms this to be the case. Figure 4.2a shows that most 'normal' migration in first half of the nineteenth century was undertaken by people in their late teens and early twenties, peaking at age 21 to 23 and falling off in the late twenties and early thirties. For migrants on the scheme Figure 4.2b, the peak occurs almost ten years earlier, in the early to mid-teens (the children) with a secondary bump representing people in their late thirties to mid-forties (the parents).² At the time the scheme was running, the Poor Law Commissioners were authorising Treasury loans to parishes to fund emigration to the colonies, usually Australia or Canada. The Commission's correspondence often provides details of the emigrants. Their age profile is generally different to the home migrants. They are usually young families or single persons.

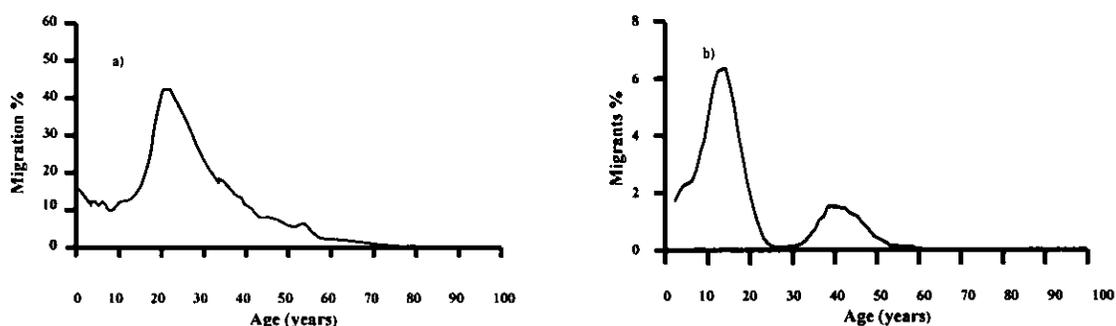


Figure 4.2 a) Age profile of 'normal' migrants 1800-49. b) Age profile under the migration scheme. Ages plotted as five year moving averages.

Sources: a) Pooley & Turnbull. (1998) Table 6.2b; b) Migrants Database.

2 The y-axis of Figure 4.1a represents the percentage of moves undertaken at different ages over each individual life course – 40% of individuals aged 20 moved at that age, 10% of individuals aged 10 moved at that age ... and so on. The y-axis of Figure 4.1b represents the numbers of individuals of a given age as a percentage of all scheme migrants. What is relevant is the comparative shapes of the graphs.

Pooley and D'Cruz, suggested that migrants' age characteristics are largely a result of the migration process, rather than a determining factor.³ In the case of the scheme migrants, the children's ages was the major determinant for the move. It was the children that were needed and their ages were dictated by the factory acts. Indeed it could almost be said that the children were the migrants and their parents 'dependants'.

The average family comprised about nine members – seven or eight children depending on whether there was both father and mother, or a single, widowed, parent. The largest family to migrate was that of James Clark, who with his wife and 14 children left Wrentham in Suffolk to work at Henry Sidebottom's cotton mill at Houghton Green, Hyde in Cheshire. The large size of the families generated the pressure to move, particularly from those areas where there was little opportunity for the children to contribute to the family income, since large families were a serious drain on the purses of the poor-rate payers of their parishes. Size also selected the families, as small families, with necessarily younger children, were not acceptable to the employers, who needed workers above the age of 12, because of the age restrictions imposed by the 1833 Factory Act.⁴ However, younger children in a family provided a potential pool of labour for the future.

Pooley and Turnbull have suggested that migration was usually facilitated by well developed support networks. Relatives or friends who had already moved provided support by finding employment and accommodation for the new migrants.⁵ For migrants under the scheme, the migration agents provided the support network function, organising employment, housing, transport from London where applicable and acting as distributors of monies sent by their home parishes. There is evidence that migrants under the scheme fulfilled this mentoring role for their own kith and kin once they had become established in the north. Muggeridge, in his report of 1837, estimated that for every migrant under the scheme, another person had followed independently.⁶ Among the Poor Law Commission's correspondence are copies of letters in which scheme

3 Pooley and D'Cruz (1994), p.348.

4 3 & 4 Wm IV, c.103. The Act did not apply to silk mills.

5 Pooley & Turnbull (1998), p.124.

6 PP 1837 XXVIII (546), p.93.

migrants urge family or friends to join them. In evidence given to the Commons Select Committee into the workings of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, George Pearse, Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Woburn Union in Bedfordshire, stated ‘...all those migrations [from Woburn Union] did not take place with the assistance and sanction of the board; in some cases it was a private speculation of the parties themselves’.⁷ Additionally, the 1851 census provides strong circumstantial evidence, as the CEBs show families and individuals not on the Migrants Database from the same southern parishes as scheme families living nearby. These new migrants often had children born in the south after 1837 and thus could not have migrated under the scheme.

Heads of households

As was seen in Chapter One, there was felt to be little potential for agricultural work in the manufacturing districts for adult male labourers. In 1835 Ampthill Union sent a

Wanted.

A WIDOW WOMAN,
WITH TWO, THREE, OR FOUR
CHILDREN,
FROM NINE TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE,
*Where good Wages will be given
and constant Employment.*

Apply to Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON,
THORNER COTTON HILL, NEAR LEEDS.
(IF BY LETTER, POST-PAID.)
FEBRUARY 21st, 1835.

W. BEAN AND SON, PRINTERS, TOP OF BRIGGATE, LEEDS.

Figure 4.3: Handbill distributed by George Thompson in southern parishes.

Source: TNA, ref: MH 12/15286, 27 February 1835.

George Thompson, of Thorner near Leeds, sent handbills to southern parishes offering employment to ‘a widow woman with two, three or four children’ in his cotton mill (Figure 4.3). A copy of the handbill sent to the Poor Law Commissioners was annotated on the back ‘shoemaker with 3 or 4 children 9-14 would be suitable – good house at present empty suitable for provision shop rent £8:8s and another house £3:15s and others in village £4 - £5, cannot employ any farmer nor can they find any employment

delegation to the north to assess the potential for employment of their pauper families. They reported ‘Messrs Marshall & Sons [of Stockport] would be glad of a widow and family and provided the children were numerous the father would not be objected to.’⁸ Christie Lorenzo, a silk throwster of Edale in Derbyshire, wrote to the Commissioners that he had no employment for men and preferred widows with families, chiefly girls.⁹

7 PP 1837-38 XVIII Pt. III (405) p.16.

8 TNA, ref: MH 12/1 17 Oct 1835.

9 TNA, ref: MH 12/1891, 9 March 1835.

in the district'.¹⁰ However, despite this declared preference on the part of the employers, the Migrants Database shows that the majority of the heads of families were male, only one in eight was a woman. The Database further shows that for 83% of families where the children's wages were given, the fathers were also paid by their employer.¹¹ For example, Robert Loades from Burnham Overy in Norfolk was employed by Rouse and Sons of Bradford as a carter;¹² most of the fathers who went to Styal were employed on the Gregs' Oak Farm; and other employers provided various unskilled jobs in their factories. Thus, despite the employers' statements that they had no work for adult males, in most cases work was found for them. Of male family heads identified in either the 1841 or 1851 census, some 24% were employed in mills, usually in relatively unskilled occupations such as grinder, but several were operating looms or spinning machinery (Table 4.4). The majority of those working outside the industry were agricultural labourers, but some had more skilled employment such as carter or cordwainer. A few had more exotic occupations: book keeper, herbalist, schoolmaster, railway station master and Francis Daniels from Fressingfield in Suffolk described himself in 1851 as 'joiner & farmer' in the 1851 census return for Hullock End, Newchurch in Rossendale.¹³

Occupation	n	%	Occupation	n	%
Textiles (non-labouring)	18	19.8	Groom	1	1.1
Labourer (unspecified)	17	18.7	Herbalist	1	1.1
Agricultural/farm labourer	15	16.5	Hairdresser	1	1.1
Boot/shoemaker	7	7.7	Husbandman	1	1.1
Carrier/carter	6	6.6	Joiner	1	1.1
Textiles (labourer)	4	4.4	Joiner & farmer	1	1.1
Coal miner	3	3.3	Pauper	1	1.1
Watchman	3	3.3	Pensioner	1	1.1
Gardner	2	2.2	Railway station master	1	1.1
Blacksmith	1	1.1	Rent agent	1	1.1
Book keeper	1	1.1	Schoolmaster	1	1.1
Bricklayer	1	1.1	Servant all work	1	1.1
Butcher	1	1.0	Total	91	100.0

Table 4.4: Occupations of male heads of migrating families.
Source: 1841 and 1851 CEBs.

10 TNA, ref: MH 12/15286, 27 February 1835.

11 Families where the children's wages were stated were examined to determine whether the father was also paid.

12 TNA, ref: MH 12/15224, 7 June 1837. Loades was injured making a delivery to Leeds and paid half wages for 2-3 weeks.

13 TNA, ref: HO 107/2248 f.275 p.8.

Typical weekly wages paid to adult males employed by the mill owners were from 11 to 14 shillings per week. Less than a quarter of the female heads were provided with work. Where it was given it was at the same rate as the older girls which was between four shillings and sixpence and seven shillings per week. Few married women were offered work originally, but by 1841 a number of them were employed in the mills, for instance Maria Honeyball from Stradbroke in Suffolk was employed as a silk winder in Sandbach and Hannah Lambourn from Berkshire was working in a cotton mill in Farnworth.¹⁴

Was the scheme a success for the families?

There are a number of letters from migrants extolling the virtues of the scheme and encouraging their kith and kin to follow them. Some were published as part of Robert Baker's contribution to the Poor Law Commissioners Annual Report of 1836.¹⁵ 'We like Leeds and the people here behave well to us'.¹⁶ 'The people of Leeds and our neighbours behave very well to us'.¹⁷ 'The people of Leeds behave well to us, and our neighbours looked after us as if we belonged to them'.¹⁸ 'We all like Leeds very well, and we have received better treatment since we came to Leeds, than we did in our own part of the country, where the people are so poor they are fit to eat one another'.¹⁹ 'We like Leeds very much and the people behave very well to us'.²⁰ The letters are formulaic: thanking someone for sending the family; a listing of the family's income; the mantra 'the people behave very well to us'; and in those that are written to their parishes, encouragement for friends and family to join them. They are all dated July 1836. There were only three employers in Leeds known to have been involved in the scheme. Hindes & Derham, worsted spinners of Meadow Lane, employed the families of two of the writers, Edward Ridgewell and Christian Facer, the employers of the other writers are not known. The letters from which the Commissioners prepared the Report were not the originals, but copies supplied by Baker,²¹ so the handwriting cannot be

14 TNA, refs: Maria Honeyball HO 107/122/9 f.45 p.12; Hannah Lambourn HO 107/541/1 f.33 p.1.

15 PP XXIX 1836 (595), Appendix B, No. 21, pp.432-42.

16 Christian Facer formerly of Wootton, Bedfordshire to Baker, 2 July 1836, PP XXXIX 1836 (595), Appendix B, p.438.

17 Edward Ridgewell, formerly of Castle Heddingham, Essex to Mr Glasscock of Castle Heddingham, 2 July 1836, PP XXXIX 1836 (595), p.439.

18 James Goddard formerly of Suffolk to Baker, 24 July 1836, PP XXXIX 1836 (595), pp.439-40.

19 John Clark, formerly of Thetford, Norfolk to Baker, 24 July 1836, PP XXXIX 1836 (595), pp.440.

20 Ellen Plummer formerly of Suffolk to Mr Goldsmith, 23 July 1836, PP XXXIX 1836 (595), pp.440.

21 Baker's Report, TNA, ref: MH 12/15224.

compared to establish whether they were written in the same hand on behalf of the migrants. However, their similar structure and phraseology suggest they may have been orchestrated, perhaps by their employer – or even Baker himself – and therefore do not necessarily provide a reliable guide to the true feelings of the families towards the scheme.

The families' decision to move had been determined by the need to feed and clothe themselves. Having migrated, if the families did not feel that there was an improvement in their quality of life they could have returned to their home parishes.²² It was decided that assessing whether the scheme was a success, or not, for the migrants could be determined by looking at a sample of the families for their locations in the 1841 and 1851 CEBs. The Migrants Database holds 534 family groups known to have migrated, using a random number generator 154 families were sampled from it for detailed investigation. They represent almost 30% of the scheme migrants. Pertinent details of the families were copied from the Migrants Database into a separate spreadsheet (the Sample Database). Details include family number, name of head, sex and marital condition of head, number in the family, their whereabouts in the 1841 and/or 1851 censuses (in some cases 1861 as well), whether the family had stayed or returned to the south and whether those that stayed had moved away from their original destination townships.

	% All Families	% Male Head	% Female Head	% Married Head	% Widowed Head
Stayers	70.7	86.8	13.2	82.7	17.3
Returners	29.3	84.1	15.9	79.5	20.5
All	100.0	86.0	14.0	81.8	18.2

Table 4.5: Comparison of characteristics of staying and returning families.
Source: Sample Database.

Analysis of the Sample Database shows that 29.3% of families returned to their parishes, while 70.7% stayed in the manufacturing districts. Of the families that stayed, 86.8% had male heads (71.3% of male-headed families) and 13.2% female heads (66.7% of female-headed families); this compares with returning families of whom 84.1% had a male head (28.7% of male headed families) and 15.9% female heads

²² It is extremely unlikely that many of them would have gained a settlement in the manufacturing districts.

(33.3% of female-headed families). Thus the returning families were slightly more likely to have a female head (Table 4.5). The returning families were also more liable to have a widowed head, but given that all female heads were widows this is to be expected.

It might be argued that some families who did not consider that their lot had been improved by the migration did not return to their home parishes because they could not face the rigours of the return journey. This could be described as 'migration fatigue'. While this might be the case in some instances, many of the families who remained in the manufacturing districts had moved from the townships to which they first came by 1851, for instance: the Paxman family from Framlingham in Suffolk originally went to Farnworth, near Bolton, to work for James Rothwell Barnes and Sons in April 1836, but the 1841 census finds them at Skircoat near Halifax.²³ By 1851 the family had moved again, this time to Bradford,²⁴ with a son having married at St Mary's, Prestwich in 1848. By 1861 they had started to ramify, while most of the family were living in various parts of Bradford, one son was living in Keighley. In 1871 family members were to be found not only in Bradford, but in Bowling, Horton, Huddersfield and Leeds.²⁵

William Durrant and James French with their families went to work at Cragg Mill in Errington township near Hebden Bridge in February and March 1836 respectively. They were enumerated at Cragg in the 1841 census.²⁶ In 1851 the families were in Lancashire living next door to one another at Brooksbottom, Walmersley, but one member of the Durrant family was living in Rawtenstall and two French sons were living at Elton, near Bury.²⁷ One remained in Elton, but by 1861 the other had moved to Embsay near Skipton in Yorkshire and by 1871 to Gargrave.²⁸

Rees had problems finding some of the migrants to the Preston area in the census and

23 1841 census, Shawhill, Skircoat, Halifax, TNA, ref: HO 107/1304/4 ff.42-3 pp.23-4.

24 1851 census, Manningham, Bradford, TNA, ref: HO 107/2310 f.448 p.21.

25 1861 census, Bradford, TNA, ref: RG 9/3321 f.45 pp.7-8, Keighley, RG 9/3227f.18 p.29. 1871 census, index to 1871 census, Ancestry.co.uk .

26 1841 census, Cragg, Errington, TNA, ref: HO 107/1299/8 f.19 p.3 and f.21 p.7.

27 1851 census, French and Durrant in Walmersley, TNA, ref: HO 107/2212 f.359 p.7; Durrant in Rawtenstall, TNA, ref: HO 107/2249 f.58 p.10; French in Elton, HO 107/2215 f.56 p.5.

28 1861 census, French in Elton, TNA, ref: RG 9/2853 f.66 p.31; French in Embsay, RG 9/3189 f.97 p.18; 1871 census, French in Gargrave, TNA, ref: RG 10/4260 f.34 p.11.

assumed that they had returned home.²⁹ She speculated that the mother of one family, Rebecca Kerridge, might have returned to Suffolk and then come back to Preston by 1861 to be near her son William (who Rees found in Preston in 1851) after the death of her husband.³⁰ This appears to be the case, as Rebecca is recorded as a widow, with four children (one born in Preston) living in Rendlesham in Suffolk in 1851.³¹ Another family who migrated to the Preston area was that of George and Naomi Ware, who with their eight children migrated from Lenham in Kent. They all appear in the 1841 census living at Middleforth Green, Penwortham.³² In 1851, most of the family were living in Preston, although one son was living with a married sister in Lancaster.³³ In January 1855, George and Naomi Ware, their son Samuel, their daughter Ruth and their son James and his wife and child, left Preston for Liverpool, where they embarked on the *Charles Buck*, a clipper employed by the Church of the Latter-day Saints (Mormons), bound for New Orleans and, ultimately, Utah.³⁴

Giving evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on the Burdens Affecting Real Property in 1846, R H Greg, speaking of the scheme's migrants employed at his mill at Styal, answered the question 'Can you state what has become of these people?':

'... Steevens [*sic*] is also still in our Employ and doing well: but they are a very delicate family. I would mention, with respect to that Family, that some of them were consumptive, and not likely to suit us. After they had been a short Time in our Employ I wrote to the Parish Officers to state this, and that they had better go back, lest any Accident should happen to them. I made every Arrangement to have them taken back, and when done I dismissed them from my Employment, and said – "You may now return; the Arrangements are all made; your Journey will be paid for, and you will be received back again." But they would not go back; and all I could do to persuade them to go back, or to drive them, did not succeed. After hanging about for a Year we took them into our Employ again, and they are with us still ... Worth died of Smallpox; the family turned out ill, having an ignorant stupid Mother; One Child only works with us, and earns 14s. 1d. weekly. We dismissed the Family for Misconduct, but they continue to reside in the parish.'³⁵

The Stevens family from Bledlow in Buckinghamshire were the first family to agree to

29 Rees did not follow up the families by searching the census of their home parishes. Nor did she look for them in Lancashire outside the Preston area, where several of them had moved to.

30 Rees (1991), p.25.

31 TNA, ref: HO 107/1802 f.365 p.12.

32 TNA, ref: HO 107/527/5 f31 p.4; the children were employed at nearby Walton mill.

33 1851 census, Preston, TNA, ref: HO 107/2265 f.259, pp.12-13, HO 107/2272 f.470 p.12; Lancaster, TNA, ref: HO 107/2272 f.420 p.12.

34 LDS British Mission emigration records, microfilm number 025690, book C (I am indebted to Vona Williams of the British Isles Section of the LDS Library, Utah, for this source); LDS Family History Resource File: Mormon Immigration Index CD-ROM.

35 PP 1846 VI Pt. I (411.II), p.376.

move under the scheme in January 1835. The age certificate book for Quarry Bank Mill shows that Orlando Worsh was deemed to be aged 13 in October 1844, but it is unlikely that he would have been earning over 14s per week, his sister Rosina started work at Styal in July 1847.³⁶ The Worsh family were living in Greg's Oak Cottages in 1841 with three of the children apparently employed at the mill.³⁷

In June 1836 the Clerk of the Bradfield Union in Berkshire received an unsigned letter:

We are sorry to say that ower master is Broke and we expect to have done work every day, he had three factories and one is fully stopt and the other two are keeping a few hands on for two or three days the sale is to commence on the 4th of July next I applied to my Master three times to know whether I was at liberty to go to another place or if he could get it for me he told me he could not but if I could get me a situate myself he would give me a character, I have travelled 5 days to get a situation for my family but the country is very full of people from Ireland and from all parts of ingland that I could not get no place at all the machinery is all to be sold, and there is a number of people out of employ in Glossop and will be more when all is at a stand and is expected to stand a long time before it goes on again there is eight families returned back to Buckinghamshire from whence they came and some went in great distress. I have done the best I can and without something more than we know of we must apply to the Relieving Officer of this parish we are living in Barick Row No 6 Glossop in Derbyshire we should have sent before but we did not like to trouble you we expected to get a situation.³⁸

The Clerk to the Union identified the writer as Robert Lovelock, originally from Bradfield parish, whose family was sent to work for Benjamin Waterhouse at Glossop in Derbyshire in March 1836. There is no indication in the letter that the family wished to return to Berkshire, just a simple statement of their condition. The return home of the Buckinghamshire families must have tempted Lovelock to adopt the same course, but instead he made efforts to find alternative employment for himself and his family in Derbyshire. The Lovelocks were found another situation by Muggeridge near Stockport.

The Sample Database shows that, subsequent to their initial migration, two-thirds of the families moved away from the townships they originally went to; as has been illustrated, some moved several times. These moves were taken under their own initiative as they found their new employment and planned and funded the move themselves. To have returned to their parishes would have cost them nothing and the logistics would have been organised by their employers (as in Greg's abortive attempt to send the Stevens back to Bledlow), or the poor law officers, either of their home

36 MLSA, ref: C5/4/3/1, certificates 719 and 827.

37 TNA, ref: HO 107/115/6 f.49 p.19.

38 Bradfield Union letter book, BRK, ref: G/B/5/1.

parishes or the townships they were living in. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that those families that stayed in the manufacturing districts made the choice to do so, being satisfied that they had a better quality of life than in their home parishes, Stevens certainly believed it. He is reported to have said 'That all the horses in Buckinghamshire should not draw him back again'.³⁹ Two other families, both working in Hyde in 1842, were also happy with their lot: Thomas White's wife on being asked if she would like to go back to the south, said that she 'would rather be transported' and John Cawthorn said he was quite satisfied and did not want to return.⁴⁰ Taylor, writing of the cotton operatives in 1842 during the downturn in trade observed that 'In the present severe pressure of commercial distress there are scores, and probably hundreds of workmen, whom the authorities would gladly send back to their parishes ... but these men submit to the pressure of hunger, and all its attendant sufferings, with an iron endurance which nothing can bend, rather than be carried back to an agricultural district'.⁴¹

The children

As has been seen, the employers expressed a preference for girls as employees. From the Migrants Database it can be calculated that the ratio of male to female children was 100:126, this compares with a ratio of 100:105 for persons under 30 in England.⁴² Thus

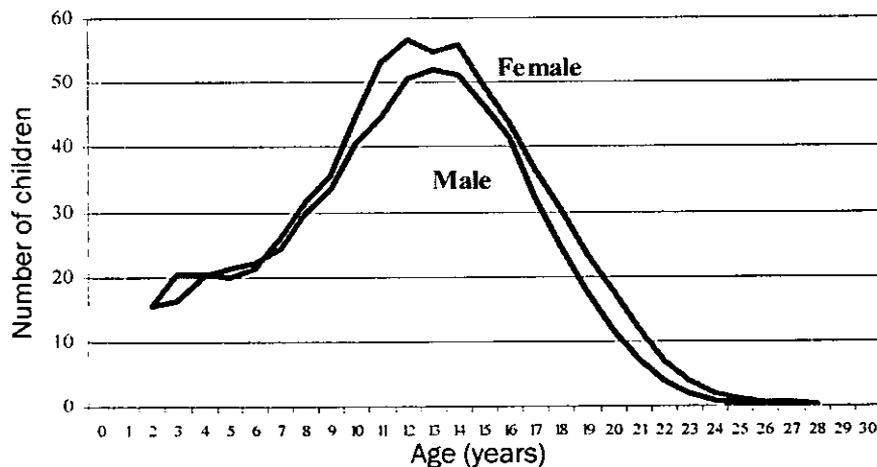


Figure 4.4: Age distribution of male and female child migrants (five year moving averages).

Source: Migrants Database

there were about 20% more girls than might be anticipated, so to some extent the

39 PP 1835 XXIV (500), Appendix B, p.156.

40 PP 1842 XXXV (158), p.19.

41 Taylor (1842) p.8.

42 England ratio calculated from 1841 Census Abstracts, PP 1843 XXII (496), p.398.

employers requirements were being met. Figure 4.4 shows that the age profiles for boys and girls were, as might be expected, similar.

The children's wages

There are a number of references to the wages being offered to the migrants being below the 'going rate'. During the Commons' Select Committee enquiry James Turner was asked 'Is it your opinion that if those children had gone to the factory at Leeds ... they would have been employed at wages far below what was competent for their maintenance'. He replied 'A great deal lower than was competent; I have never seen any of the labourers that have gone from the rural districts that have more wages than I have stated; that is about two-thirds of what the ordinary hands had in the neighbourhood where they went'.⁴³ Both Ashworth and Greg had stated in correspondence with Chadwick, that they would pay the children below the normal rate and Henry Fox Talbot wrote that families from Laycock in Wiltshire were to be paid half wages for the first month by John Jellicorse of Skircoat.⁴⁴

The Migrants Database provides the incremental wages over two or three years offered to the children, their ages at the time of the contract and the industry in which their employers were engaged – cotton, flax, silk, wool or worsted (there were also two coal owners, two bleachers and a dyer). The increase in wages of each age cohort of migrant boys and girls employed in the cotton industry,⁴⁵ up to the age of 22, over the three years was compared (Figure 4.5). There is little that is surprising, although there is an apparent decrease in wages during the last year and the differential between years is slightly greater for the girls than the boys.

43 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part II (283), p.7.

44 TNA, ref: MH 12/13699. 17 Oct 1835.

45 There were insufficient migrant children employed in branches of the textile industry other than cotton to provide meaningful comparisons.

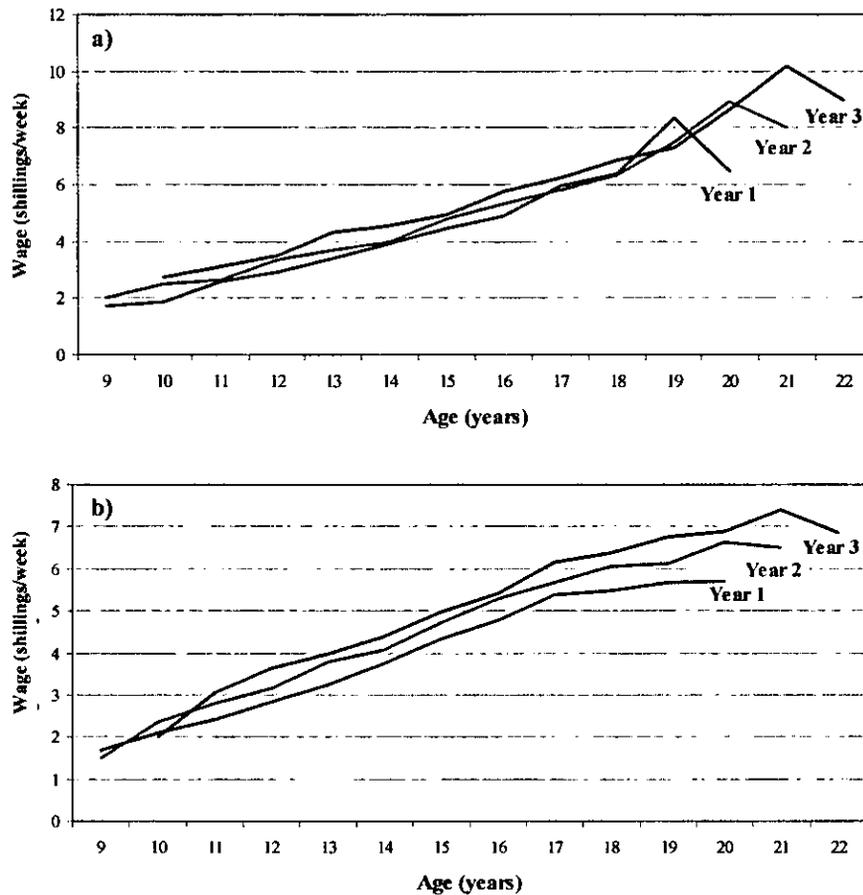


Figure 4.5: Mean migrant children's wages in cotton mills for three years, by age – a) male children, b) female children.
Source: Migrants Database.

The Supplementary Report of the Commission on Employment of Children in Factories presents ages and wages of workers in the textile industries in various areas collected in 1833.⁴⁶ The tables for the cotton industry include one headed 'Lancashire', although the list includes a number of employers from Cheshire and the West Riding.⁴⁷ If the wages of the migrant children are compared with those for the indigenous child workforce a clear pattern emerges (Figure 4.6). Until the age of 16 there is little difference in the wages of migrant children of either sex and indigenous girls, but indigenous boys are paid slightly more. Above the age of 16 migrant boys and indigenous girls are paid about the same, but progressively more than migrant girls of the same age, but all have a more-or-less linear yearly increase. On the other hand the wages of indigenous boys increase rapidly during this period, from about six shillings per week at 16 to in excess

46 PP 1834 XX (167), p.21.

47 PP 1834 XX (167), p.62. Only one employer on the list was identified as being involved in the migration scheme.

of 16 shillings at age 22, at which age it is almost double the wage of migrant boys and indigenous girls. These differences probably reflect that by the age of 15 or 16 most children had worked in different parts of the mill and some boys were skilled enough to

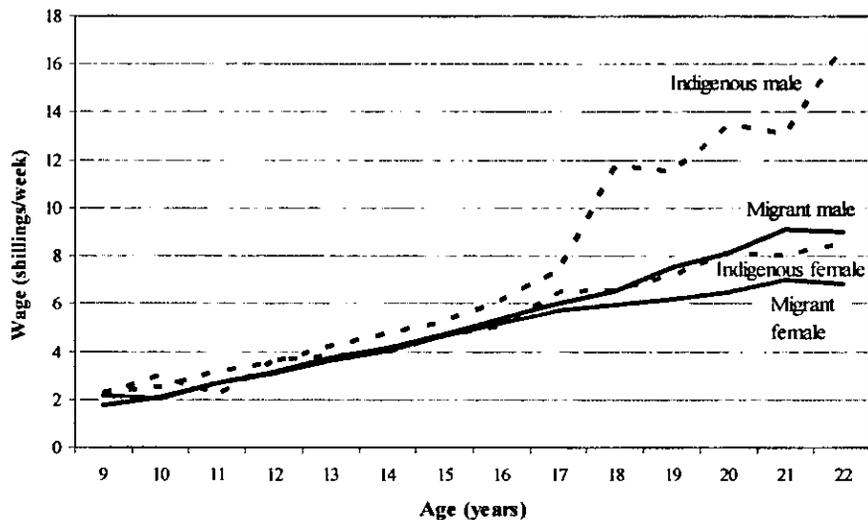


Figure 4.6: Comparison of wages for indigenous and migrant children, male and female. Migrants children's wages are mean for age, irrespective of experience. Source: Migrants Database and PP 1834 XX (167), p.21.

work as throstle spinners and by 19 or 20 they had obtained the skills to graduate to mule spinning.⁴⁸ As the migrant children were directly employed by the mill owners, they were likely to work in low-wage departments, such as weaving or carding, rather than in spinning.⁴⁹

The Royal Commission's report also provides the numbers of persons employed by age (Figure 4.7a). From the late teens the number of male employees as a proportion of the total workforce started to fall exponentially as the boys left to take up 'manly occupations'.⁵⁰ This suggests that the employment prospects of the migrant boys would not extend far beyond the end of their contracts. The 1851 census tables show that the workforce in Lancashire cotton mills had aged slightly when compared to 1833, but was still predominantly composed of workers in their late teens and early twenties (Figure 4.7b), yet some 61% of scheme boys identified in the 1851 CEBs were working in the mills, by which time some were in their mid-thirties. For the girls, the employment decline started in their early twenties, as their life cycles took them into marriage and

48 Boot (1995), p.298.

49 Boot (1995), p.292.

50 Greg, R H. (1837) *The factory question*, London, p.58., quoted in Cunningham (1990), p.146.

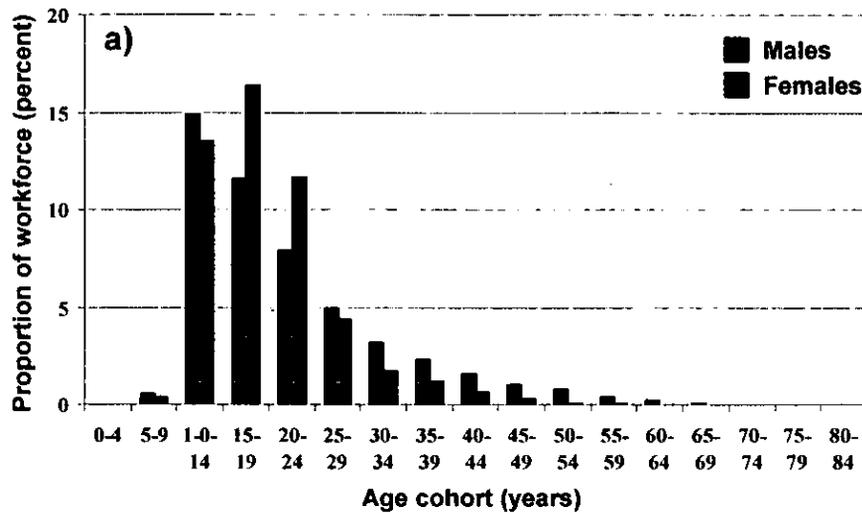


Figure 4.7a: Males and females by age as a proportion of the workforce in Lancashire cotton mills, 1833.
Source: PP 1834 XX (167), p.21.

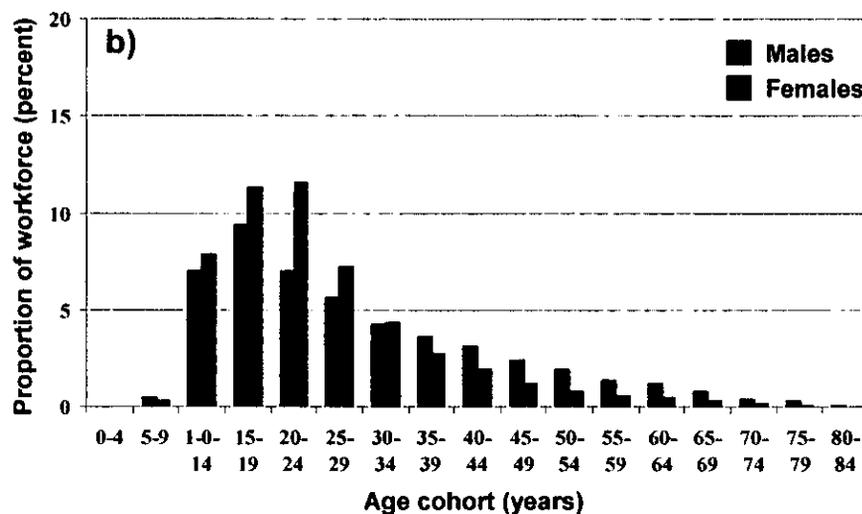


Figure 4.7b: Males and females by age as a proportion of the workforce in Lancashire cotton mills, 1851.
Source: PP1852-53 LXXXVIII Pt.II (1691-II), pp.632, 635.

motherhood.

Children’s occupations

Table 4.6 shows the departments in which the children from five families who were employed by the Gregs at Styal worked. Unfortunately their actual tasks are not given. However, it is evident that there was little movement from one department to another, although there was movement within departments. Rebecka Steevens, for instance, started in the fourth spinning room in February 1835, but a year later was working in the

third spinning room. Over time the younger Howlett, Steevens and Veary children are shown starting work as they become old enough. This pattern is reflected in the medical certificate books for Hareholme Mill in the Rossendale Valley where the Coxhill and Moor families were employed.⁵¹

Name (age)	7 Feb 1835	21 March 1835	16 Jan 1836	21 May 1836
Mary Ann Howlett (16)	card room	card room	card room	card room
Timothy Howlett (10)	card room	card room	card room	card room
Celia Howlett (12)	spinning room	-	card room	card room
Ann Howlett (14)	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room
Mary Howlett	-	picking	picking	-
Edward Howlett	-	-	-	scutcher
Rebecca Steevens (14)	spinning room	-	spinning room	spinning room
James Steevens (12)	spinning room	-	-	spinning room
Mary Steevens (10)	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room
Elizabeth Steevens	winder	spinning room	-	-
Ann Steevens (9)	-	-	spinning room	spinning room
Sarah Steevens	-	-	picker	-
Hannah Veary (50)	-	card room	picker	-
Joseph Veary (12)	-	card room	-	card room
Fanny Veary (16)	-	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room
Mary Veary (10)	-	spinning room	spinning room	spinning room
Samuel Veary (18)	-	scutcher	scutcher	scutcher
Thomas Veary (8)	-	-	-	reeler
John Worsh	-	-	odd hand	-
William Worsh (16)	-	-	card room	spinning room
Horatio Worsh (13)	-	-	card room	-
Mary Ann Worsh	-	-	card room	card room
Theodoric Worsh (10)	-	-	-	card room
Isaac Lock (50)	-	-	-	scutcher
Emma Lock (19)	-	-	-	card room
Elizabeth Lock (10)	-	-	-	spinning room
Penelopy Lock (11)	-	-	-	spinning room

Table 4.6: Occupations of migrant families at Styal mill at selected dates.

Source: Quarry Bank Mill wage books (ages, at time of migration, from Migrants Database).⁵²

Some of the parents are also employed in the mill at Styal. Normally at Styal the migrant fathers and older boys were employed on Oak farm, but the mill wage books show Isaac Lock employed as a scutcher as soon as his family arrived, and John Worsh was taken on as an 'odd hand'. Hannah Veary was employed straight away in the card room alongside her son Joseph. This was unusual for Styal as the Gregs (as did the

⁵¹ William Dockray & Co. of Hareholme, medical certificates, 1836-44, Lancashire RO, ref: DDX 1468/49.

⁵² Quarry Bank Mill wage book, Aug 1834-June 1836, Manchester Archives & Local Studies Library, ref: c5/1/15/2.

Ashworths at Egerton) believed that the mothers should provide a stable home life for the family. The census shows that a number of the boys had risen through the system, by 1851 a number of them were overlookers. For instance William Neal moved with his mother from Friston in Suffolk to Hyde in Cheshire when he was aged 17. By 1851 he was a card room overlooker,⁵³ and brothers William and Thomas Elliott, from Bredgar in Kent were both overlookers at Lorenzo Christie's silk mill in Edale in 1851.⁵⁴

The contracts

There were a number of disputes between the source parishes and the employers regarding the families' contracts, particularly during 1837 when the trade depression started to bite. The parishes' major concern was that the migrant families, despite their contracts, were being laid off or put on short time working and consequently applying for relief. Examples are provided by the cases of Semley parish in the Tisbury Union in Wiltshire and Reydon parish in Blything Union in Suffolk. Semley parish officers received a letter in May 1837 from the Maidment family, employed by Frost and Stevenson, silk manufacturers in Derby. The family complained that they were without means of subsistence as the company was not providing them with work as agreed. The parish were convinced the contracts were binding and wrote to the company and the Poor Law Commission to that effect, pointing out that should the family be removed back they would be saddled, not only with the costs of bringing them home (it had 'cost near £20 to send them'), but the cost of re-establishing them once they had returned.⁵⁵ After a series of correspondence between the Blything Guardians, the Poor Law Commission, Muggerridge, and various employers in Lancashire, it was suggested that the Key family be returned to Suffolk. The union protested 'the parish has spent a considerable sum in fitting out the migrants on the understanding that the contract was equally binding on the employers to employ them for 3 years'.⁵⁶

These and similar cases bring into focus the question of the legality of the children's contracts. The contracts used originally by the Gregs at Styal were for two years, they had evidently been using them for at least 20 years.⁵⁷ The contracts used later by other

53 TNA, ref: HO 107/2154 f.680 p.65.

54 TNA, ref HO 107/2151 f.321 p.16.

55 TNA, ref: MH 12/13849, 25 May 1837.

56 TNA, ref: MH 12/11730, 11 July 1837.

57 There are some 125 contracts for the period 1815-37, including those for the Bledlow families,

employers was drawn up by Richard Muggeridge, but Robert Baker wrote to the Commissioners from Leeds in December 1835, evidently concerned about their validity, 'Labour is at a premium, [the] indigenous workforce is likely to change master at the least excuse. Whether the paper agreement formed by Mr Muggeridge & having at least the semblance of authority, a parody of which, might be made, when the paupers are settled, will be sufficient or not, I cannot tell'.⁵⁸ By May 1836 a case had been heard before the magistrates when an employee absented himself with 2 years of the contract left. Henry Ashworth wrote to the Commissioners saying Mr Foster, the magistrate, had found the contract to be 'voidable without liability'. Ashworth continued: 'Foster says if the parties are under age the agreements are not on that account absolutely void, but are voidable at the election of the infants – so long as they continue to serve under them they are bound by their terms of service, etc. but if at any time they avoid the contract and refuse to continue the employment – they incur no liability by so doing'.⁵⁹ A few weeks before this Muggeridge had written to the Commissioners saying that four families had refused to fulfil their contracts with employers. The Commissioners replied to him that only adults can be bound by contracts of service.⁶⁰ However in their minutes they noted 'The Board [Poor Law Commissioners] consider that adults could be bound by agreement and that children must be bound by indentures of apprenticeship'.⁶¹ They made no mention of apprenticeship to Muggeridge. Notwithstanding precedent in the courts, or the deliberations of the Commissioners, on 23 January 1837 the magistrates at Rochdale Petty Sessions sentenced three of Sophia Booth's daughters to two months with hard labour in the New Bailey for moving to a new employer. The *Manchester & Salford Advertiser* commented on the case: 'if the facts are accurately stated to us, the contract is of itself void, and the imprisonment grossly illegal'.⁶²

Muggeridge wrote to the Commissioners about strikes at Oldham and Preston, where 15,000 hands were out of employment, in November 1836. He asked whether the masters were bound to pay the migrants who were laid off as a result: 'they are not parties', if not, how were they to be supported. He reminded them that many justices

among the Greg papers at Manchester City Archives (ref: C5/5/3/1-125).

58 TNA, ref: MH12/15224, 19 Dec 1835.

59 TNA, ref: MH 12/5593, 23 May 1836.

60 TNA, ref: MH 32/58, 28 April 1836.

61 Poor Law Commission minutes TNA, ref: MH 1/6, 2 May 1836.

62 *Manchester & Salford Advertiser*, 28 Jan 1837, p.3a.

were mill owners, so if they refused to pay there was not a lot of point in prosecuting them. The Commissioners replied 'If a man voluntarily leaves his work, he is not eligible for pay or for relief', which was not what Muggeridge was asking about.⁶³

It might seem as if the Poor Law Commissioners had been somewhat amateurish or neglectful in their approach to the contracts, as they had approved the wording apparently without seeking advice from counsel;⁶⁴ of the three Commissioners, only Shaw-Lefevre had a legal background – in conveyancing.⁶⁵ However this does not necessarily reflect ineptitude on their part, as it may have been a function of the new ground they were breaking as a government agency attempting to come to terms with the creation of the administrative bureaucracy of a modern state, as discussed in the Introduction. Neither Muggeridge or Baker had contracts of employment, both were engaged after interview, with a letter confirming their negotiated salary and expenses.

The migration agents

The two principal migration agents, Richard Muggeridge and Robert Baker, played a key role in the scheme. It is of interest whether their involvement with the scheme played any part in furthering their subsequent careers within the developing civil service. Both started their civil service careers with the Factory Department. Muggeridge transferred to the Poor Law Commission as a full time agent, Baker fulfilled his role on a part time basis, fitting the work in with his factory inspection duties. A major source for tracing their subsequent careers has been the *Imperial Calendar* which lists all civil servants. It is not without fault in the first half of the nineteenth century. The indexing is imperfect as it often includes people after they have left a department and omits others who are listed under their department. Trade directories were used to locate and identify them, particularly in the case of Baker as there were too many Robert Bakers to search for him in the censuses easily without a place of residence. Muggeridge features regularly in Parliamentary Papers until the mid-

63 MH 32/58, 9 November 1836.

64 There is no reference to seeking advice in the Commissioners' minutes and the short elapsed time between receiving the draft from Muggeridge and replying to him suggests that they did not in fact do so.

65 *DNB*: J G Shaw-Lefevre, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25275?docPos=3 (accessed 14 August 2008). Thomas Frankland Lewis, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16605 (accessed 14 August 2008). Lewis' father had been a barrister, but Lewis himself left Oxford without a degree, he was a career politician and civil servant. Sir George Nicholls, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20110 (accessed 14 August 2008); Nicholls' early career was as a ship's captain in the East India Company.

1840s, Baker less so.⁶⁶

Richard Muggeridge

In a proposal to the Commissioners to extend the migration scheme into Ireland, Muggeridge mentioned that he had served in the army in Ireland for three years.⁶⁷ The *Army Lists* and the *London Gazette* indicate that he enrolled as an ensign in the 81st Regiment of Foot in 1815.⁶⁸ The Commander in Chief's correspondence at TNA shows that his sponsor was the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool.⁶⁹ Muggeridge's father, a maltster in Kingston-upon-Thames in Surrey, evidently had connections. The 1818 *Army List* shows Muggeridge, still an ensign, on half-pay on which he continued until 1829.⁷⁰ From October 1825 to February 1833 he was publisher and editor of the *Herts Mercury and General Advertiser for Beds Bucks Cambridge etc.*⁷¹ In 1830 he published *A history of the late contest for the representation of the borough of Bedford*. In his application for the job as migration agent, he said that he was appointed as a superintendent in the Factory Department by Viscount Melbourne in January 1834,⁷² but his first appearance in the *Imperial Calendar* is in 1836 as Migration Agent. The Commissioners' minutes books record Muggeridge's salary as migration agent as being £400 per annum plus expenses to a maximum of £200.⁷³ It was paid quarterly from April 1836 until April 1839 at which time he was appointed to the position of Assistant Commissioner at a salary of £700 and posted to Ireland.⁷⁴ In the meantime he had served, part time, as an assistant commissioner on the Royal Commission on hand-loom weavers in Ireland,⁷⁵ Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and in the West Riding of Yorkshire,⁷⁶ where he crossed swords with the anti-poor law agitator Richard Oastler.⁷⁷

In March 1844 Muggeridge resigned his post as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner.⁷⁸ It

66 Nineteenth century Parliamentary Papers are available on-line in a searchable format (by subscription) at <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk>.

67 TNA, ref: MH 32/58, 25 Feb 1837.

68 *Army Lists*, 1816-1828; *London Gazette*, Issue 17,001, 9 Dec. 1815, p.1,828.

69 TNA, ref: WO 31/427, 4 August 1815.

70 Muggeridge was serving as a lieutenant in the Surrey militia as late as 1839, PP 1839 (427), p.34.

71 Boorman (1961), p.36.

72 TNA, ref: MH 32/58, letter from Muggeridge to Poor Law Commission, 1 September 1835.

73 TNA, ref: MH 1/4, Poor Law Commissioners' Minutes, 16 December 1835.

74 TNA, ref: MH 1/3-20, Poor Law Commissioners' Minutes; *London Gazette*, Issue 19,724, 12 April 1839, p.801.

75 PP 1840 XXIII (43.II)

76 PP 1840 XXIV (220).

77 TNA, ref: HO 44/33 ff.181-203.

appears that he became secretary to the Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow and Dublin Railway Company as he gave evidence for the South Wales Railway Bill in that capacity in 1845.⁷⁹ It was obviously not a full time job, since for the period February 1844 to June 1845 he was paid £827 for serving on the Royal Commission on framework knitters in the East Midlands,⁸⁰ his reports amounted to over 1,000 pages.⁸¹ In 1849 he published *Notes on the Irish "difficulty", with remedial suggestions* when he was living in Monkstown near Dublin. In 1854 he was listed as a member of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, with an address at Gowran.

From at least 1858 Muggeridge was living at Wandsworth in Surrey and operating as a parliamentary agent,⁸² from that date to at least 1877 he was shepherding bills through the House of Commons on behalf of a number of clients, including the Dublin Corporation, his total fees were in excess of £9,500;⁸³ however his productivity was not high compared with other agents, from 1872 to 1877 he handled only nine bills,⁸⁴ but by then he was in his seventies. Until November 1863 he was working in partnership with William Bell. From about 1875 he was in partnership with his grandson Richard Badham.⁸⁵ It is of interest that Badham was a freemason,⁸⁶ and, since they were close, it is likely that Muggeridge was also; if this was the case, it could have played some part in Muggeridge's career. Richard Muggeridge died in February 1881,⁸⁷ his estate was originally assessed at £1,500, but re-sworn the following January at £800.⁸⁸

Robert Baker

Baker started an apprenticeship as a surgeon in 1818 and became a member of the Royal College of surgeons in 1828.⁸⁹ Shortly after qualification he had a brush with the

78 PP 1846 XXXVI (453), p.3.

79 TNA, ref: RAIL 640/125/4. Thom's *Irish Almanac* for 1852, p.1080, lists Muggeridge as Secretary to the Dublin and Wicklow Railway, living in Monkstown, south of Dublin.

80 PP 1846 XXV (187).

81 PPs 1845 X (609), (618), (641).

82 *London Gazette*, Issue 22203, 23 Nov 1858, p.5035; 1861 census, Clapham, Surrey, TNA, ref: RG 9/369 f.112 p.20, 1871 census, Clapham, Surrey, TNA, ref: RG 10/699 f.141 p.55.

83 PPs 1864 L (414), 1873 LIII (133), 1878 LXI (132).

84 House of Lords Record Office, ref: HL/PO/PB/18/3/38.

85 PP 1878 LXI (132), pp.4, 5.

86 Badham was awarded a Masonic 'Emulation Silver Matchbox' in 1900. www.emulationritual.org/holders1.php (accessed 23 March 2007).

87 GRO death indexes, ref: March quarter 1881, volume 1d, Wandsworth District, page 377.

88 Muggeridge's will was proved in London by Badham, 9 March 1881, Principal Registry of the Family Division.

89 www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/publichealth/background/biographies/publichealthbiographies.html

law, being involved in a body-snatching scandal.⁹⁰ As parish surgeon, in 1833 he wrote a detailed report on the progress of the Leeds cholera epidemic of 1832. He also contributed to Edwin Chadwick's Sanitary Report of 1842.⁹¹ In the early 1830s he was factory surgeon to Hindes and Derham's mill in Leeds. Baker entered the Factory Inspectorate in October 1834,⁹² this created a conflict of interests with his role at the mill, from which he resigned. His work as a migration agent was on a part time basis, being paid £200 per year plus expenses.⁹³ Baker's subsequent career was somewhat more sedate than Muggeridge's. The *Imperial Calendar* shows that he remained with the Factory Department for the rest of his working life;⁹⁴ in June 1857 he was promoted from Superintendent to Inspector of Factories and, probably as a result, moved from Leeds to Milverton near Leamington Spa in Warwickshire.⁹⁵ Between 1861 and 1878, when he retired, Baker was effectively joint chief inspector with Robert Redgrave.⁹⁶ He died in February 1880, just over a year before Muggeridge, leaving a personal estate of £4,000.⁹⁷

Summary

It has been shown that over 5,000 people migrated under the scheme and they in turn encouraged the same number to follow them independently. Although almost half the migrants came from parishes in Suffolk and Norfolk there were also significant numbers from Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The major destinations were the textile districts of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The requirement of the employers for teenage children resulted in the movement of large families rather than small families or single persons who most commonly migrated. A number of families returned to their home parishes, but despite the downturn in trade that occurred almost as soon as they arrived, over twice as many stayed in the north. Thus the scheme may be considered a success for the majority of the families involved.

(accessed 23 Dec 2007). In the 1851 census Baker describes himself as 'Surgeon not practicing, Sub-inspector of Factories', TNA, ref: HO 107/2316 f.220 p.11.

90 <http://student.bmj.com/issues/01/02/life/29.php> (accessed 3 Jan 2008).

91 PP 1842 XXVII (7) pp.348-409.

92 PP 1876 XXIX (1433.1) p.39.

93 TNA, ref: MH 1/9, p.365.

94 *Imperial Calendar* 1837-78.

95 Baker's promotion, PP 1859 XII (2463); residence, 1861 census, TNA, ref: RG 9/2223 f.120, p.1.

96 Bartrip (1982), p. 625.

97 GRO death indexes, ref: March quarter 1880, volume 6d, Warwick District, page 371. Baker's will was proved in Birmingham 17 September 1880, Principal Registry of the Family Division.

The wages of the migrant children were significantly below those of the indigenous children, particularly in the case of boys over the age of 16. This would be accounted for if the migrant children were employed in low-wage departments, such as carding, rather than spinning. However a number of the boys had risen to the level of overlooker by 1851.

Of the two migration agents, Robert Baker who was based in Leeds appears to have to derive no benefit from his association with the scheme apart from the immediate financial rewards. Baker's Manchester counterpart, Richard Muggeridge, on the other hand benefited by his promotion to Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in the short term. In the longer term, contacts that he undoubtedly made in Ireland provided clients for his business when he returned to England.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESSURE TO MIGRATE?

The motivation for parishes to take part in the scheme was not entirely altruistic. Despite the initial outlay in removal costs it was seen as a method to decrease the poor-rates.¹ Given the perceived financial benefit to their parishes for pauper families to migrate, the inevitable question arises ‘Were the families pressurised to move?’ From the start it was evident that the paupers would be resistant to any move. After initially failing to persuade the Bledlow families to accept the offers of work made by R H Greg and the Ashworth brothers, John Clarke, assistant overseer of Bledlow, wrote to Assistant Commissioner Gilbert ‘We [the overseers] are more than ever convinced that till the workhouse system be adopted no situations at a distance however advantageous will induce them to move from the parish’.² Previously Gilbert had been told by one of the labourers’ wives that the family would prefer to remain in Bledlow on seven shillings a week than go to Lancashire for 30.³ This Chapter looks at the evidence for pressure being applied to families to move, as provided by the proceedings of two parliamentary select committees, the Poor Law Commission’s correspondence files and by poor law union guardians’ minute and letter books.

During the 1837-38 Parliamentary session two select committees were appointed to investigate various aspects of the poor law, one each by the Lords and the Commons. The Commons’ Committee investigated the operation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. It comprised 21 members and was chaired by Home Secretary Lord John Russell. On the urging of Edwin Chadwick, the Secretary to the Poor Law Commission, it was packed with supporters of the poor law, with the radical MP and cotton manufacturer John Fielden as one of only three anti-poor law members.⁴ The Committee produced some 48 reports, all but the last comprised solely of verbatim minutes of evidence from a series of witnesses, ranging from paupers to Edwin Chadwick. The topics the Committee considered included the migration scheme and a number of witnesses provided evidence relative to the question of whether the poor

1 Increasingly, the costs of moving were provided as loans to the families concerned (to be repaid out of their wages), as was allowed under the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (4 & 5 Wm IV c.76, s.58). This is discussed in Chapter Six.

2 Letter from Clarke to Gilbert, TNA, ref: MH 12/525, 12 Jan 1835.

3 TNA, MH 12/525, 10 Jan 1835.

4 Weaver (1987), pp189-90; Finer (1952), p.142. In many of the motions on the final wording of the Committee’s Report Fielden was supported by Thomas Law Hodges, MP for West Kent, PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part III (681-1), pp.5-10.

were coerced into migrating. The Lords' Committee was chaired by Lord Wharncliffe. Its remit was to investigate a variety of documents regarding the operation of the 1834 Act. Of particular relevance, the Committee considered correspondence between Lord Stanhope and the Poor Law Commission, arising from investigations made in the Plomesgate Union by a local farmer, John Lewin.⁵ The proceedings of these two Committees provide some insight on the pressure to migrate aspect of the migration scheme. The Commissioners' correspondence while saying little overtly about the subject, does provide some indirect evidence as to the official attitude and the practice at local level. In none of the guardians' minutes that were examined is there any reference to pressurising families or individuals to migrate. However the minutes only provide details of resolutions passed and not of any of the discussions which affected decisions.

Giving evidence before the Commons Select Committee, James Turner detailed interviews he had carried out with four widows of the Ampthill Union in Bedfordshire.⁶ Elizabeth Pearson and Susan Deacon both claimed to have had their out-relief stopped when they refused to migrate to Derby. Deacon complained that 'she had done nothing amiss, and that she did not wish to be transported; she would rather stay in her own country'.⁷ A fifth widow, Elizabeth Bowler from the neighbouring Woburn Union, told Turner that her relief had been progressively reduced, before it was finally stopped on her refusal to go to the north.⁸ Turner also noted that 'most of the widows I met with in the [Ampthill] union, had been offered employment in the factories, and if they refused they told them invariably that they had nothing to do with them; ... if all the other unions in the agricultural districts had offered factory labour at the rate that the Ampthill Union has, we should not have sufficient factories by a great deal'.⁹

5 This correspondence does not appear in the Plomesgate Union file of correspondence with the Poor Law Commission, MH 12/11932-34 (1834-June 1839).

6 Ampthill was the home of Home Secretary and Chairman of the Commons Select Committee, Lord John Russell. Turner and Mark Crabtree were sent by the anti-poor law MP for Oldham, John Fielden, to assess the situation of the poor there after riots in May 1835 when the Poor Law Amendment Act was introduced into the area, Agar, (2005), p.76. Crabtree was at one time Secretary to the Yorkshire Central Short Time Committee, Hutchins and Harrison (1970), p.61, n.2.

7 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part II (279): Pearson, pp.3-4, 9; Deacon, p.21. the two other widows were Sarah Cox and Charlotte Palmer who claimed their relief was reduced then stopped on their refusal to go to the north. PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part II (283): Cox, pp.3-4, 6; Palmer, pp.6-7.

8 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part III (439), p.48.

9 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part II (283), p.4. 21 families (about 165 persons) plus five orphans were sent from the Ampthill Union under the scheme, only two families were headed by widows.

John Lewin, of Wickham Market in Suffolk, gave evidence to the Lords' Select Committee.¹⁰ Lewin was a member of the Sub-committee on the Question of the Poor Law which was set up by the London Central Anti-poor Law Society.¹¹ On their behalf he had interviewed a number of paupers in the Plomesgate Union, among them Susan Ling, a widow of Blaxhall, who put her mark to a deposition saying that the relieving officer and board had been continually urging her to go to Lancashire. When she refused they threatened to 'send her into the Prison Workhouse, to try if that would not alter her mind about going away; but she always told them she would not'.¹² Another Suffolk widow, Ann Smith of Tunstall in the Plomesgate Union was ordered into the house on several occasions, each time after refusing to go to Lancashire.¹³ In a pamphlet published in 1837 Matthew Fletcher, surgeon of Bury in Lancashire, described the situation of a number of migrant families employed by Thomas Ramsbottom and Sons at Harewood Fields, near Bury. Frances Neale, a widow from Alderton in the Woodbridge union in Suffolk, said her relief was stopped, but she was told by the guardians that if she went to Lancashire she would be allowed four shillings per week till she went.¹⁴

Turner, Lewin and Fletcher all had an anti-poor law credentials, so their evidence is likely to be selective, and may also be regarded as hearsay, but the Lords' Committee called pauper witnesses who claimed to have been coerced to migrate. Susan Ling herself gave evidence. She confirmed what she had told Turner.¹⁵ Another widow, who gave evidence to the Lords' Committee, was Sophia Booth, from Woodbridge in Suffolk. She said 'I was driven out of my own Country into Lancashire; I reckon it so'.¹⁶ To later questioning she asserted that the Relieving Officer told her that if she did

10 PP 1837-38 XIX Part II (719), pp.134-172.

11 The anti-poor law campaigner, Lord Stanhope, was the Chairman of the Society.

12 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.151. Susan Ling did not migrate, although her brother-in-law's family had gone to Harewood Fields in Lancashire in April 1836. He informed Muggeridge in 1837 that his family's income was in excess of £3 per week, TNA, ref: MH12/11932, 17 May 1837.

13 This information came from J P Barclay's evidence to the Lords' Select Committee, PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719) pp. 292-93. Barclay was Vice-chairman of the Plomesgate Union. Interestingly, Ann Smith made no complaint herself when she appeared before the Committee, PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), pp.415-424.

14 Fletcher. (1837), p.9. Much of the content of Fletcher's pamphlet had previously appeared in the form of a letter to *the Times*, 8 June 1837, p.5e.

15 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.387.

16 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.396.

not go to Lancashire, she would have no more out-relief. An order for the workhouse was given to her, but she refused to go either to Lancashire or into the workhouse, she and her family subsisted for three months on harvest gleaning, the sale of fruit gathered from the hedgerows and 'a little washing'. Eventually she agreed to migrate, upon which she was allowed two stones of flour.¹⁷

In January 1835 when trying to persuade Daniel Butler a Bledlow labourer to travel north with his family, Assistant Commissioner William Gilbert 'explained [to Butler] that it was not intended to use any compulsion, but they would not be allowed much longer to receive parish money in idleness but be obliged to go into the workhouse'.¹⁸ Gilbert used a similar line of persuasion with at least four other families, those of Thomas Cherry, John Cherry, John Stevens and Levi Stevens. In the same report to the Commissioners, Gilbert proposed that depositions be taken from the Bledlow labourers he had interviewed, in order that their refusal to accept the offers of work in the north be on record – the implication being that this could be used as evidence against the individuals, should the need arise, at a later date. The depositions were taken on 15 January 1835 and forwarded to the Commissioners the same day.¹⁹

Other than the Bledlow families, there is little evidence that specific families with male heads were threatened with the stoppage of their out-relief. One of the few instances is revealed in a letter from Robert Baker to the Poor Law Commission. He recounted that the Tory radical Richard Oastler had paraded a destitute migrant family from Suffolk at an anti-poor law meeting in Halifax. Oastler claimed 'that they had left Suffolk having the alternative offered them of either leaving or going to the "Bastille"'.²⁰ In a report of the meeting *The Times* named the migrant as Edward Markwell, saying that he had been enticed to the north by the prospect of high wages and cheap food, clothing and fuel, but makes no mention of the threat of the workhouse.²¹ Markwell was no new arrival, he had migrated to Yorkshire from the Hoxne Union in March the previous year. Baker continued 'I beg however to point out to you, the impropriety of this system of forced migration, at a time when the indigenous population is excited, not only by the

17 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.399.

18 TNA, ref: MH 12/525, 10 Jan 1835.

19 TNA, ref: MH 12/525, 15 Jan 1835.

20 TNA, ref: MH 12/15224, ff.275-6.

21 *The Times* 3 April 1837.

opponents of the Poor Law, but by a fear of want of bread, from the extremely unpromising state of our manufacturing prospects.' Baker, who as one of the migration agents was familiar with the workings of the scheme, demonstrated no surprise that pressure was being brought to bear on families to migrate, although his immediate worry was not about the ethics of enforced migration, but the likely potential for popular unrest on his home patch. Matthew Fletcher made a more general claim when he noted that a number of migrant families in the Bury area (with male heads) were induced to migrate 'Partly by flattering promises and partly by dint of threats'.²²

Guardians and relieving officers of relevant unions also gave evidence before the two Select Committees, refuting the allegations made in the specific cases submitted by Turner and Lewin. John Marshall, a relieving officer in the Amptill Union avoided the assertion that Susan Deacon's relief was stopped because she refused to go to Derby, by discussing her daughter's illegitimate child and the family's earnings.²³ When questioned about Sarah Cox being offered the workhouse after she refused to go to the north, he explained that her husband was in prison, and that it was the Union policy for wives of men convicted of any offence who applied for relief to be offered the house.²⁴

John Shawe, Chairman of the Woodbridge Guardians, provided details of the relief given to Sophia Booth, agreeing that she had maintained herself between July and October 1836 after being given an order for the workhouse.²⁵ The main reason for stopping her out-relief was an incorrect statement of the family's earnings and the bad conduct of her elder girls. 'As to people going to her, and recommending her to go into Lancashire, that I, as Chairman of the Board, know nothing about. It never took place before the Board.'²⁶

Richard Wigg, Relieving Officer of Plomesgate Union agreed he had frequently spoken to Susan Ling about going to Lancashire and that she always refused to go. He had quoted her brother-in-law's family earnings to her, as an example of the good wages

22 Fletcher. (1837), p.6.

23 PP 1837-38 XXXVIII Part II (380), pp.6-7.

24 PP 1837-38 XXXVIII Part II (380), p.8.

25 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.259.

26 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.260.

available in the north.²⁷ Asked if he told her 'it was a Shame that she should be a Burden to the Parish; that she should go into Lancashire and get her living?' he replied 'I think I probably did ... I had instructions from the Board to represent that those who had large families might go with Advantage into Lancashire.' But he was adamant that he never told her that if she didn't go to Lancashire, there would be an order for the house.²⁸ 'When you advised Susan Ling to go into Lancashire were you principally induced so by the expected saving to the parish?' 'I conceived it to be my Duty as Relieving Officer, to advise her to go, to relieve the Parish.'²⁹ J P Barclay, Vice-chairman of Plomesgate Union, was also asked about the financial benefit to the parish had Susan Ling agreed to migrate. He replied 'Certainly; that is a matter of Arithmetic; it must necessarily have been so ... the Removal would be most likely for the benefit of the family as well as for the benefit of the parish.'³⁰ It is evident here that altruism had a low priority, the prime concern of these officials was the welfare of the poor-rate payers, not that of the applicants for relief.

The majority of those claiming to have been pressured to move were widows with children, one of the most vulnerable groups in society. As has been shown, there is little evidence of labouring men being coerced, and this was particularly so after the appointment of the agents in autumn 1835. If the widows *were* threatened by the authorities, it raises the question were they targeted because without husbands they and their children were a more constant drain on the poor-rate, or because they were seen as being more susceptible to pressure, or because there was little need for unskilled adult male labour in the manufacturing districts? Alternatively, the widows' high profile in the record may be because they were sought out by Turner and Lewin, who reasoned that the widows' plights would help turn popular sympathy against the Poor Law Amendment Act. A problem with Turner's evidence in particular is that there are no verbatim transcripts of his interviews with the Bedfordshire widows. Given that he was an experienced agitator sent by Fielden specifically to find fault with the poor law, it is highly likely that his questions were framed to give the answers he wanted, and even that he implanted ideas into the widows minds that were not previously there, thus

27 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.309.

28 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), pp.310-11.

29 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.313.

30 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719) pp.288-89.

making the later evidence of the widows themselves suspect.

There may, of course, have been no intention on the part of union and parish authorities to intimidate the families into migrating. One of the cornerstones of the 1834 Act was the concept of the 'workhouse test' for pauperism. They were therefore urging the newly formed unions to eliminate out-relief, in particular to the able bodied, as quickly as possible. Any apparent coercion could have been a by-product of the Commissioners' desire to substitute the workhouse for out-relief. In January 1835, before the first families agreed to migrate, Joseph Harper of Bledlow Ridge in Buckinghamshire wrote to Assistant Commissioner William Gilbert saying that it was proposed to send representatives of the labourers to Manchester to investigate the employment opportunities there. Gilbert replied that he had no problem with this, but pointed out that any migration must be voluntary.³¹ Writing to the Commissioners, Henry Fox Talbot of Laycock in Wiltshire, indicated that the vestry had unanimously approved sending pauper families to the manufacturing districts – provided it was with the consent of the paupers.³² George Pearse, Chairman of the Woburn Union in Bedfordshire, denied to the Commons Select Committee that there was any policy on the part of the Guardians to induce migration by the withdrawal of out-relief.³³ J P Barclay, Vice-chairman of the Plomesgate Union, was asked 'Are you in the habit of stopping the Allowance of Persons, in any Degree upon the Consideration of their having refused to Migrate?' He replied 'Certainly not, such a thing would be unheard of.'³⁴

Asked if any migrants were moved compulsorily, George Pearse replied to the Commons Committee 'I am not aware of any instance, and I should not have expected such a thing.'³⁵ Pressed on the point by John Fielden, he admitted 'I cannot be quite certain of any such a thing; I cannot tell what overseers may have done, or what others may have taken upon themselves to say.'³⁶ From this exchange, it is evident that, even if it was official policy not to apply pressure for families to migrate, it could not be denied that it may have taken place.

31 TNA, ref: MH 32/26, 3 Jan 1835.

32 TNA, ref: MH 12/13699, 28 July 1835.

33 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part III (439), p.49.

34 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719) p.280.

35 PP 1837-38 XVIII Pt. III (439), p.40.

36 PP 1837-38 XVIII Pt. III (439), p.41.

In October 1835 Edmund Oldfield, of Ashill in the Swaffham Union in Norfolk, wrote to the Commissioners saying that the parish had tried to persuade paupers to migrate, 'but they won't go, we need powers to send them by saying there is work for you & your families at such and such a place & at such and such wages & if you do not go you will have no parish relief.' The Commissioners replied that they 'could not give Guardians general power to compel migration, but where it can be shown that they can procure for themselves a comfortable existence by removing to another district, the urgency for their claims for parish relief cannot be but considered to be diminished'. This principle seems to have been applied in the Plomesgate Union in Suffolk. J P Barclay, in his evidence to the Lords' Committee agreed that Susan Ling's allowance had been stopped and that she had been 'offered the house', because she and her children were capable of earning a living. Pressed, he admitted that her continual refusal to go to Lancashire had been taken into consideration when the Board made the decisions to reduce her out-relief and finally order her into the workhouse.³⁷ About six weeks after the Ashill letter, the Clerk of the Swaffham Union wrote to the Commissioners in a similar vein as the parish, to be told 'offer them the house'.³⁸ The Clerk to the Biggleswade Union in Bedfordshire asked if relief could be withheld from paupers that refused to migrate. The Commissioners replied that relief could not be refused, but that once the workhouse has been brought into full operation it would be probable that the guardians will find families more willing to go.³⁹ The Cosford Union in Suffolk exported 30 families under the scheme, comprising about 255 persons. In March 1836 the Clerk wrote to the Commissioners saying that four families had been offered employment *via* Muggeridge during the previous week and a fifth had obtained a private offer. 'It is believed that 4 of the 5 will migrate, if the 5th does not they will be offered the workhouse.'⁴⁰ When the rector of Wrentham in Blything Union wrote to Assistant Commissioner John Philips Kay to say that the guardians were to send a deputation to the manufacturing districts accompanied by labourers, Kay wrote to the Commissioners 'My experience ... leads me to rely more upon the effects of the Workhouse System for promoting migration, than upon the Reports of this or any other

37 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719-I), pp.179-80.

38 TNA, ref: MH 12/8539, 3 Oct 1835, 21 Nov 1835.

39 TNA, ref: MH12/55, 14 Oct 1835.

40 TNA, ref: MH12/11793, 23 March 1836.

deputation.’⁴¹

At a personal level, J P Barclay, took a hard-line stance. When asked by the Lords’ Committee ‘Supposing persons are under Relief from your Board, and they feel that at any Time the Board may order them into the Workhouse, and refuse the relief out of it, and at the same Time it is suggested to them that they had better go into Lancashire, is it not very likely that they may think that they must go into the Workhouse unless they go into Lancashire?’ He replied: ‘I think it is very likely that the poor Population may think so, and I think it is no hardship at all that they do.’

‘Would it not be better that they should be left to express a Wish to remove to a Place where they might get better wages, than that it should be so suggested as to hold up a sort of alternative between the Migration and the Workhouse?’

‘Individually I should feel no difficulty in giving relief in the Manner which would be most disagreeable to the Pauper, if he refused the Advantage which was offered of Work in Lancashire.’

The Lords’ Committee came to the conclusion that any coercion had been inadvertent in the attempt to persuade families to migrate:

... the Guardians and Relieving Officers have in some cases so urgently recommended the Migration of the Destitute as the most beneficial course to the Poor, that the Applicants have sometimes been erroneously led to conclude that Relief might be contingent upon such Migration; and the Committee regret that such Misapprehension should have been created by the Way in which such Recommendations have been made.⁴²

The Commons Committee’s Report tacitly admitted that refusal of relief had been used to coerce families to migrate, but that it should not have been, that migration should be voluntary:

It has been stated that in some instances, widows have been refused relief unless they would consent to migrate for the purpose of obtaining employment in the manufacturing districts. Your Committee are of the opinion that relief should be given or withheld according to the wants of the applicants, and that it should not be made to depend on any such condition as that which is here referred to; they think, too, that all migration, whether to manufacturing or other districts, should be voluntary. The Poor Law Commissioners, or boards of guardians, may very properly ascertain the chances of employment, or obtain positive engagements for employment, but the poor should be

41 TNA, ref: MH32/48, 24 Nov 1835: Suffolk RO, Ipswich, ref: ADA/12/AB1/1, pp.339-42.

42 PP 1837-38 XIX Part I (719), p.x.

altogether free agents in the matter; and their claim to relief should not depend on whether they accept or refuse offers of this description.⁴³

Pressure to migrate was not universal, a number of migrants volunteered to migrate. For instance Robert Lovelock of Bradfield in Berkshire was offered and accepted work with Ainsworth and Son at Backbarrow in Lancashire in May 1835.⁴⁴ By July preparations were in hand for the family to go north, but Lovelock had changed his mind – he had been away mowing hay, so presumably was flush with money.⁴⁵ In the following January Lovelock again requested to be found work in the north.⁴⁶ In March the family went to work for Messrs Waterhouse of Glossop in Derbyshire.⁴⁷ In his evidence to the Lords' Select Committee, J P Kay read from a letter from sent to him by John Shawe:

The Ambassador Day [a labourer sent to assess the employment prospects in the north] has returned with a most wonderful Description of what he has seen in Lancashire, and the Difficulty now is to prevent all of Suffolk from migrating Northwards. My House has been besieged from Day's Report partly, from Mr Muggeridge having obtained Two very advantageous Contracts for Men from Ropton and Otley. I have now furnished him with the Names of Four more Families, fine specimens of Suffolk Workmanship, and the Heads of the Families are Men of excellent Character. In fact I have (arbitrarily) put a Veto on any others being sent at the moment.⁴⁸

This is inconsistent with Kay's earlier reliance on the workhouse system for promoting migration.

Summary

The evidence presented to the two parliamentary select committees relating to whether families were intimidated into migrating by the threat of the workhouse and/or the withholding of out-relief needs to be treated with caution, as a number of witnesses had good reason to be economical with the truth. However some of it is corroborated by correspondence between the Poor Law Commission and its assistant commissioners, the guardians of poor law unions and private individuals. On the other hand there is evidence that after an initial reluctance to migrate, many families did volunteer to move to the manufacturing districts.

43 PP 1837-38 XXVIII Part III (681-I), pp.15-16.

44 Bradfield Guardian's minutes, 11 and 14 May 1835, BRK RO G/B/1/1 pp.79, 81.

45 Bradfield Union letter book, 14, and 28 July 1835, BRK RO G/B/5/1.

46 Bradfield Guardian's minutes, 18 January 1836, BRK RO G/B/1/2 p.26.

47 Bradfield Guardian's minutes, 14 March 1836, BRK RO G/B/1/2 pp.125, 133.

48 PP 1837-38 XIX-I (719), p.471.

CHAPTER SIX: PARISHES AND TOWNSHIPS

The migration scheme had a number of potential consequences for the migrants' source parishes in the south and east and for the host communities the migrant families settled in. The first part of this chapter examines the distribution of the source parishes, the links between them and specific employers and the effect of the scheme on their poor-rates. In the second part the nature of the host townships in the manufacturing districts and the relationship between the migrants and their host communities are studied.

The source parishes

Places of origin

The Migrants Database has made it possible to establish the parishes and poor law unions from where the migrants originated. The unions were entered into the program *GenMap UK*,¹ enabling their distribution to be plotted and comparisons to be made with a number of poverty indicators. It is evident that the bulk of the families came from Suffolk, as noted by previous commentators, but significant numbers came from a chain of poor law unions stretching from approximately The Wash to Portland Bill (Figure 6.1); with particular concentrations in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. There was also a scattering of families from unions in Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex. It is significant that the distribution correlates with a number of poverty indicators: high levels of day-labourers as a proportion of the agricultural workforce (Figure 6.2);² low agricultural wage rates (Figure 6.3); and high numbers receiving poor relief in the first quarter of 1839 (Figure 6.4).

Other factors possibly had some effect on the distribution of the source unions. One may well have been the enthusiasm for the scheme shown by individual assistant poor law commissioners for the various areas; John Philips Kay was a strong advocate of the scheme and it is perhaps significant that he was the Assistant Commissioner responsible for East Anglia at the time of its operation.³ At the time the scheme was started, the

1 *GenMap UK*, a GIS system for historical and genealogical data published by Archer Software (www.archersoftware.co.uk), allows parishes/townships to be plotted and coloured infills of counties or registration districts/poor law unions on UK maps.

2 I have used Kussmaul's (1981) figures; Gritt (2000) criticised both her source and treatment of it at local level. However at county level, reworking the original 1831 data using Gritt's methodology does not produce a significantly different pattern.

3 For instance a speech he made to the guardians of the Colneis and Carlford union extolling the wages to be earned in Lancashire was reported in the *Ipswich Journal* 12 Sept 1835, quoted in Priestley (1957) p.123.

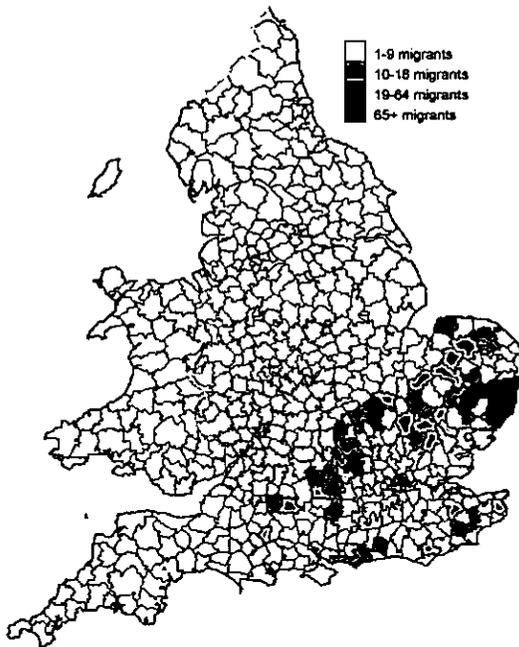


Figure 5.1: Source poor law unions of the scheme's migrant families.
Source: Migrants Database

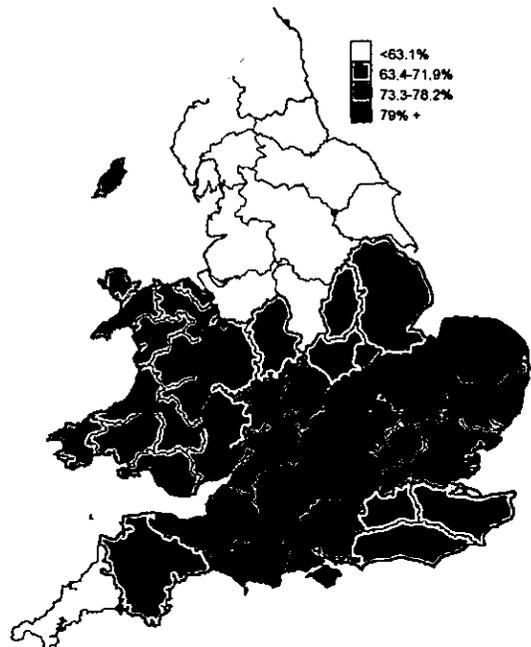


Figure 5.2: Day labourers as a proportion of agricultural workers.
Source: Kussmaul (1981)

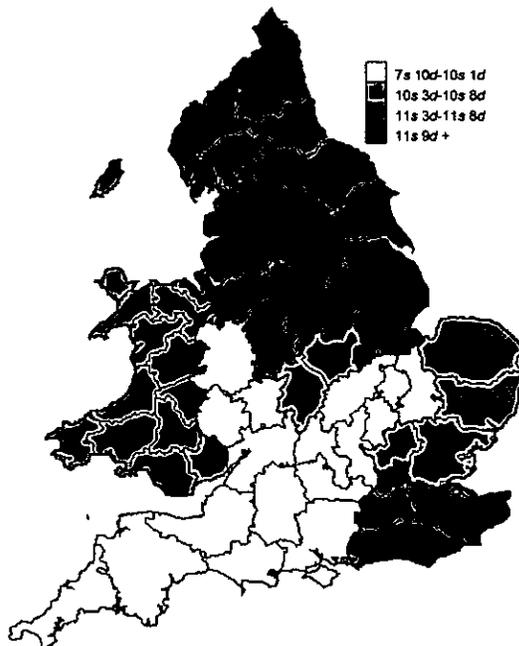


Figure 5.3: Agricultural workers' weekly wages (shillings/pence) 1833-45.
Source: Hunt (1986) Table 6.

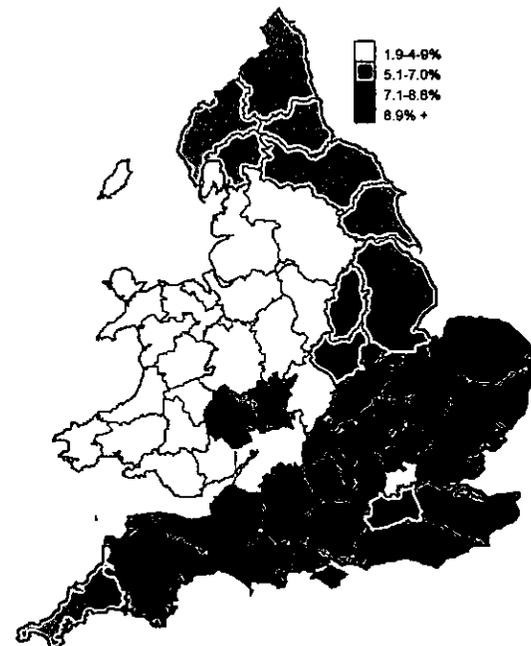


Figure 5.4: Proportion of population receiving relief, quarter ending Lady Day 1839.
Sources: Calculated from PP XXI 1841 (126) and PP 1843 XXII (496).

setting up of poor law unions had not progressed west of Dorset and no assistant commissioners had day-to-day responsibilities for those counties. This could account for the lack of migrants from the low-wage districts of the south west. Another factor may have been a 'copy-cat effect' with parishes following the lead of their neighbours. Four of the five parishes in the Wycombe Union which were involved in the scheme were adjacent to one another (the other was nearby) and very quickly followed Bledlow in sending families in early 1835.⁴

Parish-employer links

Looking only at the Buckinghamshire parishes involved with the scheme, Worship came to the conclusion that there was a tendency for parishes to send their migrants to specific employers.⁵ From the Migrants Database it is possible to identify 377 families, their parishes of origin, the employers they went to and their dates of migration. Table 6.1 shows that 38 families were sent from seven Buckinghamshire parishes during the proto-scheme period, before the appointment of the agents in the autumn of 1835; they went to only eight employers (1.1 employers per parish). During this period the parishes and employers were in direct negotiation, with a minimum of input from the Poor Law Commission. It is to be expected therefore, that once a satisfactory parish-employer connection had been established, it would be maintained. After the appointment of the agents this close, direct contact was lost. In this later period 20 Buckinghamshire families from seven parishes travelled north to 15 employers and the employer/parish ratio almost doubled (2.1 employers per parish), coming into line with the level of the scheme nationally (2.12 employers per parish). Inspection of the Migrants Database shows there is little correlation between parishes and employers. One of the few parishes which maintained a link with a single employer was Cranfield in Bedfordshire, where the rector, James Beard, had personal connections in the Stockport area,⁶ his brother-in-law Richard Simpson was partner of John Clayton – 15 of Cranfield's migrant families were sent to Clayton's mills at Marple and Mellor in Derbyshire.

4 The parishes were Bledlow, Bradenham, Princes Risborough, Saunderton and Towersey.

5 Worship (2000), p.38.

6 Beard spoke at a dinner given by the cotton spinner and merchant Henry Marsland, defeated candidate in the election, at Stockport in January 1833, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 Feb 1833, p.3a-b. Beard was very closely involved in the migration scheme and had long advocated the movement of labourers from the south to the north – in 1836 he wrote to the Commissioners that he had tried some nine years previously to encourage labourers to migrate. He was unable to persuade them to go. TNA, ref: MH 12/1, 1 June 1836.

	Families	Parishes	Employers	Fam/Emp	Emp/Par
BKM Proto-scheme	38	7	8	4.8	1.1
BKM Scheme	20	7	15	1.3	2.1
National	377	90	175	2.2	2.2

Table 6.1: Comparison of Buckinghamshire families and parishes and employers before and after the appointment of the migration agents.

Source: Migrants Database.

The increase in the employer/parish ratio reflects a conscious effort on the part of the Commissioners and the agents to avoid swamping particular localities with in-migrant families. They were mindful of the possibility of labour problems should the indigenous workforce feel their livelihood was threatened by a large influx of migrants. At the end of September 1835, Muggeridge wrote of the current acceptance of migrants by 'native operatives', but warned that if too many arrive there could be 'opposition in every shape',⁷ and in his Report, which formed part of the Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, he states that he placed no more than two or three families in the same place at the same time.⁸ It is apparent then, that, apart from the proto-scheme period, which was largely confined to Buckinghamshire, there is little evidence that parishes tended to have regular dealings with specific employers.

Poor-rates

While there may have been a degree of altruism on the part of the parishes who sent migrants under the scheme, the major reason for their involvement was, undoubtedly, a concern with their ever increasing poor-rate bills. Many parishes were heavily in debt, in September 1834 for instance, the ratepayers of Saunderton in Buckinghamshire owed £400 and those of Great Dunmow in Essex £1,000.⁹ In her paper, Worship concluded that the poor-rates of the Buckinghamshire parishes taking part in the scheme were reduced as a result of their involvement.¹⁰ This is a rather naive inference, since the ongoing implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act during the time the scheme was operational, initiated many changes in the management of the poor. Her methodology is also weak, as she did not compare the changes in poor-rates of the 14 Buckinghamshire parishes involved in the scheme with those of the 214 not taking part.

7 TNA ref: MH 32/58, 31 September 1835.

8 PP 1836 XXIX (595) Appendix (A), p.411.

9 PP 1842 XXXV (84). Saunderton had a total population of about 230, Great Dunmow, about 2,650. Many parishes in Norfolk and Suffolk were in debt, but it is not possible to ascertain individual amounts, since they are listed as aggregates for Gilbert Act incorporations.

10 Worship (2000).

There appears to have been no systematic collection and publication of the level of poor-rates immediately before and after the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act. However, the Poor Law Commissioner's Second Annual Report provides figures for the average poor-rates for the period 1832-35 at a parish level for some of the unions involved in the scheme. The Fourth Annual Report supplies comparable figures for the period 1835-38.¹¹ Nine unions who sent large numbers of migrants and for which poor-rate figures were given in both Reports were selected for statistical analysis.¹² The parishes of these unions were divided into two groups, those taking part in the scheme and those not. At this stage a number of parishes were excluded from the analysis. These were a) urban non-scheme parishes, as there were no urban parishes involved in the scheme and b) parishes with the same name as the union, since, in a number of instances, there is ambiguity in the original documentation as to whether the parish or the union was the source of the migrant families. The rates were tabulated and the rate for the 1835-8 was expressed as a percentage of that for 1832-5. After having established that the changes in poor-rates had a normal distribution, the mean change in rates of 62 scheme parishes were compared statistically with those of 225 non-scheme parishes using Student's 't-test'.¹³ The unions, parishes and their poor-rates for the two sets of years are listed in Appendix IV.

Table 6.2 compares the poor-rates for scheme and non-scheme parishes for the two periods 1832-35 and 1835-38 by union. It shows that, with the exception of Woodbridge Union, parishes that sent migrants under the scheme appear to have had greater rate reductions than non-scheme parishes from the same unions. However, analysis (Student's t-test) at a parish level indicates that overall, despite the differences in average poor-rates, there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups of parishes.

11 PP 1836 XXIX (595) App. D, Statistical Tables, and PP 1839 XXXVIII (147.II), App. D, Poor Rate Returns.

12 The Unions were: in Bedfordshire – Ampthill and Bedford; in Buckinghamshire – Wycombe; in Norfolk – Docking; in Suffolk – Hoxne, Plomesgate, Stow, Wangford and Woodbridge.

13 Caulcutt, (1983), Chapter 4; Hudson (2000), Chapter 7.

Union	Total parishes	Scheme parishes	Number of migrants	Poor-rate 1835-38 as % of rate for 1832-35	
				Non-scheme	Scheme
Amphill BDF	19	4	161	39.5	34.6
Bedford BDF	44	7	95	43.3	38.9
Wycombe BKM	32	6	301	52.8	41.0
Docking NFK	34	6	106	39.8	31.3
Hoxne SFK	24	13	449	34.9	33.4
Plomesgate SFK	39	10	206	55.2	44.7
Stow SFK	31	9	118	52.2	50.9
Wangford SFK	26	6	61	45.2	42.5
Woodbridge SFK	45	6	235	60.2	69.6

Table 6.2: Reduction of poor-rates for scheme and non-scheme parishes in various unions.
Source: PP XXIX 1936 (595) App. D, PP 1839 XXXVIII (147.II), App. D.

If the migration scheme had produced a significant change of the poor-rate then there should be a relationship between the number of migrants from a parish and the change in the poor-rate. To check this, the number of migrants from each parish was calculated as a percentage of the population in 1836. The populations of parishes in 1836 were estimated using the formula:

$$P_{36} = (P_{31} + P_{41})/2 + M$$

where:

P_{36} = estimated population in 1836

P_{31} = population in 1831¹⁴

P_{41} = population in 1841¹⁵

M = number of known migrants

Figure 6.5 plots changes in the poor-rate against the number of migrants sent under the scheme as a percent of the estimated population in 1836. It indicates that there is no relationship between the two sets of figures, suggesting that the fall in poor-rates was largely due to causes other than the scheme – probably by a combination of factors such as the greater control of out-relief to the able bodied and the deterrent effect of the workhouse.

From Figure 6.5 it is evident that two parishes (Bradenham and Saunderton, both in Buckinghamshire) had very high migration rates, with almost 25% of their populations

¹⁴ From 1831 census abstracts PP 1833 XXXVI-XXXVIII (149).

¹⁵ From 1841 census abstracts, PP 1843 XXII (496).

leaving under the scheme.¹⁶ This implies that the scheme could have had demographic consequences for some source parishes, however this aspect is outside the scope of the present research.

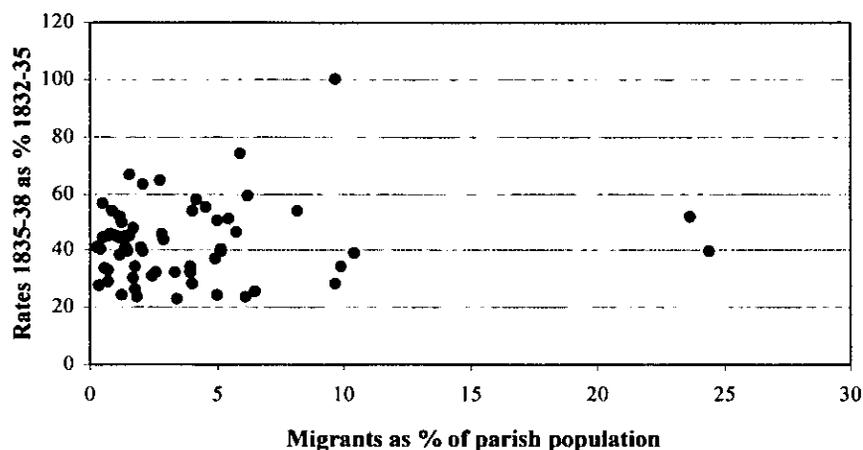


Figure 6.5: Poor-rate reduction vs level of migration for parishes in nine unions.
Source: PP 1836 XXIX (595) App. D, PP 1839 XXXVIII (147.II), App. D and Migrants Database.

Under the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, relief in any form provided to anyone over the age of 21 was to be regarded as a loan.¹⁷ In many cases arrangements were made for money to be stopped from families' wages by the employers and sent to their source unions in repayment for the costs transporting them to the manufacturing districts. For instance in a letter from Bradfield Union in Berkshire to Muggeridge, dated 22 August 1836, John Arlott's family from Ufton were to be stopped three shillings per week from their wages as repayment of cash advances and their travel costs to Preston to work for Hugh Dawson.¹⁸ The total outlay of the parish was £15, so it would have taken the family almost two years to repay it.¹⁹ Surviving accounts ledgers for the source unions do not provide enough detail to be able to follow the repayment process through, but the movement and change of employer by many families must have created problems for the parishes in recouping the money owed to them, as the only contact they would have had with families following a move would have been if they claimed relief – when of course they were in no position to repay the loan.

16 Bradenham and Saunderton are small, adjacent parishes on the north-west facing slope of the Chiltern hills. In 1841 they each had a population of about 230.

17 4 & 5 Wm IV c.76, s.58.

18 Bradfield Union letter book, BRK, ref: G/B 5/1.

19 In the event, Arlott's family returned to Berkshire in early 1837 and disputed the amount that they had been advanced.

The host communities

Commentators on the scheme have usually come to it with a south of England perspective and have assumed that the families were sent to the towns and cities of the north. In the 1843 Report for many employers the addresses provided are either a parish or post town and not the township where the mill was situated. In an editorial in 1838 *The Times* attacked the scheme:²⁰

The public are aware how the unhappy paupers of this country have been bandied about – we may say, from pillar to post – in the hopes of getting the New Poor Law into operation: they were to be banished to Canada, to Australia, to Jamaica, and we know not where across the seas; but, above all, the sound and wholesome peasantry of our rural villages were to be tempted to go to Manchester and other great manufacturing towns. Of this species of domestic banishment there has been no more selective partisan than one named James Phillips Kaye, M.D., formerly a physician at Manchester, and who has chiefly acted in Norfolk and Suffolk as a Poor Law-Commissioner. This Dr. James Phillips Kaye is now also, we understand, to enter upon the employment of Poor Law Commissioner in London. We must therefore lay before the public a view of his previous opinions. Would it be believed that this gentleman, who would have driven our healthy peasantry by shoals into the manufacturing towns, as a refuge from the workhouses, has himself in a pamphlet which is now difficult to get, given such an account of the unhealthiness, poverty, and general misery of the inhabitants of those towns as is sufficient to harrow the mind with grief and compassion! We have before us the second edition of the pamphlet, published in 1832.²¹

This piece clearly says that the migrant families were being sent to the ‘great manufacturing towns’ of the north, principally Manchester, but ‘Manchester’ was frequently used as shorthand for the manufacturing districts as a whole, particularly those of Lancashire. In order to test whether the destinations of the migrants were the urban areas, the Lancashire townships to which some 200 families (1,600 persons) were sent to were identified from the Migrants Database (this information had, in a number of instances, been supplemented from trade directories). Because of a lack of detail in the returns from Robert Baker, the Leeds agent, difficulties were encountered identifying precise destinations in Yorkshire.²² The migrants’ destinations were plotted on a map (Figure 6.6), thus showing the distribution of the townships where large numbers of migrants had been sent to.

Figure 6.6 shows where in Lancashire families were sent to. It is clear that only three of the major textile towns – Manchester (one family, 11 persons), Preston (4/33) and

²⁰ *The Times*, 28 June 1838, p.5f – effectively 12 months after the scheme had ended.

²¹ This was Kay’s *The moral and physical conditions of the working classes of Manchester*.

²² For the West Riding it was only possible to precisely identify the placing of 41 families (totalling 341 persons).

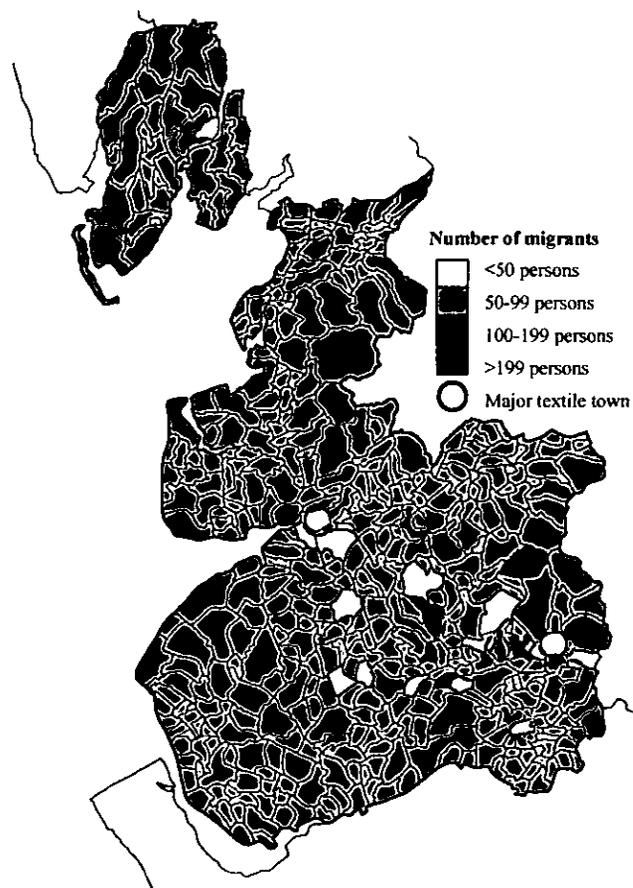


Figure 6.6: Destination townships in Lancashire.
Source: Migrants Database. Base map: Alan Crosby/Friends of Lancashire Archives

Rochdale (1/8) definitely received migrant families. Thus the majority of the families were sent, not to the towns, but to factory colonies in rural or semi-rural townships, such as Turton (18/131), Farnworth (20/157) and, in particular, to Newchurch-in-Rossendale (33/276). The 1841 census shows Newchurch township had a total of 716 persons born in England and Wales outside Lancashire;²³ assuming they had not moved in the meantime, the scheme migrants represent some 38% of them. One of Matthew Fletcher's complaints about the scheme in a letter to *The Times* in 1837, was that families had been sent to remote places out of sight of the factory inspectors.²⁴ In most instances the families were provided with company housing, which was generally of better quality than that supplied by private landlords in the towns.

²³ PP 1843 XXII (496), p.141

²⁴ *The Times*, 8 June 1837, p.5c.

Integration with the host communities

In Chapter Four it was noted that the letters sent by migrants and published by the authorities do not inevitably provide a reliable guide to the feelings of the migrant families towards the scheme. By the same token they are not necessarily an accurate indicator of the attitudes of the members of the communities in which the migrants found themselves, particularly bearing in mind Snell's concept of local xenophobia and King's findings for Calverley discussed in Chapter Two.

The Commissioners were well aware of the potential problem of assimilation of the migrant families into the host communities, Assistant Commissioner John Philips Kay had written in July 1835 to them:

I may remark that to prevent the excitement of any jealousy among the workmen of the cotton districts on their arrival – a jealousy which to the honour of the Lancashire labourers be it spoke never has yet been excited so far as to occasion an act of violence to immigrants from any county but as a measure of caution, it would be desirable that the labourers arriving from the southern rural districts should not wear in Lancashire that distinguishing southern dress, the smock frock, nor the half boot, by both of which they would be distinguished from the population of the district.²⁵

Muggeridge too, when he first took the post of agent, wrote to the Poor Law Commission saying that there was current acceptance of the migrants by 'native operatives', but warned that if too many arrived there could be 'opposition in every shape'.²⁶ In May 1836 when Muggeridge suggested the formation of a sick club for the migrants, his idea was rejected by the Commissioners as 'it would serve to keep them separate and not integrate with the locals'.²⁷ However, despite the Commissioners' precautions, their fears were realised three months later when the *Bolton Chronicle* reported a strike at the Ainsworth's mill in Little Bolton:

No less than 80 of the card-room hands, in the employ of Messrs. C. Ainsworth and Co., Little Bolton, left their work on Monday last, without giving any notice. The alleged cause of this step being taken is: Messrs. Ainsworth and Co., have lately introduced several families from Suffolk into the mill, at much less wages than their old hands were receiving and six or seven of the old hands have been discharged; the remainder concerning that when they have learned the strangers the nature of the business, they would either have to decamp, or their wages considerably reduced, determined not to instruct the Suffolkites, and accordingly turned-out. Mr. Ainsworth on Monday, procured

25 TNA, ref: MH 32/48, received 5 Aug 1835. However, V O Sherwood's painting *The Preston by-election of 1862* shows several individuals wearing smock frocks.

26 MH 32/58, 1 Oct 1835.

27 TNA, ref: MH 32/58, 24 May 1836. A number of the more progressive employers organised sick clubs for their employees, stopping the subscriptions from their wages.

eighty warrants against his refractory hands, for leaving without giving a fortnight's notice; some were taken into custody.²⁸

When the downturn in trade started to bite William Boorman wrote back to his parish from Birch in Hopwood that his children were put on short time.²⁹ He explained his situation:

The case is this when trade went on brisk before we came the home people struck for wages. The masters being determined not to give it advertised for hands. When they found they could have plenty they told the home people they might all give over working for they could have plenty of hands and a great many came to their sorrow. For when they came and times got bad the masters had got them there and did not want them. And they would not employ them more than 3 or 4 days in a week. And now they wish they had never seen us. And the people that came from a distance are slighted. And spited both by the masters and the working people and they seem as if they ment or intended to make us glad to go home again. Hundreds there are going home almost every week. The natives cannot bear the sight of us. I have myself been followed and railed and hollowed at in the midst of a town by 20 or 30 people more than once.³⁰

These two examples of resistance to the migrants were caused by the perception of the established workforce that the employers were using the migrants to drive down wage rates. The workers may have been justified in their suspicions that the migrants were being introduced to reduce wages and weaken the unions. Edmund Ashworth in a letter to Chadwick in June 1834 about the Poor Law Bill then being drafted, had said 'I am most anxious that every facility be given to the removal of labourers from one county to another according to the demand for labour; this would have a tendency to equalize wages, as well as prevent in degree some of the turnouts which have been of late so prevalent'.³¹ R H Greg wrote to Chadwick in early September 1834, just after the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act, saying 'next year will, unless some unforeseen accident occurs, be naturally a year of increase in our manufactures, buildings, &c., and should this prove the case, any further demand for labour would still further increase the unions, drunkenness and high wages'.³² It appears that the employers' concerns did not lie solely with a shortage of labour in their mills, but also with the unionisation of the labour that they already had.

28 *Bolton Chronicle*, 13 August 1836, p.3b.

29 The family, from Kingsnorth near Ashford in Kent, went to work at Charles Ogden's mill.

30 TNA, ref: MH 12/4798, 17 July 1837. Despite his tribulations, Boorman remained in Lancashire.

31 TNA, ref: MH 12/5593, 9 June 1834; the letter was subsequently published as part of the Poor Law Commissioners First Annual Report, PP 1835 XIV (500), Appendix C, 5 (a), pp.212-13.

32 PP 1835 XIV (500), Appendix C, 5 (b), pp.213, the letter was dated 17 Sept 1834.

Spinners were the elite of the cotton industry workforce. They were highly paid, at rates for the piece, and customarily employed their own young assistants (piecers, scavengers and doffers) often their own children, or those of relatives or friends.³³ This employment tradition is relevant to this study since, were the millowners to impose directly employed, low paid migrant children on their spinners, it could have sparked a potential conflict between the migrants and the established workforce. However, there appears to have been no response from the spinners, either individually or collectively, to the introduction of the children. It may have been, as was argued at the time, that in areas where children were in short supply unmarried spinners, or those with children too young for the work, were glad of the newcomers' help, for instance in a letter from the Ashworth brothers to the Poor Law Commissioners:

It appears unnecessary to add to the foregoing statement any observations of our own with regard to the advantages of the migrators, by the change they have made. In order to find employment for them, we have not found it needful to dismiss any one from our service, as both our own and almost every other establishment in the neighbourhood have been, and still are, too scantily supplied with juvenile workers. The rates of wages of such hands have not been lowered by their coming; on the contrary, they have been regularly advancing for the last two or three years, and at this time higher than we have ever before known them. Their neighbours or fellow workpeople have not treated them as unwelcome or intrusive; on the other hand, their services have proved a timely and valuable acquisition to some of those who, by the assistance of such children, can earn as much as 30s. or 40s. a week, and having no families of their own, have sometimes been put to great shifts to obtain them, or forfeit their employment.³⁴

At an individual level, relations between the migrants and their new neighbours seemed to be cordial. Ashworth wrote to the Commissioners after he received the first families from Bledlow saying 'The new hands have not manifested any disagreeable features, nor have they received any sort of unkind treatment from the other workpeople'.³⁵ Boyson records that at Egerton local workers lent the newcomers furniture, pans and kettles.³⁶ In January 1837 Sophia Booth's three eldest daughters were committed to the New Bailey prison for two months by the magistrates for breaking their contract with James Clegg of Heywood. Having lost the greater part of her family's income she told of how 'the poor in Haywood gathered us some money, one among another. They

33 Bruland (no date); Winstanley (1996). This was also the practice in the West Riding cotton industry, Daniel Kenworthy, gave evidence to the Select Committee on the Bill to regulate the labour of children in mills and factories that it was 'customary for slubbers to engage their own pieceners'. PP 1831-2 XV (706), p.82. Shuttleworth (1842) calculated in 1832 that in Lancashire mills some 12% of assistants were directly related to the spinner.

34 PP 1835 XIV (500) Appendix (C), p.219.

35 TNA, ref: MH 12/5593, 15 April 1835.

36 Boyson (1970), p.191, quoting from a letter from Henry Ashworth in the Chadwick Archive at University College, London.

gathered me £2 4s'.³⁷ Matthew Fletcher writing of the poor circumstances of some of the families in the Bury area said 'But for the assistance offered by the friendship of the working people [the migrants] would in some instances have perished from want'.³⁸ In September 1835 Muggeridge wrote to the Commissioners regarding migrants from Princes Risborough in Buckinghamshire who were sick with smallpox in Stalybridge, 'one lad was kept nearly 11 weeks by a neighbour, a young woman nearly 7 weeks, but the neighbours are no longer able to assist'.³⁹ The Ashworth brothers wrote to the Commissioners of a visit they had made to Stalybridge:

... we find that [the families] are well received by the neighbourhood, both employers and workpeople; the latter have already shown a disposition to vie with each other in mark of neighbourly attention to them, some proffering the loan of articles of furniture, others pots and kettles, or any domestic articles of which the unfortunate poor happen to be unprovided. They say very justly 'Why should they be unwelcome; they are Englishmen.' One incident we can scarcely forbear to mention, although it appears trivial. On Sunday afternoon, a poor resident, who happening to be in a public-house drinking, and being desired to quit because it was service time, said, 'Well, if I must go, I will take a drop to the strangers,' so carried them a can of ale; but to his astonishment, and to the credit of the southern poor, they refused to partake his jovial tribute of regard.⁴⁰

Apart from acts of neighbourly kindness another indicator of integration is inter-marriage. Soon after arriving a number of the older children were married to local partners. For example Rachel Ford who was 18 when she arrived at Congleton in 1836, was married two years later to a local man George Blease; Mary Bloomfield was also 18 when her family migrated to Stockport, where she married James Wright in 1839. The Migrants Database only reveals one marriage involving two migrants, that of William Stevens formerly of Bledlow and Charlotte Chisnall from Colchester in Essex who were married in the June quarter of 1840, both worked for the Ashworths at Egerton. Some of the widows formed liaisons – Sophia Booth was returned to Suffolk, but apparently wished to return to Lancashire to be married.⁴¹ Rachel Gobbett was also returned to Suffolk, but the 1851 census shows that she had a son, Benjamin, born at Hollinwood.⁴² The 1841 census for Turton shows Mary Avery, originally from Bledlow, with a one year old son born in Lancashire.⁴³

37 PP 1837-38 XIX (719) p.404, evidence of Sophia Booth.

38 TNA, ref MH 12/487, 13 June 1836.

39 TNA, ref: MH 32/58, 26 Sept 1835.

40 Letter to the Poor Law Commission, TNA, ref: MH 12/5593, 27 June 1835.

41 PP 1837-38 XIX (719), p.267, evidence of Robert Newton Shaw, Chairman of Woodbridge Union.

42 TNA, ref: HO 107/1796 f.135, p.31. Benjamin's birth was registered in the September quarter 1839.

43 TNA, ref: HO 107/537/20 f.54, p.10. The child, Thomas, was registered as 'Every' in the June quarter of 1840. Mary Avery was subsequently removed back to Buckinghamshire, but she begged her way back to Lancashire with her children (TNA, ref: MH 12/528, 23 Sept 1842); she was living in Great Bolton in 1851 (TNA, ref: HO 107/2211 f.128 p.31).

It would seem then, that the Commissioners' worries about assimilation did not materialise to any great extent – the few instances of ill feeling were as a result of poor industrial relations between the employers and the existing workforce. It is possible that the willingness of the 'native operatives' to help the migrants was because many of them had themselves been newcomers, albeit from nearer at hand than the scheme migrants, in the not too distant past.

Summary

The migrants' home parishes lay mainly in an arc running from The Wash to Portland Bill. While predominantly in Suffolk and Norfolk, there were significant numbers of parishes in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. The parishes had a correlation with such poverty indicators as high proportions of the population receiving parish relief. The scheme had no effect on the level of poor rates. Subsequent reductions in the rates were due to factors other than the migration scheme, probably the control of out-relief and the deterrent effect of the workhouse.

Few of the migrant families went to the great manufacturing towns such as Manchester and Leeds. The majority went to rural and semi-rural townships like Newchurch-in-Rossendale. There appears to have been little resistance to the migrants on the part of the indigenous population, indeed there were reports of acts of kindness towards them. Two cases where there was a negative reaction were as a result of poor industrial relations between the millowners and the existing workforce.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter Two it was seen that most commentators have considered the scheme to have been a failure. By examining the aspirations of several of the principal stakeholders and comparing them with the outcomes of the scheme, this research has attempted to establish whether this was in fact the case.

Some families returned to their home parishes, but over 70% of those that migrated clearly considered themselves better off than they had been in the south and chose to remain in the manufacturing districts, even after the onset of the trade depression that started soon after they had arrived. Indeed, acting primarily on their advice, an equal number of their friends and relations had followed them independently. For these families the scheme may be considered a success.

One of the features of the scheme was that the families were atypical migrants in a number of respects. As predicted in Chapter Two and shown in Chapter Three their age profile showed a major peak in the mid-teens, with a secondary peak in the late-thirties to late-forties, representing the children and the parents. Pooley and Turnbull's work showed a single peak in the early-twenties for independent migrants. The families were large when they moved, with an average size of between eight and nine persons. It was unusual for unskilled workers to move long distances, their movements were normally confined to their own 'country'. Additionally, they moved in an unusual direction. For most of the areas they originated in, the normal migratory flow was towards London.

Writing on his observations of southern labourers in 1844, William Howitt noted that:

All this time he is learning his business [farm work], but he is learning nothing else, – he is a growing up into a tall, long, smock-frocked, straw hated, ankle-booted fellow, with a gait as graceful as one of his own plough-bullocks. He has grown up and gone to service; and there he is, as simple, as ignorant, and as laborious a creature as one of the wagon-horses he drives. The mechanic sees his weekly newspaper over his pipe and his pot; but the clodhopper, the chopstick, the hawbuck, the hind, the Johnny-raw, or by whatever name, in whatever district, he may be called, is everywhere the same; he sees no newspaper, and if he did, he could not read it; and if he hears his master read it, ten to one but he drops asleep over it. In fact he has no interest in it. He knows that there is such a place as the next town, for he goes there to statutes and the fair; and he has heard of Lunnon, and the French, and Buonaparte, and of late years America, and he has some dreamy notion that he should like to go there if he could raise the wind, and thought he

could find the way – and that is all he knows of the globe and its concerns, beyond his own fields.¹

Elizabeth Gaskell mentions the labourers' closed horizons in *North and South*, but she provides a reason for them:

They labour on, from day to day, in the great solitude of steaming fields – never speaking or lifting up their poor, bent, downcast heads. The hard spade-work robs their brain of life; the sameness of their toil deadens their imagination; they don't care to meet to talk over thoughts and speculations, even of the weakest, wildest kind, after their work is done; they go home brutishly tired, poor creatures! caring for nothing but food and rest. You could not stir them up into any companionship.²

This current research indicates, that given the opportunity, the southern labourers could have more ambition than Howitt, and other contemporary observers, gave them credit for.

The careers of the two agents followed quite different trajectories. Baker spent his working life in occupations that utilised his medical training. Apart from his salary for the work done on the scheme, he seems to have benefitted little, if at all, from his connection with it. He stayed with the Factory Inspectorate and it would be 20 years after the scheme ended before he was promoted to factory inspector. In contrast, until his mid-fifties Muggeridge did not settle for any prolonged period in any profession; the longest was his seven year editorship of the *Herts Mercury*. His civil service career was enhanced by his association with the scheme when he was made an assistant poor law commissioner in 1839, and doubtless his employment on various royal commissions was also helped by his involvement. Given that a substantial amount of Muggeridge's work as a parliamentary agent was for the Dublin Corporation it is likely that contacts he made as an assistant poor law commissioner in Ireland were valuable in this phase of his career.

One aspect of the scheme that previous commentators have failed to address is whether the families were pressurised into moving. From the evidence presented in Chapter Five it is evident that a number of parishes and unions wished for powers to compel families to migrate and that the Commissioners advised them that refusal could be taken into account when deciding on an appropriate method of relief. In addition some officers at union level took a less than charitable attitude to the management of poor relief;

1 Howitt (1844), p.113.

2 Gaskell (1855), p.382.

considering the needs of the parish (the purses of the poor-rate payers) above those of applicants for relief. It is only a short step from the *wish* to compel families to migrate, coupled with the Commissioners apparent sanction of the substitution of the workhouse for out-relief in the case of potential migrants, to the *actual* removal of out-relief to force them to migrate. This undoubtedly happened in a number of cases. However the evidence available is from a limited number of places and much of it is probably highly selective. Over 70% of the scheme migrants chose to stay in the north and were joined by many of their friends and relations, suggesting that they, at least, were not forced into moving.

Most of the migrants' source parishes lay in an arc from the Wash to Portland Bill. As other researchers have noted they were situated predominantly in East Anglia, but there were significant numbers from Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. Economically the parishes were characterised by low wages, high levels of unemployment and, consequently, high poor-rates. Moreover a number of them were heavily in debt. With one or two exceptions there was no link between the source parishes and specific employers, particularly after the appointment of the migration agents. In Chapter Two a comparison of the poor-rates before and after the scheme showed, as had Worship's work,³ that the rates of the scheme parishes decreased. However, Worship did not compare the parishes she examined with parishes not taking part in the scheme. This current work shows that there was no difference between the poor rates decreases of scheme parishes and those of parishes where the scheme did not operate, thus the decreases were due to factors other than the scheme.

Few of the migrant families were sent to the large industrial towns such as Manchester or Leeds, rather they went to rural or semi-rural townships, where they were generally well received by the indigenous population. The few cases where there was local dissent over their arrival appear to have arisen as a result of poor industrial relations between the employers and the local workforce. The migration agents were conscious that there may have been problems – as there often was with the Irish – if they were introduced into one place all at once and so took a 'drip feed' approach. Many of the mills were in factory colonies into which labour had been brought, in these places there were no long-

3 Worship (2000), pp.40-42.

established, tight-knit communities, which probably eased the situation. The migrants had little overall effect on the manufacturing districts to which they went. They may have eased the labour shortage of the manufacturers a little in the short term, but they were too few to have any lasting impact and they were thinly spread. Even in the Rossendale Valley where the largest number of families were employed they represented only a small fraction of the total population.

Overall it is concluded that not all the stakeholders in the Poor Law Commission's migration scheme benefited, but that, like the curate's egg, it was good in parts. However, the effect of the scheme on all the stakeholders has not been examined here. The anti-poor law movement obviously had an interest in the scheme (Edsall devoted some space to their response to it),⁴ but it is evident that while the movement was aware of the possibility of forced migration, it failed to make any significant use of it in its campaign. This is one aspect that could be explored. Another is the question raised in Chapter Two – why so few manufactures took part in the scheme. There may be a political dimension to the answer. The current research has raised several other questions. In Chapter Six it was shown that several southern parishes lost a large proportion of their populations to the scheme, the demographic effects resulting from this would make an interesting study. While there has been some work on the character of agricultural labourers, it concentrates on the second half of the nineteenth century,⁵ a study of the period before this might be enlightening. In Chapter Four it was shown that Muggeridge's grandson was a Freemason and conjectured that Muggeridge himself may also have been, if it was the case then it might have had a bearing on his career. A search of the Institute of Historical Research's bibliography shows that little research appears to have been carried out on freemasonry in the nascent civil service, so this could be followed up to some effect.

4 Edsall (1971), pp.51-53, 57.

5 For example Freeman (2001).

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PL3/7/32, Droxford Union, financial ledger, 1836-37.

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PL3/9/1, Fordingbridge Union, guardians' minute book, 1835-37.

PL3/11/1-2, Kingsclere Union, guardians' minute books, 1835-37.

PL3/14/1, Ringwood Union, guardians' minute book, 1835-37.

PL3/17/1, Stockbridge Union, guardians' minute book, 1835-37.

PL3/18/1, Whitchurch Union, guardians' minute book, 1835-37.

PL3/19/1, Winchester Union, guardians' minute book, 1835-37.

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PUH/1/1, Haslingden Union, guardians' minute book, 1838.

PUK/1/1, Blackburn Union, guardians' minute book, 1837.

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 PUP/1/1, Prescot Union, guardians' minute book, 1837.
 PUX/1/1, Chorley Union, guardians' minute book, 1838.
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 G/Me/AF/1-2, Medway Union, financial ledgers, 1835-37.
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APPENDIX I

1. Poor Law Commission's correspondence with the poor law unions

Correspondence from the following 256 poor law unions was consulted at TNA during the research, for thirty-two unions (marked *) there was no correspondence for the relevant period.

GU = Undissolved unions formed under 'Gilbert's Act' of 1782 (22 Geo III c.83. *An Act for the Better Relief and Employment of the Poor*).

No.	Union	MH 12/			
Bedfordshire			<i>Derbyshire continued</i>		
1	Amphill	1	73	Glossop	2021
2	Bedford	21-2	74	Hayfield	2040
3	Biggleswade	55	75	Shardlow	2060
4	Leighton Buzzard	77	Dorsetshire		
5	Luton	96	96	Beaminster	2705
6	Woburn	126	97	Blandford	2724
Berkshire			98	Bridport	2744
7	Abingdon	139-40	99	Cerne	2764
8	Bradfield	162-3	100	Dorchester	2777
9	Cookham	181-2	101	Poole	2797
10	Easthampstead	201	102	Shaftsbury	*
11	Farringdon	217	103	Sherborne	2830
12	Hungerford	234-5	104	Sturminster	2846
13	Newbury	252-3	105	Wareham	2861
14	Reading	275	106	Weymouth	2885
15	Wallingford	297	107	Wimborne	2911
16	Wantage	318-9	Essex		
17	Windsor	335-6	122	Billericay	3347
18	Wokingham	362	123	Braintree	3374
Buckinghamshire			124	Chelmsford	3396
19	Amersham	381	125	Colchester	3428
20	Aylesbury	405-6	126	Dunmow	3456-7
21	Buckingham	436	127	Epping	3478
22	Eton	457-8	128	Halstead	3512
23	Newport Pagnell	487	129	Lexden & Winstree	3532
24	Winslow	512	130	Maldon	3555
25	Wycombe	525-6	131	Ongar	*
Cambridgeshire			132	Orsett	3601
27	Caxton &c	598	133	Rochford	*
28	Chesterton	615	134	Romford	3661
29	Ely	646	135	Saffron Walden	3706
30	Linton	667	136	Tendring	3728
31	Newmarket	684	137	West Ham	3769
Cheshire			137	Witham	*
35	Altrincham	770	Gloucestershire		
38	Congleton	934	144	Dursley	4054
39	Macclesfield	968	149	Stroud	4164
43	Stockport	1138	151	Tewksbury	4205
Derbyshire			Hertfordshire		
67	Ashbourne	1772	164	St Albans	4441
68	Bakewell	1799	165	Barnet	4466
69	Belper	1840	166	Berkhamstead	4518
70	Chapel-en-le-Frith	1891	167	Bishops Stortford	4536
72	Derby	1984	168	Buntingford	4557
No.	Union	MH 12/	169	Hatfield	*
			170	Hemel Hempstead	4576-7

No.	Union	MH 12/	No.	Union	MH 12/
<i>Hertfordshire continued</i>			<i>Lancashire continued</i>		
171	Hertford	4591	231	West Derby	*
172	Hitchin	4612	232	Wigan	*
173	Royston	4639	Leicestershire		
174	Ware	*	239	Leicester	6468
175	Watford	4679	Middlesex		
Kent			260	Brentford	6900
180	Ashford East	4783-4	263	Edmonton	*
181	Ashford West	4798	269	Hendon	*
182	Blean	4818-9	282	Staines	7767
183	Bridge	4841-2	283	Uxbridge	7875
184	Bromley	4855	Norfolk		
184	Canterbury	4897	288	Aylsham	8185
185	Cranbrook	4911	289	Blofield	8206
186	Dartford	*	290	Depwade	8244
187	Dover [River]	4955-6	291	Docking	8249-50
188	Eastry	4988-9	292	Downham	8268
189	Elham	5019-20	293	Erpingham	8293-4
190	Faversham	5054	294	St Faiths	8325
191	Gravesend	5075	295	Flegg	8340
192	Greenwich	5091	296	Forehoe	8356
193	Hollingbourne	5134	297	Freebridge Lynn	8375
194	Hoo	5157	298	Guiltcross	8393-4
196	Maidstone	5195	299	Henstead	8415
197	Malling	5226	300	Kings Lynn	8429
198	Medway	5249	301	Loddon & Clavering	8455
199	Milton	5279-80	302	Mitford	8474-5
200	N Aylesford [Strood]	*	303	Norwich	8502
201	Romney Marsh	5306	304	Swaffham	8539
202	Sevenoaks	5315	305	Thetford	8555
203	Sheppy	*	306	Tunstead [Smallburgh]	8578
204	Tenterden	*	307	Walsingham	8596-7
205	Thanet	5343	308	Wayland	8616
206	Tonbridge	5372	309	Yarmouth	8630
Lancashire			Northamptonshire		
207	Ashton-under-Lyne	5413	310	Brackley	8671
208	Blackburn	5529	311	Brixworth	8689
209	Bolton	5593	314	Kettering	8749
210	Burnley	5673	319	Thrapston	8861
211	Bury	*	Oxfordshire		
212	Chorley	*	343	Banbury	9577-8
213	Chorlton	*	344	Bicester	9614
214	Clitheroe	5752	345	Chipping Norton	9637
215	Fylde	*	346	Headington	9658
216	Garstang	*	347	Henley on Thames	9681-2
217	Haslingden	5840	348	Oxford	9706
218	Lancaster	5889	349	Thame	9732-3
219	Leigh	5926	350	Witney	9753
220	Liverpool	5996	351	Woodstock	9775-6
221	Manchester	6039	Southampton (Hampshire)		
222	Oldham	*	386	Alresford	10613
223	Ormskirk	*	387	Alton	10625
224	Prescot	6094	388	Alverstoke	10645
225	Preston	*	389	Andover	10661
226	Rochdale	*	390	Basingstoke	10669-71
227	Salford	*	391	Catherington	10701
228	Todmorden	6272	392	Christchurch	10710
229	Ulverston	6320	393	Droxford	10751
230	Warrington	*	394	Fareham	10767

No.	Union	MH 12/	No.	Union	MH 12/
<i>Southampton continued</i>			<i>Sussex continued</i>		
395	Farnborough	*	475	Eastbourne	12854
396	Fordingbridge	*	476	East Grinstead	12886
397	Hartley Wintney	10804	477	East Preston (GU)	12905
398	Havant	10825	477	Hailsham	12931
399	Hursley	10845	478	Hastings	12950
400	Kingsclere	*	479	Horsham	12989
401	Lymington	10865	480	Lewes	13015
402	New Forest	*	481	Midhurst	13028-9
403	Petersfield	10896	482	Newhaven	13046
404	Portsea Island	10916	483	Petworth	13060-1
405	Ringwood	10971	484	Rye	13076
406	Romsey	10983	485	Steyning	13099
407	Southampton	10997	485	Sutton (GU)	13127
408	South Stoneham	11035	486	Thakenham	13128
409	Stockbridge	11063	487	Ticehurst	13138-9
410	Whitchurch	11074	488	Uckfield	13157-8
411	Isle of Wight	11084	489	Westbourne	13176
412	Winchester	*	490	West Firle	13189
Suffolk			491	Westhampnet	13198-9
432	Blything	11728-32	Wiltshire		
433	Bosmere & Claydon	11762-3	508	Alderbury	13639
434	Bury St Edmunds	11780	509	Amesbury	13658
435	Cosford	11793-4	510	Bradford on Avon	13668-9
436	Hartismere	11813-9	511	Calne	13686
437	Hoxne	11837-41	512	Chippenham	13699
438	Ipswich	11855-6	513	Cricklade &c	13719
439	Mildenhall	11889	514	Devizes	13735
440	Mutford &c	11906	515	Highworth &c	13751
441	Plomesgate	11932-3	516	Malmsebury	13776
442	Risbridge	11954	517	Marlborough	13789
443	Samford	11979	518	Melksham	13800
444	Stow	11991	519	Mere	13819
445	Sudbury	12014-5	520	Pewsey	13830
446	Thingoe	12042	521	Salisbury	13844
447	Wangford	12063	522	Tisbury	13849
448	Woodbridge	12078	523	Warminster	13863-4
Surrey			524	Westbury &c	13881
451	Chertsey	12143	525	Wilton	13892
452	Croydon	12167	Yorkshire, West Riding		
453	Dorking	12219	563	Bradford	14720
454	Epsom	12235	564	Dewsbury	14830
455	Farnham	12270	568	Halifax	14974
457	Godstone	12314	570	Huddersfield	15063
458	Guildford	12332-3	571	Keighley	15158
459	Hambledon	12370	573	Leeds ¹	15224
464	Reigate	12575	574	Carlton (GU)	15286
Sussex			576	Great Preston (GU)	*
470	Battle	12747	578	Saddleworth	*
471	Brighton	12769	583	Skipton	15512
472	Chailey	12800	228	Todmorden – <i>see Lancashire</i>	
473	Chichester	12813	584	Barwick (GU)	15548
474	Cuckfield	12829-30	586	Wakefield	15566

1 The Leeds Union file includes most of Robert Baker's correspondence.

2. Poor Law Commission's correspondence with Assistant Commissioners

a'Court, Col. Charles Ashe	MH 32/2-4	Neave, R Digby	MH 32/59
Adey, Danile Goodson	MH 32/5-6	Parker, Henry Walter	MH 32/60
Baker, Robert *	MH 12/15224	Parry, Sir Edward	MH 32/60
Earle, Richard	MH 32/21	Power, Alfred	MH 32/63
Gilbert, William John	MH 32/26	Revans, John	MH 32/65
Gulson, Edward	MH 32/28	Stevens, Thomas	MH 32/68
Hall, Richard	MH 32/35	Tufnell, Edward Carlton	MH 32/69
Hawley, William Henry Toovey	MH 32/38-9	Voules, William James	MH 32/73
Kay, James Phillips	MH 32/48-9	Wade, Colonel J	MH 32/74
Mott, Charles	MH 32/56	Weale, Robert	MH 32/85
Muggeridge, Richard Michaux *	MH 32/58		

* Migration agents, Baker's correspondence is filed with that of the Leeds Union.

3. Poor Law Commission's minutes

Aug-Dec 34	MH 1/1	Jun-Sep37	MH 1/12
Jan-Jul 35	MH 1/2	Sep-Dec 38	MH 1/13
Jul-Nov 35	MH 1/3	Jan-Jun 38	MH 1/14
Nov-Dec 35	MH 1/4	Jun-Oct 38	MH 1/15
Jan-Mar 36	MH 1/5	Oct-Nov 38	MH 1/16
Mar-Jul 36	MH 1/6	Nov-Dec 38	MH 1/17
Jul-Oct 36	MH 1/7	Jan-Mar 39	MH 1/18
Nov-Dec 36	MH 1/8	Mar-Jun 39	MH 1/19
Jan-Feb 37	MH 1/9	Jun-Sep39	MH 1/20
Feb-Apr 37	MH 1/10	Sep-Dec 39	MH 1/21
May-Jun 37	MH 1/11		

4. Poor law union guardians' minutes, etc.

No.	Union	Location	Ref	Notes
Berkshire				
8	Bradfield	Reading	G/B/1/13 G/B/5/1 G/B/41/3 D/P/22	mins 1835- letter book 1835- relief order book 1835 Bradfield vestry mins 1832-
Kent				
184	Bromley	Bromley	AM/1 AF/1/1 AF/1/108-115	mins 1836- ledgers 1836- parish ledgers 1836-
188	Eastry	Maidstone	G/Ea/AM/1	mins 1835-
192	Greenwich	LMA*	GBG/001	mins 1836-7
194	Hoo	Medway	G/Ho/AM/1 G/Ho/ACa	mins 1835- PLC corresp
198	Medway	Medway	G/Me/AM/1 G/Me/ACb1 G/Me/AF/1-3	mins 1835-7 letter book ledgers
200	N Aylesford [Strood]	Medway	G/St/AM/1	mins 1835-7
205	Thanet	Maidstone	G/Th/AM/1	mins 1835-
Lancashire				
208	Blackburn	Preston	PUK/1/1 PUK/20/25	mind 1837- rate books 1835-6
210	Burnley	Preston	PUZ/1/1 PUZ/2/1	mins 1837- rough min book
214	Clitheroe	Preston	PUC/1/1	mins 1837-
217	Haslingden	Preston	PUH/1/12 PUH/3/3	mins 1838- letter books 1838-

No.	Union	Location	Ref	Notes
<i>Lancashire continued</i>				
224	Prescot	Preston	PUP/1/1	mins 1837-
225	Preston	Preston	PUT/1/3a	mins 1838-
Middlesex				
260	Brentford	LMA*	BG/B/1	mins 1836-
263	Edmonton	LMA*	BG/E/1	mins 1837-
269	Hendon	LMA*	BG/H/1	mins 1835-
283	Uxbridge	LMA*	BG/U/1	mins 1836-
Hampshire				
386	Alresford	Winchester	PL3/1/12	mins 1835-
389	Andover	Winchester	PL3/4/7	mins 1835-
			PL3/4/55-6	ledgers 1835-
390	Basingstoke	Winchester	PL3/5/12	mins 1835-
393	Droxford	Winchester	PL3/7/12	mins 1835-
			PL3/7/32	ledgers 1836-
			PL3/7/72	letter books 1835-
394	Fareham	Winchester	PL3/8/1	mins 1835-
			PL3/8/31	ledgers 1825-
396	Fordingbridge	Winchester	PL3/9/1	mins 1835-
400	Kingsclere	Winchester	PL3/11/12	mins 1835-
405	Ringwood	Winchester	PL3/14//1	mins 1835-
409	Stockbridge	Winchester	PL3/17/1	mins 1835-
410	Whitchurch	Winchester	PL3/18/1	mins 1835-
412	Winchester	Winchester	PL3/19/1	mins 1835-
Suffolk				
433	Bosmere & Claydon	Ipswich	ADA/2/AB1/23	mins 1821-
435	Cosford	Bury St Edmunds	DC/1/2/12	mins 1835-
439	Mildenhall	Bury St Edmunds	DC/1/3/1	mins 1837-
441	Plomesgate	Ipswich	ADA/6/AB1/13	mins 1837-
444	Stow	Ipswich	ADA/8/AB2/19, 20A	mins 1778-
448	Woodbridge	Ipswich	ADA/12/AB1/1-3	mins 1835-
			ADA/12/AC2/1-2	ledgers 1835-
Surrey				
451	Chertsey	Woking	BG1/11/1	mins 1835-
453	Dorking	Woking	BG2/11/1	mins 1835-
			BG2/13/1	ledgers 1835-
454	Epsom	Woking	BG3/11/1	mins 1836-
455	Farnham	Woking		no mins pre-1872
457	Godstone	Woking	BG5/11/1	mins 1835-
458	Guildford	Woking	BG6/11/1	mins 1836-
459	Hambledon	Woking	BG7/11/1	mins 1836-
			BG7/13/1	ledgers 1836-
464	Reigate	Woking	BG9/11/1	mins 1836-

* LMA = London Metropolitan Archives.

APPENDIX II

1. Registration districts searched in 1851 census for migrant families

No.	Registration District	HO 107/	Population ¹
Cheshire			
454	Altrincham	2161-62	34,043
474	Ashton under Lyne	2236-39	119,119
457	Congleton	2167-68	30,512
453	Macclesfield	2158-61	63,327
452	Stockport	2153-57	90,208
Derbyshire			
447	Ashbourne	2146	20,932
449	Bakewell	2149-50	29,880
446	Belper	2144-45	46,872
450	Chapel-en-le-Frith	2151	11,496
445	Derby	2142-3	43,684
451	Hayfield	2152-53	29,712
Lancashire			
468	Bolton	2206-11	114,712
469	Bury	2212-16	88,815
481	Chorley	2262-63	37,701
471	Chorlton	2219	123,841
477	Haslingden	2248-50	50,424
485	Lancaster	2273	34,660
473	Manchester	2225-2232	228,433
475	Oldham	2240-43	86,788
482	Preston	2264-2268	96,545
476	Rochdale	2244-47	72,515
486	Ulverston ²	2274	4,020
465	Wigan	2198-2001	77,539
Staffordshire			
377	Lichfield	2014-15	25,279
369	Newcastle-under-Lyme	2001	20,814
374	Uttoxeter	2010	15,140
Somerset			
320	Wincanton ³	1931	3879
Yorkshire, West Riding			
495	Halifax	2297-2302	120,958
500	Hunslet	2315-18	88,679
501	Leeds	2319-21	101,343
493	Otley	2284-85	28,644
514	Tadcaster ⁴	2352	12,780
495	Todmorden	2288-89	29,727

¹ Source: PP 1852-53 LXXXVI (1632). *Population Tables Part I. Number of Inhabitants, Volumes I and II* [1851 census abstracts].

² Colton sub-district only.

³ Bruton sub-district only.

⁴ Aberford and Bramham sub-districts only.

2. Manchester area census enumerators' books not filmed by TNA due to damage

HO 107/	District	Sub-district	Parish	Place
2219	471 Chorlton	1 Didsbury	Manchester	Chorlton cum Hardy, Withington, Didsbury, Burnage.
		2 Ardwick	Manchester	Levenshulme, Rusholme, Birch in Rusholme, Gorton, Openshaw, Ardwick.
2220		3 Chorlton-upon-Medlock	Manchester	Chorlton-upon-Medlock
2221		4 Hulme	Manchester	Moss-side, Hulme.
2222	472 Salford	1 Pendleton	Eccles	Pendleton, Pendlebury.
		2 Broughton	Manchester	Broughton with Kersall.
2223 (ff.181-end)		3 Greengate		Salford.
2224		4 Regent Road		Salford.
2225	473 Manchester	1 Ancoates	Manchester	Manchester.
2227 (ff.415-439)		2 Deansgate	Manchester	Manchester.
2230 (ff.1-420)		5 St George	Manchester	Manchester.
2232		9 Blackley	Manchester	Harpurhey, Blackley.
2232		10 Prestwich	Manchester	Prestwich, Great Heaton, Little Heaton.
2232	474 Ashton-under-Lyne	1 Knott-Lanes	Ashton-under-Lyne	Knott-Lanes with Lees, Crossbank, Alt, Alt-Edge, Alt-Hill, Taunton, Knott-Lanes & Wood Park.
2240	475 Oldham	1 Oldham below Town	Prestwich	Oldham (St Mary's and St Peters), Werneth & Westwood wards.

APPENDIX III

Numbers of migrant families and persons by parish

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
Bedfordshire						
1.01	Amphill	Amphill	1	13		
1.03	Cranfield	Amphill	17	117	5	2 families no size
1.11	Lidlington	Amphill	1	3		
1.12	Marston Moretaine	Amphill	1	8		
2.04	Bolnhurst	Bedford	1	7		
2.18	Great Barford	Bedford	2	16		
2.20	Kempston	Bedford	1	8		
2.36	Thurleigh	Bedford	1	9		
2.37	Turvey	Bedford	2	16		
2.40	Wilshamstead	Bedford	1	11		
2.41	Wootton	Bedford	2	20		
3.28	Wrestlingworth	Biggleswade	1			no size
6.06	Harlington	Woburn	1	8		
6.12	Ridgmont	Woburn	1	7		
6.16	Toddington	Woburn	1	6		
6.17	Woburn	Woburn	2	10		
	County only identified		10	71	7	
Berkshire						
8.01	Aldermaston	Bradfield	1	13		
8.03	Basildon	Bradfield	1	9		
8.05	Bradfield	Bradfield	1	12		
8.06	Bucklebury	Bradfield	2	9		1 family no size
12.17	Lambourn	Hungerford	1	8		
13.15	Thatcham	Newbury	1	12	8	
15.24	Wallingford	Wallingford	4	32		
16.21	Hanney, West	Wantage	1	9		
16.33	Wantage	Wantage	2	15		
	County only identified		2	20		
Buckinghamshire						
20.12	Cuddington	Aylesbury	8	65		
21.07	Buckingham	Buckingham	6	61		
21.14	Leckhampstead	Buckingham	1			no size
21.25	Steeple Claydon	Buckingham	1	19		
23.01	Astwood	Newport Pagnell	1	10		
23.12	Clifton Reynes	Newport Pagnell	2	19		
23.27	Newport Pagnell	Newport Pagnell	3	26		
24.16	Winslow cum Shipton	Winslow	1	7		
25.01	Bledlow	Wycombe	15	100	1	1 family no size
25.02	Bradenham	Wycombe	6	51		
25.25	Princes Risborough	Wycombe	15	111	1	
25.27	Saunderton	Wycombe	6	37		2 families no size
349.19	Lewknor	Thame	3	28		
	County only identified		1	7		

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
Cambridgeshire						
28.07	Coton	Chesterton	2	9		
28.11	Fulbourn	Chesterton	2	18		
29.09	Sutton	Ely	1	10		
30.13	Linton	Linton	1	10		
30.16	Shudy Camps	Linton	1	10		
30.18	West Wickham	Linton	1	8		
179.01	St Neots	St Neots	1	10		
	County only identified		7	57		1 family no size
Dorset						
97.03	Blandford Forum	Blandford	1	4		
102.07	Iwerne Minster	Shaftsbury	1	9		
107.05	Cranborne	Wimborne &c	1	6		
Essex						
123.99	Union only identified	Braintree	1	8		
125.02	Colchester	Colchester	1	5		
126.09	Dunmow, Great	Dunmow	1	8		
126.22	Stebbing	Dunmow	1	11		
128.07	Maplestead, Great	Halstead	1	10		
135.06	Clavering	Safron Walden	1	11		
135.16	Saffron Walden	Safron Walden	1	10		
	County only identified		6	51		
Gloucestershire						
149.02	Bisley	Stroud	1	6		
151.05	Chaceley	Tewksbury	1	8		
151.05	Chaceley	Tewksbury	1	14		
Hertfordshire						
169.05	Essendon	Hatfield	1	2		
173.02	Ashwell	Royston	1	11		
Kent						
180.10	Crundale	Ashford, East	1	11		
180.22	Smeeth	Ashford, East	1	15		
181.08	Kingsnorth	Ashford, West	1	9		
188.13	Mongeham, Little	Eastry	1	13		
193.02	Boughton Malherbe	Hollingbourne	2	12		
193.15	Lenham	Hollingbourne	1	14		
198.02	Gillingham	Medway	1	5		
199.04	Bredgar	Milton	1	11		
199.09	Milsted	Milton	1	4		
201.13	New Church	Romney Marsh	1			no size
204.09	Tenterden	Tenterden	1	21		
205.02	Birchington	Thanet	1	6		
205.10	St Nicholas at Wade	Thanet	1	9		
	County only identified		9	66	4	
Lincolnshire						
	County only identified		1	9		
Norfolk						
288.20	Hevingham	Aylsham	1	9		
290.07	Burston	Depwade	1	7		

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
<i>Norfolk ctd.</i>						
291.10	Burnham Overy	Docking	1	8		
291.15	Creake, South	Docking	1	11	8	
291.17	Docking	Docking	4	39		
291.20	Holme next the Sea	Docking	1	9		
291.24	Ingoldisthorpe	Docking	1	11		
291.28	Sedgeford	Docking	2	7		1 family no size
291.30	Snettisham	Docking	1	10		
293.01	Aldborough	Erpingham	1	18		
293.02	Antingham	Erpingham	1	5		
293.06	Barningham Town	Erpingham	2	18		
294.11	Hainford	St Faiths	1	9		
294.15	Horsford	St Faiths	1	11		
297.20	Pentney	Freebridge & Lynn	1	8		
298.06	Buckenham, Old	Guiltcross	1	13		
298.15	Lopham, South	Guiltcross	1	9		
302.58	Yaxham	Mitford	1	11		
304.32	Swaffham	Swaffam	2	18		
305.19	Methwold	Thetford	1	8		
	County only identified		41	335	20	
Northamptonshire						
310.04	Brackley	Brackley	1	8		
Oxfordshire						
347.03	Britwell Prior	Henley on Thames	1	15		
349.26	Sydenham	Thame	4	27		
349.28	Thame	Thame	2	20		
351.10	Deddington	Woodstock	1	9		
351.23	Steeple Aston	Woodstock	1	9		
351.99	Union only identified	Woodstock			1	
	County only identified		3	26		
Southamptonshire (Hampshire)						
390.28	Silchester	Basingstoke	2	20		
399.05	Otterbourne	Hursley	1	9		
	County only identified		2	18		
Suffolk						
432.02	Benacre	Blything	1	6		
432.03	Blythburgh	Blything			1	
432.10	Cove, South	Blything	1			no size
432.13	Darsham	Blything			1	
432.22	Huntingfield	Blything	1	10	1	
432.23	Kelsale	Blything	2	11		
432.24	Knodishall	Blything			1	
432.30	Reydon	Blything			1	
432.37	Theberton	Blything	1	7		
432.41	Walberswick	Blything	1	5		
432.45	Westleton	Blything			1	
432.46	Wissett	Blything			2	
432.47	Wrentham	Blything	1	16		
432.48	Yoxford	Blything	2	16	1	
432.99	Union only identified	Blything	9	86	9	

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
<i>Suffolk ctd.</i>						
433.02	Ashbocking	Bosmere & Claydon	1	7		
434.01	Bury St Edmunds	Bury St Edmonds	1	5		
435.09	Elmsett	Cosford	1			no size
435.10	Groton	Cosford	3	31		
435.11	Hadleigh	Cosford	6	42		1 family no size
435.12	Hitcham	Cosford	1	16		
435.15	Lavenham	Cosford	1			no size
435.19	Monks Eleigh	Cosford	1	8		
435.20	Naughton	Cosford	1	8		
435.23	Preston	Cosford	1	9		
435.24	Semer	Cosford	1	10		
435.27	Whatfield	Cosford	2	22		
436.02	Bacton	Hartismere	5	26		1 family no size
436.03	Botesdale with Redgrave	Hartismere	1	8		
436.08	Eye	Hartismere	6	60		
436.09	Finningham	Hartismere	3	31		
436.12	Mendlesham	Hartismere	7	49		
436.14	Occold	Hartismere	1	8		
436.17	Rickinghall Superior	Hartismere	1	7		
436.18	Rishangles	Hartismere	1	8		
436.19	Stoke Ash	Hartismere	3	25		
436.22	Thornham Magna	Hartismere	4	29		
436.24	Thrandeston	Hartismere	1	11		
436.25	Thwaite	Hartismere	1	17		
436.29	Wortham	Hartismere	2	15		
436.30	Wyverstone	Hartismere	1	7		
436.31	Yaxley	Hartismere	1	5		
436.99	Union only identified	Hartismere	14	116		
437.01	Allington or Athelington	Hoxne	2	12		
437.02	Badingham	Hoxne	5	34		
437.03	Bedfield	Hoxne	1	6		
437.05	Brundish	Hoxne	2	18		
437.07	Dennington	Hoxne	4	36		
437.08	Fressingfield	Hoxne	2	20		
437.10	Hoxne	Hoxne	22	185	10	1 family no size
437.13	Metfield	Hoxne	1	9		
437.14	Monk Soham	Hoxne	2	18		
437.17	Stradbroke	Hoxne	1	9		
437.19	Tannington	Hoxne	2	18		
437.20	Weybread	Hoxne	2	21		
437.21	Wilby	Hoxne	1	5		
437.22	Wingfield	Hoxne	3	28		
437.24	Worlingworth	Hoxne	1	6		
437.99	Hoxne Union	Hoxne	1	6		
438.11	Ipswich St Peter	Ipswich	2	20		
439.11	Mildenhall	Mildenhall	1	9	10	
441.01	Benhall	Plomesgate	2	20		

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
<i>Suffolk ctd.</i>						
441.09	Cretingham	Plomesgate	2	21		
441.10	Cretingham	Plomesgate	1	10		
441.12	Eyke	Plomesgate	2	21		
441.14	Framlingham	Plomesgate	3	20		
441.15	Friston	Plomesgate	1	8		
441.23	Kettleburgh	Plomesgate	1	4		
441.28	Parham	Plomesgate	8	47		
441.29	Rendam	Plomesgate	1	8		
441.30	Rendlesham	Plomesgate	2	17		
441.99	Union only identified	Plomesgate	2	17		
442.05	Cowlinge	Risbridge	2	18		
444.01	Ashfield Great	Stow	2	17		
444.09	Felsham	Stow	2	11		1 family no size
444.14	Harleston	Stow	1	8		
444.19	Langham	Stow	2	17		
444.20	Newton, Old	Stow	1	11		
444.21	Norton	Stow	1	10		
444.23	Rattlesden	Stow	1	10		
444.24	Rickinghall Inferior	Stow	1	11		
444.27	Stowmarket	Stow	2	16		
444.31	Walsham-le-Willows	Stow	1	6		
444.99	Union only identified	Stow	1	11		
446.19	Hengrave	Thingoe	1	9		
446.21	Ickworth	Thingoe	1	23		
446.22	Ixworth	Thingoe	1	10		
446.29	Pakenham	Thingoe	2	16		
447.03	Bungay Holy Trinity	Wangford	1	5		
447.06	Ellough	Wangford	1	10		
447.08	South Elmham St Cross	Wangford	1	13		
447.20	Ringsfield	Wangford	1	5		
447.23	Sotterley	Wangford	1	7		
447.24	Wangford	Wangford	1	10		
448.01	Alderton	Woodbridge	3	24		
448.09	Brightwell	Woodbridge	1	9		
448.15	Clopton	Woodbridge	2	19		
448.33	Otley	Woodbridge	1	8		
448.36	Ramsholt	Woodbridge	1	9		
448.39	Sutton	Woodbridge	6	44		1 family no size
448.47	Woodbridge	Woodbridge	12	108		
	County only identified		35	284	38	2 families no size
Surrey						
453.02	Dorking	Dorking	1	7		
Sussex						
477.01	Arlington	Hailsham	2	17		
486.01	Ashington	Thakenham	1	6		
486.06	Pulborough	Thakenham	3	27	11	
491.13	Felpham	Westhampnett	1	11		
491.33	Walberton	Westhampnett	1	10		
491.35	Westhampnett	Westhampnett	1	8		

ID	Parish	Union	Families	Persons	Single Persons	Notes
Wiltshire						
512.17	Laycock	Chippenham	1	9		
514.11	Devizes	Devizes	1	10	4	
514.27	Urchfont	Devizes	1	11		
520.04	Collingbourne Kingston	Pewsey	1	5		
520.16	Pewsey	Pewsey	1	6		
522.12	Semley	Tisbury	1	10		
523.09	Heytesbury	Warminster	1	9		
	County only identified		2	22		
No county identified			8	44	3	2 families no size

APPENDIX IV

Poor rate changes in scheme and non-scheme parishes**1. Scheme parishes**

Showing populations in 1831 and 1841, estimated population in 1836, proportion of the population that migrated (%), poor rates (£) for the periods 1832-5 and 1835-8 and the rate for 1835-38 expressed as a percentage of the 1832-5 rate. Sources as per Chapter Two.

Parish	Pop 1831	Pop 1841	Est 1836	No. Migs	% Mig	1832-5	1835-8	%
Ampthill Union (BDF)								
Cranfield	1260	1371	1469	153	10.42	1440	556	38.61
Lidlington	814	926	873	3	0.34	1268	346	27.29
Marston Moretaine	1007	1147	1085	8	0.74	2082	605	29.06
Bedford Union (BDF)								
Bolnhurst	300	344	329	7	2.13	419	166	39.62
Great Barford	731	814	789	16	2.03	810	329	40.62
Kempston	1571	1699	1643	8	0.49	2097	837	39.91
Thurleigh	538	617	587	9	1.53	780	310	39.74
Turvey	988	960	990	16	1.62	746	334	44.77
Wilshamstead	753	763	769	11	1.43	841	344	40.90
Wootton	1051	1122	1107	20	1.81	2049	541	26.40
Wycombe Union (BKM)								
Bledlow	1135	1205	1296	126	9.72	1857	528	28.43
Bradenham	263	226	321	76	23.71	110	57	51.82
Princes Risborough	2122	2205	2283	119	5.21	2119	849	40.07
Saunderton	231	232	307	75	24.47	666	262	39.34
Towersey	403	413	425	17	4.00	588	188	31.97
Docking Union (NFK)								
Creake, South	831	940	897	11	1.23	764	337	44.11
Holme next the Sea	268	280	292	18	6.16	328	76	23.17
Ingoldisthorpe	286	344	326	11	3.37	237	76	32.07
Sedgeford	595	669	648	16	2.47	883	272	30.80
Snettisham	962	1151	1077	20	1.86	1551	365	23.53
Hoxne Union (SFK)								
Badingham	866	864	901	36	4.00	1288	437	33.93
Bedfield	323	358	347	6	1.73	426	129	30.28
Brundish	478	525	520	18	3.46	608	139	22.86
Dennington	1000	379	726	36	4.96	1532	567	37.01
Fressingfield	1351	1456	1424	20	1.40	1945	873	44.88
Metfield	733	702	727	9	1.24	940	357	37.98
Stradbroke	1527	1637	1591	9	0.57	2479	839	33.84
Tannington	264	252	276	18	6.52	463	118	25.49
Weybread	708	771	760	20	2.63	821	264	32.16
Wilby	649	623	641	5	0.78	854	383	44.85
Wingfield	668	668	696	28	4.02	915	258	28.20
Worlingworth	729	786	764	6	0.79	899	293	32.59

Plomesgate Union (SFK)								
Earl Soham	762	741	762	10	1.31	628	152	24.20
Rendam	449	412	439	8	1.82	530	180	33.96
Parham	502	514	564	56	9.93	523	180	34.42
Kettleburgh	388	355	376	4	1.07	735	328	44.63
Framlingham	2445	2523	2504	20	0.80	480	220	45.83
Friston	466	435	459	8	1.74	1707	813	47.63
Cretingham	387	411	420	21	5.00	785	396	50.45
Rendlesham	261	325	310	17	5.48	546	278	50.92
Eyke	485	502	515	21	4.08	708	380	53.67
Benhall	668	749	729	20	2.75	890	571	64.16
Stow Union (SFK)								
Ashfield Great	408	749	596	17	2.85	245	111	45.31
Felsham	401	398	422	22	5.22	675	269	39.85
Harleston	89	90	98	8	8.21	102	55	53.92
Langham	264	293	296	17	5.75	421	195	46.32
Newton, Old	679	712	707	11	1.56	452	300	66.37
Norton	802	879	851	10	1.18	715	370	51.75
Rattlesden	1113	1141	1137	10	0.88	1103	593	53.76
Stowmarket	2672	3043	2874	16	0.56	1301	729	56.03
Walsham-le-Willows	1167	1265	1222	6	0.49	1309	582	44.46
Wangford Union (SFK)								
Bungay Holy Trinity	1663	1861	1767	5	0.28	903	368	40.75
Ellough	146	155	161	10	6.23	210	124	59.05
South Elmham St Cross or Sandcroft	234	258	259	13	5.02	481	117	24.32
Ringsfield	315	311	328	15	4.57	480	263	54.79
Sotterley	243	223	240	7	2.92	261	113	43.30
Woodbridge Union (SFK)								
Alderton	575	620	611	13	2.13	441	277	62.81
Brightwell	86	81	93	9	9.73	177	177	100.00
Otley	616	647	640	8	1.25	856	422	49.30
Ramsholt	215	192	213	9	4.24	327	188	57.49
Sutton	680	707	738	44	5.97	708	522	73.73

2. Non-scheme parishes

Showing poor rates (£) for the periods 1832-5 and 1835-7 and the rate for 1835-38 expressed as a percentage of the 1832-5 rate. Sources as per Chapter Two.

Parish	1832-5	1835-8	%
Amphill Union (BDF)			
Clophill	540	315	58.33
Flitton	540	215	39.81
Flitwick	604	165	27.32
Gravenhurst, Lower	68	21	30.88
Gravenhurst, Upper	255	151	59.22
Hawnes	703	303	43.10
Higham Gobion	143	42	29.37
Houghton Conquest	1008	368	36.51
Maulden	702	379	53.99
Millbrook	602	176	29.24
Pulloxhill	823	289	35.12
Shillington	981	444	45.26
Silsoe	411	163	39.66
Steppingley	405	154	38.02
Westoning	1106	295	26.67
Bedford Union (BDF)			
Biddenham	320	157	49.06
Bletsoe	642	162	25.23
Bromham	332	172	51.81
Cardington	548	292	53.28
Carlton	242	15	6.20
Chellington	96	6	6.25
Clapham	103	76	73.79
Colmworth	561	120	21.39
Cople	719	360	50.07
Eastcotts	589	247	41.94
Elstow	535	279	52.15
Felmersham	451	141	31.26
Goldington	438	269	61.42
Harrold	911	433	47.53
Keysoe	766	245	31.98
Knotting	146	77	52.74
Melchbourne	238	116	48.74
Milton Ernest	330	151	45.76
Oakley	351	114	32.48
Odell	411	264	64.23
Pavenham	550	225	40.91
Ravensden	210	165	78.57
Renhold	460	161	35.00
Riseley	303	265	87.46
Roxton	850	286	33.65
Sharnbrook	631	222	35.18
Souldrop	335	62	18.51
Stagsden	985	339	34.42
Stevington	570	186	32.63
Wilden	459	191	41.61

Parish	1832-5	1835-8	%
Bedford Union ctd.			
Willington	349	177	50.72
Yelden	269	116	43.12
Wycombe Union (BKM)			
Chinnor	1650	914	55.39
Ellesborough	549	215	39.16
Fawley	416	284	68.27
Fingest	310	155	50.00
Hambledon	436	578	132.57
Hampden Great	309	135	43.69
Hampden, Little	36	27	75.00
Horsenden	12	2	16.67
Hughenden	1085	669	61.66
Ibstone	162	80	49.38
Ilmer	121	39	32.23
Kimble, Great	733	247	33.70
Kimble, Little	145	48	33.10
Marlow, Great	2782	1475	53.02
Marlow, Little	621	536	86.31
Medmenham	234	157	67.09
Missenden, Little	790	234	29.62
Monks Risborough	824	436	52.91
Radnage	414	233	56.28
Stoke Mandeville	513	195	38.01
Stokenchurch	1323	549	41.50
Wendover	2107	737	34.98
Wooburn	1999	1002	50.13
Wycombe, High	2421	1384	57.17
Wycombe, West	2158	711	32.95
Docking Union (NFK)			
Anmer	20	20	100.00
Bagthorpe	86	49	56.98
Barmer	73	68	93.15
Barwick	153	53	34.64
Bircham, Great	490	189	38.57
Bircham Newton	74	46	62.16
Bircham Tofts	118	57	48.31
Brancaster	805	320	39.75
Broomsthorpe	28	0	0.00
Burnham Overy	581	313	53.87
Burnham Thorpe	706	255	36.12
Burnham Westgate	496	310	62.50
Creake, North	982	240	24.44
Dersingham	655	162	24.73
Fring	105	37	35.24
Heacham	809	244	30.16
Houghton	274	136	49.64
Hunstanton	437	173	39.59
Ringstead	524	167	31.87
Rudham, East	1005	398	39.60
Rudham, West	442	255	57.69
Sherborne	95	39	41.05

Parish	1832-5	1835-8	%
<i>Docking Union ctd.</i>			
Stanhoe	782	212	27.11
Syderstone	267	93	34.83
Thornham	782	190	24.30
Titchwell	783	20	2.55
Waterden	26	7	26.92
Burnham Deepdale	27	0	0.00
Burnham Norton	86	34	39.53
Hoxne Union (SFK)			
Allington or Athelington	139	53	38.13
Bedingfield	347	160	46.11
Denham	321	144	44.86
Horham	547	182	33.27
Laxfield	1243	446	35.88
Mendham	677	321	47.42
Monk Soham	472	164	34.75
Saxted	592	193	32.60
Southolt	211	24	11.37
Syleham	383	88	22.98
Withersdale	115	42	36.52
Plomesgate Union (SFK)			
Hacheston	636	233	36.64
Cransford	430	178	41.40
Glemham, Little	372	155	41.67
Marlesford	457	193	42.23
Iken	480	205	42.71
Snape	610	276	45.25
Farnham	297	135	45.45
Bruisyard	321	152	47.35
Wickham Market	765	364	47.58
Tunstall	819	393	47.99
Glemham, Great	474	233	49.16
Sudbourne	954	493	51.68
Blaxhall	598	319	53.34
Stratford St Andrew	191	102	53.40
Chillesford	166	89	53.61
Sternfield	184	102	55.43
Kenton	327	183	55.96
Swefling	263	148	56.27
Orford	473	275	58.14
Butley	190	115	60.53
Letherington	226	142	62.83
Hazelwood	151	98	64.90
Wantisden	141	95	67.38
Campsey Ash	431	291	67.52
Easton	481	326	67.78
Hoo	217	151	69.59
Brandeston	469	332	70.79
Monewden	280	203	72.50
Saxmundham	621	454	73.11

Parish	1832-5	1835-8	%
Stow Union (SFK)			
Beighton or Beyton	243	105	43.21
Buxhall	463	205	44.28
Combs	539	389	72.17
Creeting St Peter	204	136	66.67
Drinkstone	353	205	58.07
Elmswell	517	267	51.64
Finborough Great	383	177	46.21
Finborough Little	8	7	87.50
Gedding	166	67	40.36
Gipping	205	103	50.24
Haughley	398	206	51.76
Hessett	650	213	32.77
Hunston	168	59	35.12
Onehouse	114	80	70.18
Shelland	97	43	44.33
Stowlangtoft	175	102	58.29
Stowupland	406	244	60.10
Thurston	406	219	53.94
Tostock	304	186	61.18
Wetherden	374	171	45.72
Woolpit	581	315	54.22
Badwell Ash	550	109	19.82
Wangford Union (SFK)			
Barsham	692	157	22.69
Beccles	1976	1088	55.06
Bungay St Mary	984	600	60.98
North Cove	83	72	86.75
S. Elmham St James	322	146	45.34
S. Elmham St Margaret	256	85	33.20
S. Elmham St Michael	121	59	48.76
S. Elmham St Peter	210	23	10.95
Flixton	310	140	45.16
Homersfield	129	54	41.86
Ilkesthall St Andrew	691	157	22.72
Ilkesthall St John	152	56	36.84
Ilkesthall St Margaret	528	234	44.32
Redisham	223	106	47.53
Shadingfield	271	128	47.23
Shipmeadow	104	50	48.08
Weston	215	133	61.86
Willingham	142	46	32.39
Worlingham	233	143	61.37
Mettingham	392	203	51.79
Woodbridge Union (SFK)			
Bawdsey	289	207	71.63
Bealings Great	207	106	51.21
Bealings Little	171	126	73.68
Bawdsey	289	207	71.63
Bealings Great	207	106	51.21
Bealings Little	171	126	73.68
Boulge	97	23	23.71

Parish	1832-5	1835-8	%
<i>Woodbridge Union ctd.</i>			
Boyton	290	210	72.41
Bredfield	530	353	66.60
Bromeswell	175	99	56.57
Bucklesham	373	218	58.45
Burgh	525	194	36.95
Capel St Andrew	127	116	91.34
Charsfield	379	313	82.59
Culpho	190	100	52.63
Dallinghoo	359	285	79.39
Debach	229	87	37.99
Fakenham, Little	582	307	52.75
Felixstow	300	141	47.00
Foxhall	221	99	44.80
Grundisburgh	698	354	50.72
Hasketon	538	279	51.86
Hemley	111	59	53.15
Hollesley	332	233	70.18
Kesgrave	126	76	60.32
Kirton	427	214	50.12
Levington	315	160	50.79
Martlesham	340	260	76.47
Melton	958	351	36.64
Nacton	408	261	63.97
Newbourn	110	67	60.91
Petistree	331	210	63.44
Playford	206	173	83.98
Rushmere St Andrew	449	261	58.13
Shottisham	114	76	66.67
Trimley St Martin	437	257	58.81
Trimley St Mary	474	220	46.41
Tuddenham	328	291	88.72
Ufford	577	341	59.10
Waldringfield	130	100	76.92
Walton	590	341	57.80
Witnesham	510	318	62.35