

A STUDY OF CORNISH MIGRANTS WHO MOVED TO CRAMLINGTON,  
NORTHUMBERLAND, BETWEEN 1865 AND 1881

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

In accordance with the Regulations for the MSt Degree, I declare that this dissertation is substantially my own work. Where reference is made to the works of others, the extent to which that work has been used is indicated and duly acknowledged in the text and bibliography.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Local history concerns the interaction between people and place and how this produces 'changing, but particular, historical experiences' across different parts of England.<sup>1</sup> This study focuses on migrants from Cornwall, and their families, who moved over four hundred miles to the mining parish of Cramlington in the Blyth district of Northumberland. The first Cornish migrants moved to Cramlington in December 1865 following a long-standing strike by local coal miners.<sup>2</sup> Regional newspapers reported how some 300 men from Cornwall, Devon and Dorset travelled to the North East by train, arriving in Cramlington on 5 December 1865.<sup>3</sup> A few weeks later more migrants from the South West arrived.<sup>4</sup> The pits went into full production and the 'strike-breakers' stayed on. In January 1866 a further group of Cornish and Devonshire men and their families arrived, with an estimated 1,000 people in total 'settled in Cramlington'.<sup>5</sup> This episode was published eight years later by Fynes, incorporated into Welbourne's work of 1923, and was a well-known and narrated story in the local community for years to come.<sup>6</sup>

The 1865 migration to Cramlington notably occurred *before* the global collapse of copper prices in 1866 initiated the de-industrialisation of Cornwall, when Cornish miners sought employment due to mine closures and a dramatic reduction in job availability.<sup>7</sup> The county's net population figures decreased year on year to 1901, and the Liskeard sub registration district saw a particularly large decrease compared to the county average as shown in [Table 1](#).

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<sup>1</sup> Tiller, K. *English Local History: An introduction*, (2002) 1.

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary summary account of the strike in Cramlington is provided by Richard Fynes in *The Miners of Northumberland and Durham* (1873) 246-57. Excerpt online here: <http://www.genuki.bpears.org.uk/NBL/Cramlington/Strike.html> [14 April 2016].

<sup>3</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 6 December 1865; *Newcastle Courant* 8 December 1865; *Royal Cornwall Gazette* 14 December 1865 (reproducing the *Newcastle Journal* report of 9 December 1865).

<sup>4</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal* 8 December 1865. *Newcastle Daily Journal* 28 December 1865.

<sup>5</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal* 20 January 1866.

<sup>6</sup> R. Fynes, *The Miners of Northumberland and Durham*, 246-57; V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 129-131; Bill Gourley, native of Cramlington, personal communication, February 2016.

<sup>7</sup> G.M. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London (1981) 464-466.

In 1881, there were a total 8,390 Cornish-born people living outside Cornwall in other parts of England. A large number were living in neighbouring Devon or the London metropolis and the mean distance travelled was approximately 200 miles. However, nearly 10% of migrants moved 400 miles or more, of which just over a third were men working in mining occupations.

**Table 1** Population change in Cornwall and Northumberland from 1851 to 1901

Year	Cornwall			Northumberland					
	All Cornwall	Liskeard subdistrict	Liskeard town	Northumberland	Blyth subdistrict*	Cramlington			
1851	354,399	12883	6128	293,998	10400	3367			
1861	366,051	15194	6504	338,562	12989	3301	24.89%	-1.96%	
1871	358,356	14869	6499	386,646	16652	4167	28.20%	26.23%	
1881	325,875	11737	5534	433,930	20971	5744	25.94%	37.84%	
1891	322,576	10168	5024	511,240	25213	5967	20.23%	3.88%	
1901	318,141	9353	4945	597,948	32703	6437	29.71%	7.88%	
1911	325,071	9669	5309	962,004	38932	6376	19.05%	-0.95%	

1871 Figures from Office of National Statistics <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/Cornwall/>  
1911 ICeM Northumberland figure differs from ONS figure which is much lower  
Source: Office of National Statistics.  
\*From 1881 there are changes but the original composition of the subdistrict for Blyth from 1861-1871 has been maintained for comparison purposes

I-CeM – Parish ID for all Years Table.

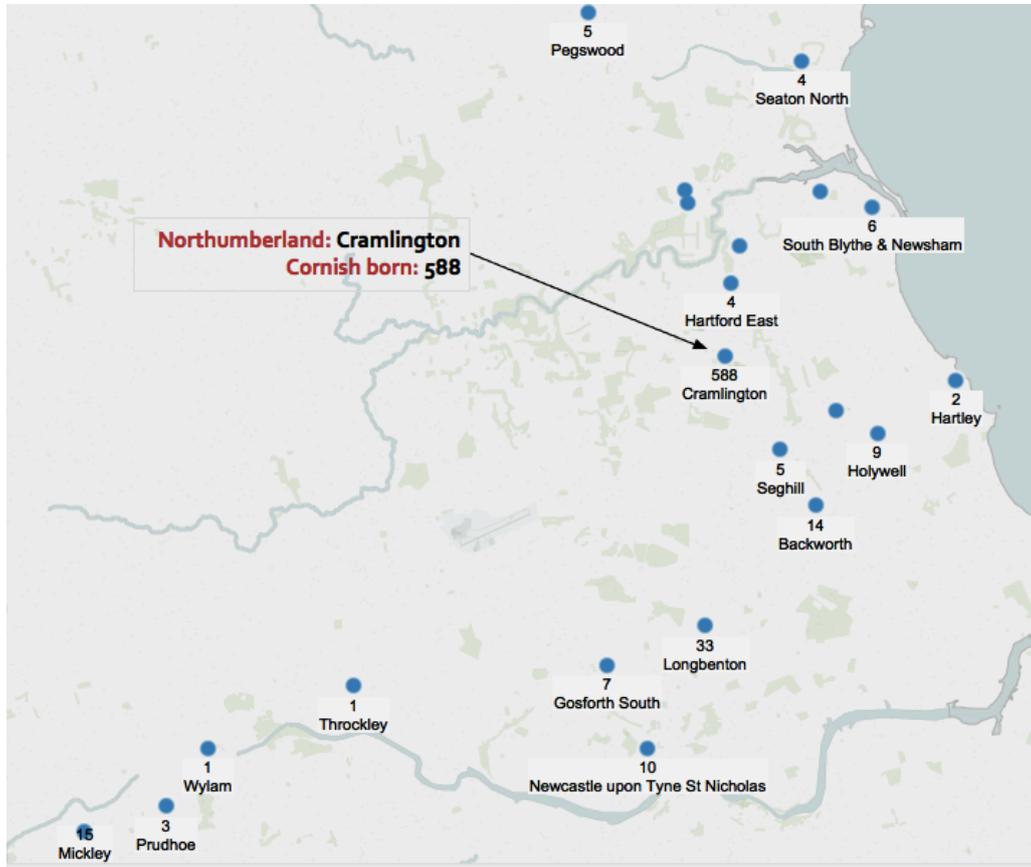
1871 figures shown in red text are from the Office of National Statistics.

In 1871 the majority of the Cornish migrants in Cramlington, in remote Northumberland, were born in the Liskeard registration district in the South East of Cornwall (Figure 1), corresponding to the Caradon and Tamar Valley mining regions (Figure 2). By 1881 there were 588 Cornish migrants living in the community (Figure 3) and this represented 73% of all Cornish miners in Northumberland, in a county that had many places with coalmines and potential employment.

The fact that so many people from one area of Cornwall migrated to one distant destination in Northumberland between 1865 and 1881 engenders further study.



**Figure 3** Map showing numbers of Cornish-born people living in mining places in Northumberland by 1881



I-CeM data in *Tableau*

### 1.1 Aims and Objectives

Questions concerning migrants' motivation to move to particular places, barriers to integration and the extent to which they persisted in communities, in the latter half of nineteenth century England, have generated various challenges for historians. The aim of this study was to investigate and analyse these three aspects of migration by focussing on a Cornish cultural group that migrated over four hundred miles to the mining parish of Cramlington during the 1860s and 1870s, in order to seek specific insights to inform the broader context. The next chapter considers migration historiography relating to quantitative and qualitative aspects of this period, providing the rationale for the objectives of the research, which were to answer three questions. The first asks 'what motivated Cornish

migrants to move to Cramlington?’ Various decision influencers have been researched such as migrant knowledge of the destination community, economic factors including wages, family considerations, and ease of travel, plus the influence of prior migration. The second question asks ‘what were the barriers of integration for the Cornish?’ The nature of the community, and the importance and relevance of class, skills and cultural boundaries have been considered. In addition, where people lived and whether the Cornish migrants married the locals, have been investigated as measures of integration. The third question asks ‘to what extent did the Cornish migrants persist in Cramlington?’ The nature of the Cornish migrant demographic in the Cramlington community for 1871 and the impact of Cornish persistency on population growth by 1881 have been assessed including fertility. An estimation of those who stayed until 1891 and those who left was made through nominal census linkage. The details of sources used in support of the study and how problems in relation to these were handled are explained in chapter 3 and the research findings are set out and discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The concluding chapter draws the findings together in the context of the aims of the research.

## 2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 2.1 Introduction

De Haas commented that 'It would certainly be unrealistic to expect that a one-size-fits-all theory explaining migration for all places and times will ever arise', pointing to the complexity of the topic and how even similar contexts may not result in expected outcomes.<sup>1</sup> His reminder that migration is an intrinsic part of broader social agendas and agencies bringing change suggests a number of variables could come into play at a local level. For example the collapse of global copper prices in the 1860s bringing a reduction in employment opportunities in Cornwall influenced some people from the same place to migrate but not others. People acted in different ways.

Little research has been published concerning Cornish mining migrants moving within England, outside Cornwall, during the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Data relating to such internal migration has been caught up in more general investigations using figures drawn from the availability of British governmental decennial population census reports and drawing conclusions that relate to E.G. Ravenstein's eleven influential migration 'laws'.<sup>3</sup> Grigg showed how many of Ravenstein's laws have been challenged, but others continue to have resonance.<sup>4</sup> More recently, researchers such as Wall, Feldman, and Snell have drawn on qualitative approaches to migration studies considering questions that are often more difficult to assess, and exposing some limitations of census data alone.<sup>5</sup> This chapter considers three

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<sup>1</sup> H. de Haas 'Migration Theory. Quo Vadis?' *IMI working papers series*, 100 (2014) 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Cornish global migration programme based at Murdoch House, Redruth [<http://www.cornishmigration.org/>, last accessed 27 March 2016] and article by Cornish County Council (2011) [<http://www.cornish-mining.org.uk/sites/default/files/10%20-%20Mining%20migration.pdf>, 27 March 2016]

<sup>3</sup> Grigg has synthesised the laws: D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration"', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1977), 3, 1, 42-43.

<sup>4</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 41-44.

<sup>5</sup> R. Wall, 'Reviews of Books', *Urban History* 3 (1976) 8284; D. Feldman 'Migration', *In The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Martin Daunton, ed. (2001), Ch. 6; K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging. Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (2006).

questions to assess a breadth of quantitative and qualitative historiographical thought relevant to the study's aims:

- What motivated people to move long distances?
- What were the barriers to integration into the host community?
- To what extent did migrants persist in places?

## 2.2 What motivated people to move long distances?

Geographic mobility is not a 'unilinear and mechanistic phenomenon'.<sup>6</sup> Most migrants travelled short distances to marry and live in places they already knew, however, many others travelled many miles to seek work.<sup>7</sup> Ravenstein identified a 'special class' of migrants who would travel long distances directly to their destination, being a large industrial or commercial town (third law).<sup>8</sup> However, Grigg noted Ravenstein 'made no explicit discussion of the influence of distance, the size of the attracting town and the source area of the immigrants'.<sup>9</sup> Feldman made the point that historians erroneously continued to be influenced by positivist 'push-pull' models, proposing instead to understand the local situation in terms of 'how far the social and political relations within the city itself shaped the opportunities open to migrants'.<sup>10</sup> On a broader scale, De Haas noted that population flow averages often used in quantitative analysis tended 'to give limited insights into how larger social, economic and political structures affect the migration of different ethnic, skills and class groups'.<sup>11</sup> Navratil and Doyle noted the 'paucity of studies which focused explicitly on the determinants of an individual's decision to migrate' and it seems that few researchers have considered how people at this time decided to

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<sup>6</sup> J.H. Jackson and L. Moch, 'Migration and the social history of modern Europe.' *Historical Methods: a journal of quantitative and interdisciplinary history* (1989) 22, 1, 29-32.

<sup>7</sup> D.B. Grigg 'E.G. Ravenstein', 44; C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, 'Migration and Mobility in Britain from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries', *Local Population Studies* (1996), vol. 57, 55; C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (1998), e-book, 17%, Loc. 1447 of 8287.

<sup>8</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 48.

<sup>9</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 46.

<sup>10</sup> D. Feldman, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 188-89*.

<sup>11</sup> H. de Haas, 'Migration theory. Quo Vadis?' 6.

move long distances for the prospect of far off job opportunities.<sup>12</sup> This may relate to difficulties in attempting to 'analyse individual migrant psychology and attitudes', as Jackson and Moch noted, or in understanding how information networks developed perceptions of opportunities in destination locations. They argued for a 'systems approach' that would take multiple variables into consideration, including active human agencies, and 'feedback mechanisms' that would require 'that we see the effects and causes of migration as well as the long-term structural concomitants in combination', although they also noted the challenges in this approach.<sup>13</sup> Although Pooley and Turnbull found that movement for employment and marriage provided 'the most important reasons' between 1840 and 1879, they also found that motivators associated with accommodation, family issues and crisis were significant.<sup>14</sup> Baines' suggestion that studying local areas might provide more 'insight about motivation than large-scale quantitative analysis' could be a route to better understanding why certain people chose particular destination locations over others.<sup>15</sup>

The most obvious explanation for migration was economic.<sup>16</sup> Cairncross showed that populations increased in large towns and northern colliery areas compared to agricultural areas in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> However, this finding does not necessarily provide causal explanations as argued by Feldman:

a model of migration which accounts for mobility as a response to real wage differentials is a blunt instrument in so far as it can only account for a general tendency, it cannot address the reasons *why* some people responded to urban opportunities and others did not.<sup>18</sup>

Friedlander's research utilising a broader model incorporating occupational structure and change along with wage level, showed a prominent variable influencer

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<sup>12</sup> F.T. Navratil and J.J. Doyle, 'The Socioeconomic determinants of migration and the level of aggregation', *Southern Economic Journal* (1977) 43, 4, 1547.

<sup>13</sup> J.H. Jackson and L. Moch, 'Migration and the social history of modern Europe', 29-32.

<sup>14</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book at 19%, Table 3.6, Loc. 1568 of 8287.

<sup>15</sup> In B. Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration: some evidence from Cornwall', *Family & Community History*, (2007) 10, 1 50.

<sup>16</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 53.

<sup>17</sup> A.K. Cairncross, 'Internal migration in Victorian England', *The Manchester School* (1949) 17, 1, 3.

<sup>18</sup> D. Feldman, 'Migration', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2001) 192.

affecting net migration was the comparative 'wage level at county of destination'.<sup>19</sup> He noted net migration increases in coal mining areas were conspicuously low generally.<sup>20</sup> This could mean mining locations were not migrants' destination of choice, or that migrants were unwelcome. The extent to which migrants moved to escape rural poverty, or a declining industry, or were rather pro-active young opportunists is unclear. Baines supported the last possibility although noted that the Welsh may have been an exception, drawing attention to the impact of cultural or regional differences.<sup>21</sup> Other views were expressed by Jackson and Moch who argued for geographic selection by migrants, and separate male and female migration streams, dependent on how different labour markets worked, with 'men more likely than women to make their way to coal-mining towns'.<sup>22</sup> However, the 'wage gap' was not the only economic factor to consider in migration decisions as Boyer and Hatton's review of the very few empirical studies of late nineteenth century migration flows from rural to urban areas within Britain demonstrated.<sup>23</sup> They noted a 'whole basket of features' that were relevant, including occupation, the 'friends and relatives effect', distance, and destination environmental conditions, concluding:

The major determinants of migration flows were the magnitude of the benefits from moving, the cost of moving, proxied by the distance between origin and destination areas; and the availability of information concerning urban job opportunities, proxied by distance and by the stock of individuals residing in a destination area who were born in the origin area.<sup>24</sup>

Specific evidence concerning the decision process related to wage differentials as an employment driver for migrants would inform this discussion further.

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<sup>19</sup> D. Friedlander, 'Occupational structure, wages, and migration in late nineteenth-century England and Wales, *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (1992), 40, 2, 296; 304 & 314.

<sup>20</sup> D. Friedlander, 'Occupational structure, wages, and migration', 307.

<sup>21</sup> D. Baines, 'Migration in a mature economy. Emigration and internal migration in England and Wales 1861-1900', *Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time*, 3 (2007) 75

<sup>22</sup> J.H. Jackson and L.P. Moch, 'Migration and the social history of modern Europe', *Historical Methods* (1989), 22, 1, 29.

<sup>23</sup> G. R. Boyer and T. J. Hatton, *Migration and Labour Market Integration in Late Nineteenth-Century England and Wales* [Electronic version] (1997). Retrieved from Cornell University, ILR School site: <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/articles/541/> [19 April 2016].

<sup>24</sup> G.R. Boyer and T. J. Hatton. *Migration and Labour Market* [Electronic version] <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/articles/541/> [19 April 2016].

Ravenstein thought that 'ease of access and nearness to other towns' could have influenced migration decisions at this time and Pooley and Turnbull considered factors such as cost of rail travel important.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Wrigley, Pryce, and Anderson drew attention to the importance of migration processes, with Pooley noting that there was a neglected area of work relating to 'the impact of the experience of relocation on individuals and families'.<sup>26</sup> Friedlander and Roshier's calculation of 114 miles mean travel distance between non-adjacent counties was noted as much smaller than expected when considering railway transport networks had developed considerably during the period under study.<sup>27</sup> Although White argued that the railway encouraged the growth of Grantham and also suggested migrants came to work in the iron industry in Scunthorpe from 'longer distances', he wasn't clear whether the railway was a significant access route in such cases or how far some travelled.<sup>28</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the majority of those who travelled more than 300 miles within England from one census to another originated in a peripheral county of the country such as Devon and Cornwall or came from the North. However the link between economic factors and decisions to travel very long distances to particular places is lacking, perhaps due to the difficulties in establishing these facts in part.

Feldman referred to a 'calculative element' operating in families and influencing migration decisions of individual members.<sup>29</sup> Jackson and Moch also drew attention

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<sup>25</sup> D.B. Grigg 'E.G. Ravenstein', 46; C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book 18% Loc. 1464 of 8287.

<sup>26</sup> E. A. Wrigley, 'English County Populations in the Later Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review* 60, 1 (2007) 35-69; Pryce, in B. Deacon, *Communities, Families and Migration: Some evidence from Cornwall* *Family & Community History*, Vol. 10 no. 1 (2007) 50; M. Anderson, 'Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire', *Cambridge Studies in Sociology*, 5 (1971); C. Pooley, 'Research in progress: how people moved: researching the experience of mobility in the past', *LPS*, 82 (2009) 63.

<sup>27</sup> D. Friedlander and R. Roshier, 'A study of internal migration in England and Wales', *Population Studies* 19 (1966), Table 4, 267; D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 45; A. Redford, 'Labour Migration in England 1800-50', *Economic History Series III* (1926) 190; C. Pooley and J. Turnbull (1998), e-book, 18%, Loc. 1464 of 1287.

<sup>28</sup> M.B. White, 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain: the case of Grantham and Scunthorpe', In D.R. Mills and K. Schürer (eds), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (1996), 268, 275.

<sup>29</sup> D. Feldman, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 192.

to the relevance of family versus individual economic decisions.<sup>30</sup> Personal diaries such as that written by John James of Sithney, Cornwall, provide insights but cannot account for the decisions of other families.<sup>31</sup> White suggested family migration to some towns could have been due to expanded opportunities for wives and teenage children to contribute to family earnings.<sup>32</sup> His investigation of migrants to Scunthorpe in 1881 also suggested that if work in heavy industry occupations contracted in one place this encouraged longer distance travel, with the family very much a supporting group in the destination workplace.<sup>33</sup> For example grown up migrant male children earning higher wages may have opted to live with their family in the destination community reflecting an economic family bond.<sup>34</sup> More recently Reichlova has argued that part of the migrant decision process related to an assessment of needs: high needs for maintaining a local social network and feelings of stability led to a level of 'conservatism' and staying put, but if these needs weren't important then migrants with the lowest wages migrated to places offering the highest wages.<sup>35</sup> She further suggested cultural norms might largely determine these social cost decisions.<sup>36</sup> This could tie in with Hochstadt's ideas concerning 'nativity' as a factor to consider, meaning that people born in a city were more 'stable' and therefore less likely to move.<sup>37</sup> Migration decisions clearly involved complex considerations that could affect a number of people in families and more examples of how this operated in particular geographic locations is required. Navratil and Doyle found that migrants who had moved once were more likely to do so again, making these people less risk averse to change.<sup>38</sup> Wojciechowka's research findings supported this showing that those who moved far distances from their

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<sup>30</sup> J.H. Jackson and L. Moch, 'Migration and the social history of modern Europe', 29-32.

<sup>31</sup> John James' story is outlined in C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book at 56% Loc. 4643 of 8287.

<sup>32</sup> M.B. White, 'Family migration in Victorian Britain', 273.

<sup>33</sup> M.B. White, 'Family migration in Victorian Britain', 275.

<sup>34</sup> M. Anderson, 'The study of family structure', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social history* (1972) 51.

<sup>35</sup> N. Reichlova, 'Can the Theory of Motivation Explain Migration Decisions?' *Working Paper UK FSV* – Institute of Economic Studies, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic (2005) 97, 2.

<sup>36</sup> N. Reichlova, 'Can the Theory of Motivation Explain Migration Decisions?' 22.

<sup>37</sup> S. Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany 1820 - 1989* (1999) 139.

<sup>38</sup> F. Navratil and J. Doyle, 'The Socioeconomic determinants of migration and the level of aggregation', 1549.

birthplaces were more likely to move again and were likely to be in professional occupations, perhaps gaining 'knowledge of opportunities elsewhere... in transit'.<sup>39</sup> However prior moves are difficult to assess, exposing a limitation of the decennial census as a source on its own, since it is not known exactly when migrants moved to their place of enumeration. In addition what appears to be long distance migration from one census to the next can hide smaller stepwise moves referred to as 'intervening opportunities' by Ravenstein, until migrants reached their final destination.<sup>40</sup> Such stepwise movements were considered a 'complex wave-like motion' by Redford but others have not been convinced, such as Anderson, Smith and Holderness.<sup>41</sup> Massey et al.'s contemporary proposal that a migrant *continues* to move until the expected net return on the investment of migrating materialises, expressed through the best employment and pay conditions, provides a plausible explanation for a continuing 'step' migration effect.<sup>42</sup> Step analysis has often involved viewing migrants' movements individually<sup>43</sup>. However, Bryant provided a useful method to show progression by investigating the birthplaces of children compared to their mother in the CEBs, to their residences in 1851.<sup>44</sup> Where large families travelled, the children's birth years can also provide a crude method to estimate the time frame of migrations inter-census, although a child's birth and death would not have been captured if they occurred between census enumerations. Other methods to help understand inter-census movement could be collected by using the rich details of family life histories as Pooley and Turnbull found.<sup>45</sup> Knowing *when* people moved between census enumerations can provide significant insights as to *why* they moved.

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<sup>39</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: a study of migratory movements in a mid-nineteenth-century rural parish', in D.R. Mills and K. Schürer (eds), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (1996) 263.

<sup>40</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 47.

<sup>41</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 47.

<sup>42</sup> D.S. Massey et al. 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal', *Population and Development Review*, Vol.19, 3 (1993) 435. My emphasis.

<sup>43</sup> For example: H. Llewellyn-Smith, 'The Influx of Population', In Charles Booth (ed.), *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London, 1902) 69-70; D.B. Grigg, 47-48.

<sup>44</sup> D. Bryant, 'Demographic trends in South Devon in the mid-nineteenth century', in K. J. Gregory and W. L. D. Ravenhill (Eds), (1971) 125-42.

<sup>45</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain* (1998), e-book at 1%, Loc. 73 of 8287.

### 2.3 What were the barriers to integration into the host community?

Wall identified an 'unofficial boundary that distinguished "natives" from "strangers"' and was 'somewhat wider' than 'parochial boundaries'.<sup>46</sup> Migrants, then, were initially 'outsiders', rather than part of a special geo-mental inter-relatedness expressed in Phythian-Adams sentiment of a community as:

a set of people occupying an area with defined territorial limits and so far united in thought and action as to feel a sense of belonging together, in contradistinction from the many outsiders who do not belong.<sup>47</sup>

Migrants could be within the territorial boundaries but likely didn't feel an immediate acceptance *into* the community. For Cohen, communities actively sought to establish barriers of entry by producing:

boundaries and social distance against the 'the outside world' and 'a masking symbol to which its various adherents impute their won meanings'.<sup>48</sup>

This suggests members of local communities sought to uphold the inherent *status quo* and therefore in-migrants would have had hurdles to overcome in order to gain entrance and acceptance. Snell referred to the attitude of the incumbent local population as 'the culture of local Xenophobia', noting how 'almost nothing has been written by historians about the subject'.<sup>49</sup> His own work focussed on rural areas and cottage industries to consider various factors at play. He referred to E.P. Thompson's 'emphasis on the growth of shared consciousness' concerning how ideas of class identification and conflict were established, but also stressed that 'such a weight of consensus can be detrimental' by excluding other possible historical interpretations and outcomes.<sup>50</sup> Thomson's wife subsequently commented that her husband had considered his thesis possibly erroneous, having come to consider it was not issues of class consciousness that caused conflict but

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<sup>46</sup> R. Wall, 'Work, welfare and the family: an illustration of the adaptive family economy', in L. Bonfield, R. Smith and K. Wrightson, Eds. (1986) 267.

<sup>47</sup> C. Phythian-Adams, *Rethinking English Local History*, Occasional Papers Fourth Series Number 1, Edited by Charles Phythian-Adams and Harold Fox, Leicester (1987) 17.

<sup>48</sup> A. Shepard and P. Withington, *Communities in early modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric*, (2000) 8.

<sup>49</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 28-29.

<sup>50</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 29-30.

independent aspects such as ethnic origins, religious belief and 'otherness'.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Feldman noted the importance of institutional and cultural boundaries within communities. He thought the political and cultural dimension of migration helped to answer questions about how migrants interacted with their new environments and how the established populations responded.<sup>52</sup> Dennis and Clout also pointed out the shortcomings of a purely Marxist class-based viewpoint based on economic determinism, noting that the 'pauper classes were usually apolitical'.<sup>53</sup> Migrants might be poor, pro-active and associated with another cultural group. Were they also class-conscious?

Snell included skills as a factor to consider in integration.<sup>54</sup> Where migrants travelled long distances for work and had more education or skills than the incumbent population there is a question as to whether this affected local relations. Lawton, studying Birmingham between 1851 and 1911 showed that key skilled migrant workers influencing economic growth were railway carriage makers and around three quarters were born over 50 miles away.<sup>55</sup> It was implied they were valued but the level of social interaction was not assessed. Armstrong's research asserted that migrant railwaymen were more skilled than locally born men in York but was criticised by Wall who considered that Armstrong had provided little analytical comparison with other local occupational groups.<sup>56</sup> Having a particular skill set located in a group from outside the community can imply separateness or elitism, rather than integration. Snell argued that divisions of skill based on customs that developed from guilds or trades unions perpetuated barriers of exclusion, and noted that colliers who lacked an apprentice system and who moved around for work, 'had characteristics in common with these skilled workers', and also suggested they could have 'extra-local allegiances' making mining communities

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<sup>51</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 30.

<sup>52</sup> D. Feldman, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 187.

<sup>53</sup> R. Dennis and H. Clout, *A Social Geography of England and Wales* (1980) 20-21, and 52.

<sup>54</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 33.

<sup>55</sup> R. Lawton, 'An Age of Great Cities', *The Town Planning Review*, 43, 3 (1972) 205.

<sup>56</sup> R. Wall, 'Reviews of Books', *Urban History* 3 (1976), 82-84.

more open than some.<sup>57</sup> Rept stated that 'Pitmen must be bred to their work from childhood... their numbers cannot be recruited from any other class' implying colliers were a breed apart.<sup>58</sup> A study showing the inter-relatedness of class-consciousness, 'otherness' and skills as migrant barriers in a mining community, would add to the available research findings.

Social scientists in recent times such as Stevens et al. have considered how migrant cultural traditions and integration are connected using assessment measures such as acquisition of language, socioeconomic attainment, areas of residence, and intermarriage.<sup>59</sup> Similarly Saggar et al. identified indicators to show how in-migrants compared to national figures and the incumbent locals in terms of consistent employment, housing, earnings, social level, mortality, inter-marriage and family size.<sup>60</sup> These are the kinds of factors that Anderson referred to as the 'patterns and uniformities in the family life of certain sectors of the population taken as a whole'.<sup>61</sup> Where people lived therefore indicated social difference and local hierarchies. However, if the same level and quality of housing was provided for all workers rent-free, the social distinction is less easy to make and questions of integration less clear. For example did house owners allocate housing in a particular way? Did they seek to influence migrant integration or retain existing barriers?

Snell, researching rural parishes, found that 'by the 1830s just over seventy per cent of all marriages were parochially endogamous'.<sup>62</sup> Although this figure reduced in the latter half of the nineteenth century, young males from outside the parish 'intent on courting' the local girls were often beaten up by native youths over issues

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<sup>57</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 33-34.

<sup>58</sup> L.C. Rept (1834), in A. Redford 'Labour Migration in England 1800-50', *Economic History Series III* (1926) 57.

<sup>59</sup> G. Stevens et al., 'Intermarriage in the Second Generation: Choosing Between Newcomers and Natives' (2006), Migration Policy Institute, *Migration Information Source*. Online journal. [<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/intermarriage-second-generation-choosing-between-newcomers-and-natives>] [27 March 2016].

<sup>60</sup> S. Saggar et al. 'The impacts of migration on social cohesion and integration'. Final Report to the Migration Advisory Committee (2012) 2.

<sup>61</sup> M. Anderson, 'The study of family structure', in E.A. Wrigley ed., 49.

<sup>62</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 62 and Footnote 141.

of 'entitlement'.<sup>63</sup> Using Elmdon as an example, Strathern noticed that this sentiment was very visible in the working classes who perceived there were 'limited goods available locally' suggesting local girls were 'off limits' to in-migrant males.<sup>64</sup> Until the 1960s, for most people difference of religion was a greater barrier for marriage than nationality.<sup>65</sup> Snell noted however in the nineteenth century that Wesleyan Methodism in particular 'encouraged extra-parochial allegiances' suggesting its 'flexible circuit structures' and support for 'an extended society of shared belief' facilitated a break down of parish dogma. The extent of inter-marriage between a specific migrant group and locals in a mining parish would provide additional insight.

#### 2.4 To what extent did migrants persist in places?

For migrants to persist they had to arrive and stay, live and work in a place.<sup>66</sup> Incoming migrants and their children could influence a place in terms of population increase and future economic growth. Large groups of migrants who stayed in a destination community might encourage others to follow them through a social network, effectively helping others gain jobs.<sup>67</sup> Similarly Epstein discussed a 'herd' effect, where migrants followed 'signals' such as newspaper advertisements or messages from previous migrants, as an explanation for increases in migrant numbers from the same origin.<sup>68</sup> De Haas commented that although quantitative studies had shown 'on average, the number of migrants from a particular origin ... have a positive effect on subsequent migration from the origin to the destination', he was critical of drawing conclusions from aggregate census figures, querying the usefulness of this 'under-theorised' broad level information, which could not 'help us

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<sup>63</sup> K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 62 and Footnote 141.

<sup>64</sup> In K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, 63.

<sup>65</sup> L. Lucassen and C. Laarman, 'Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period', *The History of the Family*, 14, 1 (2009) 54.

<sup>66</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: a study of migratory movements in a mid-nineteenth-century rural parish', 260.

<sup>67</sup> N. Reichlova, 'Can the Theory of Motivation Explain Migration Decisions?', 2, referring to Heitmüller (2003).

<sup>68</sup> G. S. Epstein, in G. S. Epstein and I. N. Gang, Eds, *Frontiers of Economics and Globalization, Migration and Culture* (2010) 28-29.

to detect and understand socially differentiated patterns'.<sup>69</sup> Pooley's work on Welsh migration in 1871, and particularly his emphasis on those migrating to Liverpool, provided a useful cultural perspective. His research addressed rural to urban migration, and he pointed to the need for more work to assess to what extent cultural features of a migrant community persisted.<sup>70</sup>

Pooley and Turnbull found that a common noticeable experience was movement as a family group, noting sixty-four per cent of migrants from Wales moved in this way to towns in England.<sup>71</sup> An indicator of migrant persistence is inherent in natural population increases relating to migrant family size and their children born locally. Grigg noted that although little had been written on the matter, where it had, it had been shown that after 1871 natural population increase was more relevant than increase through in-migration.<sup>72</sup> Lawton's figures suggested natural increase was more important across all years, with colliery districts showing as significant in this respect.<sup>73</sup> This was likely due to young migrants settling down, marrying, having children, and thereby generating increased population figures.<sup>74</sup> Similarly Wojciechowska showed how in Brenchley, persistence levels generally increased with age suggesting responsibility, such as having children, could influence migration decisions.<sup>75</sup> Friedlander noted the higher proportion of younger aged male migrants in coal-mining areas 'in particular' and how this created an imbalance in sex ratios with pressure on women to marry younger and consequently have children earlier.<sup>76</sup> Garrett and Reid noted that 'By the 1881-86 marriage cohort miners and agricultural labourers were still having over 6 children on average, whereas Class II had seen their fertility fall to about 4.7 children per couple, and

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<sup>69</sup> H. de Haas 'Migration Theory. Quo Vadis?' 5.

<sup>70</sup> C.G. Pooley, 'Welsh migration to England in the mid-nineteenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography* (1983) 302.

<sup>71</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book at 8% Loc. 653 of 8287.

<sup>72</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 51.

<sup>73</sup> R. Lawton, 'An Age of Great Cities', *The Town Planning Review*, 43, 3 (1968), 44, p 55-74.

<sup>74</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 51.

<sup>75</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: a study of migratory movements', 260.

<sup>76</sup> D. Friedlander, 'Demographic patterns and socio-economic characteristics of the coal-mining population in England and Wales in the nineteenth century', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 22 (1973), 39-44.

Class I had just four children on average.<sup>77</sup> Similarly Szreter also showed how occupation influenced family size, and Woods indicated the importance of demographic characteristics such as class, place and period to inform national patterns of fertility and mortality.<sup>78</sup>

Figure 4 reproduces Friedlander’s aggregation of Welton’s indices on demographic statistics in rural areas and coal-mining areas, showing that coalmining areas in England and Wales increased in size during 1881-1901 by 17% due to natural increase, providing evidence of the effect of earlier female marriage.<sup>79</sup> However, there has been no analysis during this period as to how in-migrants from particular cultural communities into mining communities compared to the indigenous population in relation to the demographic characteristics mentioned or an understanding of the extent to which ‘natural increase’ related to the children of migrants.

**Figure 4** Illustration of Friedlander’s adjustment of Welton’s table of demographic characteristics in England and Wales 1881-1901

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS IN COAL-MINING AREAS, RURAL AREAS, AND IN ENGLAND AND WALES: 1881-1901				
Characteristic and Period	England and Wales	Coal-mining Areas	Rural Areas	Others
<b>Population growth per 1,000:</b>				
Total:				
1881-91	+11.0	+22.0	-5.9	+14.8
1891-1901	+10.8	+20.7	-5.4	+14.6
Migration:				
1881-91	-2.3	+4.9	-18.2	+1.9
1891-1901	-0.9	+4.0	-16.2	+3.5
Natural increase:				
1881-91	+13.3	+17.1	+12.3	+12.9
1891-1901	+11.8	+16.7	+10.7	+11.2
Women married at age 20-24 (%):				
1891	60.3	70.5	58.2	59.1
1901	58.8	68.6	56.8	57.6
No births per 1,000 married women under 45 per year:				
1881	301.0	324.4	311.7	292.8
1891	275.8	315.6	283.8	265.4
1901	244.6	288.0	247.3	235.3
1906	230.2	274.5	243.7	217.0
Crude birth rates per 1,000:				
1881-90	32.4	36.9	29.4	32.5
1891-1901	29.3	35.8	26.6	29.0
Death rates per 1,000:				
Crude:				
1881-91	18.8	19.8	17.0	19.2
1891-1901	17.8	19.2	15.9	18.2
Specific, ages 0-14:				
1881-90	19.4	20.8	13.8	21.1
1891-1900	19.6	21.4	13.3	21.5
Specific, ages 45-49:				
1881-90	12.8	12.9	9.7	13.9
1891-1900	11.2	12.1	8.9	11.8
Population size (millions):				
1891	29.0	3.6	6.6	18.8

SOURCE.—Welton (see n. 1), calculated from various tables.

<sup>77</sup>E. Garrett and Reid, A., ‘Thinking of England and Taking Care: Family Building Strategies and Infant Mortality in England and Wales 1891-1911’, *International Journal of Population Geography* (1995) 1, 71.

<sup>78</sup>S. Szreter, *Fertility, class and gender in Britain 1860-1940* (2002) 310-366; R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (2000) 2-3.

<sup>79</sup>D. Friedlander, ‘Demographic patterns and socio-economic characteristics of the coal-mining population in England and Wales in the nineteenth century’ (1973) 41.

Feldman noted that London, textile towns, urban cities and colliery districts grew significantly during the period of study, with people 'responding to plentiful opportunities for higher real wages'.<sup>80</sup> However, the turnover of migrants is not explicit, due to net migration figures reporting on decennial change and nor are there many studies addressing details of the nature of the stayers and leavers. They drew distinctions between owner-occupiers, renters and lodgers in relation to persistency levels, suggesting there was a 'clear tendency' for people who travelled long distances to move home again 'relatively quickly' and showing that short-distance home-owning migrants were the longest stayers.<sup>81</sup> They concluded that miners were less likely to travel very far. This was because miners were closely tied to the life cycle of a pit, which created the 'strong community and family bonds among coal miners, who traditionally worked as family groups'.<sup>82</sup> However the persistence levels and profiles of migrants who travelled long distances and who were provided with free accommodation, such as many colliery workers, was not included and nor is there any similar research that has tested this. Ravenstein stated most migrants were single young adult migrants and families rarely moved implying young single people would be more likely to continue to move on.<sup>83</sup> He showed that 28% of men and 25% of women living outside their home counties were below twenty years old in English and Welsh counties.<sup>84</sup> In support of this Hill's research on 1850s migration out of rural Essex confirmed that most migrants were young males in the tight age range of 17.5 to 22.5 years, and girls aged between 12.5 and 17.5 years, and this consistency remained through to the early twentieth century.<sup>85</sup> Friedlander and Roshier also tested this general expectation, however, unless migrant movements were significant they weren't included in their mapping exercise.<sup>86</sup> Although a useful indicator, their sample methodology provided a partial

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<sup>80</sup> D. Feldman, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 189-190*, 201.

<sup>81</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book at 47%, Loc. 3836 of 8287.

<sup>82</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain* e-book at 63% Loc. 5189 of 8287, and 35% Loc. 2871 of 8287.

<sup>83</sup> Ravenstein's seventh law.

<sup>84</sup> D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein', 49.

<sup>85</sup> A. B. Hill 'Internal migration and its effects upon the death rates with special reference to the County of Essex', *Medical Research Council, Special Report Series*, No. 95 (1925), 30.

<sup>86</sup> D. Friedlander and R. Roshier, 'A study of internal migration in England and Wales', 244.

picture, recognised by the researchers themselves who stated 'It may be more relevant to select a relatively small area which is of particular interest for more intensive study in terms of inward and outward migration streams'.<sup>87</sup>

Wojciechowska's quantitative work on persistence also stressed the importance of closely examining 'the composition of the movers' and advocated the 'arduous task' of linking migrants in successive CEBs for a better understanding.<sup>88</sup> If it is intended to understand the incomers, the stayers and the leavers over time, then the interconnectedness of flows in the same timeframe needs to be considered, and this is likely to require a certain amount of manual checking at a local level to provide the link and case studies to show the progression of family members over time. Tracing migrant men is more straightforward than tracing women, who married and changed surname, and when enumerators recorded different birth years and birthplaces in CEBs for the same person. Thus male persistence is a more reliable process to track and indeed Pooley and Turnbull found they had more information along male lines in the nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup> In connection, Longley has developed a map profiler utilising the geographic distribution of surnames in the 1881 and 1998 censuses, which provide an indication of long-term male persistence in a place. He has further shown that Cornish miners who moved to Middlesbrough in Teesside in the nineteenth century continued to be in poor housing and in the lower socio-economic groups in 2007.<sup>90</sup> It would be insightful to assess this for other destination locations to see if the same outcome applies although this is out of scope in this study.

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<sup>87</sup> D. Friedlander and R. Roshier, 'A study of internal migration in England and Wales', 251.

<sup>88</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: a study of migratory movements', 254.

<sup>89</sup> C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, e-book, at 13%, Loc. 1111-1119 of 8287.

<sup>90</sup> Robin McKie in the *New Statesman* (2007) outlines the geospatial mapping work of Paul Longley (UCL). [See <http://www.newstatesman.com/life-and-society/2007/01/cornish-names-british-family>, [31 March 2016].

## 2.5 Conclusion

The historiographical analysis highlighted that a broad approach relying on aggregate decennial census records and averages can hide important details. In addition, conclusions may limit understanding, such as why migrants travelled very far distances within England to particular destinations, where they came from, and the relevance of culture and occupation. There is little published about Cornish in-migrants' decision-making with specific examples of the economic drivers and calculative factors that influenced them. The literature review also identified that various barriers to integration and acceptance existed for migrants but few cases had been researched. In particular an understanding of the influence of the local political situation on in-migration, with examples exploring various barriers was required. Research into persistence has mostly focussed on migration from rural locations, or has taken a broader sweep of the country looking at occupational detail and age range. The composition of migrants as singletons and family groups in particular communities over time, their comparative fertility and persistence levels as ethnic groups including their native progeny, are less well known.

The *Aims and Objectives* of the study, drawn from the conclusions of the historiographical analysis are outlined above in section 1.1.

### 3. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGIES

The primary sources used for the study incorporated online digitized and searchable nineteenth century records and reports based on transcriptions of entries in parish General Registration Office (GRO) Census Enumeration Books (CEBs), nineteenth century newspapers, marriage registration records, and historical maps. Further details of the sources used are outlined below along with an explanation of the problems and issues associated with them and how they were overcome.

#### 3.1 Census data from CEBs

Much of the research depended on using data collected in crown copyrighted CEBs held by The National Archives (TNA), which in turn had been compiled from household schedules (no longer available). This data had been subsequently transcribed into searchable database format produced and/or hosted by several third party partner providers: *Integrated Census Microdata Project (I-CeM)*, *FindMyPast*, *Ancestry*, and the *Cornwall Online Census Project*. The source data used therefore reflected a number of different versions, for reasons explained further below. The main overlap of these different iterations related to the 1881 census, where the numbers of Cornish born people recorded as living in Cramlington for each dataset used differed as shown:

I-CeM Anonymised	588 records
I-CeM Personalised	600 records
Ancestry subset	603 records

The maximum difference in numbers being less than 2.5%, it was not considered significant. Census records collected were imported into Excel spreadsheets and analysed. *Tableau desktop* was also used as an analytical tool.

##### 3.1.1 Anonymised census data

Anonymised census datasets were collected for Cramlington parish in 1861, 1881

and 1891 via the *Integrated Census Microdata Project (I-CeM)*.<sup>1</sup> *FindMyPast* had responsibility for entering and checking data such as birthplace and county for I-CeM. The *I-CeM Guide* explains the meaning of the field codes, processes and rules that had been used to curate and standardise the data from different census years into a searchable format. However, the anonymised data excluded personal details such as names and addresses, and was therefore used where this information wasn't required for a particular enquiry. Furthermore, 1871 census records were not available via I-CeM and hence another data source was required because the early migrants moved before the 1871 census.

### 3.1.2 Personalised census data

Personal details such as names and addresses were relevant for some of the research and this raised more challenges. For example it was required to understand where the Cornish lived in Cramlington. A personalised subset for 1881 was requested and received directly from I-CeM. This included important details of addresses, which were used in the assessment in chapter 5. However, because 1871 and 1891 personalised census data were not available via I-CeM<sup>2</sup>, the partner provider of The National Archives, *Ancestry.co.uk*, was also used (via a personal subscription) to generate a sub-set of personalised details from the CEBs of the Cornish born living in Cramlington in census years 1871, 1881 and 1891.<sup>3</sup> This was called the *Ancestry subset* and was used for areas of the research showing change over time and for enquiries relating specifically to 1871. Manual adjustments were made in the spreadsheet by adding columns for 'Birth Year Estimate', 'Age Estimate' and 'Birthplace', as part of the process of manually checking people for the nominal census linkage (see below). Sometimes the entries in scans of original CEB documents were reviewed to double-check particular details. In addition, the associated registration district and sub-registration districts were added manually into additional columns in the spreadsheet

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<sup>1</sup> For details of I-CeM and the processes used see: <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/> and [https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/documents/icem\\_guide.pdf](https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/documents/icem_guide.pdf), [31 March 2016].

<sup>2</sup> E. Higgs et al., *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, (2013) 1.

<sup>3</sup> The National Archives (TNA): <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3144173>

where these could be easily identified.<sup>4</sup> The people born in Calstock were either allocated to Liskeard or Tavistock registration district depending on whether they were born before or from 1861 (when the boundary changed). Those born before 1861 were associated with Liskeard and Cornwall and those born later with Tavistock and Devon. However, it was noted that all these migrants had recorded themselves as being Cornish in the CEBs. Any others were classed as 'unknown' or left as blank. This additional information meant it was possible to assess where migrants came from at area and district level as well as birthplace.

In February 2016 an approach from Bill Gourley and subsequent communication showed that he had curated a personal version of the full 1871 Cramlington census from *Ancestry* as part of an Advanced Diploma undertaken at Oxford University in 2013. He provided a copy in an Excel spreadsheet. However by then it was too late to utilise the dataset beyond some minor analysis mentioned in Chapter 5.

Using personalised census data suffers from the possibility of: (i) erroneous information provided by the enumerated householder relating to age, birthplace and occupation, and/or (ii) transcription errors in the CEBs by the original enumerator, and/or (iii) transcription errors in creating digitised database entries from the original CEB source.<sup>5</sup> The census was designed for a decennial population assessment and not for migration studies or tracking individuals through time. Due to this, and because the data in each census return may be inaccurate in parts, the same person in one census year entry may not be easily matched in subsequent years. How this was dealt with for this study is outlined in the 'Nominal Census Linking' section below.

### **3.1.3 Nominal Census Linkage 1871-1881-1891**

To support the investigation concerning persistency, the *Ancestry subset* of 1,697 census records were used to manually track Cornish migrants through successive

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<sup>4</sup> GENUKI: <http://www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/cornwall.html>

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed list of articles by researchers that have investigated the extent of these issues see I-CeM: <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/bibliography.html> [14 April 2016].

census returns in 1871, 1881 and 1891 to assess persistence levels. The results are shown and discussed in Chapter 6. The aim was to identify Cornish-born migrants that stayed in Cramlington or moved on. A nominal linkage exercise was undertaken to track individuals, following a similar process to that described by Wojciechowska.<sup>6</sup> In this case the analysis was undertaken via a process of using *Excel* and *Tableau* as tools to assist in sorting the three years of census data records to match people by first name, surname, year of birth and place of birth, in various combinations, and then manual checking the results. An example of a worksheet in *Tableau* is shown in [Figure 5](#) illustrating how this approach provided a method for identifying stayers and movers through the years.

**Figure 5** Illustration of process for identifying stayers and movers through nominal census linking

Surname	First name	Birth Year Abt	Birthplace	Census Year		
				1871	1881	1891
Oats	James	1840	St Just		41	
	Lydia	1839	St Just		42	
Odgers	Harry	1866	Liskeard			25
Oliver	Joseph	1853	Liskeard		28	
	Mary	1862	St Cleer		19	
Olver	Joseph	1855	Liskeard			36
	Mary	1857	St Cleer			34
Opie	Edward	1852	Liskeard	19		
	Emily	1862	Liskeard	9		
	Emma	1864	Calstock			27
	James	1860	Liskeard	11	21	31
	John	1820	Fowey		61	
			Lanteglos	51		71
			Liskeard	8	18	28
Mary		1828	Menheniot		53	
		1829	Menheniot	42		62
	Walter	1849	Liskeard	22	32	
William	1859	St Blazey		22		
Orchan	John	1852	St Ive	19		
Ord	Emma	1849	St Blazey	22	32	42
Owens	Eliza	1856	Calstock			35
	Jno	1855	Calstock			36
Pallan	James	1857	Calstock		24	
	Richard	1815	St Dominick		66	
Parker	James	1869	Calstock		12	
		1870	Calstock			21
	Mary	1872	Calstock		9	19
	Richard	1867	Calstock		14	
		1868	Calstock			23

*Ancestry subset in Tableau*

<sup>6</sup> B. Wojchiechowska, 'Migration in a rural parish' (1996) 256-259.

The example shows the possibilities for a number of people who were living in Cramlington in 1871, 1881 and 1891 who had been born in Cornwall. This approach made it possible to see people in one view across three census years, analyse the list, identify people who might be the same, and estimate those who moved and those who stayed. It was also possible to sort the list by birthplace or birth year in order to assist identifying the same people. Clearly Joseph Olver in 1881 is almost certainly the same as Joseph Oliver in 1891 despite the ages being different by two years. Both entries have Liskeard as the birthplace. It can be further assessed that he arrived in Cramlington after 1871. However, it isn't so clear about his wife 'Mary', who may be two different wives with the same name, because the age difference is five years. However, as both Marys were born in St Cleer it was deemed to be the same person. Where a person was identified as the same person in this way, adjustments were made in additional columns in the spreadsheet so that changes were trackable. It is not known whether similar results would have been obtained via an automated nominal census linkage process.<sup>7</sup>

It was more difficult to trace women due to the change of surname at marriage, without taking a further step of checking marriage records for women who appeared to disappear in later census returns. This was undertaken using Cramlington parish church marriage registration records between 1866 and 1880.

#### 3.1.4 Map visualisations

The text-based census sources do not provide visual representations of where people were born or moved to, often a helpful way to understand patterns and flows. To overcome this, latitude and longitude references for birthplaces in the census records were added.<sup>8</sup> These references were manually added into additional columns in the *Ancestry subset* spreadsheet, corresponding to the appropriate birthplace of a person. In addition, latitude and longitude references were manually added to relevant

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<sup>7</sup> Information on automated linkage processes and rules: <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/Linking> [19 April 2016].

<sup>8</sup>The Latlong.net website was used for this purpose: <http://www.latlong.net/> [19 April 2016].

spreadsheets showing where Cornish migrants moved to in England. This enabled various map visualisations to be created using *Tableau* software as shown in chapter 1.

### 3.1.5 The Parish ID for all Years Table

Comparative population figures for the areas under study were required at County, registration district and place levels to show population change. The *Parish ID for all Years Table* provided by I-CeM 'identifies the "parish" of enumeration listed in the various tables published year by year in the GRO and GRO(S) Census Reports' and associates them with their registration and sub registration district.<sup>9</sup> Hence changes to registration districts over time can be identified. Population figures were collected for 1851 through to 1911 for Liskeard and Blyth sub registration districts and used to compile a comparative population analysis. The issue was that the composition of these registration districts changed over time. The parishes comprising the Liskeard registration district included Calstock in 1851, but from 1861 until 1881 it was included as part of Tavistock registration district in Devon.<sup>10</sup> For the purposes of the Cornwall population comparison, the Calstock 1851 figures were excluded. In addition, by 1861 Liskeard had been split into two parishes of Liskeard, which by 1891 were identified as Liskeard and Liskeard Borough. The population figures for these two parishes were therefore calculated together to produce a figure for Liskeard Town. In a similar way, population data was collected for the Northumberland parishes in the Blyth registration sub-district including Cramlington. In this study, for consistency, the figures reflecting the 1861 named parishes have been recorded as part of Blyth for each census year from 1861. For each census year, the population of the sub-district was calculated. Finally a percentage increase was added to show how the sub-district population increased or decreased over time. The population figures are shown in [Table 1](#).

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<sup>9</sup> I-CeM: <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/documentation.html> [19 April 2016].

<sup>10</sup> See GENUKI: <http://www.ukbmd.org.uk/genuki/reg/districts/tavistock.html> [19 April 2016].

### 3.2 Nineteenth century newspapers

A range of digitised newspapers from the period with accounts of the Cramlington Strike in 1865, the arrival of the Cornish migrants and events in months and years following were interrogated.<sup>11</sup> These reports particularly informed ideas of motivation and integration. Newspaper items were reviewed for factual pieces of evidence concerning how the Cornish heard of the job opportunity, what the offer was, how they got there, who went, what kind of reception they received and reports of later interaction, also considering bias in reporting. An understanding of bias was based on a published work, editorial comments and/or a review of articles. The following regional and local newspapers were researched, with an indication of their bias where this could be established:

<i>Caledonian Mercury</i>	Moderate Jacobite <sup>12</sup>
<i>Carlisle Journal</i>	Liberal <sup>13</sup>
<i>Cornwall Advertiser</i>	Impartial then Tory <sup>14</sup>
<i>Lake's Falmouth Packet and Cornwall Advertiser</i>	As above
<i>Morpeth Herald</i>	Methodist, workers <sup>15</sup>
<i>Newcastle Courant</i> <sup>16</sup>	
<i>Newcastle Daily Journal</i>	Tory and industrialists <sup>17</sup>
<i>Newcastle Guardian and Mercury Times</i>	Radical
<i>Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury</i>	Radical <sup>18</sup>
<i>Royal Cornwall Gazette</i>	Tory, Professionals <sup>19</sup>
<i>Shields Daily Gazette</i>	Liberal <sup>20</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpprestype/news/newspdigproj/database/> and <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [1 November 2016].

<sup>12</sup> L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (2009), 91.

<sup>13</sup> L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century journalism*, 215.

<sup>14</sup> L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century journalism*, 222.

<sup>15</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 16 December 1865.

<sup>16</sup> Merged with *Newcastle Journal* in February 1876.

<sup>17</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 6 December 1865, 13 December 1865, Friday 15 December 1865. Also 'Comments and Criticisms', 22 January 1867.

<sup>18</sup> L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism*, 60.

<sup>19</sup> Subscriber group is noted here: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media\\_in\\_Cornwall](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_in_Cornwall) [15 April 2016].

<sup>20</sup> P.J. Storey, 'Sunderland's newspapers' in *Victoria County History online*, work in progress, 2. [http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/sites/default/files/work-in-progress/vch\\_text\\_draft\\_edited-2\\_pat.pdf](http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/sites/default/files/work-in-progress/vch_text_draft_edited-2_pat.pdf) [14 April 2016].

### 3.3 Marriage and death registration records

Marriage registration records were used in researching ideas of persistence. Northumberland Archives provided scanned copies of marriage registration records for 1866 to 1881, relating to the Parish Church of St Nicholas Cramlington.<sup>21</sup> The difficulties with this source were that some of the details were difficult to read either due to the poor quality of the copy or because the writing was illegible in parts. In addition, what seemed to be a change of policy from 1871 meant that ages were not recorded unless the bride or groom was *not* 'of full age', meaning that record matching with census records was more challenging. The records were used to identify Cornish people who married in the local Church of England in the years following the initial migration to assess integration through inter-marriage with locals and to help with the nominal census linkage (3.1.3). The Cramlington Methodist records fell under Blythe and Seaton Delaval Methodist Circuit records, held at Northumberland Archives.<sup>22</sup> Non-conformist marriage records were not found and it was assumed that records had never existed.

Scans of death registration records for Cramlington from 1865 to 1890 were reviewed on microfiche at the Northumberland Archives. Much of the copy was of poor quality and it was considered too labour intensive to identify Cornish people to assess the number of deaths, within the time frame of the study.

### 3.4 Historical Maps

Ordnance Survey maps provided illustrative evidence of the geography of Cramlington, where pit shafts were located, and confirmed the names and location of some of the streets where people lived. Maps from 1890s Cramlington, produced closest to the years of study at the scale available were used.

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<sup>21</sup> Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn, Ashington, Northumberland.

<sup>22</sup> Register of non-conformist Methodist records held at Woodhorn Museum: <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/oe7af047-17b1-4715-8bco-84e8bo89ob52> [18 April 2016].

#### 4. WHAT MOTIVATED CORNISH PEOPLE TO MOVE TO CRAMLINGTON?

What motivated certain migrants from Cornwall to move 400 miles to Cramlington during the period 1865 to 1881? Factors researched were knowledge of jobs in the destination community, various financial considerations and the extent to which migrants had experience of moving previously.

##### 4.1 Knowledge of work opportunities in destination community

Is there any evidence to suggest that there was already a prior link with Cramlington before the first migrants moved? An *Ancestry* search for 1861 in the Cramlington census showed that there was one person living there who had been born in Cornwall. This was William Morton born 1811 in Saltash who was a grocer. Two others were from Devon: Elizabeth Bridden, an Irish miner's widow, and Mary Mansfield, aged 50, living as a children's nurse in the curate's family. Although it is possible these people had relatives in Cornwall and Devon, it seems unlikely they constituted a network, or provided a conduit of information, and no people from the South West with the same surnames are shown as living in Cramlington in the 1871 census. However, in nearby Bedlington, in 1861 the Nancarrow family lived with the head, Richard, aged 37, a coalminer born in Illogan, West Cornwall. A different Nancarrow family appears in 1871 in Cramlington from Callington, East Cornwall; it cannot be ruled out that there was a family connection in this case, but again it seems unlikely.

The person who definitely provided the first migrants with information about work opportunities in Cramlington and generated the 'blackleg' workforce was identified in the person of William Beldon, the agent for the Cramlington mine owners, who went to the South of England 'near Plymouth' towards the end of November 1865 and explained 'all the details about the colliery and the district' to prospective

employees, not quite truly it seems according to Elijah Oates (or Gates).<sup>1</sup> Oates, a migrant worker who had signed a contract on 4<sup>th</sup> December in Gunnislake in the Tamar Valley near the border with Devon, explained Beldon's recruitment process when he was 'charged with absenting himself from the service of the owners of Cramlington Colliery' on December 26<sup>th</sup> without giving due notice.<sup>2</sup> This also provides evidence of a recruiting location that would have captured the attention of men in nearby Calstock and Callington. It is clear that Beldon was the primary active agent, responsible for providing details, skilled in the art of persuasion, and providing men with the details they needed to help make a decision, and ensuring word spread quickly locally, showing how a local information network was likely generated.

## 4.2 Financial 'calculative' considerations

What financial benefit calculations were undertaken by prospective migrants to draw them to Cramlington? Possibilities were jobs at risk and job opportunities, higher wages, ease of moving, and future jobs for male children. These were explored and the results shown below.

### 4.2.1 Jobs at risk

In 1871 Cramlington, the majority (61%) of migrants came from the original 1851 Liskeard registration district area (Figure 2, Chapter 1), and perhaps more, since there were a large number of migrants where their birthplace was unknown or could not be easily or reliably matched with a registration district. As noted above, the East of this area corresponded with the agent's known recruiting area near the mining area of Calstock. Just near the border with Devon, Calstock Consols was in production between 1822 and 1879 'with its main period of production between 1856 and 1864' indicating that some miners would have been struggling for regular work by 1865.<sup>3</sup> Fifteen miles to the west, lay the Caradon copper and tin mining region, comprising the major mines of South Caradon, West Caradon, East Caradon,

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<sup>1</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 6 January 1866. Report of Elijah Oates court case.

<sup>2</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 6 January 1866.

<sup>3</sup> Cornwall in focus: <http://www.cornwallinfocus.co.uk/mining/danescombe.php> [3 November 2016].

Phoenix United, Gonamena and some smaller mines. The copper production of the mines in this area from 1844 to 1887 is shown in Figure 6.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 6 Illustration of 'Copper Production of the Caradon district' of Cornwall 1844-1887

COPPER PRODUCTION OF THE CARADON DISTRICT									
Year ending 30 June	South Caradon	West Caradon	Marke Valley	Phoenix	Gonamena	Craddock Moor	East Caradon	Glasgow Caradon	All Cornwall
1844	5166	2870							
1850	3020	3969	1440	341	103				
1853	2934	4265	2239	1744	400				
1854	2763	4052	2373	2520	195				
1855	3378	4132	2235	3133					
1856	4182	4039	2411	3985	334	344			161,576
1857	4572	4322	2133	5144	840	708			163,958
1858	4818	3899	1633	5093	864	1184			152,729
1859	5090	3607	1133	4683	613	1309			147,330
1860	5250	3975	2536	4387	922	1441	225		146,093
1861	5174	3879	3401	4226	972	1595	1546		145,359
1862	5289	2878	4529	5043	485	1889	4290		143,119
1863	5788	2835	4960	5698		1919	5670		141,810
1864	5735	2131	4922	5427	135	1999	5975	420	129,221
1865	5833	1556	5244	4893	583	1458	5655	866	127,033
1866	6369	1073	4868	3946	586	973	4283	926	121,353
1867	5829	862	5266	2436	116	855	3707	395	103,670
1868	6204	641	5315	1935	187	934	2548	1093	88,603
1869	6234	632	5665	2378	544	961	2365	1784	86,722
1870	6670	887	5926	2114	641	821	2656	1499	71,790
1871	6538	659	5889	1622	492	678	2587	1366	56,526
1872	5536	878	5314	1235	357	438	2205	1757	46,766
1873	5472	729	3799	1124		571	2021	2645	41,756
1874	5272	467	4235	505		33	2060	3069	40,285
1875	5508	10	4269	455		31	1670	2930	40,445
1876	5983		4451	635			1405	2982	39,393
1877	6110		4336	695			1375	2970	43,016
1878	6140		4300	508	8		510	2670	39,225
1879	5472		3562	448			85	2181	36,871
1880	6005		2702	225			45	1990	30,371
1881	5410	150	2553	221			89	1240	26,737
1882	5100		2120	130			205	870	24,510
1883	4260	365	2076	202			281	1025	25,641
1884	3017	305	1070	82			203	620	23,252
1885									21,541
1886									19,736
1887									7,541
									3,422

Note: These figures represent tons of 21 cwt.  
Caradon District figures taken from the *Mining Journal* as published.  
All Cornwall figures taken from Louis, H. *A Treatise on Ore Deposits* 1896

It is clear that during the 1860s reduced copper prices meant many small mines closed in the Liskeard district. The South Caradon mine was large and able to manage the recession until 1871 when the downturn set in, but many people would have been seeking work in the region by 1865 and 1866. The 1865 production figures show South Caradon had produced more copper than the prior year, but other mines such as West Caradon, Marke Valley and Phoenix saw reductions which must have affected some miners' ability to maintain stable employment in a competitive environment where the tribute system meant 'tut' and 'tribute' miners

<sup>4</sup> M. J. Messenger, *Caradon and Looe. The Canal, Railways and Mines* (1978), 120.

had to bid against each other for a 'pitch' to work.<sup>5</sup> In addition, early in 1866 when the copper output was still rising at South Caradon, but 'could not be matched by a rise in income', miners attempted a strike, notably at Marke Valley and East Caradon Mines.<sup>6</sup> The owners resisted and the men were 'forced to accept the new conditions'.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that some of the miners who had returned from Cramlington in December 1865 provoked the strike.<sup>8</sup> It seems likely that some people would have made the trip north at this point (and elsewhere), especially as a network of contacts and an understanding of conditions and opportunities in Cramlington would have developed by that time. The evidence suggests that those in mining occupations in this area were the main candidates for being affected by a downturn in local economic conditions.

#### 4.2.2 Wages

Was the wage differential a major consideration? The Cramlington contract stated that workers could expect to earn a minimum of £4/- per month, with free accommodation and provision of fuel at no cost (Figure 6).<sup>9</sup> Burke has described the various roles of men and women working above and below ground in the Cornish mines at this time.<sup>10</sup> Miners wages 'averaged about £3-£3.10/- per month, with men undertaking shaftwork often getting an extra 10/-'.<sup>11</sup> At the surface the most skilled workers were smiths, masons and carpenters, with smiths receiving the highest wages in 1870 of £1/- per week<sup>12</sup>. Women were paid the lowest of all adults at less than a shilling a day and boys' wages were about half women's wages 'between 4d and 6d a day'.<sup>13</sup> However there was 'no common standard of pay amongst the

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<sup>5</sup> G. Sargent, *Tut or Tribute? The method of working and payment at Wheal Friendship mine, Mary Tavy - 1800's* (1996), online excerpt: <http://www.crying-fox.com/tribute.htm> [5 November 2016].

<sup>6</sup> *Western Morning News*, March 1866.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cornwall Industrial Settlements Initiative, Pensilva (Caradon/Liskeard Area)', *Report No. 2004 R093* (2004), 12.

<sup>8</sup> V. E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 129.

<sup>9</sup> Amounts mentioned are pre-decimal Sterling: Pounds, Shillings and Pence.

<sup>10</sup> G. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London (1981) 53-73.

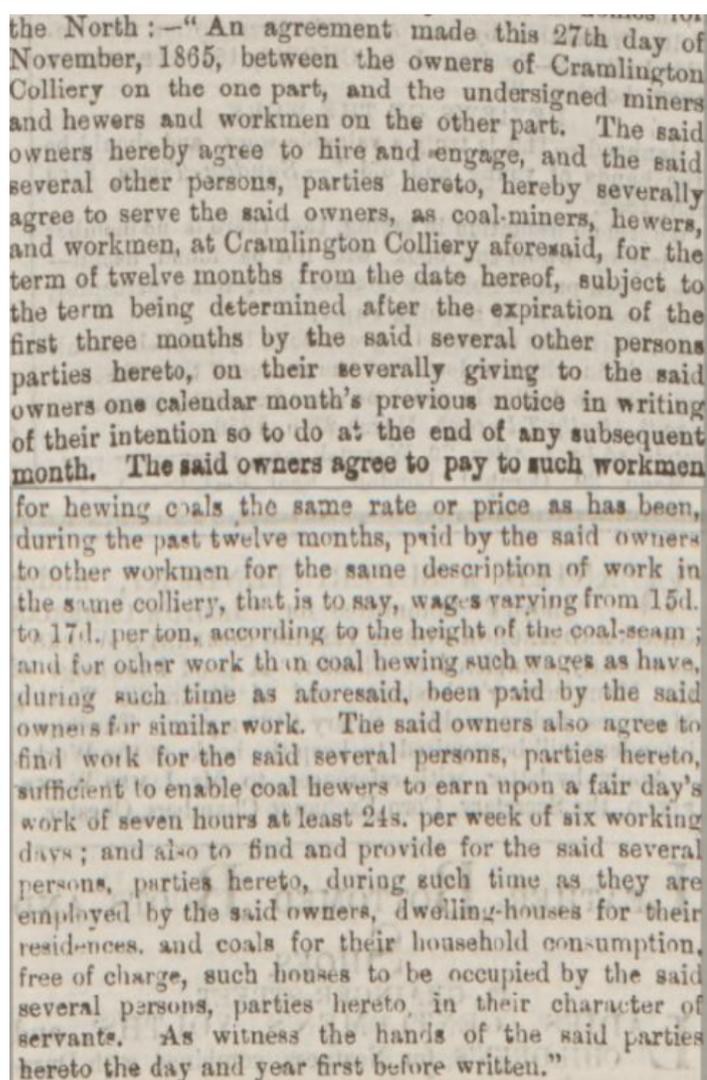
<sup>11</sup> G. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', 60.

<sup>12</sup> CRO DDBL/RG Levant Cost Book 1860-1870, 181. In G. Burke 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', 56.

<sup>13</sup> G. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', 56, 59.

mines and variations in wage levels were to be found'.<sup>14</sup> Stephens considered Cornish tin workers to be self-employed contractors who were 'essentially profit-sharers rather than wage-earners'.<sup>15</sup> Thus the Cramlington offer presented an alternative, more reliable, employment contract, but one still based on a group effort and higher wages for greater output.

Figure 7 Illustration of migrants' terms and conditions



the North :—“ An agreement made this 27th day of November, 1865, between the owners of Cramlington Colliery on the one part, and the undersigned miners and hewers and workmen on the other part. The said owners hereby agree to hire and engage, and the said several other persons, parties hereto, hereby severally agree to serve the said owners, as coal-miners, hewers, and workmen, at Cramlington Colliery aforesaid, for the term of twelve months from the date hereof, subject to the term being determined after the expiration of the first three months by the said several other persons parties hereto, on their severally giving to the said owners one calendar month's previous notice in writing of their intention so to do at the end of any subsequent month. The said owners agree to pay to such workmen for hewing coals the same rate or price as has been, during the past twelve months, paid by the said owners to other workmen for the same description of work in the same colliery, that is to say, wages varying from 15d. to 17d. per ton, according to the height of the coal-seam; and for other work than coal hewing such wages as have, during such time as aforesaid, been paid by the said owners for similar work. The said owners also agree to find work for the said several persons, parties hereto, sufficient to enable coal hewers to earn upon a fair day's work of seven hours at least 24s. per week of six working days; and also to find and provide for the said several persons, parties hereto, during such time as they are employed by the said owners, dwelling-houses for their residences, and coals for their household consumption, free of charge, such houses to be occupied by the said several persons, parties hereto, in their character of servants. As witness the hands of the said parties hereto the day and year first before written.”

Reproduced from *The Morpeth Herald*, Saturday January 6<sup>th</sup> 1866.

<sup>14</sup> G. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', 56.

<sup>15</sup> W.B. Stephens, *Education Literacy and Society 1830-70: the geography of diversity in provincial England* (1987), 211.

Clearly the rates proposed in the agreement of well over £4/- a month would guarantee wages that could potentially cover the deficit of any lost female mining wage contributions or significantly increase earning potential further where married couples had very young children. The *Newcastle Journal* suggested that being 'offered the means' of doubling their wages was 'all they had to consider in the matter' stating any man could learn the job in a few days.<sup>16</sup> Although this was a somewhat exaggerated statement in support of the mine owners, with the prospect of free accommodation and fuel in addition, there were likely other types of people influenced to move. And so it appears. The men who arrived to work in Cramlington were 'according to their own account, from all imaginable trades and occupations', with these occupations identified as: 'Field labourers, copper, tin and coal miners, masons and masons' labourers, joiners, tailors, and even deserters from Her Majesty's service'.<sup>17</sup> This suggests a range of different wage bases, with migrants from rural, mining and urban areas. The unexpected mention of 'coal miners' may refer to 'culm' mining in North Devon or perhaps reflects a proactive response.<sup>18</sup> The hinterland of the town of Liskeard in east Cornwall contained rural and mining activity in and around the parishes of Menheniot, St Cleer, St Keyne and St Neot. It was not known how many of the migrants born in Liskeard were living outside the town at the time of the move or how many had been miners or in other occupations. A comparative town to 'rural' ratio of 118 Cornish migrants known to have been born in the Liskeard sub-registration district recorded in the Cramlington census in 1871 showed that 26% were born in Liskeard town and 74% were born in the rural/mining parishes. Deacon wrote that Liskeard served as a 'kind of filter for the surrounding mining community' with incomers living there until accommodation could be found nearer the mines, suggesting many of the Liskeard town birthplace figures related to those in mining families.<sup>19</sup> Considering the above, it seems that a range of migrants were willing to take up coalmining as a new occupation, not only

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<sup>16</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, Saturday 9 December 1865.

<sup>17</sup> *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> December 1865.

<sup>18</sup> See <http://www.westernmorningnews.co.uk/County-s-long-mining-heritage-overlooked-ndash/story-14995088-detail/story.html> [16 April 2016].

<sup>19</sup> B. Deacon, *Liskeard and its People* (1989), 37.

copper miners, in return for *guaranteed* higher wages, rather than the *prospect* of higher wages, an important difference, particularly if men had families to consider.

### 4.2.3 Ease of moving

A letter written by a returning migrant, S. Tyrell, in Tavistock and published in the *Morpeth Herald* on January 27<sup>th</sup> 1866 (with the assistance of a young Thomas Burt<sup>20</sup>) outlined the 'process' of migration. They departed by train from Plymouth at 6.20 pm on Monday evening and arrived in Bristol at 1 am on Tuesday morning. There, reportedly without food or drink, they waited until 6.20 am in the morning when they departed for Cramlington via Newcastle, arriving around 2 am on Wednesday morning, again reportedly with no food or drink in between.<sup>21</sup> Other reports make clear that the owners paid for the travel costs, if not sustenance for the journey: 'so much expense has been incurred in bringing them from Cornwall...'<sup>22</sup> The first migrants were provided with refreshment on arrival at the Colliery Farm, partly furnished houses, and flannel work suits.<sup>23</sup> The poor condition of the first migrants arriving on 5<sup>th</sup> December is implied from one report describing how they travelled with the minimum of baggage:

'for a small bundle, and in some cases, perhaps, a wooden box, contained all their worldly goods'<sup>24</sup>

However, it seems possible that the men travelled light in order to travel back easily, as some did, and that the trip north was partly a reconnaissance mission for some on behalf of the whole family. Certainly the report of the contingent of migrants arriving 3 weeks later on 27<sup>th</sup> December suggests this as 47 wives came to join their husbands along with possessions in 'three luggage vans'.<sup>25</sup> In addition a further 128 men from Cornwall and Devon arrived described as having 'a pretty good appearance', of which half brought their wives and families (245 children in total). This provides some evidence to suggest that the wives of the original migrants

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<sup>20</sup> British Trade Unionist: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_Burt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Burt) [19 April 2016].

<sup>21</sup> *The Morpeth Herald* 27 January 1866.

<sup>22</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 8 December 1865.

<sup>23</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 8 December 1865.

<sup>24</sup> *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, Saturday 9 December 1865.

<sup>25</sup> *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, Thursday 28 December 1865.

waiting in Cornwall were also influencers in spreading their husband's 'favourable reports' of the 'excellent wages' and were part of the process of bringing some of the migrants to Cramlington (as well as the continuing work of the agent).<sup>26</sup> A final contingent arriving by 'special train' on Wednesday 17 January 1866 made up the 'full complement' of Cornish and Devonshire migrants.<sup>27</sup> It is estimated that at least 150 migrant families from the South West moved. [Table 2](#) provides a summary of the arrival dates and an estimate of the numbers and composition of the migrants based on the newspaper reports mentioned above.

**Table 2** Migrant numbers from Cornwall, Devon and Somerset and arrival dates

Arrival Date	Men	Boys 14-17	Wives	Women, Girls and Children	Total
December 5th 1865	300				
Returned	-100				
27th December 1865	128		111	245	
17th January 1866	51	69		222	
<b>Total</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>1026</b>

Source: Newspaper reports

For those men who 'brought the whole of their effects with them' including beds, bedding and furniture', this was the visible expression of 'enactment', of a decision made to change occupation and place of residence.<sup>28</sup> [Figure 8](#) describes the living conditions provided by the mine-owners, examples of effects that were transported, and an indication that these migrants had clearly decided to make the lifestyle change. Others reportedly arrived 'without either beds, bedding or furniture of any description, in consequence of having been detained on the railway', which may have been true, although possibly reflected an expectation that the mine owners would provide these.<sup>29</sup> A further possibility is that half of the men who arrived on 27<sup>th</sup> December without their families were going through a similar reconnaissance mission undertaken by the first male migrants. Or they may have been young single

<sup>26</sup> *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, Thursday 28 December 1865.

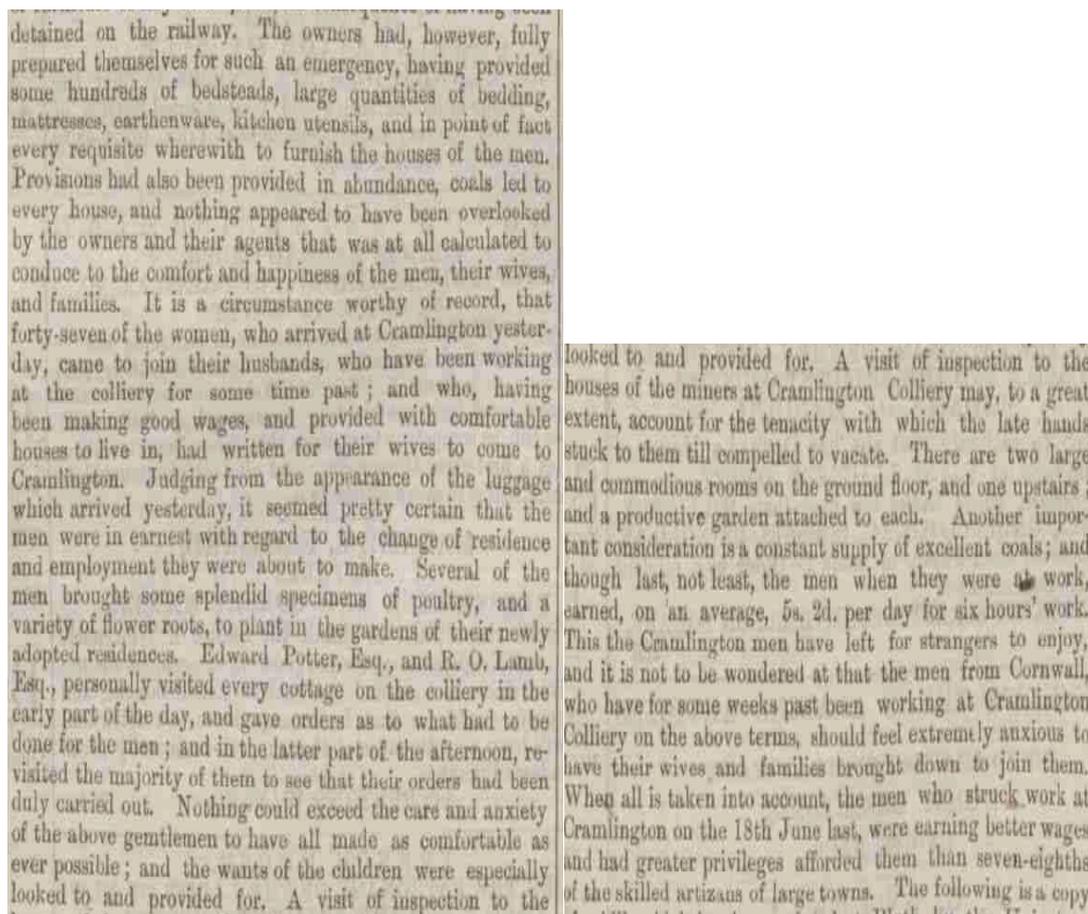
<sup>27</sup> *Newcastle Guardian and Mercury Times*, 20 January 2016.

<sup>28</sup> C. Pooley, *Research in progress: how people moved: researching the experience of mobility in the past* (2009), 64.

<sup>29</sup> *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, Thursday 28 December 1865.

men. For families, the decision process was shown to be a two-stage event, made possible by the availability of free transport for men, women, children and personal property.

**Figure 8** Illustration from newspaper providing a description of miners' accommodation in Cramlington



*The Newcastle Daily Journal*, Thursday December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1865. The British Library

#### 4.2.4 Jobs for the boys

Was it possible that part of the motivation for those who migrated was not just about work for adult men but also to secure jobs for their older male children and younger boys in the future? If this were the case then it would be expected that the family groups would comprise more boys than girls who would be of working age in the upcoming years. The results in [Table 3](#) show that in 1871 there were a greater proportion of Cornish-born males than females in Cramlington between the ages of

10 and 18 (except at age 15), and significantly more at ages 16, 17 and 18. If some of these young people had arrived in the first wave of migration in 1866 they would have been aged 11, 12 and 13, the years before the official working age of 14 years. This difference might however be explained by girls of the same age having left the community by 1871.

**Table 3** Census 1871 with 1866 age estimate, and Census 1881, showing number of males and females born in Cornwall aged between 10 and 18, and the ratio of males to females

Age 1866	Age 1871	Cramlington 1871			Age 1881	Cramlington 1881		
		M	F	M:F Ratio		M	F	M:F Ratio
		n=	n=		n=	n=		
5	10	16	15	1.1	10	5	1.0	
6	11	13	7	1.9	11	6	1.5	
7	12	14	10	1.4	12	6	1.5	
8	13	14	10	1.4	13	8	1.6	
9	14	23	13	1.8	14	7	1.4	
10	15	6	10	0.6	15	14	2.8	
11	16	11	3	3.7	16	12	3.0	
12	17	14	5	2.8	17	14	1.1	
13	18	15	4	3.8	18	14	1.8	
Totals ->		126	77	1.6		86	53	1.6

Ancestry subset

Clause 74(1) of *The Elementary Education Act 1870* empowered school boards to educate children aged between 5 and 13.<sup>30</sup> In conjunction with the *Coal Mines Regulation Act (1872)*, which required a fortnightly school certificate to be completed for boys employed in mines, this made it more difficult for children to work underground, even though since 1860 the law forbade those under 12 to work at all.<sup>31</sup> However, many Cornish families moved to Cramlington before the legislation was introduced and the laxity around children working in Cornwall may have been expected to apply in Northumberland also. This is supported by Burke who noted that 'despite the Education Act 1870, there were still 1,544 children aged between eight and thirteen working at mines in 1872' in Cornwall.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Education in England: <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1870-elementary-education-act.html> [7 May 2016]

<sup>31</sup> 'Reforming society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Coalmines', online: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/19thcentury/overview/coalmines/> [19 April 2016].

L.A. Atherley-Jones, *The miner's manual. A legal handy-book for employer and employed* (1882), 34.

<sup>32</sup> G. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921', 58.

Although the children may not have been distributed equally within individual Cornish families, or be an accurate reflection of all migrant children that had lived in Cramlington before 1871, the results provide a good indication that having young adult males and pre-work age boys in families might have been a factor in the decision to move. A comparison of the composition of the same age range (aged 10-18) in the Liskeard Sub-Registration District of Cornwall in 1871 showed that there were almost equal numbers of children in the region by sex (1,410 males and 1,402 females) as would be expected.<sup>33</sup> The male to female ratio for Cornish born children in this age range continued to be 1.6 in the 1881 census, but notably the largest difference was at ages 15 and 16 (Table 3). As it was not known in what year the children had arrived in Cramlington it was not possible to draw conclusions other than the actual numbers of young children had reduced in 1881, reflecting a reduction in Cornish in-migration of families with children. The typicality of the ratio of 1.6 was assessed further against three specific prior mining villages, St Cleer, Menheniot and St Ive, all in the Liskeard sub-registration District of Cornwall, and Liskeard Town/Borough, for those in the same age range living in these places in 1881. The results are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4** Ratio of males to females aged between 10 and 18 born in Cornwall and living in St Cleer, Menheniot, St Ive and Liskeard Borough/Town in 1881

Age	St Cleer			Menheniot			St Ive			Liskeard Borough/Town		
	Males	Females	Ratio	Males	Females	Ratio	Males	Females	Ratio	Males	Females	Ratio
	n =	n =		n =	n =		n =	n =		n =	n =	
10	37	29	1.28	12	21	0.57	20	28	0.71	53	55	0.96
11	46	38	1.21	19	18	1.06	28	32	0.88	66	45	1.47
12	41	38	1.08	15	17	0.88	26	18	1.44	63	53	1.19
13	29	33	0.88	17	17	1.00	28	30	0.93	51	45	1.13
14	45	38	1.18	10	12	0.83	28	19	1.47	58	49	1.18
15	48	43	1.12	14	24	0.58	37	23	1.61	55	69	0.80
16	41	32	1.28	16	12	1.33	38	25	1.52	51	58	0.88
17	38	32	1.19	17	15	1.13	23	17	1.35	50	73	0.68
18	28	18	1.56	10	9	1.11	26	23	1.13	60	61	0.98
<b>Total</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>1.17</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>0.90</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>1.18</b>	<b>507</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>1.00</b>

I-CeM

It can be seen that there were more girls in Liskeard Town aged 15 to 17 years and more boys of young ages. Although the male to female ratio was higher in the

<sup>33</sup> 1871 Cornwall Census Online data was used.

villages generally at ages 14 to 18, it was not comparable to the ratio of 1.6 for the Cornish in Cramlington. Overall the analysis showed that families with more boys than girls decided to migrate.

### 4.3 Prior migration

Was prior migration an influencing factor in the migrants' decision to move elsewhere? The 1881 I-CeM data for Cramlington was used to assess this because it was possible to work at household level, keeping families together. A 'Cornish household' had to have at least one person who had been born in Cornwall, and then those who were aged over 30 living in the household but born outside the county were identified. This could imply that a person had moved into Cornwall at some point either to marry and/or find work, and where at least one child was born, before moving on to Cramlington, and so had experienced out of county migration previously. The analysis was recognised as an imperfect assessment but the results were indicative (Table 5). The eight adults from Northumberland were presumed to have joined the Cornish families in Cramlington and so did not reflect a step migration.

**Table 5** 1881 Cramlington - Males and Females aged 30 or over in a 'Cornish' household, born in a county outside Cornwall

County	n =	Proportion of total
Devon	39	68%
Somerset	2	4%
Dorset	2	4%
Gloucestershire	1	2%
Kent	1	2%
Suffolk	1	2%
Yorkshire	1	2%
Unknown	2	4%
Northumberland	8	14%
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100%</b>

I-CeM

The results suggest at least a fifth of the 216 Cornish migrants aged 30 or over had a partner who had prior experience of moving beyond their birth county, but it is not

possible to say that the rest had no experience. It would involve tracing migrants back to the 1851 and 1861 census to see where they had lived when younger. For example it was found that Thomas Roberts Smithem, born Bodmin in Cornwall, married to Mary Ann (née Cambridge), born Bath in Somerset (present in [Table 5](#)), had *both* experienced prior long distance travel. In 1861 Mary Ann was a servant in London, and Thomas was in Gillingham, about to be pensioned out of British Army service in India. What might be inferred is that prior migration experience would have been a contributory factor, making the decision to move easier.

If the migrants had not intended to move straight to Cramlington then reviewing if children had been born elsewhere first could reveal this.<sup>34</sup> A set of all people in 177 households with at least one parent or child born in Cornwall before the move was filtered for children aged 1 to 15 born outside Cornwall and Cramlington after 1865 and before 1881. There were 35 'step' families meeting the criteria with 68 children. Eleven wives bore children within five miles of Cramlington in Bedlington, Seghill, Weetslade and Backworth. The family from Backworth may have been part of a group of Cornish migrants who moved there in May 1870 to fill jobs when evictions took place during another local strike; by 1881 there were 14 Cornish resident.<sup>35</sup> It seems possible that the other migrants had moved with the intention of a job in Cramlington but had taken employment nearby in the first instance, sometimes for several years as more than one child was born in the same location. Some migrants however appear to have had different intentions originally, with one family moving to the north of Northumberland, and others moving first to Kent, Hampshire, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire. Therefore in 1881, 20% of Cornish families had at least one child born at an 'intermediate location' which is lower than Pryce's figure of 36% in 1851 Preston for the eldest child's birth location in relation to father's birthplace, for migrants moving over 30 miles.<sup>36</sup> However, if the 11 families with children born within a five-mile radius of Cramlington are removed,

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<sup>34</sup> See chapter 2, section 2.2 'What motivated people to move long distances?'

<sup>35</sup> *Morpeth Herald* 28 May 1870.

<sup>36</sup> W.T.R. Pryce, 'From family history to community history', *Studying family and community history*, 2 (1994), 107.

the figure dropped to 14%. It was further noted that there were only 8 children born elsewhere between 1865 and 1870 in 7 'step' families, providing evidence that the majority of earlier Cornish migrant families went straight to Cramlington. Two types of 'step' group appear to have been identified: those that intended to be within striking distance of Cramlington ('local step') and those that had arrived there later following a prior 'unsuccessful' move.

In conclusion, an estimated 80% of Cornish migrants in Cramlington travelled straight to the small, industry-focused location. This was not the large industrial or commercial centre described in Ravenstein's third law and therefore an additional proposal can be mooted: with financial profit guaranteed contractually for twelve months, migrant families travelled very long distances.

## 5. WHAT WERE THE BARRIERS OF INTEGRATION FOR THE CORNISH?

By 1871 Cramlington's net population grew to 4167, representing a 27% increase over 1861. With 683 Cornish people living in Cramlington, this represented 80% of the net increase. This chapter identifies boundaries and barriers to integration and considers whether they were overcome and the extent to which the migrants from Cornwall assimilated into the host community.

### 5.1 The nature of the Cramlington community in 1861

In 1861 Cramlington parish with a population of 3,310 was essentially a small community of industrial mining settlements around an established, once rural, village.<sup>37</sup> However, only 970 (or 29%) people were native-born. Nearly 72% of those living in Cramlington had been born in Northumberland suggesting a strong regional culture, but with 28% born outside the county there was also some diversity. The largest groups born outside the Northern counties were 67 and 64 migrants from various unknown parts of Scotland and Ireland respectively, 53 from several places in Norfolk, and 33 from neighbouring Horton and Dinton in Buckinghamshire. This suggests Cramlington was familiar with assimilating small migrant cultural groups from 'strange' places and might be described as a migrant mining community comprising miners moving in from various shorter and longer distance places. It does not appear xenophobic in nature. Its net population had however stayed static between 1851 and 1861 and this implies that a significant change involving a large increase in population could have been a challenge to incumbents wishing to maintain established local community norms.

### 5.2 Class, skills and cultural boundaries

The Cramlington miners' Strike of 1865 was the catalyst for Cornish migrants arriving in Cramlington. Fynes described the intensity of interchanges between miners and women with police, and the local housing eviction scenes, resulting in

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<sup>37</sup> B. Stewart, *Cramlington its past and its people* (2014), 15.

the police enlisting the assistance of the 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment to keep order on 17 October 1865 'while the remainder of the men were evicted'.<sup>38</sup> These took place on 20, 23 and 27 October and 17 November, according to newspaper reports, with an estimated 89 families and 345 people turned out of their homes by the 'candy men'.<sup>39</sup> There were certainly more. Considering the situation, any 'strike breakers' or 'blacklegs' would have been regarded with contempt by Cramlington miners involved in a local class struggle with capitalist mine owners. Their uncompromising and united stance could be considered part of a custom in the North East, first initiated from the 20 week national 'lockout' of 1844.<sup>40</sup> However physical aggression did not appear to have been directed at the first contingent arriving from the South West. Although the county police were present to escort the migrants in order 'to take precautions to prevent any interference on the part of those who are still on strike', reportedly there was no local disruption on their arrival.<sup>41</sup> Instead the Miners Union's first line of defence was a barrier of persuasion aimed at establishing and appealing to a common cause, raising class-consciousness, and encouraging men to return home (Figure 9) on the basis they had been 'duped by tyrants'.<sup>42</sup> A similar approach had worked a month earlier when twenty Kilmarnock miners arrived and turned back the same day.<sup>43</sup> Some of the latest migrants were likewise persuaded, although the *Newcastle Journal*, supportive of the mine owners, was quick to report that 'Several of the men, however, returned to Cramlington and requested to be again employed'.<sup>44</sup> This indicates that migrants who had earned very little comparatively in Cornwall put personal financial considerations before empathy and class solidarity. For those who stayed, the Cornish representation of a united front can be seen to have reflected the interests and identity of their own cultural group.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> R. Fynes. *The Miners of Northumberland and Durham. A history of their social and political progress* (1873). Excerpt here: <http://www.genuki.bpears.org.uk/NBL/Cramlington/Strike.html> [19 April 2016].

<sup>39</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 21 October 1865; *Caledonian Mercury* 26 October 1865, repeating a report from the *Newcastle Chronicle*. *Lake's Falmouth Packet and Cornwall Advertiser* 28 October 1865. *Newcastle Journal* 18 November 1865.

<sup>40</sup> E. Welbourne, *The Miners' Unions of Northumberland and Durham*, p.80.

<sup>41</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 6 December 1865.

<sup>42</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, 9 December 1865.

<sup>43</sup> *Carlisle Journal*, 10 November 1865.

<sup>44</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 9 December 1865; *Royal Cornwall Gazette* 14 December 1865.

<sup>45</sup> R. White, *It's your misfortune and none of my own': A new history of the American West* (1991), 288.

Figure 9 Illustration of public appeal to miners from the South West to return home with assistance

December 7 65  
To the men of Cornwall, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire now working at Cramlington Colliery  
Gentlemen. We appeal to you as Fellow-countrymen to cease working at Cramlington Colliery as we are on strike and have been for a period of six months. By working you are taking the bread out of our mouths. If you will leave off working we will send you all home free of charge as we sent 90 or more of your fellowmen away on Wednesday. We appeal to you to act a manly part, as we believe you have been duped by tyrants who will descend to anything to accomplish their purpose. You may judge of what you may expect from your new masters by the fact that they have turned away men who have served them for years their only crime being that they have asked "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Come over to P Jamieson's Astley Arms Inn Seaton Delaval Colliery and you will find friends to assist you to your homes. Trusting you will be men, and worthy the name of Englishmen  
We are yours  
The Workmen of Cramlington Colliery.  
P.S. Come anytime on Friday and we will meet and befriend you

December 7th 1865  
To the Men Belonging to Cornwall Devonshire and Dorsetshire  
Gentlemen We appeal to you as Fellow Countrymen to refrain from working at Cramlington because we are on Stricke for an advance of wage and you are now taken the Bread out of our mouths after we have been on Stricke for 25 weeks who ever this Letter may fall to I hope you will Collect your men together and Come to Paul Jamison Astley Arms Seaton Deleval and there you will find Friends to Send you Back to your own County Free of all Charge the Same Friends that Sent 85 of your Fellow Countrymen Back to there own homes on Wednesday Last we Extend to you the hand Symathy Because we know you have been Duped By a Set of Tryants whow will Do any thing to gain there point  
Men if you really want to Return home Come in a Body and have an interview with the Cramlington Men at Paul Jamison  
The Men of Cramlington Colliery.

Newcastle Journal, Saturday 9 December 1865, p.2. British Library

The use of 'double-bind', working-class-based language in the newspaper pleas, such as 'Fellow country-men' and 'Englishmen', may not have had the desired affect with some of the Cornishmen, who would have been faced with losing a job *and* rejecting their ethnic identity into the bargain, had they agreed. In support of this, Deacon, describing Cornish migrant mentality on this matter of identity as 'long distance regionalism' stated: 'While the Cornish were willing to be categorized as English, when seeking work they were quick to emphasize their Cornishness'.<sup>46</sup> Other migrants asserted they had been unaware they were breaking a strike; however, the *Newcastle Journal* contradicted this stating 'The men were told there

<sup>46</sup> B. Deacon and S. Schwartz, 'Cornish Identities and Migration: a Multi-Scalar Approach', *Global Networks* 7, 3 (2007), 294.

had been a strike; and yet they were willing to come.<sup>47</sup> Certainly the strike and likely evictions had been reported in Cornish papers.<sup>48</sup> The agent, William Beldon, stressed the men knew the condition of the employment contract demanded that no member of a Trades Union would be employed.<sup>49</sup> However, the example 'contract of employment' shown in Chapter 4 (Figure 6) does not state this term.

The Cornish faced further wrath when some strikers returned to their hometown. Welbourne described how this antagonism apparently resulted in separate schooling for the Cornish children at a distance, and the 'foreigners' barred from the Co-operative store, the chapels and the local pubs, but provided no sources, although he may have received oral personal recollections from people who grew up in Cramlington.<sup>50</sup> Evidence of the actions he described was sought in the *National Schools Register*, the *Co-operative Heritage Trust* and the *Methodist Collections* at the University of Manchester John Rylands Library, with no result.<sup>51</sup> A possible document concerning schooling arrangements was sourced in *The National Archives*.<sup>52</sup> Local newspapers did have something to say. Court petty sessions in March 1866 reported that Samuel Palmer from Cornwall was charged for assaulting a man after he overheard provoking 'blackleg' accusations, and in nearby Blyth 'two of the Cornish miners from Cramlington were recognised' and 'unmercifully beaten'.<sup>53</sup> A year after the first arrivals, Thomas Tippett, a Cornish miner, was charged with selling beer without a licence. In defence he said he drank with other Cornishmen at home as they 'could not take their beer without being annoyed by the Northumberland miners'.<sup>54</sup> Six years later, on 6 April 1871, just a few days after the national census collection, the *Morpeth Herald* reported two days of general

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<sup>47</sup> *Newcastle Journal*, Wednesday 6 December 1865.

<sup>48</sup> *Lake's Falmouth Packet and Cornwall Advertiser* 28 October 1865 mentioned the planned evictions.

<sup>49</sup> *Cornwall Advertiser* Saturday 28 October 1865; *Newcastle Journal*, Friday 8 December 1865.

<sup>50</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 130.

<sup>51</sup> School registers: <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/school-registers>, TNA Elementary Education Parish Archives, Cramlington: <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6284819>, and Co-operative archives: <http://www.archive.coop/about-the-archive> [21 April 2016].

<sup>52</sup> Catalogue reference: ED 2/340. *The National Archives* advised that 'Our preliminary examination of your request shows that specific information within this document is not easily identifiable and will require research.' Unfortunately it was not possible to review this document due to pressure of time.

<sup>53</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette* 5 March, and 20 March 1866.

<sup>54</sup> *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 5 November 1866.

aggressive behaviour between Cornish and natives involving 'picks and shovels', stone-throwing and violence, with the police by this time 'determined to find out the ringleaders on either side and bring them to justice' with the aim of ending the matter. The report did not ostensibly take any side, although the natives were described as still 'having a grudge' against the Cornish, 'never having yet forgiven them for taking work at the collieries'.<sup>55</sup> It is likely the incident formed a collective memory and narrative, reinforcing notions of separate cultural identities, possibly embellished over the years by both factions. Chapter 6 considers the extent to which Cornish men tolerated the aggressive behaviour.

The Cornishmen's expertise in working stone and timber and learning fast, rather than being skilled coal miners, meant they were able to turn a local strike, not of their making, to their financial advantage by January 1866.<sup>56</sup> Their ingenuity and skills, 'manifest in the numerous improvements they have made in their tools and machinery', were generally reputed.<sup>57</sup> This competence and adaptability was expressed in the wages they achieved compared to the miners they had replaced:

Before the strike good workmen had earned but £2. 15s. a fortnight...  
In the new year the Cornishmen were earning £3.5s.9d. <sup>58</sup>

The seemingly non-exploitative outcome can only have rubbed salt into the fresh wounds of the strikers. However, this was unlikely to have been a concern of the migrants who arrived in the weeks following the first contingent arriving on 5<sup>th</sup> December, by which time they would have known the situation and would not have anticipated a warm reception. The priority for most Cornish appears to have been to show tenacity and prove their worth as competent workers, utilise their skills and earn maximum wages. Their willingness to adapt to a new and harsh environment showed that financial interests drove them. Secondary social needs to 'join' the community were a low initial priority for the majority who stayed, and also because they were part of a supportive cultural group. However, it was also reported fairly

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<sup>55</sup> *Morpeth Herald*, 15 April 1871.

<sup>56</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 131.

<sup>57</sup> 'Cornish Miners' in Chambers, William (ed.); Chambers, Robert (ed.). *Chambers's journal of popular literature, science and arts*, Jan. 1854-Nov. 1897 91 (Sep 29, 1855): 208.

<sup>58</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 128.

quickly that the Cornish 'had much to teach in return', which could be interpreted as a *quid pro quo*, an early extension of a reconciliatory olive branch, or an attempt to break down barriers by some.<sup>59</sup> By 1881 there were two Cornish defined as checkweighers and one other a clerk in the weighing office, compared to three native born men and six born in other parts of Northumberland in similar roles.<sup>60</sup> There were no Devonshire miners as checkweighers. The Cornish figures reflect 25% of the total in these jobs, which also matches their proportion of the mining population, suggesting they were elected and trusted to represent the financial interests of all miners, even if they were not liked.

It can be argued that, like fellow Cornishmen who travelled abroad for work, the long-distance move to Northumberland was a move across a national boundary for the Cornish who had arrived in a 'transnational space' where it was normal to live two lives on a daily basis.<sup>61</sup> The extent to which the migrants maintained a level of 'translocalism'<sup>62</sup> by referencing their ethnicity with their Cornish heritage and separate cultural identity was apparent in various ways:

They were foreigners, dark haired, dark eyed, wearing duck jackets and trousers in the place of the shorts and the pit flannels. They spoke a language hard to understand. Their wives, said the Northumberland women, were little better than gypsies, with their gold ear-rings, and their sallow skins. They could not bake their own bread, that simple test in the north of good house-keeping. Yet they could make pasties far beyond the skill of the pit wives, whose cooking, good as it is, is limited in its range.<sup>63</sup>

The traditional northerners were also apparently shocked at the Cornishmen's reportedly more equitable gender relationship with their wives, such as helping with washing and sometimes cooking, not just in handing over the housekeeping to his

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<sup>59</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 131; *Chambers's journal of popular literature, science and arts*, Jan. 1854-Nov. 1897, 91 (1985), 208.

<sup>60</sup> A check weighman was 'A person, elected by miners, whose task is to check what the mine owner's weighman states has been the amount of coal that has been mined; used especially if the miners' wages are related to production.' See

<http://www.yourdictionary.com/checkweighman#aV432LEY119rSzp7.99> [19 April 2016];

L.A. Atherley-Jones, *The miner's manual, a legal handibook for employer and employed* (1882), 4-6.

<sup>61</sup> B. Deacon and S. Schwartz, 'Cornish Identities and Migration: a Multi-Scalar Approach', *Global Networks* 7, 3 (2007), 291.

<sup>62</sup> B. Deacon and S. Schwartz, 'Cornish Identities and Migration', 291.

<sup>63</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 129-30.

wife from his wages, as thought adequate by the local men.<sup>64</sup> This may have reflected a cultural norm of Cornish miners' daughters back home in Cornwall working at the surface to contribute to the family income, and a need for everyone to help with chores to keep the family afloat. Burke reported that '13% of all females under 20 in Cornwall were engaged in mine work in 1871'.<sup>65</sup>

The issue of communication as a barrier was captured in the Cramlington CEB returns for 1871, 1881 and 1891. Many of the Cornish family names and numerous place names must have been misheard or 'unknown' to enumerators. Errors could also reflect Cornish levels of literacy in completing the original forms themselves and then subsequent transcription errors, or both. Example errors of place of birth and family name are apparent even after twenty years as shown in Figure 10.

**Figure 10** Illustration of errors of birthplace in the CEBs for Mutton family in 1871, 1881 and 1891

Birth Year	Abt	First name	Surname	Census Year		
				1871	1881	1891
1821		John	Mutton		South Hill	South Hill
1822		John	Mutton	Southill		
		Mary	Mutton		St Cleer	
1825		Mary	Mutton	St Clears		St Clair
1849		David	Mutton		Liskeard	
1850		David	Mutton	Unknown		
1853		James	Mutton	Southill	Sti...	
1856		Elizabeth	Mutton		Liskeard	Unknown
1857		Edward	Mutton			St Eve
		Elizth. Ann	Mutton		Callington	
1858		Edward	Mutton	St Ive	St Cleer	

*Ancestry subset in Tableau*

St Ives and St Ive were confused as the same place, with the former possibly being more familiar to enumerators as an important pilchard fishing port<sup>66</sup>. The latter, located in the Liskeard district, was sometimes written as 'St Eve' or even 'St Steve', reflecting its Cornish phonetic. The Cornish had long since lost their own particular language, so it was the dialect that was the issue. In a similar way, the

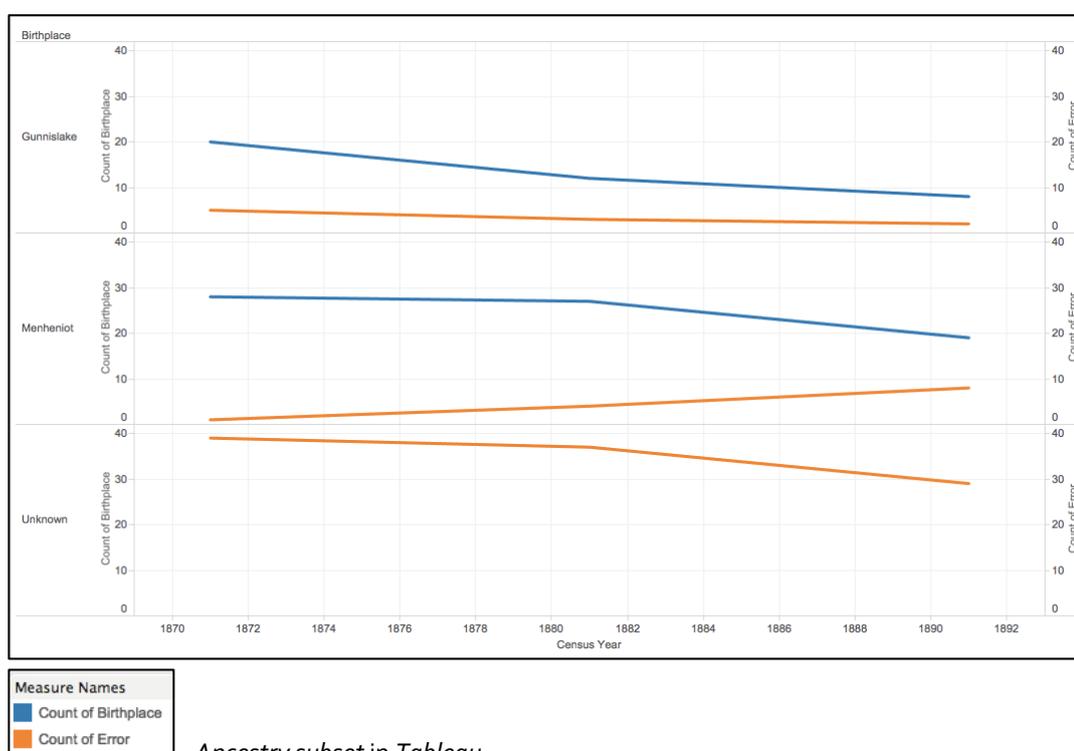
<sup>64</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham*, 130.

<sup>65</sup> G.M. Burke, 'The Cornish Miner and the Cornish Mining Industry 1870-1921' (1981) 58, reported '13% of all females under 20 in Cornwall were engaged in mine work in 1871.'

<sup>66</sup> See [http://samples.sainsburysebooks.co.uk/9781136238703\\_sample\\_895814.pdf](http://samples.sainsburysebooks.co.uk/9781136238703_sample_895814.pdf) [19 April 2016]; J.R. Leifchild, *Cornwall, its mines and miners* (1855), 11.

Northumbrian Geordie brogue must have been a challenging language to the incoming Cornish migrants. Figure 11 shows that errors increased for 'Menheniot', while slightly reducing for 'Gunnislake', and that entries for 'unknown' did reduce over time, but then the number of Cornish born reduced also. Tillott suggested local knowledge was important for enumerators, but clearly in this case Cornish geography would have been a challenge.<sup>67</sup>

**Figure 11** Chart showing errors of birthplace in the CEBs between 1871 and 1881 for Gunnislake, Menheniot and Unknown



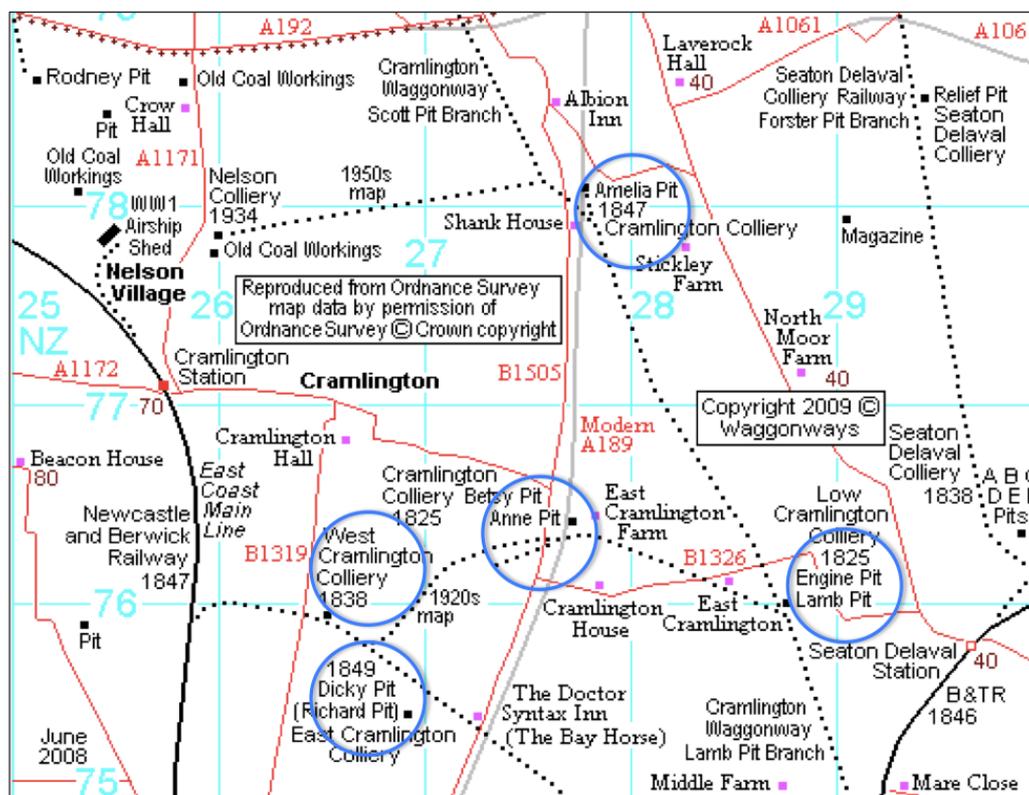
### 5.3 Where Cornish migrants lived and worked

Were the migrants segregated in the community? In 1871 Cramlington Colliery comprised mineshafts in various locations to the North East, East and South of the original Cramlington village within a few miles radius. Figure 12 shows the location

<sup>67</sup> P.M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses'. In E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*, (Cambridge University Press, 1972), 109.

of the pits.<sup>68</sup> Housing was close to the pits and there are clues to where the first Cornish migrant miners lived.

Figure 12 Map of Cramlington showing location of collieries



Cramlington families had been evicted from houses in (Cramlington) Terrace Row, Low Colliery Row, Shankhouse Lane, New Stone Row, East Wood Row, West Wood Row, Special Row, Corvan (Corving?) Row, Old Stone Row.<sup>69</sup> Newspapers also reported that houses had been cleaned at 'Double Row' and 'High Pit' in preparation for the migrants who moved in on the night of Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> December 1865.<sup>70</sup> 'High Pit' isn't named in Figure 12 although contemporary references to this name place it close to Anne Pit.<sup>71</sup> The 1871 census for Cramlington shows Cornish and Devonshire

<sup>68</sup> Ordnance Survey and Waggonways: <https://sites.google.com/site/waggonways/nz/25/nz2575> [19 April 2016].

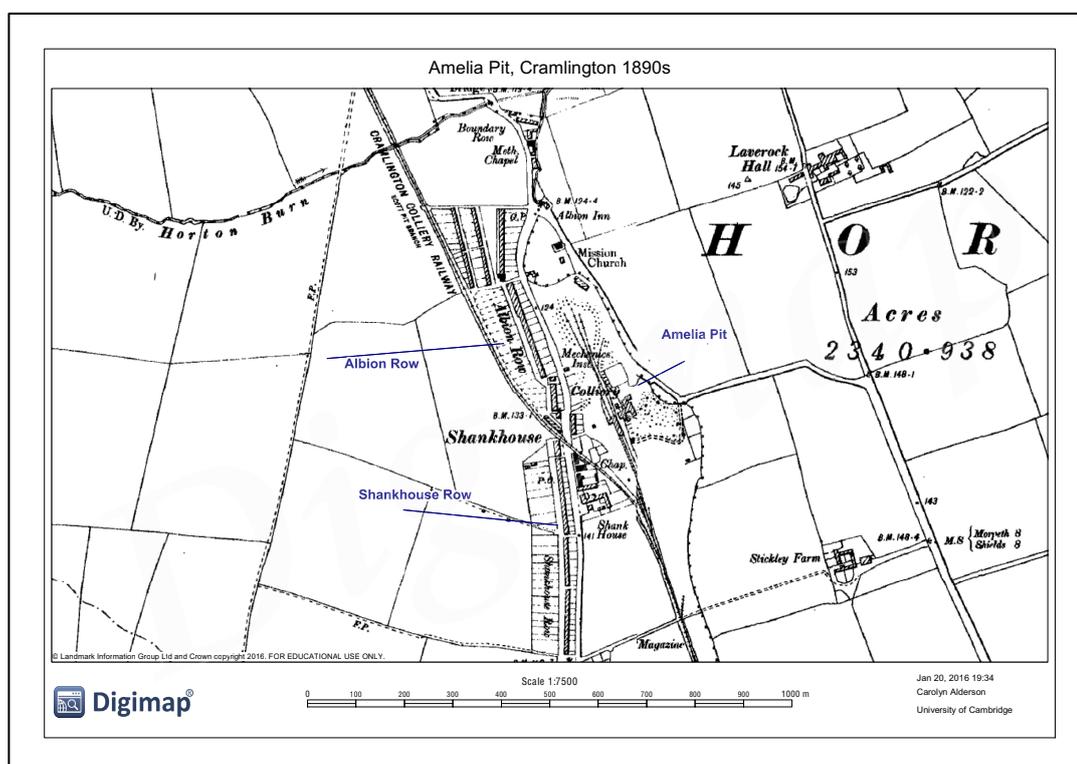
<sup>69</sup> *Newcastle Journal* 21 October 1865; *Caledonian Mercury* 26 October 1865, repeating a report from the *Newcastle Chronicle*. *Lake's Falmouth Packet and Cornwall Advertiser* 28 October 1865.

<sup>70</sup> *Newcastle Journal* – Wednesday 6 December 1865.

<sup>71</sup> Durham Mining Museum: <http://www.dmm.org.uk/colliery/co4o.htm> [19 April 2016]. Google map search for 'high pit Cramlington'.

migrants housed mainly in six streets: Cramlington Terrace, High Pit, Long Row, Pit Row, Shankhouse and Sinkers Row, plus a few in Boundary Row.<sup>72</sup> The locations of streets mentioned above and in the 1871 and 1881 census for Cramlington no longer show on modern maps due to local reconstruction in the 1960s and following the northern mining industry collapse of the 1980s.<sup>73</sup> Historical maps provided some guidance regarding the position of original street names. For example, from [Figure 13](#) it can be seen that Shankhouse Row and Albion Row were close to Amelia Pit in the 1890s.

**Figure 13** Map showing location of Shank House Row, Albion Row, and Amelia Pit, North East Cramlington

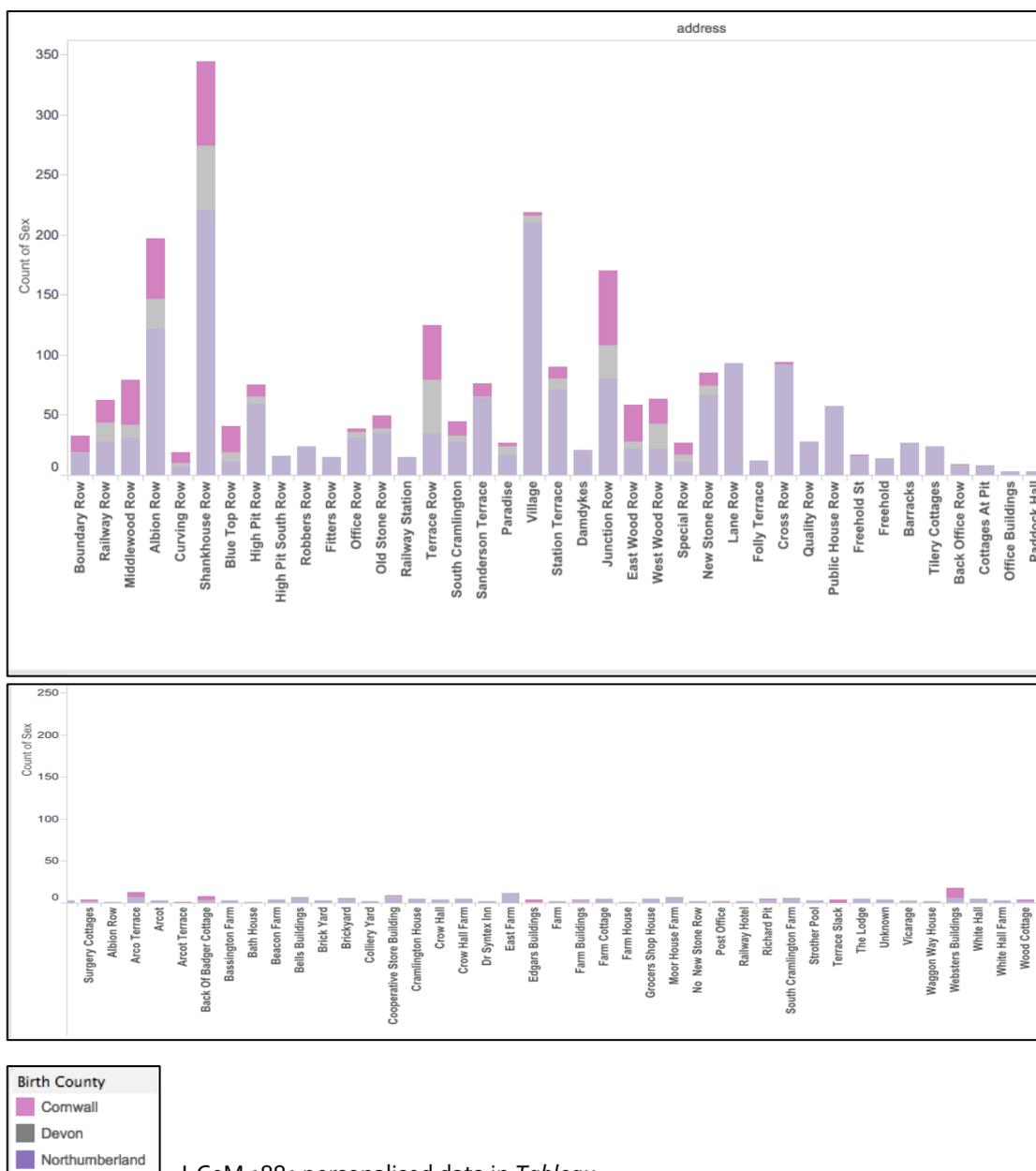


By 1881 the Cornish presence had expanded across a number of streets as shown in [Figure 14](#).

<sup>72</sup> Personal communication from Bill Gourley, providing data confirming this from his own set of 1871 census records undertaken for an Advanced Diploma at the University of Oxford.

<sup>73</sup> See <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/expat-property/4186539/No-longer-the-pits.html> [19 April 2016].

**Figure 14** Visualisation showing the shared streets where adults aged 16 years and over, born in Cornwall, Devon and Northumberland, were living in Cramlington in 1881

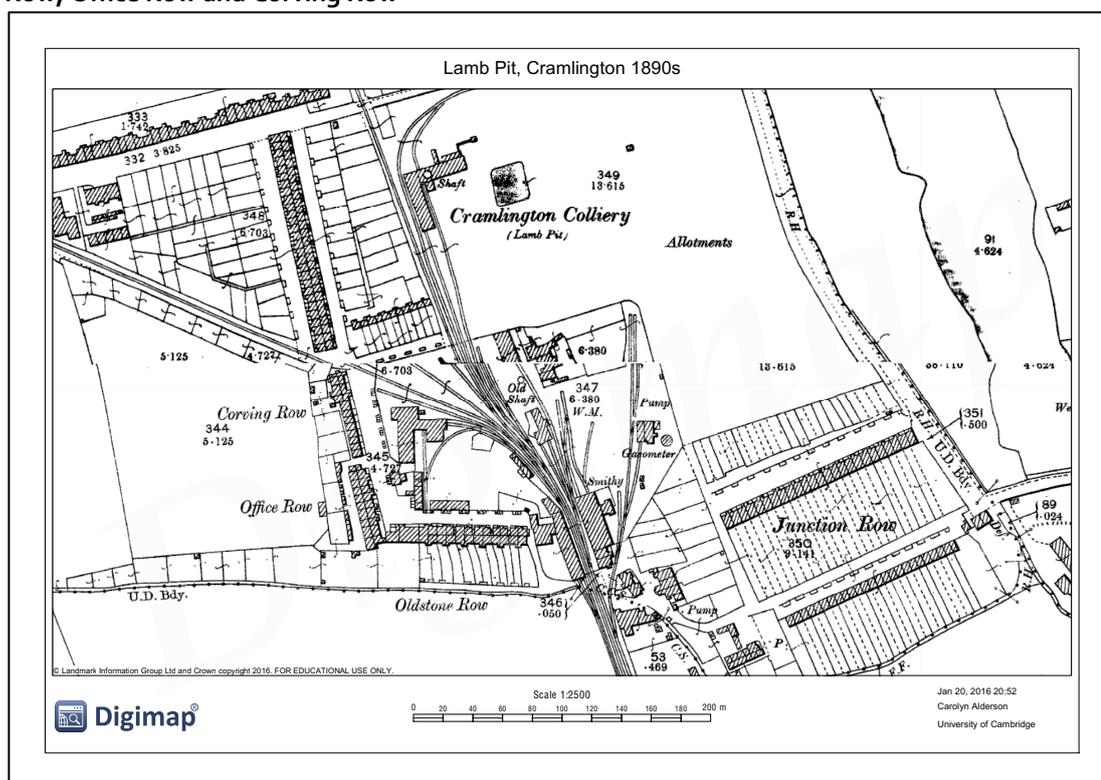


I-CeM 1881 personalised data in *Tableau*

This shows visually the results of an analysis into the addresses of Cornish adults aged sixteen and over (i.e. born in Cornwall before 1865 when the first migrants moved to Cramlington) in 1881. The same information is shown for adults aged sixteen or over born in Northumberland or Devon counties. They were found on a number of streets. This provides evidence of housing allocation and where migrants from the South West were living by 1881. The Cornish adults dominated in some of

these streets such as Middlewood Row (37:31), Blue Top Row (22:11), and East Wood Row (30:22), but these were shorter streets. When taking into account their connections with Devonshire migrant neighbours, Terrace Row, West Wood Row and Junction Row also appear significant. Junction Row's location was close to Lamb Pit in East Cramlington (Figure 15) as was Corving (Corvan?) Row.

**Figure 15** Map of Lamb Pit, Cramlington Colliery, showing location of Junction Row, Old Stone Row, Office Row and Corving Row



However, the longest street, and the one with the largest number of Cornish migrants living in any one street, was Shank House Row (70) followed by Junction Row (62), which were located in separate census enumeration registration districts of Cramlington in 1881, being districts 12 and 15 respectively. The streets where significant numbers of Cornish lived suggested that the majority were living in district 12, closest to Amelia Pit (Shankhouse). The housing allocation suggested most Cornish were working in Amelia, Lamb or Anne pits. It is clear that by 1881 the Cornish were not in an enclave in a particular area and hence the reports of aggression mentioned above would likely have materialised on various streets. In

considering ideas of 'doorstep aggression', the shared streets where the 515 Cramlington born adults and the Cornish born adults were living were assessed to understand the level of overlap in 1881. It was found the Cramlington natives lived across a wide range of streets, but the majority also lived in Shank House Row (92 of 221 born in Northumberland), Village Row (65 of 210 born in Northumberland), Albion Row (46 of 122 born in Northumberland) and High Pit Row (35 of 59 born in Northumberland). This is shown in [Table 6](#) divided by census enumeration district.

**Table 6 Shared streets by enumeration district: native adult population living in Cramlington, compared to Cornish-born adult migrants living in Cramlington in 1881**

Street	Cramlington	Cornish	Total	% Cornish
Arcot Terrace	1	7	8	88%
Curving Row	2	9	11	82%
Websters Buildings	3	12	15	80%
Boundary Row	4	14	18	78%
Middlewood Row	13	37	50	74%
Railway Row	9	18	27	67%
Albion Row	46	62	108	57%
Shankhouse Row	92	70	162	43%
<b>District 12</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>57%</b>
Terrace Row	16	46	62	74%
South Cramlington	1	12	13	92%
Blue Top Row	7	22	29	76%
Sanderson Terrace	8	11	19	58%
High Pit Row	35	10	45	22%
<b>District 13</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>60%</b>
Station Terrace	12	10	22	45%
Paradise	9	3	12	25%
Village	65	3	68	4%
<b>District 14</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>16%</b>
Junction Row	16	62	78	79%
East Wood Row	5	30	35	86%
West Wood Row	4	20	24	83%
Special Row	9	10	19	53%
Old Stone Row	12	10	22	45%
New Stone Row	19	11	30	37%
Office Row	10	3	13	23%
<b>District 15</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>66%</b>
Cross Row	34	2	36	6%
<b>District 16</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>6%</b>
<b>Totals</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>926</b>	

I-CeM 1881 personalised data

The analysis showed that with the exception of a few cases, the Cornish generally outnumbered the Cramlington born locals in the streets they shared except in district 14 (the old village), and district 16, West Cramlington. This can be explained by West Cramlington being a separate village, but included in the Cramlington

enumeration district.<sup>74</sup> It can be seen also that the proportion of Cornish living in evicted streets mentioned earlier were not more densely populated than other streets. It is worth remembering that the mine owners had created the conditions under which *all* the miners lived. They allocated the houses to the migrants and it is not known to what extent miners were able to negotiate moves into other houses to escape unwanted neighbourly torment.

#### 5.4 Inter-marriage

It has been mentioned that it was 'only with inter-marriage of the children that the resentment died down'.<sup>75</sup> To what extent did local men and women marry Cornish migrants during the first few decades of arrival? In the knowledge that Methodism in its various forms was a significant religion in Cornwall and Northumberland, it seems reasonable to consider that being of the same belief would have helped remove some of the initial barriers.<sup>76</sup> However Welbourne wrote that the newcomers were initially banned from the chapels, suggesting religion was not a salve for earlier injuries.<sup>77</sup> In this context it would be anticipated that there would have been barriers to single migrant men and women marrying into families that had been affected by the 1865 strike. By 1910 it was reported by the Methodist, Reverend J. A. West: 'Happily, now the non-native element has amalgamated with the native in the residential population...' implying it took a good forty years to reach that point.<sup>78</sup> He also noted that the majority of church members in Cramlington were descendants of Cornish and Devonshire migrants. But had any of their parents inter-married? The Cramlington Methodist records fell under Blythe and Seaton Delaval Methodist Circuit records, but marriage records were not

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<sup>74</sup> B. Gourley, personal communication concerning an analysis of his 1871 census dataset for Cramlington. February 2016.

<sup>75</sup> Report of the June 1983 meeting in: *The Journal of the Northumberland & Durham Family History Society*, Vol. 8 No. 4 (1983), 80; V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923), 130.

<sup>76</sup> A Vision of Britain shows Wesleyan Methodist density in Cornwall and Northumberland 1851: [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/atlas/data\\_map\\_page.jsp?data\\_rate=R\\_REL1851\\_wmeth&data\\_year=1851&u\\_type=MOD\\_DIST](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/atlas/data_map_page.jsp?data_rate=R_REL1851_wmeth&data_year=1851&u_type=MOD_DIST) [19 April 2016].

<sup>77</sup> V.E. Welbourne, *The miners' unions of Northumberland and Durham* (1923) 130.

<sup>78</sup> An article by J.A. West in the *Christian Messenger* (1910) concerning the 'Seaton Delaval Circuit, Northumberland' was reproduced in *My Primitive Methodist Ancestors*

found.<sup>79</sup> The marriage registration records of the Church of England Parish church of St Nicholas between 1866 and 1880 were cross-referenced with the 1871 and 1881 *Ancestry sub-set*. Four couples that married between 1866 and 1871 with both partners born in Cornwall were identified. A further two assumed Cornish couples identified by their father's rank described as 'copper miner', presumably moved out of Cramlington as they were not found in the 1871 census. If there had been any inter-marriages in the church during this period the couples had moved on before the 1871 Cramlington census return. After this time and until February 1881, there were eleven Cornish couples identified, and an estimated further seven Cornish that married someone from another county. However, as shown in [Table 7](#), the 1881 census records showed that there were thirteen married couples living in Cramlington where one partner had been born in Northumberland and the other in Cornwall, which indicated that half, if not more, of such marriages took place outside the Cramlington parish church. Of these Northumbrian females, three were Cramlington natives, and similarly there were only two cases where a male native married a woman born in Cornwall and stayed. The extent to which native Cramlington males generally married other women from outside the parish by 1881 is shown in [Figure 16](#). The female Cornish representation noted in [Table 7](#) is present, but Devonshire females did not feature at all. It can be surmised that such married couples moved out of Cramlington, or that single young Cornish females married their own kind, or moved out of the community to work. Certainly a continuing investigation of Thomas Roberts Smithem's family mentioned earlier showed that all their three grown-up daughters moved to Newcastle to work as servants and married men from outside the community in the 1890s. An investigation beyond this particular case was not undertaken.

**[Table 7](#) 1881 Census, Cornish and Northumbrian inter-marriages**

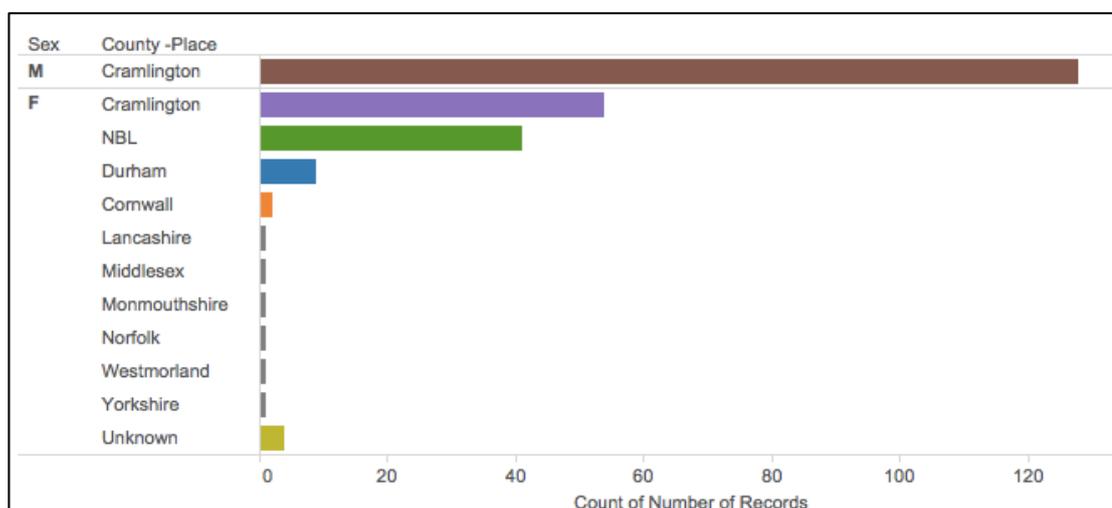
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<sup>79</sup> Register of non-conformist Methodist records held at Woodhorn Museum: <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/oe7af047-17b1-4715-8bco-84e8bo89ob52> [19 April 2016].

Rec ID	County	Parish	Year born est.	Sex	Age est.
23892144	CON	South Petherwin	1859	M	22
23892221	NBL	North Shields	1860	F	21
23892265	CON	Liskeard	1856	M	25
23892274	NBL	Earsdon	1856	F	25
23892462	CON	Unknown	1855	M	26
23892554	NBL	Alnwick	1861	F	20
23892650	CON	Calstock	1857	M	24
23892803	NBL	Alnwick	1863	F	18
23893485	CON	Callington	1844	M	37
23893518	NBL	Bolam	1844	F	37
23894237	CON	Callington	1853	M	28
23894228	NBL	Belford	1853	F	28
23894475	CON	Liskeard	1850	M	31
23894424	NBL	Cramlington	1853	F	28
23894561	CON	Calstock	1834	M	47
23894527	NBL	Seghill	1849	F	32
23889994	CON	St Cleer	1849	M	32
23890034	NBL	Cramlington	1850	F	31
23893814	CON	Linkinhorne	1856	M	25
23893703	NBL	Cramlington	1854	F	27
23894091	NBL	Long Houghton	1855	M	26
23894133	CON	St Ives	1860	F	21
23891059	NBL	Cramlington	1847	M	34
23891017	CON	St Blazey	1849	F	32
23890734	NBL	Cramlington	1855	M	26
23890843	CON	St Cleer	1851	F	30

I-CeM

**Figure 16** Visualisation showing Cramlington born male heads in Cramlington 1881 census and where their wives were born



I-CeM in *Tableau*. 'NBL' = Northumberland

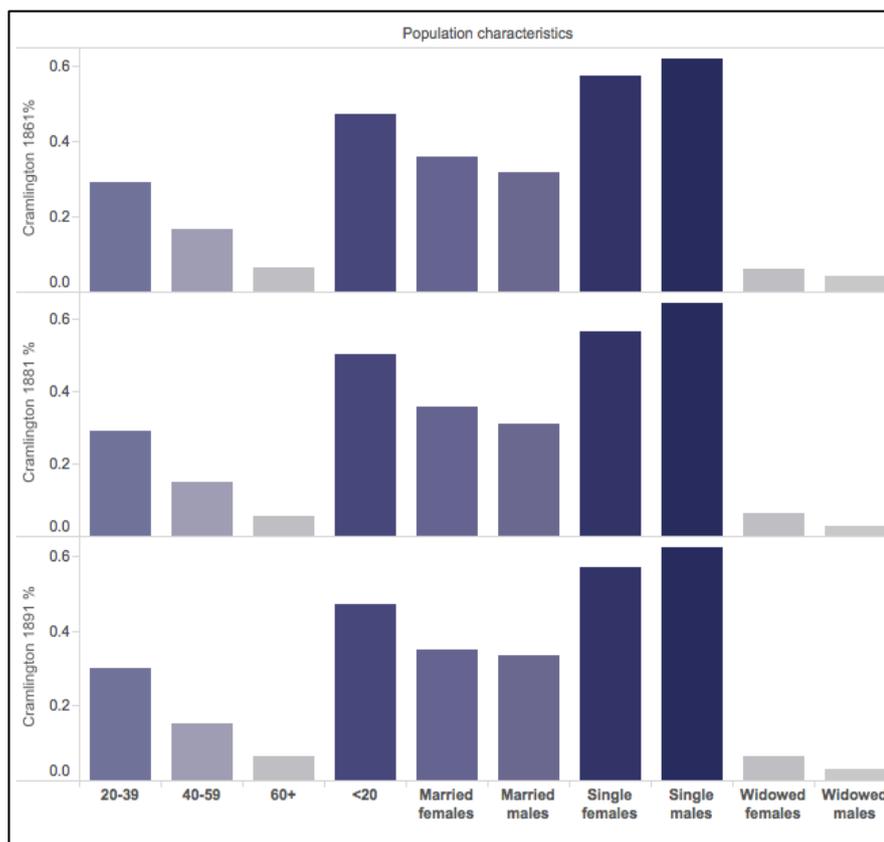
A final investigation of Cornish born married men and women living in other places in Northumberland in 1881, with a partner born outside Cornwall, Devon or Somerset, revealed that there were 32 females and 15 males in this category. It is possible that some of these couples met while living in Cramlington and were recorded as children in 1871, but as the I-CeM census data used was anonymised, this would require further investigation and personal details would be required.

In conclusion, the results showed that a local class conflict with owners of production meant that striking men had regional customary reasons to put up barriers to *any* strike-breakers who appeared to side with the mine owners. The fact that the Cornish migrants stayed was the issue rather than their Cornishness as such.

## 6. DID CORNISH MIGRANTS PERSIST IN CRAMLINGTON?

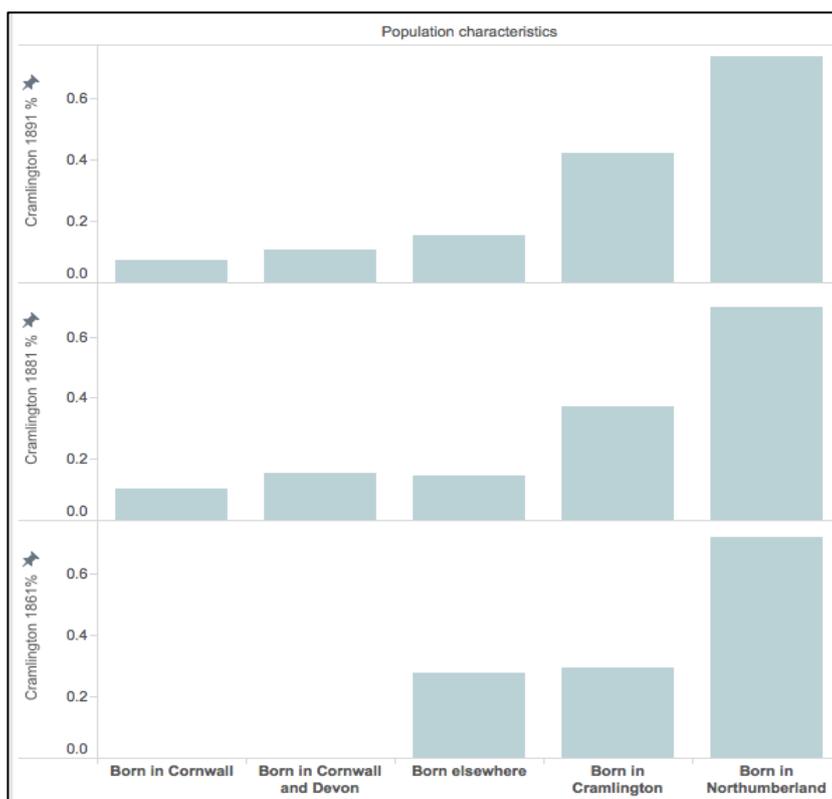
When looking at the aggregate demographic population statistics for Cramlington in 1861, 1881 and 1891 shown in [Figure 17](#) there appears very little change in the proportional characteristics of the community as it grew throughout this period. However, these figures do not provide any understanding at all of underlying sub-groups that arrived, existed, reduced and persisted within the local community, as indicated in [Figure 18](#). This chapter considers aspects of persistency of Cornish migrants in Cramlington.

**Figure 17** Chart showing aggregate population statistics for Cramlington 1861, 1881 and 1891



I-CeM in *Tableau*

**Figure 18** Chart showing composition of population by birth in 1861, 1881 and 1891



I-CeM in *Tableau*

### 6.1 The Cornish staying in Cramlington until 1871

Table 8 shows demographic details for the group that moved to Cramlington and stayed until 1871. Over half the migrants were aged below 20 years, with the next majority group comprising children under fourteen. The large difference in numbers and ages of the migrants by sex, particularly under the age of thirty, is shown visually in Figure 19. Although these results support earlier findings that the majority of migrants were young adults under 20, most of the Cornish were unmarried daughters and sons living with their families, with only around 8% of the total listed as single male lodgers and boarders.<sup>80</sup> The estimate of 82% migrating in family groups is higher than the 64% Pooley and Turnbull found for the Welsh.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See Chapter 2, 19-20.

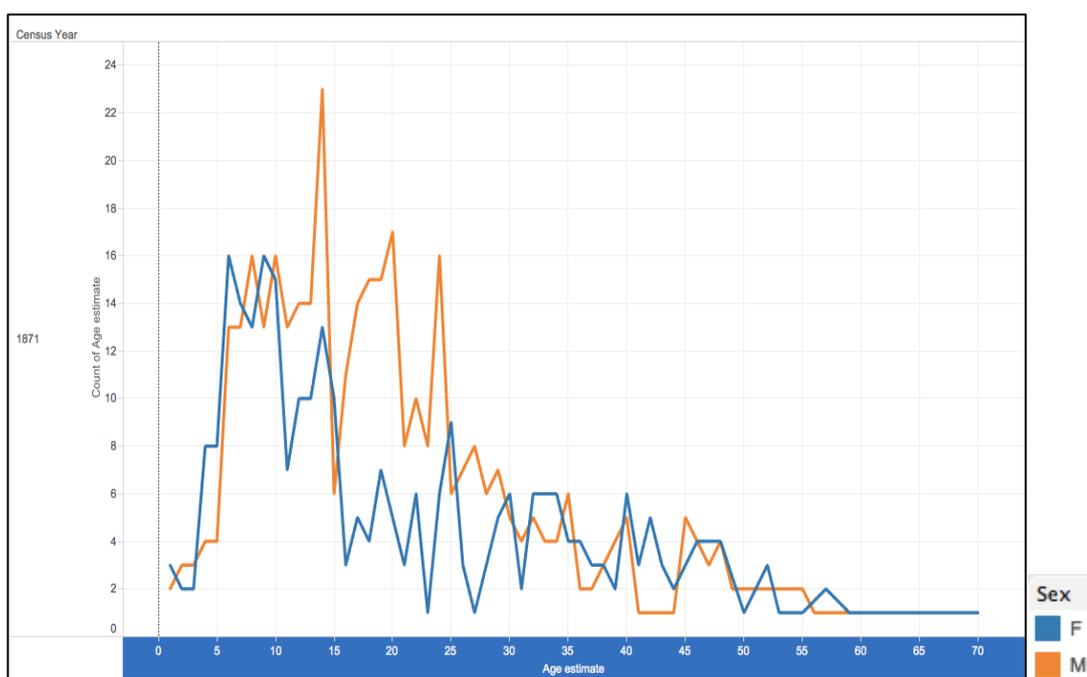
<sup>81</sup> See Chapter 2, 17.

**Table 8** Age and marriage status profile of Cornish migrants in 1871 census

1871	Population	Age					Percentage
		12 to 19	All <20	20 to 39	40 to 59	60 plus	
<b>Female</b>	294	62	166	84	41	3	
Of total	683	9%	24%	12%	6%	0%	43%
Of Female		21%	56%	29%	14%	1%	100%
Married	104						35%
<b>Male</b>	389	112	212	132	39	6	
Of total	683	16%	31%	19%	6%	1%	57%
Of Male		29%	54%	34%	10%	2%	100%
Married	115						30%
<b>All</b>	683	174	378	216	80	9	
Of total		25%	55%	32%	12%	1%	100%
Married	219						32%
Lodgers/Boarders	55						8%
Youths 14-19	126						18%
Children 1-13	252						37%

Ancestry subset

**Figure 19** Graph showing age profile by sex of all Cornish migrants in 1871 Census

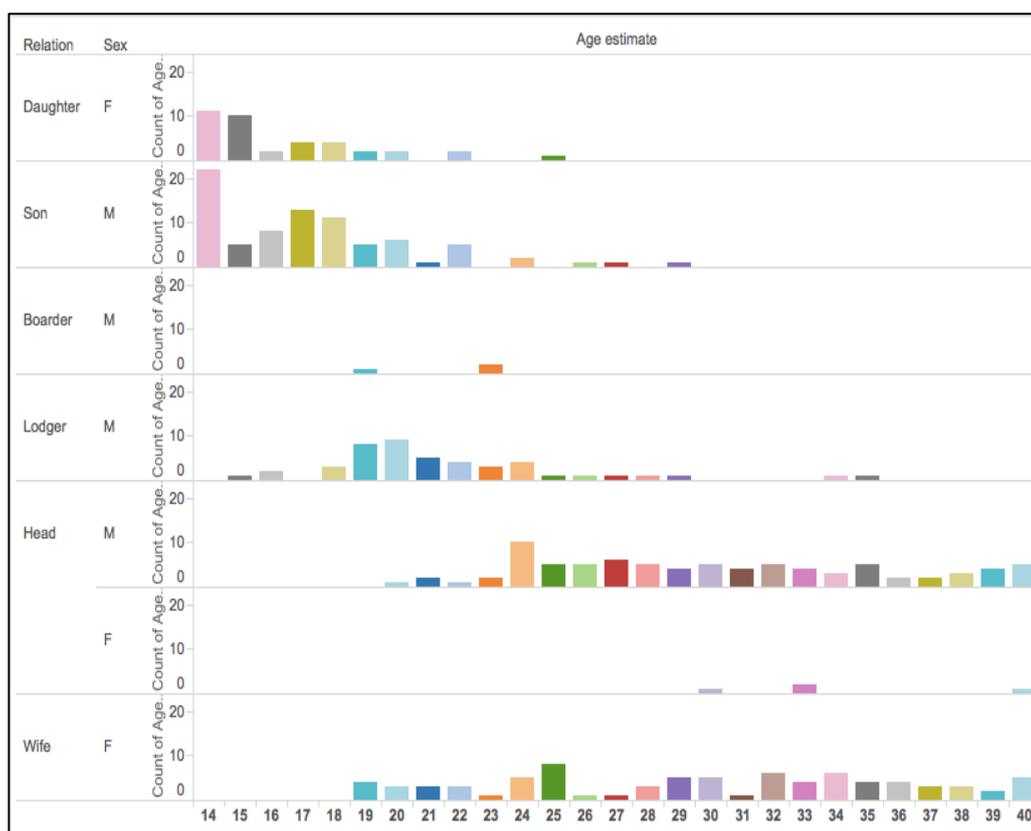


Ancestry subset in Tableau

Figure 20 provides a visualisation of 1871 census data showing the composition of the migrants by key relationships, sex and age range between 14 and 40. More than half of single male lodgers were aged between 18 and 24. It is likely these men

would have supplemented some families' incomes, with wives undertaking the required work in the home, effectively earning a wage themselves.<sup>82</sup>

**Figure 20** Visualisation showing key categories of Cornish living in Cramlington aged between 14 and 40 in 1871 Census



Ancestry subset in Tableau

The youngest wife was aged 19 years, with the mode being 25 years, the mean 34 years, and the median 35.5 years. The youngest male head was aged 20 years, the mean age was 33 years and the mode value for male heads was 24 years. The male mode figure corresponds with Ogle's calculation of a mean age for miners at marriage of 24.06 years.<sup>83</sup> The figures also show that more females married at a younger age than males. There were few unmarried migrant daughters in the age range 16 to 20 suggesting that females in this age range had stayed in Cornwall, perhaps to support older relatives economically (pointing to a decision process), or

<sup>82</sup> V. Hall, *Mining Women 1860-1914* (2013) 24.

<sup>83</sup> In R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, Table 3.1, 86.

had married already, or had already left Cramlington to work in the city. The last possibility seems unlikely at this stage, as only one of six Cornish born females aged between 16 and 24 was found working as a servant in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1871, with a matching migrant surname in Cramlington (Allsop). The Cornish migrants in 1871 clearly comprised two sets: a large family group and young single men. Young single females did not feature in 1871.

## 6.2 1881 Cornish migrant population impact on Cramlington

Table 9 shows that by 1881 the net population of Cramlington increased to 5,742 with the native population being 37% of the total size. Persistency relates to fecundity and offspring putting down roots. Cornish families accounted for an estimated cautious 13% of the population<sup>84</sup>. Their children born in Cramlington, aged between 1 and 16, (i.e. born between first migrants' first arrival date and the census of 1881) were estimated at 3% of the native population. This indicates Cornish migrants had gained a small foothold in the community. However, with 63% of the total born outside Cramlington, this shows Cramlington continued to be a migrant community.

Were these Cornish families similar to their neighbours in terms of family size? Or were they still aligned to the Cornish communities they left behind? A comparison was undertaken of the number of children, 'married and never married', associated with Cornish, Devonshire and Northumbrian heads of households in the I-CeM database for Cramlington 1881, along with similar data for Liskeard as a comparison.<sup>85</sup> Households were therefore used as a proxy for families. The results are shown in Table 10.

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<sup>84</sup> Sixty-eight children of Cornish parents born at 'step' locations were not included.

<sup>85</sup> See *I-CeM Guide* 'KIDS' description, 284.

**Table 9 Cramlington 1861, 1871 and 1881 population figures and detail for 1881**

Cramlington			Population			Population increase	
Cramlington 1861			3310				
Cramlington 1871			4167			26% over 1861	
Cramlington 1881			5742			74% over 1861	
Country born	County born	Place born	F	M	Total	% of population	Proportion of total
England	Northumberland	Cramlington	1043	1085	2127		37%
		Of which, children of:					
		<i>Cornish parents*</i>			192	3%	
		<i>Northumbrian parents*</i>			1448	25%	
		<i>Other parents</i>			487	8%	
	Northumberland	All other places	855	1025	1882		33%
	<b>Cornwall</b>		<b>243</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	30%
	<b>Devon</b>		<b>134</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	
	Durham		136	107	243	4.2%	
	Yorkshire		33	31	64	1.1%	
	Norfolk		16	25	41	0.7%	
	Cumberland		14	20	34	0.6%	
	Dorset		14	17	31	0.5%	
	Warwickshire		13	6	19	0.3%	
	Suffolk		7	8	15	0.3%	
	Lancashire		7	6	13	0.2%	
	Westmorland		5	6	11	0.2%	
	Other Counties		37	71	108	1.9%	
Scotland			59	63	122	2.1%	
Ireland			27	50	77	1.3%	
Wales			3	3	6	0.1%	
USA			3	2	5	0.1%	
India			2	1	3	0.1%	
Australia			1	0	1	0.0%	
Germany			1	0	1	0.0%	
Jamaica			0	1	1	0.0%	
Unknown			20	28	48	0.8%	
<b>Total</b>			<b>2673</b>	<b>3069</b>	<b>5743</b>		100.0%

\*estimate from census households

I-CeM

The mean number of children per household with children present in Cramlington was highest for the Devonshire group, followed by similar figures for Cornish and Northumbrian families in Cramlington. These figures seemed lower than expected based on Garrett and Reid's research on mining family fertility levels where 6 was the mean number of children in mining families at this time.<sup>86</sup> However, the figures shown do not reflect female lifetime fertility in every case and it is possible that a number of older children of aging parents were themselves married and living in

<sup>86</sup> E. Garrett and Reid, A., 'Thinking of England and Taking Care: Family Building Strategies and Infant Mortality in England and Wales 1891-1911', *International Journal of Population Geography* (1995) 1, 71.

separate households. It was noted that for the median household size of 8 shown in [Table 10](#), Cornish, Devonshire and Northumbrian mothers appeared to have between 5 and 6 children on average reflecting the expected levels.

**Table 10 1881 Family Size comparison: families of household heads, living in Cramlington, born in Cornwall, Devon or Northumberland, with children, and a comparison to Cornish family size in Liskeard, Cornwall.**

Head of household's birth county and census location	1881 Census	Totals	Mean number of children	Total number of people in households with children												
				2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Cornish in Liskeard	Total children	1561	3.01	11	92	179	224	255	339	168	129	71	68	14	11	
	Total households	518		11	90	103	85	73	77	33	20	13	9	2	2	
	Percentage of total households			2%	17%	20%	16%	14%	15%	6%	4%	3%	2%	0%	0%	
	Mean per household			1.0	1.0	1.7	2.6	3.5	4.4	5.1	6.5	5.5	7.6	7.0	5.5	
Cornish in Cramlington	Total children	403	3.36	14	47	56	74	75	55	41	24	17				
	Total households	120		14	25	20	22	17	10	6	4	2				
	Percentage of total households			12%	21%	17%	18%	14%	8%	5%	3%	2%				
	Mean per household			1.0	1.9	2.8	3.4	4.4	5.5	6.8	6.0	8.5				
Northumbrians in Cramlington	Total children	1448	3.20	6	79	184	216	280	203	200	123	76	45	20	11	5
	Total households	452		6	74	97	80	74	45	35	19	11	6	2	2	1
	Percentage of total households			1%	16%	21%	18%	16%	10%	8%	4%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%
	Mean per household			1.0	1.1	1.9	2.7	3.8	4.5	5.7	6.5	6.9	7.5	10.0	5.5	5.0
Devonians in Cramlington	Total children	316	4.05	9	27	30	37	32	64	64	39	9	5			
	Total households	78		8	15	10	10	7	11	10	5	1	1			
	Percentage of total households			10%	19%	13%	13%	9%	14%	13%	6%	1%	1%			
	Mean per household			1.1	1.8	3.0	3.7	4.6	5.8	6.4	7.8	9.0	5.0			

I-CeM

The Liskeard group figures were lowest, the reduction perhaps explained by absence of older children due to migration. All the figures, however, hide the possible impact of infant mortality. In order to fully understand the fertility figures in the context of these different groupings, further research into death registration records is required to see if there was equitability across the community. What might be implied from the figures in [Table 10](#) is that there was no statistical difference between Cornish progeny and their Northumbrian neighbours in 1881, and so the Cornish gene pool had not gained an advantage in the community.

However, turning to the specific age ranges of married women aged 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 in 1881 in households headed by Cornish born males and Cramlington born males, the mean number of children associated with these different categories shown in [Table 11](#) suggests that Cornish females in these younger age ranges were more fertile and may over time have produced more offspring. The comparatively

reduced numbers of females aged 20 to 24 years married to Cramlington male heads, supports a later marriage age for them and an earlier marriage age for Cornish women.

**Table 11** Progeny of wives where husband was born in Cramlington or Cornwall. 1881

Household male head born	Females aged between 20 and 24 years			Females aged between 25 and 29 years		
	Number	Number of children in 1881	Mean number of children	Number	Number of children in 1881	Mean number of children
Cramlington	12	19	1.58	30	73	2.43
Cornwall	31	61	1.97	25	73	2.92

I-CeM

The Cornish influence in the community depended therefore on whether the male and female children of Cornish migrants survived childhood, married and stayed in Cramlington in the future. An analysis of female fertility levels of native wives in 1891 Cramlington (I-CeM) showed an average number of children of 1.29 between ages 20 and 24 years (38 wives) and 3.72 in the age range 25 to 29 years (36 wives). With additional information concerning surnames and marriage records, it would be possible to estimate the proportion of native children of Cornish migrants.

#### 6.4 Male and Female persistency 1871, 1881, and 1891

In order to assess male and female persistency longer term, migrants born in Cornwall were traced through the linkage of successive census years in Cramlington for 1871, 1881 and 1891 as shown in [Table 12](#).<sup>87</sup> An estimated 696 unique Cornish born males were recorded as ever having lived in Cramlington and 599 females. These figures will have missed adults, children and babies who came and left, or died in Cramlington between census years, or between 1865 and 1871, and were never recorded. [Table 12](#) provides evidence of a large turnover of Cornish migrants between each census collection that was hidden in the aggregate net figures. There were only 67 male and 15 female same name persisters who were confidently present at three successive census collections. Some girls would have married and

<sup>87</sup> See [Nominal Census Linkage](#) in Sources and Methodologies section

changed name hence the local parish marriage registrations were checked for this possibility. It was found that *all* 18 couples with both or one partner born in Cornwall that married between 1866 and 1880 had left Cramlington parish by 1891.

**Table 12** Cornish males and females ever present in Cramlington between 1871 and 1891

Presence in Census	1871	1881	1891	Males
1871 only	250			250
1881 only		139		139
1891 only			88	88
1871 and 1891 only	6		6	6
1871 and 1881 only	65	65		65
1881 and 1891 only		81	81	81
1871, 1881 and 1891	67	67	67	67
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>696</b>
Increase/decrease		-36	-110	
% difference		-10%	-45%	

Presence in Census	1871	1881	1891	Females
1871 only	252			252
1881 only		163		163
1891 only			93	93
1871 and 1891 only	7		7	7
1871 and 1881 only	20	20		20
1881 and 1891 only		49	49	49
1871, 1881 and 1891	15	15	15	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>599</b>
Increase/decrease		-47	-83	
% difference		-16%	-34%	

*Ancestry subset*

Table 12 also shows that the net presence decreased over the years: for men by 10% in 1881 over 1871, and by 45% in 1891 compared to 1881 and for women by 16% and 34% respectively. Some of these figures would be explained by mortality but others are due to reduced numbers arriving, and people moving out of Cramlington. Of the total 388 males present in 1871, 132 males that remained until 1881 represented 34%. This figure is lower than Schurer's findings for Essex parishes of 53% (1861-71) and parishes in Dengie Peninsula (42%), but similar to Wojciechowska's finding of 31.4% (1851-61) for Brenchley.<sup>88</sup> These researchers were reviewing change in the whole population at earlier dates, however, rather than specific migrant-group-only flows between 1871 and 1891. By 1891, the 67 male persisters in Cramlington

<sup>88</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Migration in a rural parish', 258-259.

represented 17% of the original male cohort in 1871. It is not clear if Wojciechowska undertook a similar 20-year analysis for non-native flows.<sup>89</sup>

Concerning non-persisters, Table 13 shows the age profiles and numbers of non-persisting females and males, who left Cramlington after 1871 and after 1881.

**Table 13** Age profiles of non-persisting Cornish females and males who left Cramlington after 1871 and 1881

Age range	Females				Males			
	After 1871 n=	%	After 1881 n=	%	After 1871 n=	%	After 1881 n=	%
1 to 9	68	27%	6	4%	36	14%	6	4%
10 to 19	80	32%	38	23%	86	34%	37	27%
20-29	36	14%	60	37%	69	28%	59	42%
30-39	36	14%	18	11%	30	12%	15	11%
40-49	22	9%	17	10%	16	6%	10	7%
50-59	8	3%	16	10%	8	3%	9	6%
60-69	1	0%	6	4%	5	2%	3	2%
70+	1	0%	2	1%				
<b>Total</b>	<b>252</b>		<b>163</b>		<b>250</b>		<b>139</b>	

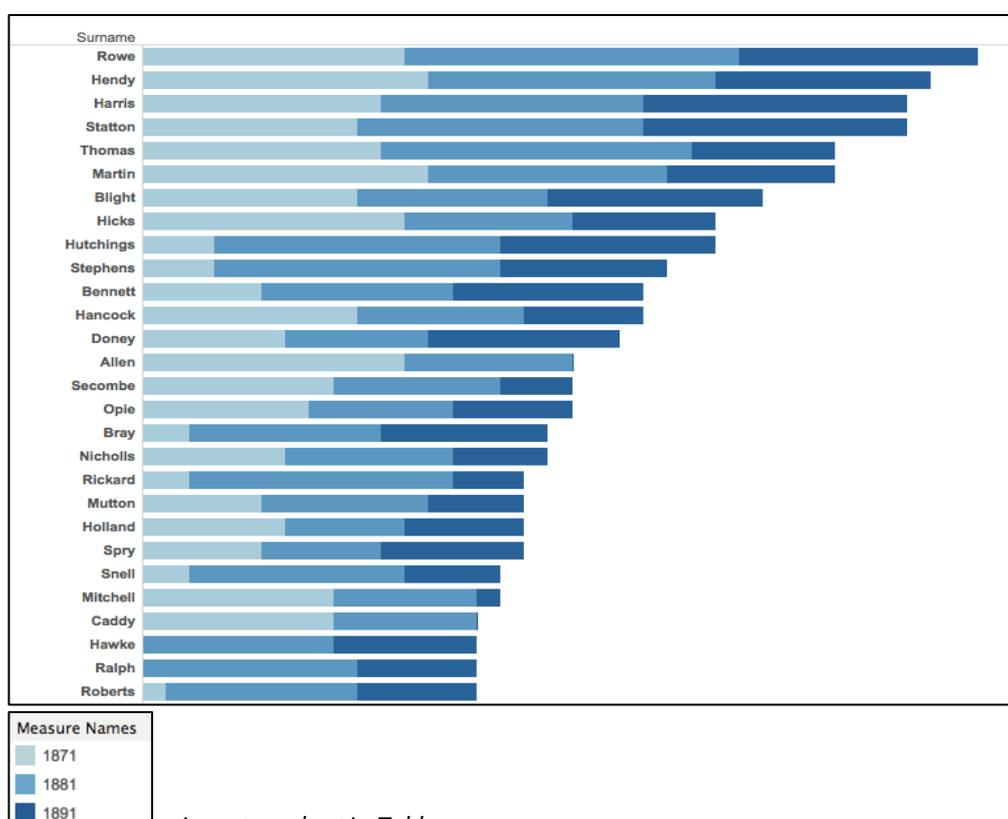
*Ancestry subset*

It was noted that people may have left at any time in the ten years between census collections and therefore people may have been in a different age range *at the time of moving*. As an estimate, however, it can be seen that after 1871 around a third of non-persisting females and males in the age range 10 to 19 left Cramlington followed by 28% males in age range 20-29. Due to the numbers of children and young people it is likely that whole families moved out. Certainly it was a large proportion of girls aged 1 to 9 who left after 1871, supporting the possibility that families with many young girls in the family moved on. After 1881 the majority of men and women who left were in an age range 20-29 years. In addition, only 12 Cornish born children aged below 10 were part of an out-migration, which could suggest the later departures were not family moves for the main part. Alternatively it should be considered that the figures related to a dataset of Cornish born migrants only and it is likely that younger children born in Cramlington were also part of an outward move with their Cornish families.

<sup>89</sup> B. Wojciechowska, 'Migration in a rural parish', 259.

An indicator of motivation, integration and persistence is found in levels of density of surnames over time. The results showed that people with 46 different Cornish surnames, reflecting a similar number of families, stayed the course from 1871 through to 1891. Although the Allen name did not persist, the families had many daughters who married Cornish men. A visualisation of the names effect is shown in Figure 21.

**Figure 21** Visualisation of measure of motivation, integration persistence: Cornish surnames appearing in 1871, 1881 and 1891 Cramlington census years sorted by largest total occurrence



Rowe, Hendy, Harris, Statton, Blight, Hutchings, and Doney were the most prolific on the male line by 1891. The persistency of these surnames in the long term can be seen from their geographic distribution appearing in the census over one hundred years later in 1998 in the *Great Britain Family Names Profiling* website.<sup>90</sup> The maps suggest that the Hendy, Harris and Hutchings family names did not persist in the

<sup>90</sup> See <http://gbnames.publicprofiler.org/default.aspx> [19 April 2016].

long term in Northumberland, that the Statton name made some impact, and that Blight, Doney and Rowe had minimal staying power.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate three main questions concerning motivation, integration and persistence of Cornish migrants who moved to Cramlington between 1865 and 1881. This final chapter considers the outcomes of the research in consideration of those aims.

Ravenstein had stated that migrants travelling long distances usually moved directly to a large industrial or commercial location (third law). Cramlington was not a large place in 1865, but it was essentially an industrial mining base. The newspaper reports made it clear that the majority of early Cornish migrants went straight there and the census analysis supported this. The first research question asked: what motivated those who went? The research showed there was an association between the primary active agent, the place of origin of the migrants, and a local networking effect. Hence men were influenced by a very proactive 'pull' human agency orchestrated by the destination community's employers rather than a result of natural economic forces (the means of production had been purposefully compromised). Cornish migrants' calculative decision processes were financial and for the majority, family focussed, relating to the guaranteed jobs and higher wages, free accommodation and fuel for the family, plus perceived future employment for male children. They did not choose the destination as such; the free travel and transport made it easy to move there, and a full knowledge of the community situation and experience of prior migration did not appear relevant factors. The reducing employment situation locally in Cornwall was a factor, but without the planned approach shown by the mine owners it is unlikely that the same large numbers of males with their families would have moved to Cramlington on their own accord. The research outcome therefore provides an example of the conditions under which whole families would be likely to proceed to a far distance beyond their birth county. The decision process seems to best reflect that described by Reichlova

as a 'needs assessment' set against the local situation.<sup>91</sup> They moved for the highest possible wages.

The second objective was to provide additional evidence to show how barriers of entry operated concerning class-consciousness, 'otherness' and skills in a mining community. The most noticeable and pervasive barrier to integration related to the Marxist ideology of class, meaning the Cornish who stayed in 1865 were by definition excluded from the community by the locals for their lack of working class solidarity, their unacceptable action of strike breaking and in providing the means of production to owners. It is not clear to what extent later arrivals from Cornwall in the 1880s were tarred with the same brush but the large waves of Cornish migrant turnover between census years, points to this. Although overt aggressive behaviour expressed by both natives and Cornish was only traced to 1871 via newspaper reports, suggesting the main period of unrest concerning the Cornish presence was in the early years and then waned, contradicts the level of outflows after 1871 and 1881, hidden in the census aggregate figures. The evidence showed that while the skills of the Cornish had an immediate impact on increasing wages that could have been to the benefit of all miners the essential issue of the Cornish workers' engagement with mine owners while a strike continued created a long standing barrier that was not forgiven by the locals and was expressed as a cultural difference. The Cramlington miners' class-consciousness was a one-way street directing the Cornish back home, but many migrants chose to stay. The study outcomes therefore support class ideology as a barrier that operates to oppose 'otherness' and limit relationships, when certain conditions are met. An expression of this barrier was shown through a low level of Cornish born migrants marrying natives and/or staying in the community. By 1881 marriage figures suggested that Cornish men married few native women but that they were gaining acceptance by other Northumbrian women in the community, and by 1910 community integration had been mostly achieved, perhaps due to participants in the strike having died by that time as well as the children of Cornish migrants gaining acceptance as natives.

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<sup>91</sup> N. Reichlova, 'Can the Theory of Motivation Explain Migration Decisions?' 2.

The extent to which other migrant cultural groups established themselves (or not) in mining communities elsewhere based on this particular migrant process, at the expense of another group, would develop this research. Despite the 'class-consciousness' barrier, based on their occupations and where Cornish migrants were recorded as living in the census, they were not segregated, although it was noted that housing near West Cramlington pit was absent of Cornish. Mine owners would have allocated the houses, and it seems their main priority was to fill empty houses and ensure production, rather than create or perpetuate cultural enclaves. However, housing allocation may have been a means for the owners to divide and rule and constantly remind miners that they were not expendable.

The third objective of the study was to understand Cornish migrant persistence in the community. The early Cornish migrant group staying in Cramlington by 1871 clearly comprised two groups: young single men, and a larger group of families with young children. Young single adult Cornish women were not a significant element of the migrant group. A core group of families established themselves in Cramlington, but the aggregate figures hid large Cornish migrant turnovers between 1871 and 1881 and 1881 to 1891 with many families and young adult men and women leaving the community, while new migrants moved in. Families may have self-selected themselves for onward migration between 1871 and 1881 due to having higher number of young girls in the family. The longest-term persisters from 1871 to 1891 appeared to relate to twenty-three families. There had also been little analysis during this period as to how in-migrants from particular cultural communities into mining communities compared to the indigenous population in relation to family size, and fertility, or an understanding of the extent to which 'natural increase' related to the children of migrants. The results suggested Cornish wives married younger and were more fertile than wives of native men, and that persisting children of Cornish migrants reflected a significant element of the natural population growth and gene pool of Cramlington by 1881. However, the impact of mortality was not investigated. A similar study to Longley's analysis for

Middlesbrough in Teesside would provide an understanding of long-term persistency and social integration of the Cornish descendants.<sup>92</sup>

The results provide baselines for investigating Cornish family in-migration elsewhere and comparisons with other migrant cultural groups in the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>92</sup> The geospatial mapping work of Paul Longley (UCL) has been outlined in a document by Robin McKie in the *New Statesman* (2007). See <http://www.newstatesman.com/life-and-society/2007/01/cornish-names-british-family> [19 April 2016].

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<http://www.cmhrc.co.uk/site/home/index.html>

The National Archives (TNA): <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

UK Data Archive (I-CeM): <http://icem.data-archive.ac.uk/#step1>

Victoria County History: <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/>

[www.parliament.uk: http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/19thcentury/overview/coalmines/](http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/19thcentury/overview/coalmines/)