

MIGRATION TO FLETTON 1841-1911
An Exploration of Family Migration, the Creation of
Community and Social Mobility through Marriage

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Leicester

by

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2018

Abstract

The geography and geology, of the parish of Fletton, attracted the railways and brickyards. To enable these industries to grow and develop workers were needed. Using Ravenstein's Laws as an initial starting point, this thesis will initially explore the composition and context of the migrants, who came to Fletton.¹

However, migration research should be more than statistical analysis. As Pooley and Turnbull commented migration research should concentrate on viewing migration 'as a process of social and cultural change' which affected 'both individuals and communities'.² Therefore this thesis will seek to place the individual migrant and their family at the heart of the process of migration and within the New and Old Fletton communities.

To achieve this, record linkage will be used to create longitudinal migration narratives of Fletton inhabitants. These will be used to address issues which have previously been side lined or ignored through pressures of time and purpose.

The migration narrative of the individual within their family context will enable the exploration of family migration. The equally important story of the stayer will be revealed, without which the migrant's experience cannot be fully appreciated. The link between migration and community will be re-established, so they can be considered together, not as separate entities. Joining this dialogue will be an appraisal of the impact of marriage. Marriage will be viewed as part of a longer transaction; including marriage horizons, the marriage market, social and occupational mobility through marriage, impact of marriage on community and the destination of the couple after marriage.

This methodology will enable the study of Fletton to be a valuable addition in the breadth of migration and community research.

¹ E. G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration'. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), p.200.

² C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century* (London, 1991), p. 327.

Acknowledgements

Personal

My initial thanks must be to Professor Keith Snell, who accepted me as a research student at the Department of Local History University of Leicester.

A deep depth of gratitude must go to my supervisor, Professor Kevin Schürer. Without his support, advice and guidance throughout every stage of this research and the writing of this thesis it may never have been completed.

Also supporting me throughout this process I owe an enormous debt and thanks to my family: my husband Andrew, my children Kelly, Ashley, Eleanor and Thomas. My daughter-in-law Becca, grandchildren Lucas and Heidi.

I would also like to thank my parents Maureen and Geoff. Sadly Maureen did not witness the completion of my thesis.

Research

In the course of this research I have had to seek the advice of many professionals and individuals who have a wide breadth of knowledge. I have also been inspired by many individuals and their own research. Without this assistance I would not have been able to pursue the various lines of enquiry that I was able to. There are too many individuals to name here but include:

Teena Wright AICCM Bereavement Services Manager Peterborough Crematorium
Jenny Pedley, Derek Smith, David Clarke and Peter Slinger.

The members of staff from Huntingdonshire Archives including: Sue Sampson, Lesley Akeroyd, Tiffany Kirby, Pauline Taylor, Esther Bellamy and Laura Ibbett.

The members of staff from Peterborough Archives including: Richard Hillier and Gail Richardson

The Peterborough Family History Society including: Alan Johnson.

The Huntingdon Family History Society.

The members of Hornsby Historical Society, especially Janet Owen, who was kind enough to take me on a very memorable tour around Highgate village and Highgate Cemetery.

Fletton

This research could never have been written without the residents of Fletton, past and present and their families. I have had the privilege to communicate with many members of the families I discuss. I apologize if I have omitted anyone in the acknowledgements below and they are not listed in any particular order.

Vickie White – William Cragg Farrow

Julian Baldwin – Hempsted family

James Knighton- Rimes family Alan Johnson- Hunting family

Tony Mills-‘Knocker up’ photograph Marilyn Grainger-Charles Briers

Kathleen Dimsdale – Henry Harbor and Mary Briggs

Barbara O’Connell - Richard Gibbs Gardener and James Bristow

Ian C. Symington – Symington family and factory history

Robert Effield Gann – Frederick C. W. Wright

Tam O’Malley – George and Harriet Ward

Amelia Bennett – Emma Elizabeth Garfoot, John Garfoot, John George

Braybrook and Colmans

Mike Dayok (Ancestry members name) – Charles Booth MacAskie and Annie

Charlotte Spriggs

Jenny (Ancestry members name) – Edwin Charles Smith

Chris Beighton – Catherine Elizabeth Belson and Arthur White

Dr Hugh English – Arthur English James Lighton – The Farrow’s family

Kathryn Nicholson - Christoper and William Fairweather

David Brown – Arthur Hitch, John Strickson, John Hammond, George

Ward and advice on railway records

Jane and Derek – George Street Methodist Chapel and Alec Bloodworth

Colin Baker - Livett Carter John Alsop – Photographs of East Station

Dedication

To all the residents of the community of Fletton 1841-1911.
Without whom this research could not have been undertaken.

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Abbreviations

G. E. R. – Great Eastern Railway

G. N. R. – Great Northern Railway

L. N. W. R. – London North Western Railway

E. C. R. – Eastern Counties Railway

Peterborough (GE)- Peterborough Great Eastern

The spellings of certain place names have changed over time. During the research period Whittlesey was spelt as Whittlesea and Woodson as Woodstone. Throughout this thesis the modern spelling has been adopted.

Some of the streets in Fletton have changed name over the research period. The name has been used that was current at the time. A full list of street names can be found in the appendices.

A brick making gang consisted of six men which included a temperer, flattie, moulder, off-bearer, barrow-boy or barrow worker and pusher-out. Producing 900 bricks an hour required considerable teamwork and effort.

Chapter 1

Contextual background

‘Houses were knocked down... enormous heaps of earth and clay thrown up; buildings that were undermined and shaking, propped up by great beams of wood... The yet unfinished and unopened Railway was in progress’.³

‘a tract of suburban Sahara, where tiles and bricks were burnt, bones were boiled, carpets were beat, rubbish was shot, dogs fought, and dust was heaped by contractors’.⁴

~

Introduction

At its most basic level migration can be simply defined as the ‘movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions’. In 1885 Ravenstein utilised the published census reports to analyse, trace and make sense of these movements or migration patterns.⁵ He divided the movement trends into groups and developed a set of laws, often referred to as hypotheses, which he felt governed migration. The last 100 years has seen Ravenstein’s ideas challenged, supported and tested but not fundamentally changed and still remain at the root of all migration research.

However Ravenstein himself acknowledged that his work had ‘many imperfections’.⁶ As long ago as Redford’s research in 1926, Ravenstein’s ‘broad sweep tradition’ was being challenged in favour of concern with the ‘mechanisms

³ C. Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (Wordsworth Editions, 1995).

⁴ C. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (Wordsworth, 1997). Holloway was just two miles away from Hornsey, the area of London partially developed by Hill, see Chapter 2 Place and Hill.

⁵ E. G. Ravenstein, ‘The laws of migration’. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), p. 169.

⁶ A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester University Press, 1926). Redford used statistics collected by Rickman. John Rickman was a statistician of the early nineteenth century who was instrumental in carrying out the first four censuses. Rickman also collected and compiled other statistics regarding, amongst other issues, the Poor Law and local taxation.

and processes of movement'.⁷ Historians, such as Siddle, have commented that the approach inspired by Ravenstein has encouraged migration to be viewed in 'purely mechanistic terms'.⁸ Furthermore Clark and Souden have proposed that adherence to Ravenstein's Laws has perhaps 'straitjacketed' migration historians and resulted in statistical generalizations being made.⁹

Statistical analysis remains a valuable starting point and should not be ignored in any study but what the researcher, whether historian or geographer, should not do is allow the questions asked to be driven by the availability of data rather than the need to explore meaningful concepts. Pryce advises that large scale data can usefully be utilised twofold: firstly to establish context and secondly to test hypotheses, which can then be compared to actuality-what transpired.¹⁰

If as Smith has commented migration study is to remain in 'pole position in the research outputs of future generations' it must evolve and change.¹¹ Pooley has suggested that local population studies are ideally placed to take on and respond to the 'key changes and challenges' which are occurring in migration research, which include the use of big data, genetic data, longitudinal data and life writing.¹²

Bearing in mind this new direction in the agenda for migration research this thesis, through carefully directed aims, objectives and key questions, will identify and attempt to address gaps that remain in the secondary literature and historical argument. It will as Pryce advocated link migration pattern and migration process so that 'our understanding is made much more complete'.¹³

⁷ W. T. R. Pryce, 'A Migration Typology and some topics for the research agenda', *Family and Community History*, 3 (2000), p. 70.

⁸ D. J. Siddle, 'Introduction', in D. J. Siddle (ed.), *Migration, Mobility and Modernization* (Liverpool, 2000), pp.3-19.

⁹ P. Clark and D. C. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), p.12.

¹⁰ Pryce, 'A Migration Typology', pp. 65-67.

¹¹ R. Smith, 'Linking the local and general in population history. Prioritising migration', *Local Population Studies*, 81, (2008), p. 10.

¹² C. G. Pooley, 'Local Histories of Migration and Mobility', *Local Population Studies*, 100 (2018), p. 53.

¹³ Pryce, 'A Migration Typology'. p.78.

Aims, objectives and key questions

The overarching objective of this research is to place centrally the ability to perform record linkage and so create longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives. Record linkage is time consuming and the results gained are often small, however as Pooley and Doherty commented the detailed information that can be gained from these migration narratives can ‘provide a wealth of information’ which will ensure that rather than personal experience replacing statistical analysis it will support and elucidate it.¹⁴

The migration journey

Migration studies are often place based, typically considering migrants when they arrive into or leave the study area, like a railway station with trains arriving and departing. The only consideration is the origin of the train (birthplace) and the destination (the study area); what is referred to as life time migration. What the birthplace to destination approach does not do is consider what happened to the individual migrant during the journey or as Lawton stated it fails to locate them ‘in both place and time’.¹⁵

The first aim of this research is to use ‘longitudinal profiles’ to tell the migration narrative of individual migrants and reveal the steps the migrant made to arrive at their destination. In this exploration a number of questions will be addressed including; What was the context in which the migrant lived prior to migration? If Fletton was a step in a longer migration journey where did the migrant go next? What were the possible motives behind the migrant’s migration decision? This is a narrative which statistical analysis conceals and which Clark and Souden observe

¹⁴ C. G. Pooley, and J. C. Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration: Welsh migration to English towns in the nineteenth century', in C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A social history of Migration* (Routledge, 1991), p. 162. C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century* (London, 1991), p. 17 and p. 20.

¹⁵ R. Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities' in 'The Geographical Journal', vol.145, No.2 (Jul, 1979), p. 210.

can be equally, if not more important 'than the rule'.¹⁶ In doing this as Pooley and Turnbull state the 'process of migration' will be 'related to the familial, social and economic context' in which it occurred and so a real understanding of the personal experience of migration will be gained.¹⁷ As Mills and Schürer commented, the individual migration story does not aim to replace the statistical analysis, but can act as a counterbalance to the more static view that is created by the census approach.¹⁸

Family migration

As part of Anderson's seminal work on families in Preston, Dupree's study of the potteries and White's appraisal of Grantham, the subject of family migration is not new and has been considered.¹⁹ However as Pooley and Turnbull have commented the nature of family migration at the end of the nineteenth century is only addressed in a few studies.²⁰ Therefore it is the second aim of this research to focus on family migration at the end of the nineteenth century, which had a very different nature as occupations changed, transport evolved and patriarchy declined. With the move away from statistical analysis and utilising the longitudinal profiles that can be created as a result of record linkage the individual migrant can now be observed

¹⁶ Clark and Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 4. Other studies which use record linkage include: P. R. A. Hinde, 'The population of a Wiltshire village in the nineteenth century: a reconstitution study of Berwick St. James, 1841-71', *Annals of Biology*, 14, (1987). This study is for a shorter period 1841-1871 and does not utilise Ancestry. Studies which use Ancestry include: B. Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration: some evidence from Cornwall', *Family and Community History*, 10 (2007). C. Bailey, "'I'd heard it was such a grand place' Mid nineteenth century internal migration to London", *Family and Community History*, 14, 2, (2011). M. Edgar and A. Hinde, 'The stone workers of Purbeck', *Rural History*, 10, (1999).

¹⁷ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century*, p.19. This study drew on 16,091 personal journeys provided by family history groups throughout Great Britain.

¹⁸ D. R. Mills and K. Schürer, 'Migration and Population Turnover', in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerator's Books* (Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996), p.227.

¹⁹ M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), *Family Structure*. M. W. Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries 1840-1880*, (Oxford University Press, 1995).

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

²⁰ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p.19.

within their family context and so the nature and impact of family migration can be explored.

As part of this methodology specific questions can also be asked which include; What influence did changing occupations have on family migration? What was the impact of housing on family migration? What was the combined effect of occupation and distance on family migration? Did family migration have an impact on the household composition of the migrant? Did the availability of employment for all family members have an impact of family migration? What role did paternal influence have in gaining employment?

The stayer and residential persistency

The third aim of this research is to consider the role and nature of the ‘stayer’ alongside that of the ‘migrant’. The vast and ever expanding body of work that constitutes migration research demonstrates that historians have directed their attentions in a multitude of avenues using a wide range of approaches, study locations and migrant groupings. Approaches range from Dennis’s research using successive manuscript censuses to look at intercensal mobility in the Victorian textile town of Huddersfield to Pooley and Turnbull’s utilisation of diaries in creating longitudinal profiles for migration journeys.²¹ Locations include Anderson’s focus on the industrial factory towns in Lancashire whilst Lawton’s study explored Victorian Liverpool.²² Studies have also taken as a focus a particular occupation and pertinent in this thesis are Sheppard’s appraisal of the provenance of railway workers in Brighton and Stewart-Beardsley’s consideration of the ‘exodus’ of predominantly young unmarried men in search of a new occupation in the rural parishes of the Thames Valley when the G. W. R. railway arrived.²³

²¹ R. J. Dennis, ‘Intercensal Mobility in a Victorian City’ in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers’ New Series*, vol 2. No.3, *Change in the Town* (1977), p.358. Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 31. The diaries are non-representational due to only those of literate individuals remaining.

²² Anderson, *Family Structure*. Lawton, ‘Mobility in 19th Century British Cities’.

²³J. A. Sheppard, ‘The Provenance of Brighton’s Railway Workers, 1841-1861’ *Local Population Studies*, 72 (2004), p.31. R. Stewart-Beardsley, ‘The Impact of the Great Western Railway on the Social

Research on migrant groupings has focussed on both the major groupings; Irish, Welsh and Scottish and those from a particular village or locality such as Side's study of Chute.²⁴ Studies have concentrated on the varying issues that migrants faced as they made their home in a 'foreign' land. O'Leary has emphasized the importance of acknowledging the diversity within the group rather than generalizing.²⁵ Whilst in Solar and Smith's study of migrant Irish in Herefordshire and Cooper's study of the Welsh experience in Cardiganshire there has been an emphasis on real experience rather than national interpretation.²⁶

However taking centre stage in the majority of these migration studies is the migrant and the migrant experience; largely ignored or considered only as a supporting player, or as Pooley and Doherty commented a control group, are the 'stayers'.²⁷ But to truly understand the migrant narrative the stayer has to be considered as well.²⁸ In this thesis the narrative of the 'stayer' will be given equivalent status to that of the migrant.

Structure of Five Rural Parishes in the Thames Valley 1830-1875'p. 1.

eprints.lancs.ac.uk/86887/1/Connecting_Transport_Mobility_and_Migration_final.pdf

²⁴ C. Side, 'Migration from the Wiltshire Village of Chute During the Nineteenth Century', PhD. Thesis (University of Leicester, 2011).

²⁵ P. O'Leary *Immigration and Integration-The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (University of Wales, 2002), p.186.

²⁶ P. M. Solar, and M. T. Smith, 'Background migration: the Irish (and other strangers) in mid-Victorian Hertfordshire' *Local Population Studies*, 82, (2009). K. J. Cooper, 'Cardiganshire's Rural Exodus', PhD Thesis. (University of Leicester, 2008). www.roydenhistory.co.uk/halewood/index.html (Accessed 24/4/2018) Royden conducted a general survey of the growth of Halewood, migration and the contrasting occupations held by the migrants and stayers.

²⁷ Pooley, and Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration', p. 146.

²⁸ K. Schürer, 'Migration, population and social structure- A Comparative Study Based in Rural Essex 1850-1911', PhD.Thesis (University of London, 1988), p. 460. Schürer commented that there should be 'an examination of the perceptions of the two populations', those who 'stayed' and those who were 'migrants'. Valuable exceptions to the 'stayer' research include French's study on Kingston-Upon-Thames and Boothman's study of Long Melford, Suffolk where 'stayer' persistency is analysed using record linkage. C. French, 'Persistence in a Local Community: Kingston-Upon-Thames 1851-1891', *Local Population Studies*, 81, (2008). L. Boothman, 'Studying the stayers: the stable population of Long Melford,

Suffolk, over two hundred years', *Local Population Studies*, 95 (2015), pp. 9-28. Some studies consider stayers as an element of a larger study, see B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: A Study of Migratory Movements in a Mid-nineteenth century Rural Parish', *Local Population Studies*, 69 (2002). P. R. A. Hinde, 'The population of a Wiltshire village in the nineteenth century: a reconstitution study of Berwick St. James, 1841-71', *Annals of Biology*, 14, (1987), pp. 475-485. J. Robin, *Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964* (Cambridge University Press, 1980). Some studies, which include stayers, do not consider stability over an extended period of time, see M. Long and B. Maltby, 'Personal mobility in three West-Riding parishes, 1777-1812', *Local Population Studies*,

As Boothman demonstrated, in her study of Melford, Suffolk an important aspect of the stayer analysis, which is achievable due to the creation of migration narratives, is persistency.²⁹ It is persistence that was critical in the development of community and those individuals who persisted gave the community stability, a sense of permanence and familiarity. Therefore an important question which this thesis addresses is what factors contributed to persistency? As part of this question consideration will be given to the impact of occupation and residence on persistency, the part that kinship connections played and in the absence of family the importance of neighbours and those an individual may have boarded with.

The creation of community

Migration by its very nature involves the movement of people from one place to another. Drake observed that as a result, regardless of the volume of movement involved, there was an impact on community.³⁰ Communities were broken and dispersed, new families were created and changed and there were new interactions between the receiving community and migrant. However in historical research, despite a plethora of community based micro-studies tackling diverse locations, time frames, themes and definitions of community by which, as Drake concurs, our knowledge base has been extended, there are few which include migration.³¹ When community and migration are considered, it is as separate entities as if they acted independently of one another.

But the study of community should not be separated from migration, they are threads which are woven together. It is the fourth aim of this research to link migration and community and to begin to understand what factors can underpin the creation of a new community. As Pooley has commented the human processes that drive migration can become more important than the characteristics of the

24 (1980), pp. 13-25. P. Clark and D. Souden, 'Movers and stayers in family reconstitution populations', *Local Population Studies*, 33, (1984), pp. 11-28.

²⁹ Boothman, 'Studying the stayers', pp. 9-28.

³⁰ M. Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on family and Community History*, (Blackwell, 1994), p.5.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

locality, which gains its importance from human associations.³² Finnegan has also argued that in understanding the migrant's impact on a community, it will ensure that community history will be 'something more than just the tracing of unrelated events in a past locality over the centuries'.³³

To be able to link migration and community there will first need to be an exploration of how community is defined and measured. The concept of community has different meanings and understandings and recent historical debate has centred on what the exact nature and parameters of community history research should be.³⁴ In any appraisal of community the researcher should be wary of becoming attached to what Stewart referred to as a cosy view of community.³⁵

In order to study community it has to be defined, but as Mann commented, in any definition the researcher must 'ensure that... geographical spaces are also relevant social spaces'³⁶ and in this definition it must be borne in mind that the borders that are placed on it can have negative connotations and implications. Mitson observed that individuals could have numerous ties to parish, market town and county via social and economic interactions.³⁷ Dennis and Daniels also maintain that areas should be studied in a way that have 'real meaning'.³⁸ As already discussed, by its very nature the creation of community, through migration, is a process so the

³² C. Pooley, 'The influence of locality on migration: a comparative study of Britain and Sweden in the nineteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 90, (2017), p. 25.

³³ R. Finnegan, "Community': What is it and how can we investigate it?', in W. T. R. Pryce (ed.), *From Family History to Community History* (The Open University, 1994), p. 209.

³⁴ D. Mills, 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of Community in family and Community History', in *Family and Community History*, 7, No 1, (May 2004), pp. 5-12. The Historiography of Community research is covered in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

³⁵ J. Stewart, 'John Ryle, the Institute of Social medicine and the health of Oxford Students', in *Family and Community History*, 7, no 1, pp.59-71.

³⁶ P. Mann, *An Approach to Urban Sociology* (Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1965), p. 206.

³⁷ A. Mitson, 'The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-West Nottinghamshire' in C. Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850 - Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester University Press, 1996), p.25.

³⁸ R. Dennis, and S. Daniels, "Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities', in M. Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community*, (Wiley- Blackwell, 1994), pp. 202-224. Ward's study in Leeds, Dennis' study in Huddersfield and Daunton's study in Cardiff all used areas which had 'real meaning'. D. Ward, 'Environs and Neighbours in the Two nations: residential differentiation in mid nineteenth century Leeds', *Journal of History and Geography*, (6), (1980). R. Dennis, 'Inter-censal mobility in a Victorian city', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2(3), (1977), pp. 349. M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914* (Leicester University Press, 1977).

criteria applied needs to be flexible. As an initial starting point Dennis and Daniel's criteria will be used including: residential stability, relationship between residence and workplace, kinship, marriage links and local interest groups.³⁹

By utilising 'longitudinal profiles' questions can be asked addressing the fourth research aim of the thesis. These include: What was the effect of the type of housing available, rented or owner occupied, on the creation of community, subsequent persistency and what Lawton termed an individual's 'action space'?⁴⁰ The space in which an individual worked, lived and socialized which may in itself cause integration or segregation? What role did employment play in persistency? What was the relationship between the workplace and home in the creation of community? Schürer has warned that in any locality the task of such analysis is a complex one due to changing street names and the re-numbering of houses.⁴¹ To aid in this complex task the Land Valuation Survey of 1910 will form a valuable part of the record linkage.

The impact of marriage on community

The fifth aim of this research is to incorporate into the study of community another thread that should be considered alongside migration. This is the inter-census event that had the power to unite, integrate, segregate and move individuals-marriage. When observing marriage the majority of studies, with few exceptions, consider the bride and groom at the point of marriage.⁴² This is an isolated perspective viewing the marriage out of context paying little regard to what occurred prior to marriage and following marriage. The ability to use longitudinal profiles to create migration narratives allows this research to look at the community that the bride and groom came from, the distance they travelled to seek a marriage partner, the destination

³⁹ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p. 220-224.

⁴⁰ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 210.

⁴¹ K. Schürer, 'Creating a Nationally Representative Individual and Household Sample for Great Britain, 1851 to 1901 – The Victorian Panel Study (VPS)', in *Historical Social Research* (2007), 32, 2, p.310.

⁴² C. Day, 'Geographical mobility in Wiltshire, 1754-1914', *Local Population Studies*, 88 (2012), Day's study of two Wiltshire parishes uses record linkage to look at all individuals who married whether they were born in the parish or stayed after marriage.

community of the couple after the marriage and to their social journey on marriage. To consider marriage as part of a longer transaction and so place it within the broader context of the individual's lifetime journey.

The choice of a marriage partner and where that partner lived can reveal much about how the marriage market operated, about marriage horizons, the communities the bride and groom lived in and moved to, about integration and mobility both geographical and social and what drove these choices. Day commented that leaving the parental home had a significant impact on the family and the study of this process can reveal much about the community they lived in and the way it operated.⁴³ However Pooley and Turnbull remind us that moving away from the family home was rarely a permanent situation and this would also make the community fluid and evolving.⁴⁴ Snell observed how important endogamous marriages were for the persistence of local culture and how the significance of this is unappreciated.⁴⁵ Also Anderson has commented that when families lived close by and supported one another there was a community of kinship.⁴⁶

Social and occupational mobility

The sixth aim of this research is to consider social and occupational mobility and to what extent that mobility can be achieved through marriage? In a fledging community that was growing rapidly as a result of migration was there a relaxation in the usual barriers to social mobility or did they persist as strongly as ever? Was the optimistic view of commentator Smiles borne out when he wrote in 1859 'What some men are, all without difficulty might be'.⁴⁷ Or was John Stuart Mills comment more accurate or naturally pessimistic when he referred to labourers having a position in life 'almost equivalent to an heredity distinction of caste' and yet he also

⁴³ J. Day, 'Leaving Home and Migrating in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales: Evidence from the 1881 Census Enumerators Books', PhD. Thesis (University of Cambridge, 2014), p. 240.

⁴⁴ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century*.

⁴⁵ K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 163.

⁴⁶ Anderson, *Family Structure*, p.163.

⁴⁷ S. Smiles, *Self-help*, (John Murray III, 1859).

admitted that 'human beings are no longer born to their place in life.'⁴⁸ Was there a sustained, if limited, rise in the proportion of journeys undertaken across the class divide from below? Or did Robert's findings in Salford, bear witness in Fletton, that if a labourer's son should cross the social barrier his 'achievement would extend no further than the corner shop or clerk's stool'.⁴⁹

An assessment of the reality of social mobility can be achieved by using occupation information, gained from the parish marriage registers for the groom, groom's father and bride's father, and combining this with a five point social scale. However Miles reminds us that using the parish marriage registers for social mobility analysis is not without difficulty as it is a restrictive snapshot at a set point in time. He also points out that an individual's occupation journey may not have been completed and the occupation recorded may have been inaccurate or inflated, in addition the non-Conformist and unmarried element of the population are excluded from analysis.⁵⁰

The ability to create longitudinal profiles of individuals to create migration narratives can begin to answer this limitation and address the questions: Could social mobility be achieved via marriage and/ or occupation? Did a groom's change of occupation result in integration in a new occupational community? What impact did kinship recruitment have on opportunity? Was occupational endogamy experienced in marriage? Did social mobility also require geographical mobility? and What happened to a groom's social mobility after marriage?

⁴⁸ A. Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society? Social mobility and equality of opportunity, 1839-1914', in A. Miles and D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European Society-Occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 20.

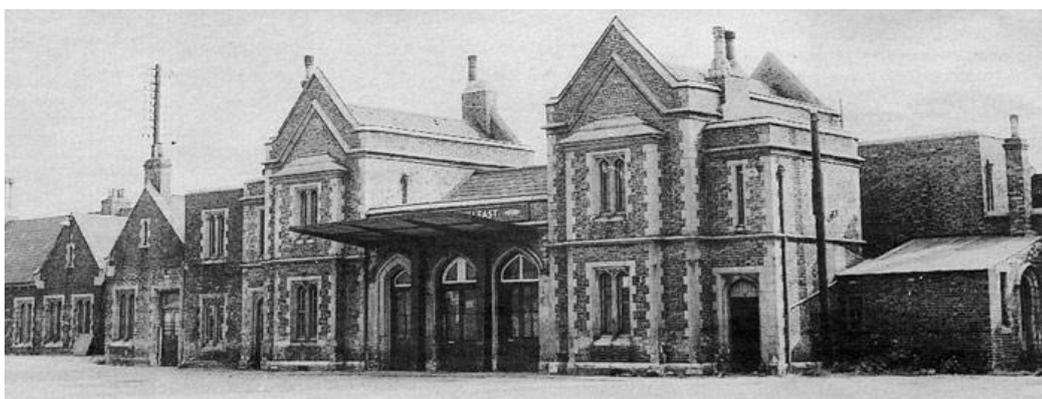
⁴⁹ R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p.13.

⁵⁰ A. Miles and D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European Society- Occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 142. J. Long, 'The surprising mobility of Victorian Britain', *European Review of Economic History*, 17, (2013), p. 3. Long has also commented that research into social mobility is limited and unrepresentative. Mile's examination of 10,000 marriage registries comes from 10 registration districts. As there were never fewer than 600 districts in England and Wales it has to be asked: How representative were these results?

Fletton as a study choice

In order to address the aims, objectives and key questions contained within this research the study area and timeframe had to be chosen carefully.⁵¹ Even today standing on any street in Fletton, Huntingdonshire you are surrounded by the results of a similar hell to that which Dickens described in the opening quotations; rows of decorated Victorian red brick terraced houses remain against a background of the echo of trains as they hurtle past on the East coast mainline.⁵² The palatial façade of the East Station, which can be seen in plate 1.1, is a visual reminder of the ‘railway mania’ that resulted in rapid railway expansion. But it is the image, in plate 1.2 of the Fletton brickyard chimneys, which truly conveys the desolate world which Dickens was referring to and the goods train sitting on the sidings indicates how integrated the two industries of the railway and brickyards were.

Plate 1.1: East Station, Fletton, circa 1900

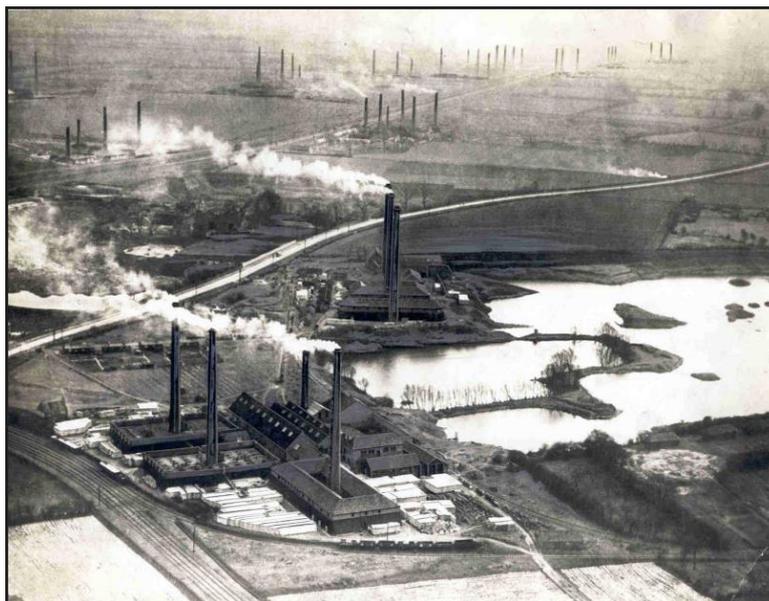


Source: <http://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 24/4/2018)

⁵¹ The timeframe chosen of 1841-1911 is discussed in Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology.

⁵² Fletton has a chequered history regarding the county it was located in. Currently both New and Old Fletton are within Cambridgeshire. At the beginning of the research period 1841 all that existed was the Fletton village, what would become Old Fletton, and this was in Huntingdonshire. As New Fletton developed this was also in Huntingdonshire. In 1874 New Fletton became part of Peterborough and so became Northamptonshire whilst Old Fletton remained in Huntingdonshire.

Plate 1.2: The brick chimneys of Fletton, circa 1900



Source: <http://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 13/4/2018)

Fletton provides an ideal study area as between 1841 and 1911 what was a rural village with a population of 246 was transformed into two separate and distinct communities with a population of 4,742. The dual industries of the railways and the brickyards attracted migrants to Fletton, all searching for employment and a better way of life. Not only were unmarried migrants, so often witnessed in other migration studies, attracted but whole families were able to migrate and remain together retained by the diverse employment opportunities available. The migrants settled in two separate and distinctive communities divided by Fletton Spring. New Fletton was the developing railway community with predominantly privately owned and rented housing and Old Fletton the brick workers community with housing built by brickyard owner J. C. Hill. This population increase provides a rich and fertile ground where a developing community can be explored including housing, endogamous marriages, social mobility, co-residency and kinship.

Conclusion

The approach taken by this thesis directly addresses Lawton's invitation for decennial census based research to be supplemented by studies concentrating on

small areas and individuals.⁵³ In addition taking as it's central objective the use of longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives means that as Deacon in his research on Cornwall, concluded, local scale studies would encourage historians to engage not only with the pattern of migration but more importantly with the process of migration.⁵⁴ As Baines has also suggested taking as a study sample the village or even the family local studies may yield more about the motivation to move rather than 'large –scale quantitative analyses'.⁵⁵

Mills has observed that 'local' history starts with place and 'community' history starts with people. If this is the case then this research is an ensemble of both.⁵⁶ Research on migration, community and marriage is extensive and yet through time and source constraints, there are still areas that have not been explored and it is these gaps which this research aims to fill.

At this point a summary of the aims, objectives and key questions that this thesis addresses and in which chapter would be useful.

The overarching objective in all analysis in the thesis is to place centrally record linkage and longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives.

⁵³ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 210.

⁵⁴ B. Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration: some evidence from Cornwall', *Family and Community History*, 10, (2007), p.50. Other studies have responded to this call covering a wide variety of geographical locations: Williams in Marlborough, and Wojciechowska in Brenchley, concluded that most individuals migrated before responsibility hindered mobility. Williams, 'Migration and the 1881 Census Index: A Wiltshire Example' in *Local Population Studies* 69 and Wojciechowska. 'Brenchley'. In contrast White's observations, focussing on life cycle in Grantham and Scunthorpe, raised the possibility that family migration was more prevalent than previously thought. White, 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain', pp. 41-50. Sheppard focussed on out-migration from Wealden, J.A. Sheppard, 'Out-Migration 1821-1851 from a Wealden Parish-Chiddingly', *Local Population Studies*, 59 (1997) and Perkyms looked at six Kentish parishes, A. Perkyms, 'Migration and Mobility in Six Kentish Parishes-1851-81', *Local Population Studies*, 63 (1999), p.44.

⁵⁵ D. Baines, 'Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930: looking at the emigration decision again', *Economic History Review*, 47, 3: p. 525-44.

⁵⁶ D. R. Mills, 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of Community in Family and Community History', *Family and Community History*, 7(1), (May 2004), p 10.

- **First key aim: The migration journey**

The first aim of this research is to use 'longitudinal profiles' to tell the migration narrative of individual migrants and reveal the steps the migrant made to arrive at their destination.

Questions: What was the context in which the migrant lived prior to migration? If Fletton was a step in a longer migration journey where did the migrant go next? What were the possible motives behind the migrant's migration decision?

Addressed throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

- **Second key aim: Family migration**

The second aim of this research is to explore the extent, nature and impact of family migration.

Questions: What influence did changing occupations have on family migration? What was the impact of housing on family migration? What was the combined effect of occupation and distance on family migration? Did family migration have an impact on the household composition of the migrant? Did the availability of employment for all family members have an impact of family migration? What role did paternal influence have in gaining employment?

Addressed in Chapter 4.

- **Third key aim: The stayer and residential persistency**

The third aim of this research is to consider the role and nature of the stayer as part of the migrant narrative.

Question: What factors contributed to persistency? This will include consideration of the impact of occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding.

Addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

- **Fourth key aim: Creation of community**

The fourth aim of this research to link migration and community and to begin to understand what factors can underpin the creation of a new community.

Question: What was the effect of the type of housing available, rented or owner occupied, on the creation of community, subsequent persistency and what Lawton termed an individual's 'action space'?.⁵⁷ The space in which an individual worked, lived and socialized which may in itself cause integration or segregation? What role did employment play in persistency? What was the relationship between the workplace and home in the creation of community?

Addressed in chapter 5.

- **Fifth key aim: The impact of marriage on community**

The fifth aim of this research is to include marriage, alongside migration, in the study of community and to use longitudinal profiles to consider marriage as part of a longer transaction and so place it into the broader context of the individual's lifetime journey.

Questions: What were the marriage horizons of the bride and the separation distance of bride and groom? Was it possible for a bride to find a groom locally or did she have to look further afield? What was the bride's circumstance prior to marriage? What impact did the occupation of the groom have on the community the newly married couple settled in? Did the origin of the groom affect the location of the first marital home and were existing connections in the community important?

Addressed in chapter 6.

- **Sixth key aim: Social and occupational mobility**

The sixth aim of this research is to consider social and occupational mobility and to what degree that mobility can be achieved through marriage?

⁵⁷ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 210.

Question: Did a groom's change of occupation result in integration into a new occupational community? What impact did kinship recruitment have on opportunity? Was occupational endogamy experienced in marriages? and did this affect community? Did social mobility also require geographical mobility?

Addressed in chapter 6.

Chapter 2

Fletton: Place and Innovator

‘Now in East Anglia in the Fens we have some wonderful colours. Fields of golden corn, red clover, white clover, yellow mustard and rich soil and in winter there is attractiveness even in the bareness of the landscape’

Frederick C. Wright⁵⁸

~

Introduction

Wright, pictured in plate 2.1, stated that in the Fenland village of Fletton ‘there was no Squire, village green, duck pond or pump. Ours was a working village’.⁵⁹ In 1841 this rural village had a population of 256. By 1911 the population had grown to 4,742 and had become the working village that Wright knew (figure 4.1). Fletton’s growth can be attributed to the development of two major industries that were known for their desire to employ married men and provide communities for their workers: the railways and the brickyards. To understand why Fletton attracted these industries and is valuable as a study area the parish has to be understood in terms of its: geography, geology and history. The community that subsequently developed will be discussed in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

⁵⁸ F. C. W. Wright, ‘Tales of my Childhood’, *Huntingdonshire Family History Society* (March 2005), p. 27. Wright wrote his recollections in his 95th year. Those relevant to Fletton were published in the *Huntingdonshire Family History Journal* between July 2004 and March 2006.

⁵⁹ F. C. W. Wright, ‘Tales of my Childhood’, *Huntingdonshire Family History Society* (July 2004), p. 15.

Plate 2.1: Frederick C. W. Wright (front right with flower in collar), circa 1905



Source: *Huntsman*, vol 48, July 2004.

Geography

As was recorded in *Kelly's Directory 1847* and can be seen on maps 2.1 to 2.3, at the beginning of the research period Fletton was a small parish of approximately 1,000 acres, in the Hundred of Norman Cross, Huntingdonshire and outside of the Cathedral City of Peterborough's boundaries.⁶⁰ Lying on the road between Peterborough and Whittlesey Fletton lies on the boundary between the rolling hills of the Midlands and the flat black expanse of the East Anglian Fens.⁶¹ The northern boundary was the River Nene which was navigable from Sutton Wash, in the Diocese of Ely, and was a vital link for trade and the transportation of people.⁶² Fletton was also 75 miles north of London and it was the metropolis which played a vital role in its growth and prosperity.

⁶⁰ *Kelly's Directory of Northamptonshire*, 1847, p. 1852.

⁶¹ T. M. Cunningham, 'Factors Influencing the Growth of Peterborough, 1850-1900', *Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol 5*, 5. (1977), pp. 13-16. Very little has been written about the history of Peterborough and Fletton. Therefore this narrative unavoidably relies quite heavily on a narrow spectrum of published, unpublished works and source material including Wright's diary already mentioned, the Victoria County History and Cunningham's thesis.

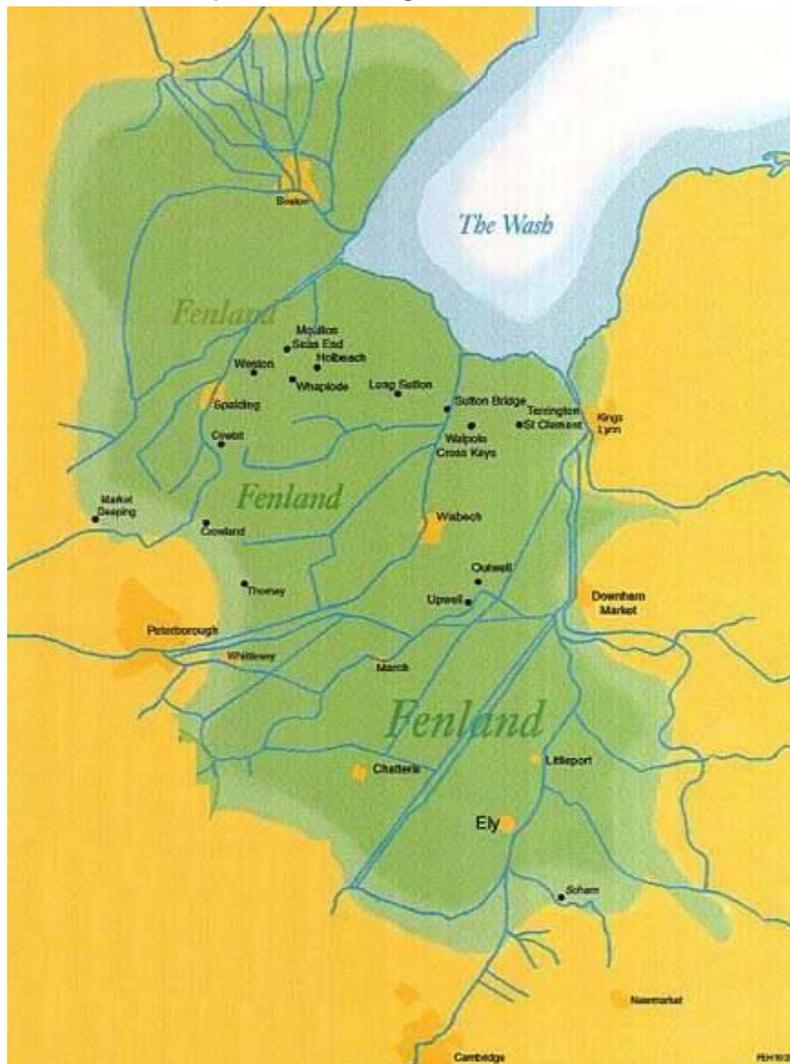
⁶² *Kelly's Directory of Northamptonshire*, 1847, p. 1852.

Map 2.1: Fletton and Peterborough, circa 1880



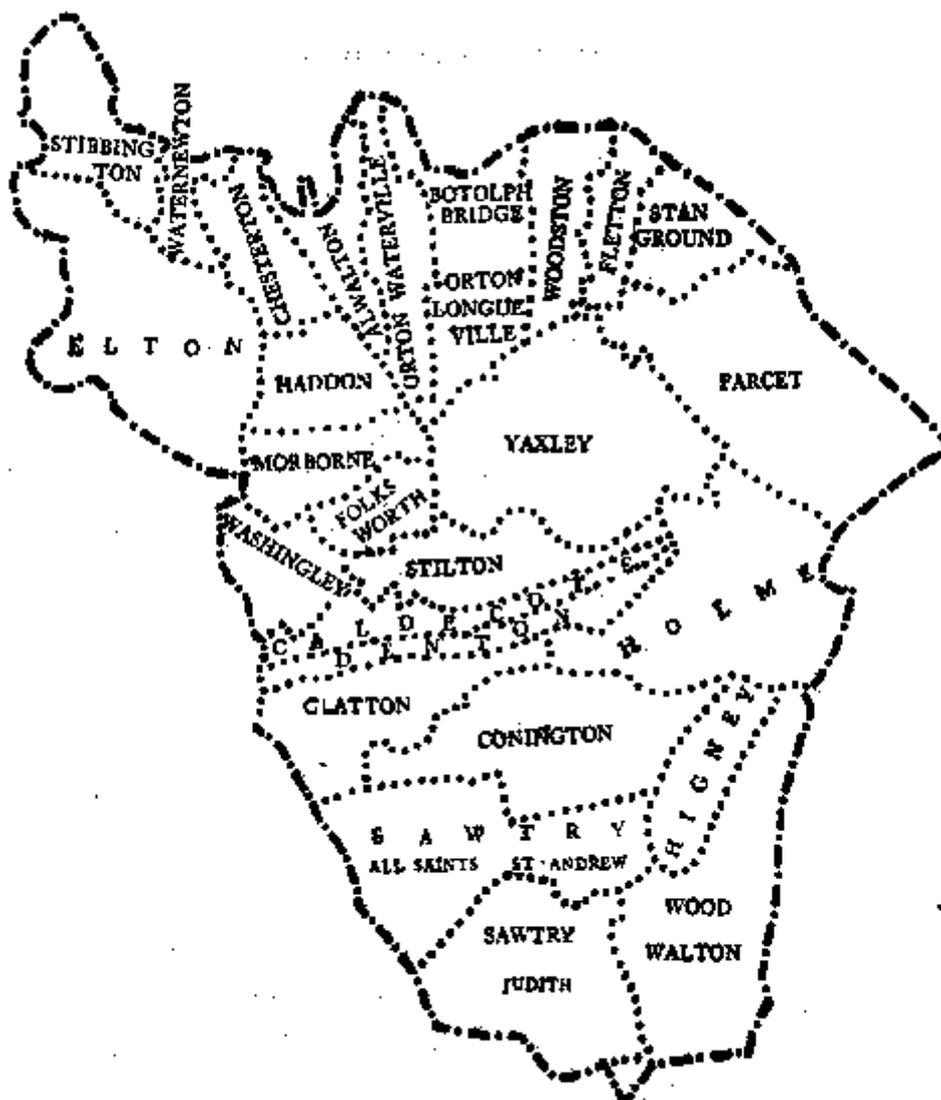
Source: <http://www.oldmaps.co.uk/map-peterborough.jpg> (Accessed 24/8/2017)

Map 2.2: Peterborough and the Fens, 2017



Source: <http://www.fenlandfhs.org.uk/> (Accessed 24/8/2017)

Map 2.3: Hundred of Norman Cross, circa nineteenth century



Source: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol3/pp129-132> (Accessed 30/11/2017)

The geology of the Fletton area is particularly significant to its economic development in the period studied. The bed of Oxford Clay had unique properties which were vitally important in the making of bricks and it was bricks that played such an important role in Fletton's development. As can be seen on map 2.4 the Oxford Clay runs in a ribbon through the country from Weymouth on the south coast to Scarborough in the north east.⁶³ This map also highlights the brickfields

⁶³ http://www.bucksgeology.org.uk/oxford_clay.html (Accessed 24/8/2017) and Pevsner, Bedfordshire, p. 30.

which are important to this research: Fletton, Whittlesey, Dogsthorpe and Calvert. Other important brickfields are Yaxley, Stewartby and Norman Cross.

Map 2.4: Map of the extent of the Oxford Clay



Source: http://markwitton-com.blogspot.co.uk/2013/09/the-solution-to-everything-under_26.html
(Accessed 24/8/2017)

Articles on the formation of the Oxford Clay by the Bucks Geology Group and Mark Witton, explain in depth the process by which the clay was laid down.⁶⁴ Oxford Clay was deposited 160 million years ago and the formation was divided into three parts. In Buckinghamshire the brick pits exploited the middle Stewartby and upper Weymouth Member. But brick workers in Fletton, as can be seen in plate 2.2, removed the top soil and the surface clay, which could be up to 10 feet in depth, and instead used exclusively the lower Peterborough Member. This member

⁶⁴ Stewartby is the London Brick Company works in Bedfordshire.

contained enough organic material to maintain temperature throughout the bricks firing cycle which reduced fuel costs greatly and enabled brick making to become a year round occupation.

Plate 2.2: *The clay excavations, circa 1895*



Source: R. Hillier, *Clay that burns: A history of the Fletton Brick Industry* (London Brick Company, 1981).

Fletton - 'Flying Fletton'

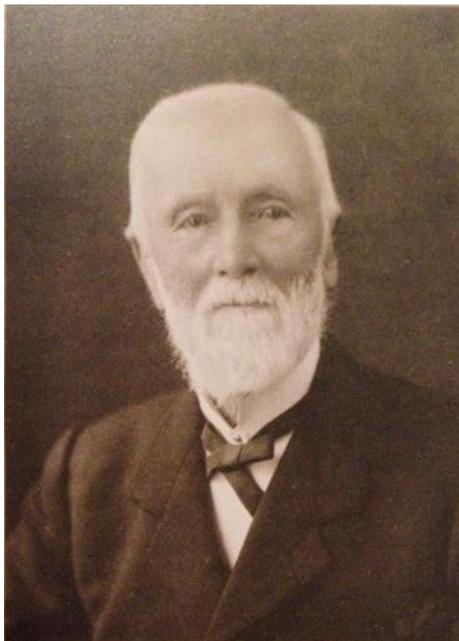
History

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the lives of those who lived in the small rural parish of Fletton would have followed the rhythms of the agricultural season interrupted perhaps by seasonal brickmaking as demand dictated locally. In 1854 the major landowners, and therefore the most influential men in Fletton, were Earl Fitzwilliam, Nathanael Hibbert, Robert J. Thompson and William Lawrence.

Nathanael Hibbert was Lord of the Manor and courts were held annually with the magistrates meeting weekly. By 1898 the Lord of the Manor was brickyard owner James Bristow, see plate 2.3, and the major landowners had become the brickyard owners dominated by Hill, see plate 2.3.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol3/pp169-173> (Accessed 1/9/2017)

Plate 2.3: James Bristow, November 1920



Source: Hiller, *Clay that Burns*, p. 15.

As Fletton expanded it became known as Peterborough's 'poorer sister'.⁶⁶ Residents complained of being neglected with 'no footpaths, no drains... streets badly lit' and these conditions can be seen when there was a flood on Oundle Road, New Fletton in plate 2.4.⁶⁷ As Old Fletton was in the county of Huntingdonshire there was also the exceptional circumstance that on occasion residents had to pay double the rates. The level crossing at the East Station was closed so much for shunting that severe congestion occurred and Fletton was never connected to the Peterborough tram network. A survey, carried out by the Board of Trade in February 1869, revealed that in the 72 hours surveyed there was 800 trains being shunted, the gates were closed 684 times for a total of 22 hours. The crossing was used by 14,791 pedestrians and 3,376 vehicles. In 1872 Colonel Yolland's unfavourable report resulted in a wooden pedestrian footbridge being installed, which can be seen in plate 2.5.⁶⁸ However the inaccessibility of Peterborough to Fletton residents had a positive affect ensuring that businesses south of the river thrived, the parish remained independent and expansion continued unhindered.

⁶⁶ Cunningham, *Growth of Peterborough*, p. 31.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135. Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History*.

Plate 2.4: Flood waters on Oundle Road, New Fletton on unmade roads, 1912



Source:

<https://www.peterboroughtoday.co.uk/lifestyle/nostalgia/hobson-s-choice-1912-floods-in-peterborough-oundle-road-1-2821108> (Accessed 13/2/2018)

Plate 2.5: The wooden pedestrian footbridge at the Eastern crossing, New Fletton, installed 1872



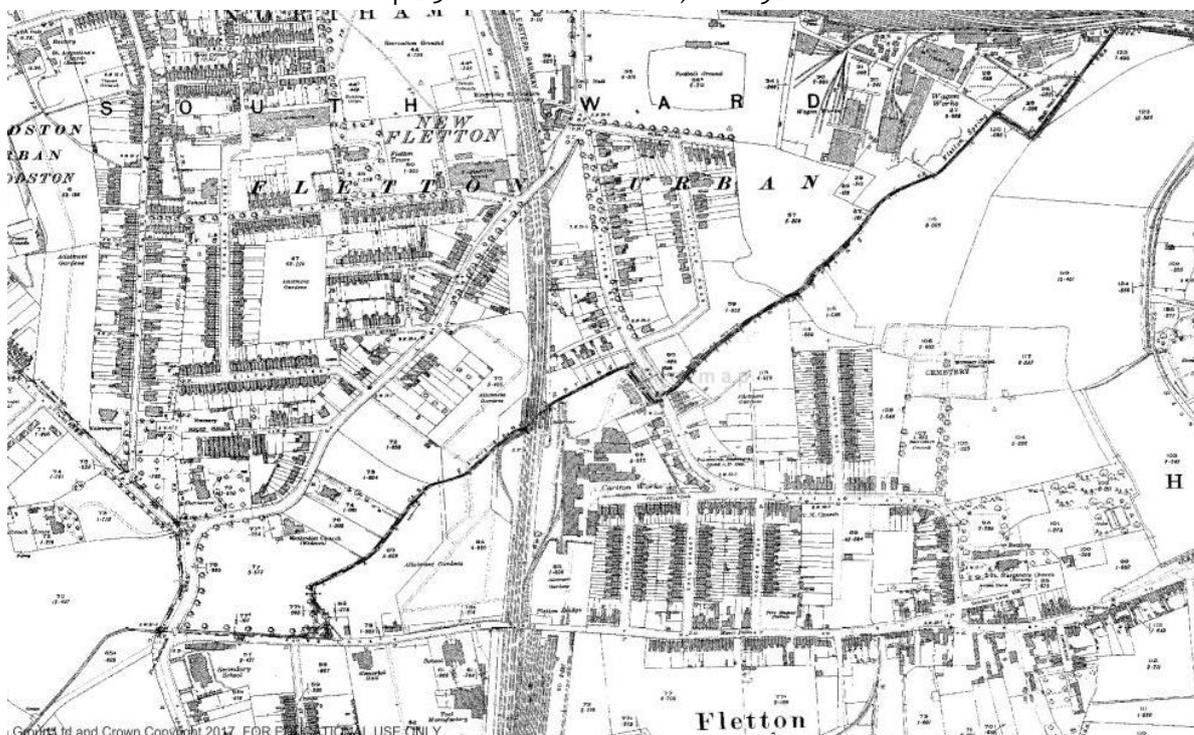
Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 13/2/2018)

In 1874 the increase in Fletton's population necessitated a boundary change.⁶⁹ As can be seen in map 2.5, in the northwest of the parish urban New Fletton was bounded on the north by the River Nene and in the south east by Fletton Spring. In

⁶⁹ Appendix B The Development of New and Old Fletton.

the southeast of the parish there was rural Old Fletton.⁷⁰ By this act New Fletton became a suburb of Peterborough and entirely lost its rural character. On 1 October 1905, under section 36 of the local Government Act of 1894, Old Fletton or Fletton Rural, together with Stanground South and Woodston Rural were formed into the Fletton Urban District. The council offices were located in Old Fletton.⁷¹ Wright recalled, that the residents of Old Fletton viewed New Fletton as a different village, its own entity and community.⁷² To reinforce this separation residents of both districts rarely had to cross the Fletton Spring unless they desired to, as both districts had their own shops, schools, chapels and businesses.

Map 2.5: New and Old Fletton, circa 1920



Note: The above map shows New Fletton (indicated by Fletton urban) in the northwest near the East Station divided from Old Fletton in the southeast by the Fletton Spring. Fletton Spring cuts the parish of Fletton into two halves diagonally from northeast to southwest (indicated by the bold black line). The brickyards are to the south of the word 'Fletton'. Source: <http://digimap.edina.ac.uk/roam/historic> (Accessed 12/4/2018)

⁷⁰ New Fletton consisted of 213 acres and Old Fletton 757 acres.

⁷¹ <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol3/pp169-173> (Accessed 1/9/2017).

⁷² Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 15.

It was in the north of the Fletton parish where the first railway line to Peterborough terminated at the East Station.⁷³ With the arrival of the railways, and the subsequent development of the brickyards, Fletton grew phenomenally. Fletton's history between 1841 and 1911 is the history of first the railways and then the brickyards.

Railways

Prior to the advent of the railways water transport was the key to economic and industrial development. Peterborough and the many landings and wharfs in Woodston and Stanground united the towns of Bedford and Northampton with the North Sea. They witnessed the unloading of cargo and the transportation of agricultural produce from the fertile fens to the markets of the Midlands and London.⁷⁴ In the 1850s the great freshwater lake Whittlesey Mere, less than 10 miles from Fletton was also drained which converted huge tracts of lake to exceptionally rich soil for food production so that Fletton became surrounded by land that was in 'a tolerable state of cultivation'.⁷⁵ The 'black gold' produced carrots, cabbages, sugar beet, barley, beans, peas and wheat.⁷⁶ Initially this trade relied on the River Nene to take down river corn, malt and timber in exchange for coal and foodstuffs.⁷⁷ But the development of this enterprise required faster transportation for it's produce than the waterways could provide.

The faster transportation that was required came in the shape of the railways. On Monday 2 June 1845 the first train on the Blisworth to Peterborough line arrived at the East Station to a crowd of 8,000 spectators 'the ringing of the church bells and

⁷³ The Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral and opposition from local landowner Earl Fitzwilliam would not allow the railway to enter Peterborough or stop any closer than the end of Fair Meadow, therefore the closest location was the parish of Fletton. Peterborough East Station was only known as this from 1923. Until that date, from it's birth on the 2 June 1845, the station was known as Peterborough. On timetables from 1862 it was referred to as Peterborough (GE). For simplicity this research with refer to the station as the East Station.

⁷⁴ Brandon and Knight, *Peterborough Past*, pp. 54-55.

⁷⁵ *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Huntingdonshire*, (James Hatfield, 1854), p. 608.
<https://www.specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/ref/collection/p16445coll4/id/297961> (Accessed 13/9/2017)

⁷⁶ <https://www.greatfen.org.uk/heritage/engineering> (Accessed 30/8/2017)

⁷⁷ Dane, *Railways of Peterborough*, p. 4.

the bands of music'.⁷⁸ Plates 2.6 to 2.9 show different images of the station. This line, operated by the London and Birmingham Railway Company, linked London via Northampton to Peterborough and then on into the fens at March via the Eastern Counties Railway.⁷⁹

Plate 2.6: (Peterborough) East Station, 1845



Source: *Illustrated London News*, Saturday, June 14, 1845, p. 380, issue 163

⁷⁸ Wascak, *Peterborough (Rail Centres)*, p. 9 and p.14. Dane, *Railways of Peterborough*, p. 7. The Earl Fitzwilliam owned much of the land in Fletton and the living of St. Margarets.

⁷⁹ *Kelly's Directory of Northamptonshire*, (1847), p. 1852. <https://www.peterboroughww1.co.uk/about-great-war-peterborough/the-history-of-the-east-railway-station/> (Accessed 4/9/2017) This website has an account of the East Station. The Eastern Counties and London and North Western Railway Company shared the East Station. The London and Birmingham Railway Company later became the London and North Western.

Plate 2.7: (Peterborough) East Station, circa 1910



Source: Private possession of John Alsop

Plate 2.8: (Peterborough) East Station, circa 1931



Source: Private possession of John Alsop

Plate 2.9: Train leaving East Station, circa 1903-1905



Source: Private procession of John Alsop

Robert Stevenson reported to a meeting on 16 January 1843 that Peterborough could be developed into a centre for receiving and onward transportation of goods over a wide area in Lincolnshire and the Eastern Counties. He feared that the line would not be profitable, however as the route was easy it would be economical and quick to build.⁸⁰ A more promising report appeared in the *Illustrated London News* on the opening of the line. Commenting on the greatly reduced journey time to London of two and a half hours it was observed that:

‘Perhaps, few railways of similar length have effected a greater change than is likely to result from the Northampton and Peterborough... all parties, we do not doubt, will derive pleasure and benefit from the intercourse newly facilitated’.⁸¹

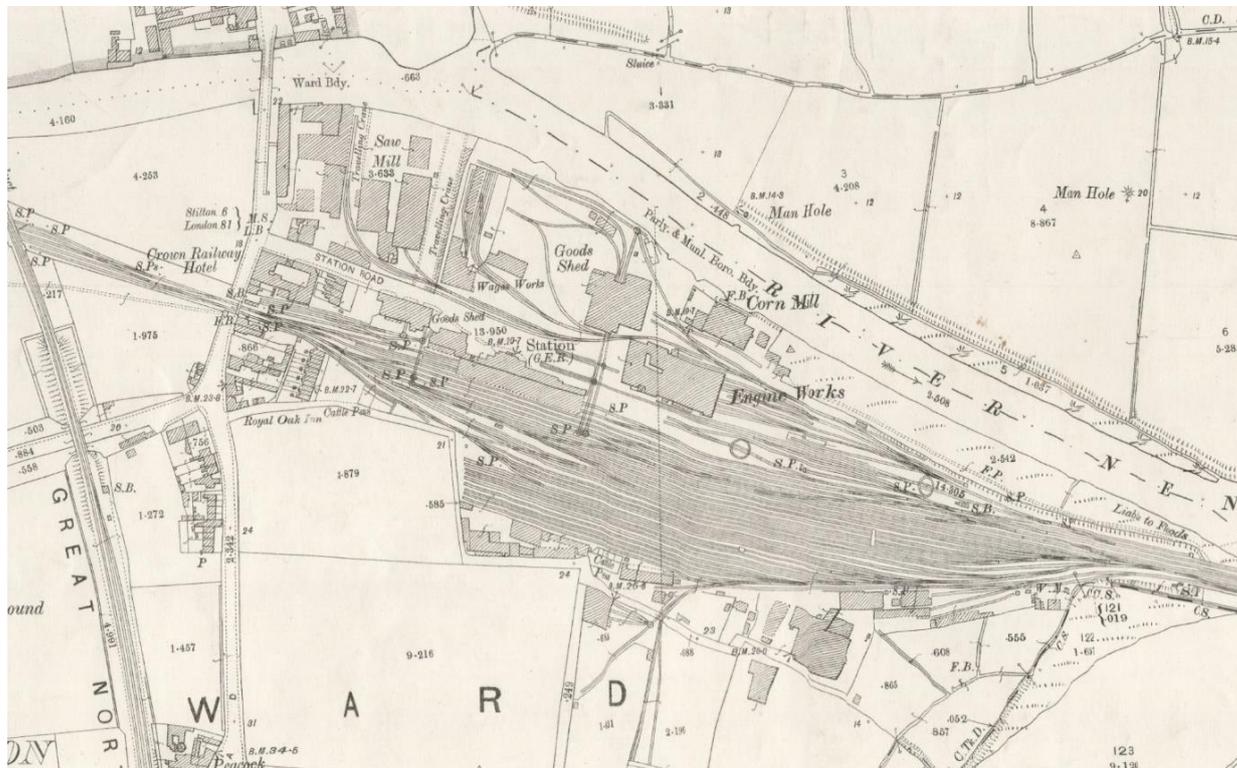
This appeared to hold credence as within a few years a trip to London became so convenient that tradesmen in the city complained of losing business and on the 1902 ordnance survey map, see map 2.6, it is evident by the sheer number of sidings,

⁸⁰ Wascak, *Peterborough (Rail Centres)*, p. 8.

⁸¹ *London Illustrated News*, Saturday June 14th, 1845, p. 380, issue 163.

works buildings and lines that the East Station had witnessed considerable growth.⁸²

Map 2.6: The East Station 1902



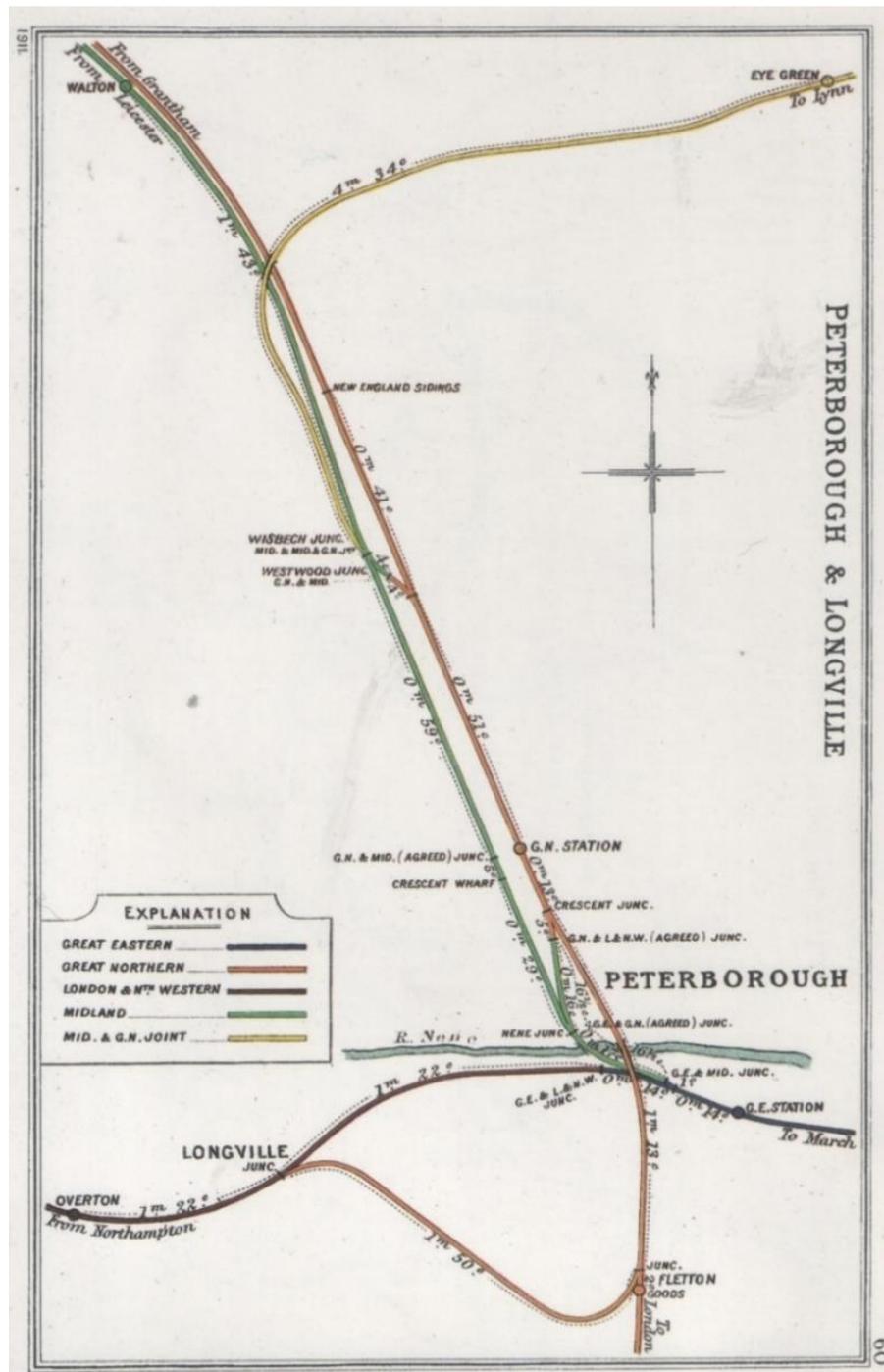
Source: Huntingdon Archives, 1902 Ordnance Survey Map

In quick succession other lines, including, the Great Northern, Midland and London and North Western, came to the East Station at Fletton, the North Station at Peterborough and to the station in between the Crescent Station.⁸³ Map 2.7 shows the completed rail network at Peterborough. Within 21 years a total of five different railway companies ran through the Peterborough area. Between the stations there were also numerous shunting operations and a myriad of companies vying to convey the passengers from one train to another for their onward connection.

⁸² Cunningham, *Growth of Peterborough*, p. 61.

⁸³ Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History*, p. 132.

Map 2.7: Railway lines through Peterborough



Note: This map shows the East Station marked G. E. Station on the line to March on the Great Eastern Line. Fletton Station is marked Fletton with a note junc and goods on the Great Northern line at the junction with the Fletton Loop. G. N. Station (later to known as Peterborough Station) is marked on the Great Northern line. Source: Railway Clearing House Diagram 1911

Solicitor, Andrew Percival, remembered that when he arrived in Peterborough in 1833 you could not enter the city without paying a toll, the only communication with Northampton was a twice weekly one-horse carrier cart and that Peterborough went shares with Stamford for a London coach. He recalled that a journey from London to Edinburgh occupied two whole days and nights and the expense was five to six times as much as the ordinary first class railway fare.⁸⁴ He quite correctly observed that ‘the introduction of the railway system has made a stationary nation into a nation of travellers’ and Peterborough into a ‘railway centre of major importance’.⁸⁵

But the railways were not just important in themselves. They were multi-faceted and included workshops, carriage and cycle works, ironmongers and conveyors of people and goods.⁸⁶ In the Fletton entry in the *Kelly’s Directory* for 1880 alongside the East Station there were also listed wagon manufacturers and repairers including the Birmingham Wagon Co, Thomas Coote and Son, Metropolitan Wagon Co, Midland Railway Carriage and Wagon Co, see plate 2.10, Thomas Moy railway wagon works, Rickett, and Smith and Co.⁸⁷

Plate 2.10: Midland Company Wagon Works at the East Station, Fletton, circa 1900



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 14/2/2018)

⁸⁴ A. Percival, *Notes on Old Peterborough* (The Peterborough Archaeological Society, 1901), p. 11.

⁸⁵ Wascak, *Peterborough (Rail Centres)*, p. 19.

⁸⁶ Cunningham, *Growth of Peterborough*, p. 59-60.

⁸⁷ *Kelly’s Directory of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire*, 1880, p. 223.

The ease with which the railways could be easily accessed for transportation of raw materials and goods attracted new industries to the numerous sidings that were available in Fletton. In 1893 J. P. Halls and Sons, water pump manufacturers, came from Newcastle-Upon-Tyne to Queens Walk, New Fletton; some of their employees can be seen in plate 2.11 from The Great War. In 1902 Joseph Farrow, and his wife Mary, opened a model canning factory in Old Fletton on land rented from Hill, see plate 2.12. A report complimented its position adjoining the Great Northern Railway and not far from the ‘famous’ Wisbech mustard fields.⁸⁸ This convenient position can be seen on the ordnance survey in map 2.8. The factory which can be seen in plate 2.13, was six storeys high with an octagonal shaft. It was an ‘imposing architectural landmark’ but at the same time attention was paid to the health of the employees. No room was less than 12ft high and there was a total of 335 windows. Plate 2.14 shows the factory floor at a later date during World War 2. Electricity produced by the factories own steam generators would power the plant. Around the factory there were nine acres of land for future extensions and plans were already in hand for offices and cottages.⁸⁹

Plate 2.11: *Employees of J. P. Halls and Sons, circa 1914-1918*



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 9/3/2018)

⁸⁸ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, 7th December, 1901, p5.

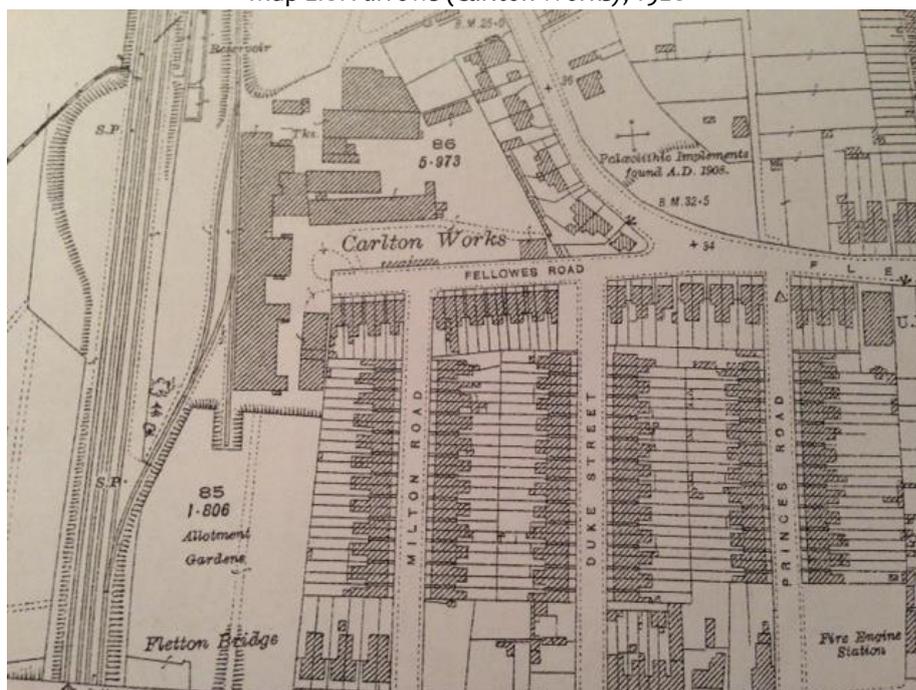
⁸⁹ Only a few houses were built by Farrows. Workers from Farrows were known to rent Hill built houses.

Plate 2.12: Joseph and Mary Farrow, circa 1901
(Right and left of picture)



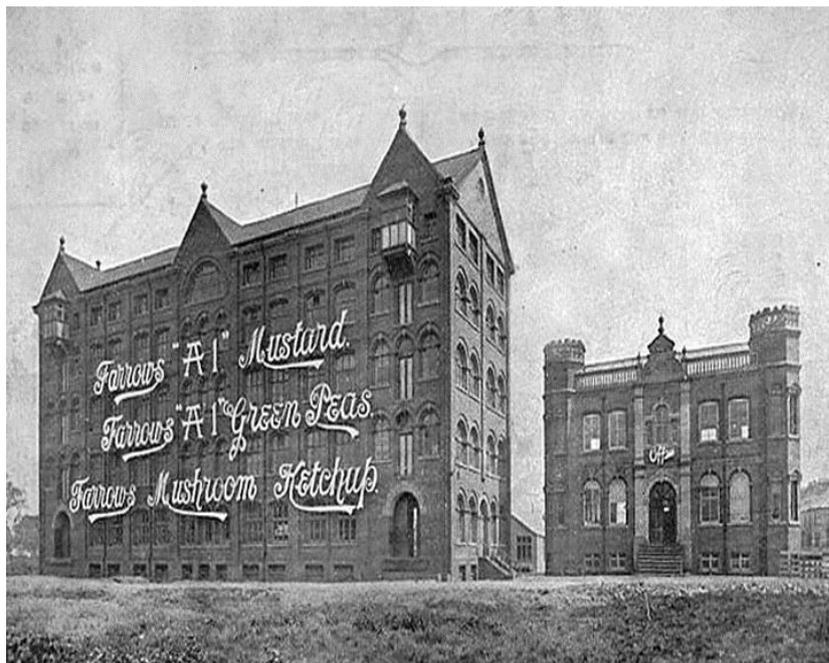
Source: Private possession of Vickie White

Map 2.8: Farrows (Carlton Works), 1926



Source: 1926 Ordnance Survey map

Plate 2.13: Farrows Factory, circa 1905



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk/blog/farrows-factory-fletton/> (Accessed 18/12/2017)

Plate 2.14: Workers in Farrows factory WW2



Source: <https://letslookagain.com/tag/joseph-farrow> (Accessed 13/12/2017)

The development of Fletton required one commodity that was soon in plentiful supply-bricks.

Brickyards

Today the word Fletton is synonymous with the brickyards and conjures up images of tall chimneys which stood like sentinels guarding the parish of St. Margarets, belching out thick sulphurous smoke. At one time Wright recalled that he could

count more than a 100 chimneys across these yards.⁹⁰ Although plate 2.15 is a photograph from a later period it still gives an excellent impression of what the skyline would look like with just a few chimneys. Brick making, always a seasonal occupation, underwent what can only be referred to as a revolution in Fletton. This revolution is recorded in comprehensive detail in Hillier's 'The Clay that Burns' and this appraisal only touches on the numerous and complex series of events that took place.⁹¹

Plate 2.15: Brick chimneys, circa 1940



Source: <https://www.francisfrith.com/uk/peterborough/history> (Accessed 6/12/2017)

In 1881 the Fletton Lodge estate, on the southern edge of Old Fletton, was sold to Scotsman James McCallum Craig. The land was advertised as having brick making potential, although in this area most properties were advertised as such. The discovery by brick makers that if the surface or calow clay was discarded then the deeper shaley blue Oxford clay had unique brick making qualities created what could be likened to a gold rush amongst men. They were eager to lease brick making land and excavate the clay in what was an easy but extremely hazardous undertaking, see plate 2.16.

⁹⁰ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 27.

⁹¹ R. Hillier, *Clay that burns: A history of the Fletton Brick Industry* (London Brick Company, 1981).

Plate 2.16: *Clay diggers digging clay at Fletton, 1910*

Source: L. Sargood, *Peterborough* (The History Press, 2010), p. 76.

Crucial in the development of the ‘Fletton’ process were the Hempsted brothers, Nathaniel and George, from Grantham. The Hempsteds leased 40 acres of the Fletton Lodge estate and with an engineering background they were able to mechanise the old craft industry. Not only did the clay itself burn due to its high carboniferous content with only a little outside help from coal dust (smudge), but it possessed other unique qualities. The clay did not require the addition of water to process it, it simply required heavy grinding to reduce it to powder. It also only required two extreme pressures to create a brick. Finally due to its moisture content, 16-20%, and low plasticity the unfired bricks were strong enough to be stacked in a kiln immediately. These qualities meant that the bricks required less handling, and less coal for drying and so production costs were reduced. By these processes brick making ceased to be a seasonal occupation but become possible all the year round.

It sounds as if the discovery of this unique process occurred overnight and came easily. But investment in this pioneering work was a protracted and expensive venture. For example in 1881 an injunction brought against the Hempsted brothers by James Bristow was upheld.⁹² The brothers were required to reduce the noxious fumes their chimneys emitted. They had to install six Hoffman or ‘Ring of fire’ Kilns

⁹² Hillier, *Clay that burns*, p. 15.

at their brickworks at £1000 each.⁹³ An example of a Hoffman kiln at Bletchley can be seen in plate 2.17. The Hoffman kiln was designed and patented by Friedrich Hoffman in 1858 and allowed for a continuous production system and easy removal of fumes. The Hempsteds also made Fletton dependent on the fortunes of London's housebuilding when they entered the world of speculative building purchasing land on which to build housing estates. In 1883 when housebuilding declined and mortgages were called in the Hempsteds, unable to meet demands, were declared bankrupt.

Plate 2.17: Hoffman kiln, of the type used at Fletton, at Bletchley, circa 1900⁹⁴



Source: <https://www.talkaboutbletchley.wordpress.com/2011/04/15/what-do-you-remember-about-the-brick-making-industry/> (Accessed 27/9/2017)

The next piece in the Fletton brick jigsaw was another Scot J. C. Hill. Hill, a London property speculator, visited Fletton in 1888 to purchase bricks and having purchased all the bricks available recognised the advantage of manufacturing his

⁹³ D. Jaggard, and R. R. Morton, *Design and the Economics of Building* (E and F. N. Spon, 1995), p.55. A. Bloodworth, *Memories of George Street Baptist Chapel, Fletton, Peterborough*, (2000).

⁹⁴ Bricks were fired (burned) in continuous Hoffman Kilns. Heat from burning bricks in one chamber was channelled to the next, drying the bricks that were stacked there making them easier to fire. Chambers were continually being stacked fired and emptied. There were two brickworks in Bletchley one begun in 1890 by Thomas Dodd and one in 1933 by Mr. Lamb. They were both taken over by London Brick. Dodd's yard in 1925 and Lamb's in 1950.

own bricks and went on to purchase Hardy's brickyard in Fletton. Hill had grand ambitions and by a series of mergers and take overs he became both the dominant brickyard and landowner- The London Brick Company had been born.

It may be asked how could the Fletton brickyards, which were 80 miles away from the London house building that demanded the bricks, be competitive against more local suppliers? Although the bricks were produced in an innovative way the clay still had to be dug out of the huge pits or knot holes which was extremely labour intensive and the kilns had to be kept burning. The answer lies chiefly with the railways. In a sale advertisement for land with brick making potential, seen in plate 2.18, and an advertisement for the sale of bricks, seen in plate 2.19, the advantages of having access to the Great Northern Railway is emphasised. If a brickworks had its own sidings, coal could be brought in quickly and economically and it ensured that purchasers of bricks or tiles could easily transport their goods away. However the balance between the cost of the brick and the cost of haulage charged by the railways was a precarious one. In an attempt to control this and give the brickyards a stronger bargaining position Hill founded The Fletton Brickmasters Association in 1890.⁹⁵

Plate 2.18: Advertisement for sale of land with brickmaking potential, 1880

To BUILDERS, CONTRACTORS, and BRICKMAKERS.
For SALE,
ONE of the finest Beds of **BRICK, TILE, and**
POT CLAY EARTH in the country, close to the
Great Northern Railway, Fletton Siding, near Peterboro'.
Sidings can easily be placed into the G. N. Railway. FROM
50 to 100 acres or upwards to be disposed of.—Apply to
R. Gollings, Fletton Lodge.

Source: *The Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury*, Friday October 15, 1880.

⁹⁵Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 50.

Plate 2.19: Advertisement for sale of bricks and tiles, 1884



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser and South Midland Times*, Saturday, November 25, 1884.

As the clay pits became deeper from the clay extraction men and horses could no longer push the filled wagons up the incline so rope or chain haulage was used. These continuous wagon ways that can be seen in plate 2.20, allowed larger wagons to be used and so faster and more efficient removal of clay was achieved. The new presses were capable of producing 3,000 bricks in ten hours and it was said that in 1889 156,000 bricks per day were being despatched from Fletton.⁹⁶

Plate 2.20: Continuous wagon way at Hicks yard Fletton, 1920



Source: Hiller, *Clay that Burns*, pp. 27-29.

But the brickyards which brought prosperity to Fletton also brought a change in life and appearance for the community. What was once described as an idyllic spot became a 'wretched' place to live with immense tracts of land gouged out of the landscape.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Jaggar and Morton, *Design and the Economics of Building*, p. 55.

⁹⁷ Cunningham, 'Growth of Peterborough', p. 24.

Population growth, impact and change

By 1882 Fletton was ‘beginning to assume the proportions of a populous place’.⁹⁸ This increase in population required extensive housebuilding.⁹⁹ As can be seen in figure 2.1 in 1841 there were 57 dwellings and by 1911 this had increased to 1,221. This expansion was achieved by a variety of means. When the railways arrived in Fletton, with the associated workers, the London North Western railway only provided 12 cottages for railway men, close to the East Station and within the station complex itself.¹⁰⁰ In addition perhaps a maximum of three boarding houses existed at varying times, in New Fletton, to accommodate men who found it necessary to stay away from home overnight. The remainder of the housing in New Fletton was supplied by private investors who recognised the financial return available by building houses and renting them to workers. Some investors such as Sturton and Thurley built a small group of houses and rented them whilst other developers, such as Hartley, built and rented whole rows or streets of houses.¹⁰¹

In Old Fletton there were a few private investors who rented houses but the majority of houses were built and rented by the brickyard owners themselves. Initially Hicks and Richard G. Gardener had the foresight to build and rent houses to their workers. They built a row of 42 terraced houses on High Street, Old Fletton named Persimmon Terrace and houses close to their brickyard in Brickyard Lane. The daughter of Craig, Kate, also owned and rented a few houses and workshops near the church.

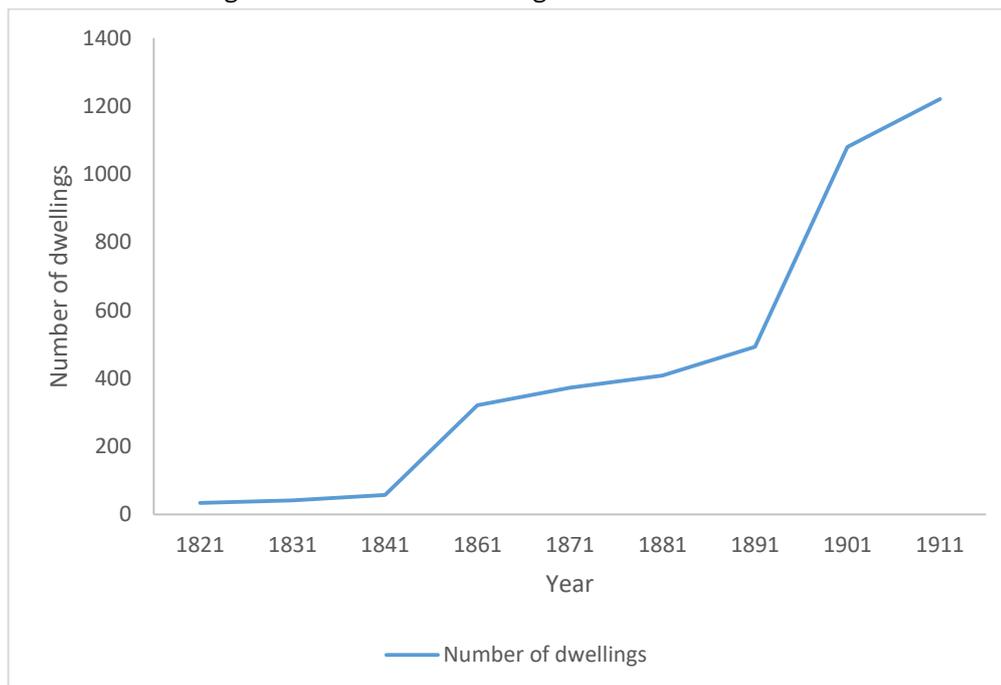
⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 75.

⁹⁹ Housebuilding and the shortage of housing is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, *Growth of Peterborough*, p. 22. The LDV Books were used to establish home ownership and rental in 1910. In contrast the Great Northern Railway workers settled to the north of the city in New England, ‘The Barracks’. The Barracks was built by the Great Northern Railway Company and in addition in 1865 the Freehold Land Society built houses so that by 1870 ‘The Barracks’ numbered 2,000 residents.

¹⁰¹ These investors are discussed in Chapter 5 Integration and Community and Appendix B.

Figure 2.1: Number of dwellings in the Parish of Fletton



Note: There are no figures available for number of dwellings in 1851. From 1861 the figures include inhabited and uninhabited dwellings and those under construction.

Source: <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 14/2/2018)

But it was with the arrival of Hill that housebuilding began in earnest and on a large scale. Throughout Fletton, and the nearby parish of Woodston, Hill built houses for his workers. Hill emulated other Victorian philanthropists in wanting to provide his workers with modern housing alongside community provision. The houses in Hill's new tree lined roads, were identical each having a small front garden and long rear garden for vegetable growing and pig keeping. Alongside this new housing Hill also provided amongst other things: shops, playing fields and a 'Coffee Palace'. Hill's contribution also extended to the community and this is discussed in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

Although it was widely reported in a positive tone that Fletton's development was 'growing by leaps and bounds' due to it being the 'junction of four great railways' and at the centre of a 'great expansion of brick-making industry' evidence also suggests that the new industries, and the workers they attracted, were not received

with open arms by the existing community and the new development became separated.¹⁰²

Hill's housing development was not established from scratch it was built alongside the existing old village. Old Fletton was extended substantially with the addition of St. Margarets Road, St. Margaret's Place, Victoria Road, Milton Road, Duke Street, Princes Road, Fellowes Road and Queens Road. Although the photographs in plates 2.21 and 2.22 were taken in 1934, Hill's development is still visible by the straight rows of houses both in the foreground and towards the back of the image. It is striking how the new Hill housing was encircled by both the railway line and the brickyards and was separated from the established village of 'Fletton', which is concealed in the east of the picture by trees. In the north and northeast the parish was still farmland. Hill also purchased large parcels of land throughout Fletton which he rented to other businesses such as Farrows, centre left in both plates.

Plate 2.21: Hill's Development, taken 1934



Source: <https://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/EPW044903> (Accessed 7/12/2017)

¹⁰² *The Lincolnshire, Boston, and Spalding Free Press*, May 17 1898, p. 5.

Plate 2.22: London Brick and Hill's Development, taken 1934



Source: <https://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/EPW044902> (Accessed 7/12/2017)

The East Station was developed south of the city of Peterborough, outside the city boundaries, on the edge of the Fletton parish and there was no easy direct access to the station from the centre of Peterborough¹⁰³ Likewise the housing for the railway workers was built on the extremities, clustered around the East Station complex in the extreme north of the parish. Additional housing spilled along the Oundle Road which became New Fletton. By looking at an aerial image of the East Station and its complex, including railway housing, in plate 2.23, its isolated location away from both the city in the north, where the Cathedral is, and the rest of the parish in the south, can be clearly seen.

¹⁰³ Dane, *Railways of Peterborough (Peterborough Papers)*, p. 30. Even to the present day the Peterborough Railway Station lies outside of the city centre beyond a busy dual carriageway.

Plate 2.23: Aerial view of East Station, Fletton, taken 1931



Source: <https://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/EPW036802> (Accessed 7/12/2017)

Economy and occupation

The changing nature of Fletton, from a village that was intimately linked with agriculture to one that experienced diversification in industries including the railways, emerging brickyards and valuable links to markets in London for the daily export of fresh produce can be seen by the entries in the local directories and on the census records.¹⁰⁴ In the 1854 'History, Gazetteer and Directory of Huntingdonshire' 10 individuals were listed as employed by the railways in roles such as inspector, clerk and stationmaster. In addition there was a listing for the Crown Hotel which provided accommodation for travellers and a steam mill run by Messrs Sealey and Coupland.¹⁰⁵ There was also a blacksmith, coal merchant,

¹⁰⁴ Bloodworth, 'Memories of George Street Baptist Chapel'. The 1840s was a time of disastrous harvests. A local smallholder from Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire, John Denson commented that during the 1850's there was huge unrest with many fen villages and cottages in an awful state. This was followed by cattle plague in 1865 brought to the area by cattle imported via the railways.

¹⁰⁵ In 1856 this would become Cadge and Colmans.

carpenter, miller, shop keeper, corn merchant and innkeepers. However there was only one farmer listed and as yet there were no brick makers.

By 1898 both New and Old Fletton had post offices, with letters being received twice daily by Mr. Thomas Hart in New Fletton and Charles Butler in Old Fletton.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the usual occupations there were now seven brickyards listed; Hicks, Gardener and Co, Henry Bray and Co, Fletton Brick Co, Itter, London Brick Co, New Peterborough Brick Co Ltd and T and M Plowman. Reminders of Fletton's rural heritage, as seen in plate 2.24, appear to be a distant memory.

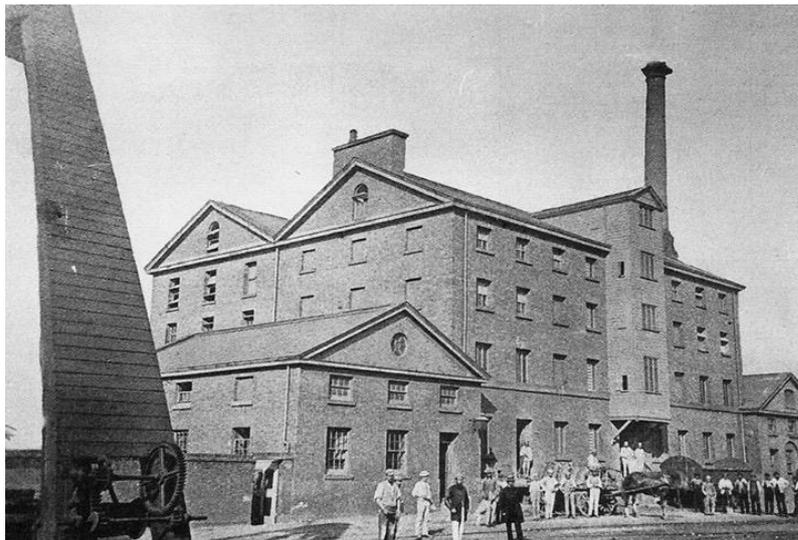
Plate 2.24: London Road, Old Fletton, circa 1900



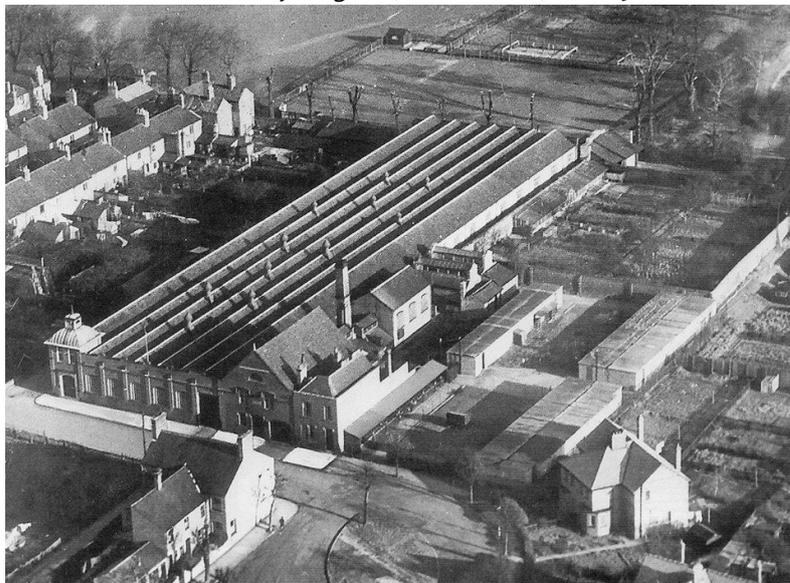
Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 14/2/2018)

By the early 1900s, not only had industries such as Cadge and Colman flour mill, seen in plate 2.25, and English Brothers saw mill expanded, but Fletton had also attracted new and diverse industries such as Farrow's, the canning factory, and Symington's corset makers, seen in plates 2.26 to 2.28. The key to these industries success was the accessibility to the railways and female labour. Men had been attracted to the area and with the development of these diverse industries employment for their daughters was available encouraging and retaining families in the area.

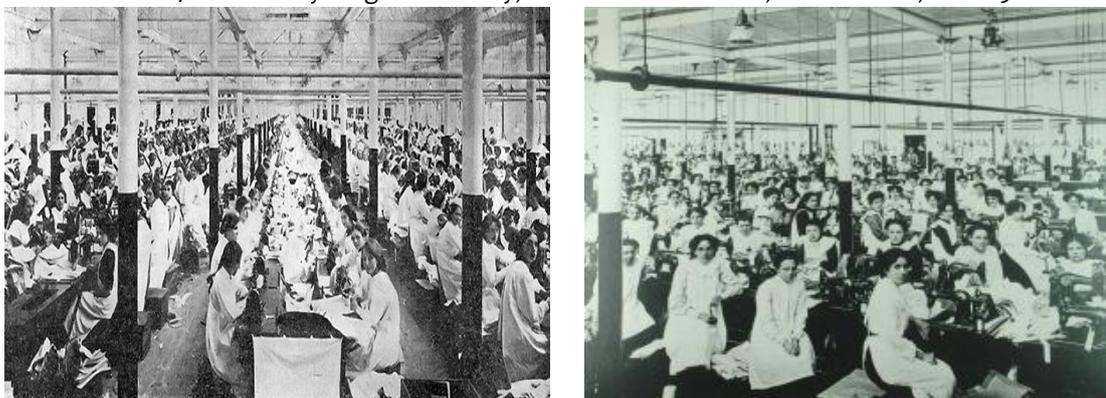
¹⁰⁶ Kelly's Directory of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, 1898.

Plate 2.25: *Cadge and Colman*, circa 1910

Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 14/2/2018)

Plate 2.26: *Symingtons, New Fletton*, circa 1910

Source: Unknown origin private possession of Lynne Dawkins

Plate 2.27 and 2.28 *Symingtons factory, Fletton Tower Estate, New Fletton*, circa 1910

Source: <https://www.symingtoncorset.wordpress.com/gallery/> (Access 18/12/2017)

An indicator of how important and influential Fletton was becoming can be seen by reference to the telephone.¹⁰⁷ In the Peterborough area, in 1895, there were 15 businesses using the telephone primarily as a means of communication between themselves, nine of these businesses had a connection with Fletton and included Cadge and Colmans, Hicks and Gardener, J. W. Rowe and English Brothers.¹⁰⁸

Religion

Religion plays an important role in a community. The Church of England church in Fletton is St. Margarets, see plate 6.3. In 1760, until his death in 1797, it became the main residence of the Rev Peter Peckard and his wife Martha. He built the Rectory, which rather grandly was called ‘The Great House’, whilst Martha created a notable garden, see plate 2.29. At this time it was commented that Fletton was ‘well beyond the perimeters of the cathedral town and something of a beauty spot’.¹⁰⁹ From 1830 the living was under the patronage of the Earl Fitzwilliam when it was sold to him by the trustees of John Joshua Proby 2nd Earl Carysfort.¹¹⁰ There were various charities established by arishioners that served the poor of the parish providing bread, coals for fuel and education.¹¹¹

As the population in Fletton expanded two incumbents were at St.Margarets. First from 1856 was Rev. William Upton and then from 1887 the incumbant was Rev. Charles Dowman. Dowman was on the board of Governors at the Peterborough workhouse and was extremely active in mission. It was reported that parishioners walked in droves across the bridge to hear him preach. To meet the needs of the

¹⁰⁷ Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History*, p. 146.

¹⁰⁸ *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Huntingdonshire* (James Hatfield, 1854), p. 608.

¹⁰⁹ J. Walsh and R. Hyam, *Peter Peckard: Liberal Churchman and Anti-slave trade campaigner*. 16th edn. (Magdalene College Occasional Papers, 1998), p. 4. Dr. Rowan Williams ‘Slavery: Past and Present’ Friday 11th May 2018, Peterborough Cathedral. Peckard was a liberal churchman and anti-slave trade campaigner. He had an illustrious career at Cambridge and was appointed Dean of Peterborough cathedral in 1792.

¹¹⁰ <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol3/pp169-173> (accessed 23/8/2017)

¹¹¹ *Kelly’s Directory of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire*, 1894, p. 20. Francis and Jane Proby bequeathed £200 in 1711-12. Mary Walsham bequeathed £100 in 1744. Robert Wright bequeathed £310 in 1815. Proby’s Charity of £1,530 produced an annual income of £40 for education.

railway community in New Fletton a Mission Hall or 'Iron church' capable of sitting 300 worshippers was established close to the East Station complex.¹¹²

Plate 2.29: An artist's impression the 'Great House', circa 1780



Source: Private possession of Mrs Tui Smith

A Baptist Chapel was established in Oundle Road, New Fletton in 1858. As the population grew so too did non-conformity. In 1900 the Oundle Road Baptist Chapel expanded and re-located to George Street, New Fletton, see plate 2.30, where it could accommodate 850.¹¹³ In addition in 1900 the United Methodist Chapel, seen in plate 2.31, was built on Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton and in 1906 a Methodist Chapel was built on London Road, Old Fletton, can be seen in plate 2.32.

¹¹² HP28/1/9/2 Attendance at the Mission Hall Sunday School in June 1901 was 122 boys and 151 girls totalling 273. This was morning and afternoon and the pupils attended both sessions.

¹¹³ Bloodworth, *Memories of George Street Baptist Chapel*. The George Street chapel was built like many other houses in Fletton with distinctive red brick banding. The foundation stones were laid on 17 October 1899 by Alderman W. R. Wherry of Bourne, Mr Heath, Mr H. S. Colman and Rev T. Barrass. Rev T. Barrass is discussed in Chapter 5 *Integration and Community*. The foundation stones of the United Methodist Chapel, Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton was laid by Hill amongst others.

Plate 2.30: Baptist Chapel, George Street, New Fletton, circa 1900



Source: A. Bloodworth, 'Memories of George Street Baptist Chapel Peterborough' (2000), p.1.

Plate 2.31: United Methodist Chapel, Fletton Avenue, circa 2001



Plate 2.32: Methodist Chapel, London Road, circa 1970



Source: Sadie McMullon

Source: <https://www.southsidemethodistchurch.org.uk> (Accessed 15/2/2018)

Education

The provision of education in Fletton was lacking and despite the Education Act of 1872, by 1873 the Education Department, under the Elementary Education Act, published a notice that 'public school accommodation' in Fletton 'was deficient in

the extreme'.¹¹⁴ This came as no surprise to residents of Fletton. As is discussed in Chapter 5 Integration and Community twenty years earlier in 1853 the solicitor Lawrence appealed to the railways to assist in the provision of an education establishment, which was needed due to the migration caused by the railway. Contrary to the accepted belief that the railways desired a strong community for their workers they rejected the appeal. However the British school was established in New Fletton by the efforts of the Earl Fitzwilliam, who donated the land and £100, and churchmen and non-Conformists alike. However as supporters died the school's management fell to Rev'd Upton of St. Margarets Church. Rev'd Upton maintained the school as he thought best with funds from various charities such as that of Jane and Frances Proby.

In 1874 it was reported in the local paper that the Department of Education required Fletton to provide two schools for 280 children, one in New Fletton and one in Old.¹¹⁵ Representatives from St. Margarets opposed the expansion and maintenance of the New Fletton British School and so notice was duly given that a School Board would be established at a 'largely increased' cost to the parish.¹¹⁶ But the following twenty years did nothing to improve the provision of education in Fletton.

In 1899 the School Board met in the offices of London Brick and they proposed the erection of a school with the capacity to house 600 children.¹¹⁷ Arthur Itter, a fellow brickyard owner who can be seen in plate 2.33, offered the land on which the school was built and Hill provided the funding. The school that was built can be seen in plate 2.34.¹¹⁸

By the beginning of the twentieth century the provision of education seemed to have gathered pace with the opening of Orchard Street School, New Fletton in 1907, see plate 2.35 and 2.36, and the Hunts County Secondary School in 1910, see plate 2.37. Rev'd Dowman, as school manager, used his position to instil his own

¹¹⁴ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday, December 5th 1874

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ The school board comprised of: A. Adams (brickyard manager), A. Simpkins (bank manager), J. T. Dickinson (brickyard manager), A. Nichols, J. T. Thurley (Hill's house agent and builder) and W. Pettit.

¹¹⁸ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday, December 17th 1898, p. 8.

moral beliefs in the community that it was ‘entirely dependent on the mother’ to ensure that children attended school regularly and bring with them a good ‘impression of the home in which they lived’.¹¹⁹

Plate 2.33: Arthur Werner Itter (centre), 1904



Source: R. Hiller, *Clay that Burn*, p. 39.

Plate 2.34: Old Fletton Council School (The school on the hill funded by Hill), circa 1900



Source: <http://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk/blog/category/villages/fletton/page/4/>
(Accessed 7/1/2017)

¹¹⁹ HP28/1/7/1 and HP28/1/9/1

Plate 2.35: Orchard Street School, New Fletton, 2005



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 2.36: Class in New Fletton School, circa 1900



Source: Peterborough Evening Telegraph, date unknown

Plate 2.37: Hunts County Secondary School, Old Fletton, circa 1909/ 1910

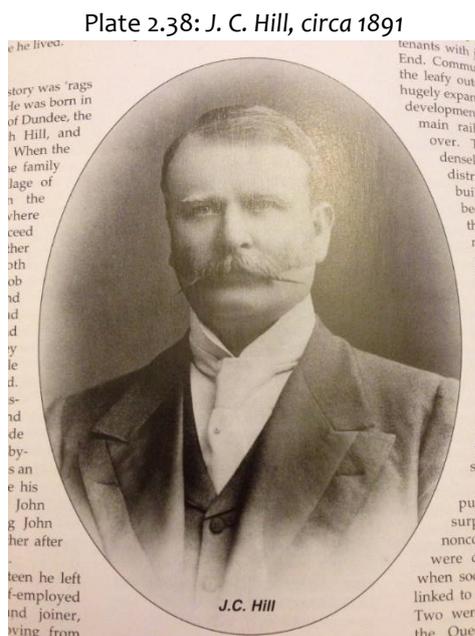


Source: Peterborough Archives Photographic Collection

Although Fletton was ripe for development this would not have occurred without the innovation and philanthropy of Victorian men of ingenuity and foresight who were prepared to seize the opportunity.¹²⁰ The most influential of these was J. C. Hill.

John Cathles Hill - 'maker of modern Fletton'

Looking at Hill's life and endeavours reveals the principals of the man who is attributed the title 'maker of modern Fletton'.¹²¹ John Cathles Hill was born in 1858 in Dundee, Forfarshire, to Robert and Elizabeth Hill, see plates 2.38 to 2.40.¹²² Robert was a gentleman of enterprise listing amongst his occupations cartwright, master joiner, farmer and tollbooth keeper in Auchterhouse, the same as his father and grandfather, see plate 2.41.



Source: J. Schwitzer, 'A London Developer: John Cathles Hill, 1857-1915' *Hornsey Historical Society*, vol 40, 1999, p. 6

¹²⁰ Important men also connected to the brick industry were James McCallum Craig, George and Nathaniel Hempsted, Henry Bray, Arthur Werner Itter, James Bristow, Henry Hicks and Richard G. Gardener. Farrows canning and pea factory was established by Joseph Farrow and his sons. Cadge and Colmans flour mill was established by Samuel Colman and Michael Cadge and later run by Samuel's sons. Symingtons corset factory was established by the Symingtons family.

¹²¹ *Peterborough and Hunts Standard*, 10 April 1915.

¹²² Dundee/ED16/Page25, Auchterhouse/ED2/Page, Auchterhouse/ED2/Page2

Plate 2.39: Robert Hill, circa 1891



Source: Hornsey Historical Society

Plate 2.40: Elizabeth Hill, circa 1891



Source: Hornsey Historical Society

Plate 2.41: The Tollgate House at Auchterhouse, circa 1900



Source: Hornsey Historical Society

Being the eldest son, Hill was apprenticed to his father after attending the local parish school. He was brought up with a strict moral code and a strong work ethic which stemmed from the Presbyterian faith and his father Robert who was a Kirk Elder.¹²³ At 17 Hill left home and embarked on the life of a self-employed journeyman carpenter. By 1876 he had made his way to Glasgow and attended the Mechanics

¹²³ Hill's life has been documented in depth by Joan Schwitzer. It is her work that this section largely draws upon. Joan was a founder member of the Hornsey Historical Society. An extensive list of reference material she consulted is at the end of her article.

Institute where he learnt the principles of architecture and construction.¹²⁴ Wanting betterment, and perhaps encouraged with stories of opportunity, at the age of 21 he ventured by boat to London.

Hill's fortunes in London grew quickly. He was aided by family and Scottish connections; a relative John Cathles Porter was a speculative builder. On arrival Hill earned 9d an hour but within nine months he had risen to foreman and had saved £50. Once Hill's capital had achieved £150 he began building houses. In 1881 at just 23, Hill was recorded as a builder employing eight men and was lodging at 9 Albert Road, Tottenham. Lodging with him, and also living close by, are two of his associates, William Thomson and George C. Porter, both Scottish by birth.

Hill could see the huge potential that there was for house building in north London, around Islington, for those commuters of moderate means who wanted to live outside of the metropolis in leafy suburbs. But he had also witnessed the mistakes of the development that had initially taken place, along the routes of the railways, which had resulted in tightly packed housing for the working class with no amenities or community provision. Hill intended to rectify these mistakes by including in his plans rows of shops, elaborate public houses and provision for leisure and entertainment.¹²⁵ The shops were managed by Hill until they were profitable enough to sell.¹²⁶

In 1882 Hill married Matilda Mose, daughter of William Henry Mose grocer, in Tottenham, see plate 2.42. Matilda assisted her husband in his business as well as having three small children: Constance born 1883, Robert William born 1884 and

¹²⁴ <https://www.technicaleducationmatters.org/2009/10/11/the-andersonian-the-first-technical-college/> (Accessed 13/7/2017). The Glasgow Mechanics Institute was an offshoot of the 'Andersonian' founded in 1796 by John Anderson. This was a new style of teaching concentrating on the practical and experimental aspects of the subject. The Mechanics Institute was housed in a disused chapel and comprised a lecture room, library and a collection of scientific instruments. For a fuller more detailed history refer to the website.

¹²⁵ <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol6/pp111-122> (Accessed 8/5/2018)

¹²⁶ A. Dumayne, *Once Upon a Time in Palmers Green* (A. Dumayne, 1988). In *Palmer's Green*, Hill opened 'Rosalies' a purpose built roller skating rink. Dumayne records that the Rosalie was opened to 'great acclaim' where 700 skaters tested the marble floor whilst 'a full military band played'.

John born 1887. The family lived close to Hill's offices in Archway Road at 'The Neuk', 71 Whitehall Park.¹²⁷

Plate 2.42: John C Hill and Matilda Mose, wedding photograph, circa 1882



Source: Hornsey Historical Society

During the 1890's Hill developed Harringay and transformed Crouch End. Housing estates such as 'Rathcoole Gardens' seen in plate 2.43, included fashionable shopping centres with hotels like 'The Queens' in plate 2.44.¹²⁸ The Queens Hotel, in Crouch End, was the culmination of the Broadway Parade and described by Pevsner as 'one of suburban London's outstanding grand pubs'.¹²⁹ To do this he needed a steady supply of bricks at a good price. As already discussed these bricks were largely provided by the 1,300 acre brickworks in Fletton that was known as the London Brick Company.¹³⁰ Hill's Fletton brickfields produced two million bricks a week and it was here that the largest Hoffman kiln 'Napoleon' was built. Napoleon alone had 40 chambers, each holding 40,000 bricks resulting in 750,000 bricks a week being produced from this kiln alone.¹³¹ But Hill was not just interested in

¹²⁷ RG12/142/44, RG11/1380/94, RG13/1243/148.

¹²⁸ Unnamed newspaper article Thursday 9th April 1998. Hill did not build alone, other speculative builders included James Edmondson, W. J. Collins architect and William Hodson. Hill also built Felix Avenue and Fairfield Garden in Crouch End. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol6/pp111-122> (Accessed 8/5/2018)

¹²⁹ B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 4: North* (Yale University Press, 2002), p. 559.

¹³⁰ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 45. As well as Fletton Hill also had brickworks at Enfield, Middlesex and Great Pentley, Essex.

¹³¹ In Fletton there were 11 Hoffman Kilns including the Napoleon. There were also 15 chimney stacks of varying heights ranging from 100 to 225 feet.

making a profit. He was concerned about the industry that he led and the workers within it. To assist in this aims Hill founded the Institute of Clayworkers in 1890.

Plate 2.43: Rathcoole Gardens, circa 1908



Source: K. Gray and D. Whetstone, 'From Highgate to Hornsey...A year in Old Postcards' (S. B. Publications, 1989) p.90

Plate 2.44: The Queens, 1998



Source: Hornsey Historical Society.

Fletton became Hill's second home and when he was there he used his parent's residence as a base. Hill was conscious of the conditions that his workers lived in. Attending the Mechanic's Institute in Glasgow Hill may have been influenced by the example set by Robert Owen in the nearby cotton village of New Lanark where

housing and community provision sat side by side.¹³² In Fletton Hill built modern housing, laid new roads, contributed to the establishment of new schools, installed drainage systems, built shops and provided community amenities such as The Coffee Palace, a gentleman's club, which can be seen in plate 2.45.¹³³ He also sat on the Local Council, Urban District Council, Huntingdonshire County Council and London County Council. Typical of the age he lived in Hill was paternalistic by nature and was referred to as 'a just and generous employer'.¹³⁴ Every year his entire workforce, including wives and children, had a days outing to Great Yarmouth with food and entertainment paid for. There was also an annual tea at the local schools and numerous awards for diligent scholars. Plate 2.46 shows The J. C. Hill Award that was given to Mabel Carter, daughter of Livett Carter who is discussed in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

Plate 2.45: *The Coffee Palace (later Phorpres House), circa 1900*



Source: www.monettilicas.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/phorpres-house.html (Accessed 10/12/2017)

¹³² <https://www.newlanark.org/> (Accessed 14/7/2016)

¹³³ Minute Book of the Norman Cross Rural District Council 24 September 1898. Plan approved for the building of the Coffee Palace. The Temperance Movement was evidently more rigid amongst the local council members than it was in London, where Hill's license applications were granted. Despite offers to donate all proceeds to the District Nursing Association for the next 10 years, the license application for the Coffee Palace was refused in 1899. The Coffee Palace became a gentleman's club and later became the offices for the London Brick Company. The Coffee Palace became known as 'Phorpres House' derived from the process of brickmaking, where the brick is pressed twice in each direction hence 'four pressed'. *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, August 30, 1899, p. 2.

¹³⁴ *Peterborough and Hunts Standard*, 10 April 1915.

Plate 2.46: The J. C. Hill Medal, 2017



Source: Private possession of Colin Baker

In 1894 Hill, at almost 40 years of age, was at his peak ‘with a directness of speech and manner quite refreshing’. It has been estimated that he built in excess of 2,347 properties, although many are still to be formally identified.¹³⁵ But financing this house building was a risky affair and Hill achieved it through a series of complicated mortgages. This method was successful in times of boom but precarious when the economy was in decline. At the turn of the century there was a reduction in cash flow and mortgages were called in. In 1905 Hill and his family moved from Southwood Hall, see plate 2.47, to the more modest apartment in plate 2.48, 7 Linden Gardens, Hornsey Road, Highgate.¹³⁶ By 1912 Hill was declared bankrupt owing over one million pounds with assets of only one fifth of this. Ultimately Hill’s business ventures may have come to fruition; apart from housebuilding he also had valuable contracts with the Great Central Railway to supply 25 million bricks, and he may have been able to realise the value of his properties but his creditors were not patient.

¹³⁵ RG14/7232

¹³⁶ Although smaller than Southwood Hall, Linden Gardens still had 11 rooms. It was probably built by Hill as initially the family moved into number 1, which was a larger flat, before moving into number 7.

Plate 2.47: Southwood Hall, 1905



Source: J. Schwitzer, 'Southwood Hall, Highgate, revisited' 42 (Hornsey Historical Society, 2001) p. 11.

Plate 2.48: Linden Gardens, Hornsey Lane, 2017



Source: <https://www.mouseprice.com/property-information/ref-15451176/flat+49a+linden+mansions+hornsey+lane+london+n6+5lf> (Accessed 13/7/2017)

In January 1915 Hill was conditionally discharged from bankruptcy but he did not have time to restore his business career. For four years he had been suffering from cirrhosis of the liver and whilst on a visit at 20 Ventnor Villas, Hove he died, on 15 April 1915 from a heart attack.¹³⁷ Hill was laid to rest in Highgate cemetery and the memorial seen in plates 2.49 and 2.50 marks the grave.

¹³⁷ Co-incidentally Hill blamed his bankruptcy on Lloyd George's Finance Act as he owned a lot of property in 'populous and prosperous districts'. *The Peterborough Standard*, 15 April 1915.

Plate 2.49: J. C. Hill memorial, Highgate Cemetery, 2016



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 2.50: J. C. Hill, inscription, 2016



Source: Sadie McMullon

On his passing Hill's obituary in 'The British Clayworker' spoke of a man of 'remarkable business capacity' who was 'kindly and sympathetic' who had succeeded in his endeavours relying only on 'his own courage, shrewdness, adaptability, and determination'.¹³⁸ The *Peterborough Standard* commented on his 'grains and grit' and his determination to help his fellow Scots less fortunate in life, than himself by offering employment, housing and the prospect of a familiar community.¹³⁹

By a series of mergers Hill had consumed the smaller independent yards and by joining forces with the remaining yards had controlled the price of the most valuable commodity in brick making- coal.¹⁴⁰ Hill also embraced new technology and Fletton was a place of firsts. Following the building of the 'Napoleon' kiln it was at Hills brickworks that one of the first steam navvies for digging clay was installed,

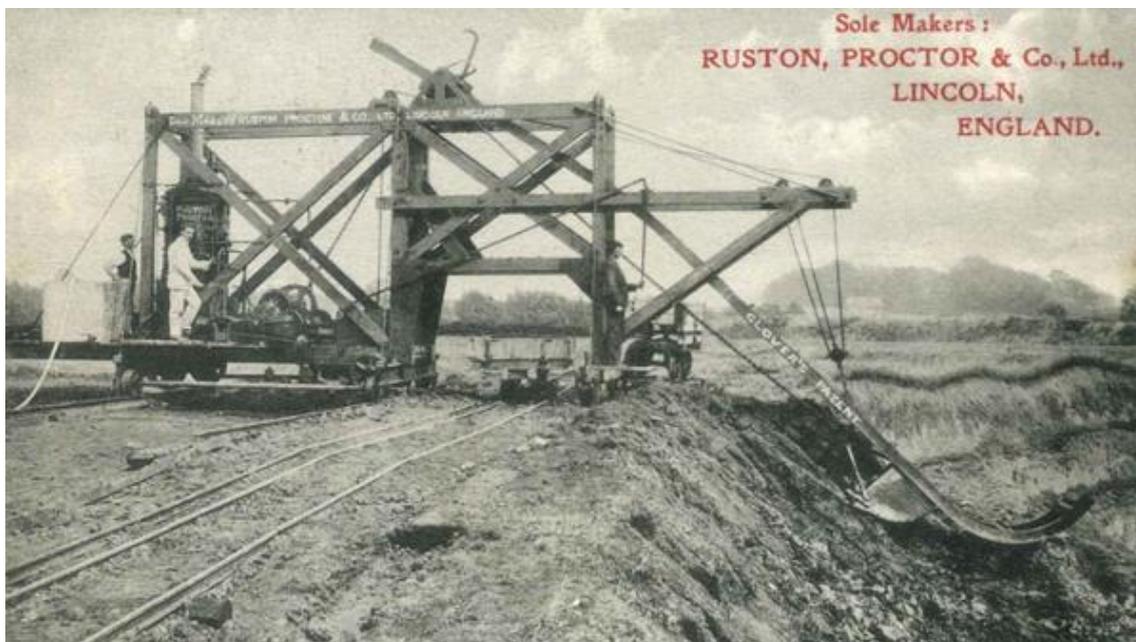
¹³⁸ *The British Clayworker*, April 15th 1915, p.8.

¹³⁹ *Peterborough Standard*, 15 April 1915. *The Principal Dundee Newspaper*, January 3, 1899. See discussion of James McFarlane in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

¹⁴⁰ *Peterborough Standard*, 15 April 1915.

like that in plate 2.51. Mr. Joseph Ruston, M. P. described it as ‘the most successful machine yet’.¹⁴¹

Plate 2.51: Steam engine navy, circa 1902



Source: Postcard private possession of Sadie McMullon

But like any innovator Hill met with opposition. In 1897 electric lighting was installed. The electric lights consisted of 3 arc lights of 1,500 candles each, and 30 incandescent lights of 30 candles which allowed for night time working.¹⁴² But the residents of Old Fletton found them so ‘dazzling that the roadway could not be seen’ and a request was made by the Norman Cross Rural District Council that a shade should be fitted to ‘prevent the glaring light’.¹⁴³ There were also complaints that the sewage from his housing developments were running straight into the brook in Love Lane, Old Fletton.¹⁴⁴ Despite an offer for the ‘Brickmakers Association’ to fund the drainage system, which cost £15,498.10.1, the installation of this was protracted over many years. The delay brought consternation in the local press saying that unless action was taken there would be an outbreak of an

¹⁴¹ J. Rushton, ‘Description of Dunbar and Rushton’s Steam Navy’ *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, 36, no 1, (1885) pp. 349-370.

¹⁴² *Peterborough Advertiser*, 2 October, 1897.

¹⁴³ Minute Book of the Norman Cross Rural District Council 9 April 1898.

¹⁴⁴ Minute Book of the Norman cross Rural District Council 12 November 1898.

epidemic.¹⁴⁵ Although generous, Hill could also be determined in his dealings with employees. Six weeks after a strike was called in 1902 it was reported that Hill had made it known to Lord Roberts that employment could be found for Boer War veterans in Fletton.¹⁴⁶

Not only was Hill assisted in his endeavours by other family members but he also provided employment for many more and his legacy was continued by his children. Of primary importance to Hill, where Fletton was concerned, were his mother and father, Robert and Elizabeth Hill.¹⁴⁷ They moved to Old Fletton, from Auchterhouse, in 1893 to act on Hill's behalf when he was absent. Elizabeth died, age 73, in 1902 and Robert died, age 84, in 1908. They were buried in the neighbouring parish of Woodston and as can be seen in plates 2.52 to 2.54 their memorials are prominent in the Woodston cemetery.

Plate 2.52 and 2.53: Elizabeth Cathles Hill inscription and memorial, 2016



Source: Sadie McMullon

¹⁴⁵ *The Nottingham Daily Express Wednesday* July 6th 1898 p.6. Minute Book of the Norman Cross District Council 30th April 1898 and 12 November 1898 and 11 February 1899.

¹⁴⁶ *The Evening Telegraph*, Friday August 29th, 1902, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ RG13/1460/72

Plate 2.54: J. C. Hill inscription on his mother's memorial, 2016



Source: Sadie McMullon

Also of importance to Hill's business ventures were his cousins John Cathles Porter, George Cathles Porter and William Anderson Cathles. John Cathles Porter was a speculative builder and acted as a useful contact when Hill first arrived in London. George Cathles Porter was a builder and purchased land for Hill.¹⁴⁸ William acted in various capacities on Hill's behalf including builder manager and manager of The Queens.¹⁴⁹

Hill's sons Robert and John Edgar assisted directly in the family business especially after Hill's bankruptcy. Robert continued Hill's housebuilding business until his death on 31 July 1917.¹⁵⁰ John concentrated on the brick making side of the business. He became managing director of the Star Brick Company in Peterborough, which can be seen in plate 2.55. The Star Pressed Brick Co became Star Brick Co in 1915 and was officially taken over by London Brick Co in 1925. John was responsible

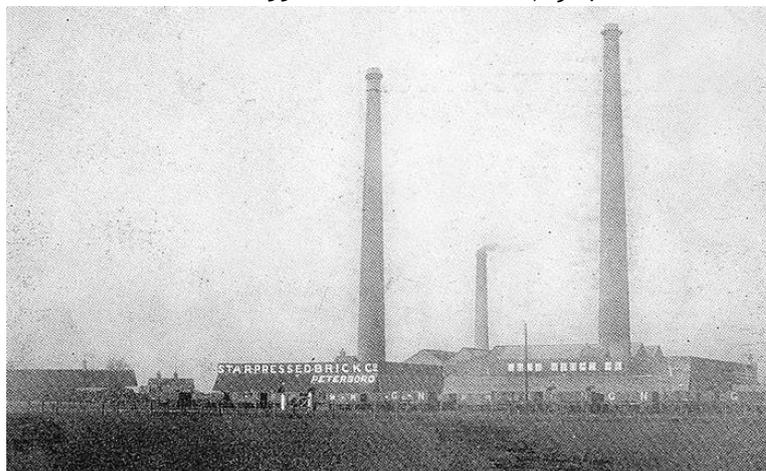
¹⁴⁸ RG12/145/145, RG11/1385/122, RG13/1240/146. In 1891 George was resident at 2 Austin Terrace, Cheverton Road, Islington and in the 1901 census George was resident at 1 Harvey Road, Hornsey. This was next to Rathcoole Parade which was built by Hill. There is a possibility that Harvey Road was also Hill built. George's son Albert was also a builder. In their employ was David Chalmers, a builder's clerk. They seemed to be following Hill's philosophy of employing Scots as David was born in Scotland.

¹⁴⁹ RG14/7230, William was the son of George, brother to Elizabeth, Hill's mother. William lived at 18 Archway Road, Highgate. In 1911 living with William was Albert and Charles Porter, George Porter's sons. Albert was a clerk with the East India Company and Charles a brick maker's yard office boy.

¹⁵⁰ RG13/1731/122, RG14/610. After attending Felsted School Robert married Marjorie and they lived at The Summit, Fitzroy Park, Highgate. Robert was killed at St. Julien during the battle of Ypres where he was Captain in the 1st Cambridgeshire regiment.

for restructuring much of the brick industry when London Brick Co amalgamated with Forders Ltd.¹⁵¹

Plate 2.55: Star Pressed Brick Co, 1904



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk/blog/wp-content/uploads/starbricks1904.jpg>
(Accessed 11/12/2017)

Conclusion

Fletton's location was ideal for the arrival of the railway and the geology provided the perfect material to revolutionize the brick making industry. The ambition and pioneering spirit of the men who arrived in Fletton, to establish businesses, were able to utilise local men and migrants who were rich in agricultural heritage and could adapt their skills to new employments, see plate 2.56.

Plate 2.56: Men of the L. B. C's Fletton Engineering Dept, circa 1905



Source: Hiller, *Clay that Burns*, p. 52.

¹⁵¹ <https://www.dogsthorpe.com/bricks.aspx> (Accessed 17/12/2017)

Chapter 3

Sources and Methodology

Definitions

Before a study of the source material and methodology is carried out it will be useful to consider some definitions used in this research and their implications.¹⁵²

Migrant

To study migration it is first necessary to identify who would be counted as a 'migrant' and under what circumstances. For the purposes of this research an individual is considered a 'migrant' if they arrive in Fletton between census dates regardless of their date or place of birth; so they are not recorded as being resident in Fletton on the earlier census year but appear on the later census year. When the 1851 and 1881 census years are considered this is from place of birth only, regardless of arrival date in Fletton. This is because the 1841 census does not give an exact place of birth and the 1871 census is not available in the format required for this research.¹⁵³

White and Woods advised that migrants should not be viewed as just a cross section of their origin or destination population.¹⁵⁴ The migrants that arrived in Fletton would have become part of the Fletton parish community however the limitation of the definition of a migrant used in this research is that there is no distinction between an individual who passes through Fletton and stays for only a few days, albeit encompassing the census day, and one who arrived a day after the previous census was taken and has been an established member of the community for many years. The two individuals would have made very different contributions to the

¹⁵² Other definitions are discussed throughout the thesis as they become relevant in the individual chapters.

¹⁵³ This is explained more fully later in the chapter.

¹⁵⁴ P. E. White, and R. I. Woods, 'The foundations of migration study', in P. E. White and R. I. Woods (eds.), *Geographical Impact of Migration*. (Longman Group Ltd, 1980), p. 12.

Fletton community. However for analysis purposes the definition as stated is satisfactory provided the limitations are acknowledged.

Stayers

Alongside the migrant 'stayers' will also be considered but as Ascott and Lewis stated, the term 'stayer' is in itself a difficult one and so too is the definition.¹⁵⁵ For the purpose of this research if an individual is recorded on two or more consecutive Fletton censuses, at any address within Fletton, regardless of their birthplace then they are considered a stayer but this definition raises questions.

At its most constant the term 'stayer' would refer to an individual who was born and remained in the same house, in the same parish for the duration of their lives. A limitation of the definition of a 'stayer' used in this research is that there is no distinction between the individual, who has lived within the confines of the parish for 70 years, to one who migrated into the parish and has persisted for two consecutive censuses, although each would have contributed very differently to the Fletton community.

It must also be remembered that an individual who has persisted in the same parish may not have been stationary. Individuals might be moving around the parish, from street to street, area to area, experiencing the same feelings of dislocation between different communities that a migrant would experience.

For example Anna Bailey a widow, aged 57, was resident in Fletton in 1881 but was not born in Fletton so is considered a migrant.¹⁵⁶ Both her son and boarder are also migrants. Anna is then present on the 1891 census so is considered a stayer as this is the second consecutive census she is recorded on. She has made the transition from migrant to stayer. The same is true for her lodger Albert Jarmin, who has also made the transition. However by the 1891 census her son William had left Fletton.

¹⁵⁵ D. E. Ascott and F. Lewis, 'Motives to move: Reconstructing individual migration histories in early Eighteenth-century Liverpool', in D. J. Siddle (ed.), *Mobility and Modernisation* (Liverpool University Press, 2000), p. 105.

¹⁵⁶ Anna Bailey is recorded on the Access database and in the excel spreadsheets from I-CeM but not traceable on Ancestry

Anna has also left Fletton by the 1901 census. Whether Anna was a leaver by death or out-migration is unknown

In contrast Thomas Allett aged 38 a miller born in Brooke, Rutland, arrived with his family in Fletton for the 1891 census.¹⁵⁷ Recorded as a migrant he was living in Tower Street, New Fletton. Allett remained in Fletton for the next 20 years and so became a stayer. However he was not stationary. The 1901 census records Allett living in Orchard Street, New Fletton and by the 1911 census he was living in Queens Walk, New Fletton.

Leavers

The third category of individuals who need to be accounted for in any study of migration is the 'leavers'. The leaver is any individual who leaves the sample population either by out-migration or death.

Migration measured-

Local, middle, long distance and further afield counties

As part of the initial analysis in which the context of migration to Fletton is set the distance the migrant travelled will be considered. In order to do this it is worthwhile to consider how migration is measured. In his analysis Ravenstein used county to county movement as a measurement of migration and in looking at the broad migration picture this research also uses county to county movement as a measurement. To aid in analysis the counties are then further divided into local, middle, long distance and further afield counties. The local counties are the ones which immediately border Huntingdonshire and include: Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire. The middle counties form a ring around these and include: Essex, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Rutland. The long distance counties incorporate the remainder and are largely over 100 miles away from Fletton.

¹⁵⁷ Using the Access database and the excel spreadsheets it can be deduced that the family had recently arrived as the youngest child, just 6 months, was born in Luffenham, Rutland.

London and Middlesex are considered as separate entities as are further afield places such as Wales, Scotland, Ireland and foreign countries.

One problem, already identified by Ravenstein, is the comparable sizes of counties and distances when considering county to county migration.¹⁵⁸ A migrant who moves out of Rutland has only to travel a maximum of 25 miles to be classed as a migrant whereas to leave Yorkshire requires a journey of 95 miles in some places. This is witnessed in Fletton as the border between Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire is only a mile away. For example an individual travelling four miles from Yaxley to Fletton would be classed as an in county migrant, as both places are within Huntingdonshire, whilst an individual travelling one mile from Peterborough to Fletton would be a local county migrant. However despite these drawbacks the results are still a useful measure providing they are borne in mind.

The limitation of using county to county migration as a distance of measurement can be alleviated by the utilisation of longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives. These allow the precise geographical locations of villages, towns and cities to be identified within the counties and are used in the closer analysis of migration narratives.

Data Collection and date ranges

Date range

As previously discussed between 1841 and 1911 the population of Fletton underwent phenomenal growth increasing from 256 in 1841 to 4,742 in 1911. Therefore this entire period was chosen as the date range for this research. The population growth from 256 to 1,662 between 1841 and 1871 co-incides with the arrival of the railways and the resultant influx of railway migrants. It is this period which sets the initial context for the study of Fletton.

In terms of the stated aims, objectives and key questions which this research wants to address the timeframe 1881-1911 is the period which holds most fertile ground

¹⁵⁸ Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', p. 169.

and is worthy of additional analysis for three main reasons. Firstly, this period was one of great change and expansion for Fletton. The population increased from 1,841 in 1881 to 4,742 in 1911 as a result of the expansion in the railways, development in the brick industry and the arrival of other factories into the area. This was coupled with extensive housebuilding to accommodate the growing population. Secondly, the data that is available from I-CeM, see discussion below, provides 30 years of continuous information.¹⁵⁹ This allows areas of study such as persistence, growth and development of community and social mobility after marriage to be explored in great detail using the longitudinal profile approach. Thirdly, the CEBs for these years and especially 1911, provide the greatest detail such as year since marriage, habitable rooms and numbers of children both alive and dead.

Data collection

Critical to a migration study of this nature is the data that is used in the analysis and it's availability. The primary source best placed for the study of migration are the decennial census enumerators' books. For this research the census data for 1851 and 1861 and 1881-1911 was provided by I-CeM. The data provided is a transcription on an excel spreadsheet.

The limitation of this transcribed data is that the 1841 and 1871 censuses were unavailable, from I-CeM, in the same format as the other censuses. The population of Fletton in 1841 was small so a manual transcription was carried out. However consideration had to be given as to whether the 1871 census should be manually transcribed or excluded and therefore in effect separating the research period into two timeframes 1841-1861 and 1881-1911. After looking at the stated aims, objectives and key questions of this research it was decided that the information from the

¹⁵⁹ K. Schürer and E. Higgs, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM); 1851-1911* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], April 2014. SN: 7481, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1>. A user guide and manual to the I-CeM data is available as E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *The Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide*, (Colchester, 2013). Further details on the I-CeM database together with a number of related resources are available from the I-CeM website at: <https://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/icem/>. The creation of the I-CeM database was made possible through funding from the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), grant number RES-062-23-1629.

earlier census periods were mainly for contextual purposes and the bulk of the research would focus on 1881-1911. Therefore it was decided that the time that would have to be spent on transcribing the 1871 census would be better spent on other tasks.

Sample sizes

Having the census records in an easily accessible format for computer analysis, from I-CeM, has proved invaluable as it has enabled the creation of a picture of the entire Fletton population at decennial periods, rather than a sample.¹⁶⁰ Thus the population when the census was taken was also the sample size: 1841-256, 1851-603, 1861-1,449, 1881-1,841, 1891-2,194, 1901-4,089 and 1911-4,741. This ensures that the results are more comprehensive, representative and less affected by bias.

Data-Record linkage

Usage of data

The data received from I-CeM was transferred into an Access database and this enabled a vital element of the data linkage to take place; the tracking of an individual from one Fletton census to another. This could only be completed if the data was consistent. Following the advice given by Schürer for the Victorian Panel Study, the Fletton census data was subjected to a similar if not as rigorous regime.¹⁶¹ As the Fletton population is comparatively small, personal knowledge of the local population and manual record linkage played an important role opposed to reliance on computer program matching; this reduced the importance that is usually placed on accurate spelling of names. In particular the spelling of surnames and the use of variations of forenames can raise problems when tracking individuals. In the past spelling variation was 'far greater' with reliance on the spoken pronunciation of a name.¹⁶² This problem is exacerbated when working from transcribed sources. This

¹⁶⁰ Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration', p. 50.

¹⁶¹ K. Schürer, 'Creating a Nationally Representative Individual and Household Sample for Great Britain, 1851 to 1901 – The Victorian Panel Study (VPS)', *Historical Social Research*. (2007) 32, 2, pp. 211-331.

¹⁶² E. A. Wrigley, and R. S. Schofield, 'Nominal Record Linkage by Computer and the Logic of Family Reconstitution', E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Identifying people in the past* (London, 1973), p. 98.

census to census record linkage process provided the basic information regarding individuals who migrated to or stayed in the parish, on which much of the subsequent analysis was conducted.

Ancestry

However as stated in the first chapter, the overarching objective of this research is to place centrally the ability to perform record linkage and so create longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives. The family history website Ancestry, has proved an invaluable tool in this.¹⁶³ The ability to make searches on a wide range of source materials has streamlined the record linkage process and although still time consuming has reduced this time immeasurably.

In addition to the decennial census records, Ancestry holds the transcriptions and copies of originals of a wide range of primary sources and indexes of other sources, all searchable by name. Primarily the records that are of most use are the parish registers: baptism, marriage, banns and burial. But other primary sources as diverse as military records, railway records, school log books, telephone directories, apprenticeship records and asylum records were utilised in Fletton and non-Fletton record linkage.

The method used when assessing these records across time and locations is the same. Once a search is conducted then possible matches can be considered and either accepted or rejected. The criteria applied to the match are: name spelling variation, appropriate age, marital condition, birthplace, address, occupation. Further information such as family context ie: spouse, children and extended family members, borders and surrounding residential information can also contribute in the decision making.

A useful feature of Ancestry is that once a correct match has been made other potential matches are displayed, over a wide range of source materials. This is especially useful when researching females, who are notoriously difficult to trace,

¹⁶³ Appendix C gives a full account of the use of Ancestry.

especially after marriage. As Perkyns demonstrated, in her study of six Kentish parishes, with nineteenth century sources, inventive record linkage and the use of parish registers the challenge of tracing females need not be insurmountable.¹⁶⁴

Another feature of Ancestry is that individuals can also post their own family trees together with their contact details. These have to be considered with extreme caution ensuring all information is checked and verified using original sources to ensure the accuracy of the research provided. However they can prove useful in providing additional personal information by allowing contact with the trees owner. In this research these instances are few in number but the information that is obtained, photographs, personal recollections and insights, is invaluable and can act as life writing.

Like any transcribed source Ancestry is prone to transcription errors.¹⁶⁵ This is perhaps unsurprising considering the volume of records that are held on the site. Transcribers are often dealing with writing that is difficult to read and scored through, they may not know the geographical area that they are transcribing or be familiar with local names. For example the 1841 census records sees Fletton transcribed incorrectly as being in Hertfordshire not Huntingdonshire! Because of such transcription variations a good local knowledge combined with lateral thinking proves invaluable both when interpreting these records and when keying in search criteria when using Ancestry.

Primary sources

Introduction

At this point it would be wise to have a reminder of the primary sources that this research uses and the inherent difficulties of using these sources. The primary sources that are central to this research are the decennial CEBs of 1841 to 1911. In addition, to provide inter census information and to conduct record linkage in order

¹⁶⁴ A. Perkyns, 'Occupation patterns in six Kentish parishes 1841-1881', *Local Population Studies*, 91 (2013).

¹⁶⁵ Usefully Ancestry has a facility where any incorrect transcriptions can be identified and submitted for review, verification and correction.

to create longitudinal profiles a range of other sources were used including: parish registers, vestry minute books, rent rolls, brickyard and railway records, newspapers, government records, the Land Valuation survey and personal diaries.

Census records

With the exception of 1941 a census has been taken every 10 years since 1801 and the censuses 1841 to 1911 have now all been released online.¹⁶⁶ It is the census records from 1851 to 1911 that are of particular relevance for this study. Although the statistics drawn from the census records 1801-1841 are useful, the schedules do not provide individual household details and therefore will not be part of this research other than to set context. The census records from 1851-1911 recorded detailed and comparative household information so that more useful analysis can be carried out. In addition the 1911 census provides more comprehensive details particularly regarding occupation, years married, number of children born and how many survived.

As with all primary sources, the census has its limitations both in its original creation and subsequent transcription. The date that the census was taken ensured that enumerators both had maximum daylight to complete their task and that maximum individuals would be at home, any later and the Registrar General feared that individuals would have 'left their homes...and are sleeping in outhouses and fields' due to farming practise.¹⁶⁷ The Enumerators themselves were not 'particularly well paid' and had to handwrite often inaccurate information that was given to them in a multitude of dialects that they were not always familiar with.¹⁶⁸ Consequently, the original documents make transcription a hazardous process. The handwriting is often difficult to read, faded and scored through and the transcribers do not always have the benefit of adequate training or local knowledge. However, Tillot's

¹⁶⁶ M. Wollard, 'Census Date' The census was taken on the following nights: 6 June 1841, 30 March 1851, 7 April 1861, 2 April 1871, 3 April 1881, 5 April 1891, 31 March 1901. With exception of 1841 this was a Sunday night. <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 9/7/2013). The 1931 census was destroyed by fire. The 1939 National Register has now also been released online. This register holds the personal details of every civilian in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

¹⁶⁷ Wollard, 'Census date', <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 9/7/2013)

¹⁶⁸ E. Higgs, 'General Errors', <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 9/7/2013)

comprehensive review of the census as a source has demonstrated that provided the researcher is aware of common errors and reporting anomalies the census records provide a remarkably accurate source.¹⁶⁹

Pooley and Turnbull remind us that in the study of migration census records also have 'severe' limitations as they hide the intricacies of frequent movements, however they do show the 'extent to which people were mobile in the past'.¹⁷⁰ In particular the birthplaces of the children can be especially informative.¹⁷¹ But as Dennis points out the use of decennial censuses may attach more importance to the singular arrival of an individual into the district opposed to the many moves of an individual within the same district.¹⁷² But the disadvantages of a census based study should not be allowed to eclipse the advantages of the fuller picture that the linking together of successive censuses can bring. For example in her study of Brenchley, Wojciechowska utilised the linking of consecutive censuses to observe the rates of turnover and persistence and their links to contemporary environmental and economic stimuli.¹⁷³

But although in Fletton, using consecutive censuses can show the growth of the parish over time, the movement of individuals and the gender demographics, they will not account for absenteeism and inter-census movement, nor will they account for individuals who had died or cannot be traced through inaccurate transcription. The inadequacies that utilising census records may bring can be partially rectified by record linkage using parish registers, local directories, diaries and the lists of railway workers. In addition as the whole Fletton population is being analysed the small

¹⁶⁹ P. M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses', in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society*, (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 82-133.

¹⁷⁰ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p.3 and p.13.

¹⁷¹ D. K. Drummond, *Crewe: railway town, company and people 1840-1914* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 22.

¹⁷² Dennis, 'Inter-censal mobility in a Victorian city', p.351.

¹⁷³ Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley', p.30. Using this method Wojciechowska discovered that the percentage of the 'truly linkable population' that persisted in Brenchley decreased from 38% for 1851-1861 to 14% for 1851-1871 which represented a high turnover of Brenchley residents.

percentage of individuals that disappear from view will have less of an impact on the overall analysis.

Parish registers

Parish registers are a valuable source with which to supplement the CEBs as they contain a variety of additional information that is valuable in both analysis and record linkage when creating longitudinal profiles.¹⁷⁴ These registers are held either in the parish church or local records office and copies of the originals are increasingly available online at Ancestry.¹⁷⁵

An individual appearing in a baptism or marriage register can be used as an indication of the possible date of arrival within the district so integration and persistency can be assessed. Whilst an entry in the burial register can reveal when an individual leaves the analysis group. However, Snell has warned that the recording of vital events in a parish does not necessarily indicate migration, residence or persistence within that parish because often grooms would travel to the bride's parish for marriage, only to return back to their own parish for employment with their wife.¹⁷⁶ In Fletton another anomaly is the large percentage of couples who marry within the parish who appear to have no connection with the parish that is identifiable from the primary sources available.¹⁷⁷

Another limitation of the parish registers is the possible inaccurate reporting of vital events and the absence of vital events. Also when using transcribed data transcription errors have to be taken into consideration although the Fletton

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.parishrecord.org/intro.html> (Accessed 27/12/2017) The parish registers are records created by the parish church and can date from 1538 when Cromwell, at the court of Henry VIII, ordered that every marriage, baptism and burial should be recorded. From 1558 the records were recorded on parchment and from 1597 a second copy was made which was sent to the Bishop. In 1812 baptisms, marriages and burials were entered into separate specially printed books.

¹⁷⁵ Fletton Parish Registers for 1841 to 1911 are held in Huntingdon Archives, see Appendix D. The Fletton parish registers for the majority of the research period, 1841 to 1900, have been transcribed by the Huntingdon Family History Society (they have transcribed 1604-1900 and a CD is available). The period, 1900 to 1911, is accessible on microfiche at the Peterborough Archives.

¹⁷⁶ K. D. M. Snell, 'English rural societies and geographical marital endogamy, 1700-1837' *Economic History Review* LV, 2, (2002) p.271.

¹⁷⁷ See further discussion of this in Chapter 6 Marriage.

transcription has been compared against the original registers and the percentage of errors was negligible.

Other primary sources including the Land Valuation Survey

There are no historical sources that were specially created with migration and community research in mind. But this does not have to be a limitation as embedded within other documents such as minute books, voter lists, newspapers, probate records, military records and diaries there is a wealth of material that can be utilised in creating longitudinal profiles for migration narratives and reveal much about the existence of community.¹⁷⁸ These sources pose no major methodological problems. However one difficulty is that as there is little material that has survived it is by its very existence already biased or non-representative only reflecting those who were literate, had wealth and influence or by contrast had fallen foul of the law or required the assistance of the Poor Law Officers. Nevertheless they are an indicator and as such valuable if used appropriately.¹⁷⁹ It is fortunate that in Fletton there exists a diary written by Frederick C. W. Wright, published by Huntingdon Family History Society and an unpublished recollection ‘Memories of George Street Baptist Chapel Fletton Peterborough’ told by Alec Bloodworth.¹⁸⁰

One source used extensively in this research is the Land Valuation Survey 1910, or as it became to be known the ‘New Domesday’ survey. This survey was carried out as part of the Finance Act 1910 under the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time Lloyd George. Beech and Mitchell provide an excellent description of the mechanics of the survey.¹⁸¹ To summarize, England and Wales was divided into 14 valuation divisions and each division had 118 valuation districts. Within each district each property was given a unique hereditament number or property number. Valuers would collect information regarding the property or land value, the owner and

¹⁷⁸ C. Pooley, ‘How people moved: researching the experience of mobility in the past’, *Local Population Studies*, 82 (2009), p.65.

¹⁷⁹ P. Clark, and D. C. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, (London, 1987), p.12.

¹⁸⁰ Bloodworth, ‘Memories’. Wright, ‘Tales of my Childhood’.

¹⁸¹ G. Beech, and R. Mitchell, *Maps for the Family and Local History-The Records of the Tithe, Valuation Office and National Farm Surveys of England and Wales, 1836-1943*(The National Archives UK, 2004), p. 38.

tenant if relevant and in some cases property condition and type. This information was recorded in a field book, form 37 and valuation map.

Short discusses the advantages and limitations of a study utilising this little used source.¹⁸² Pertinent to this research the major advantage is that contained within the Valuation Field Books and Forms of Return are the names and addresses of both the owner and occupier of a property in 1910. Used in conjunction with the CEBs this has allowed a range of analysis to take place which links home ownership and home rental to occupation, internal migration, persistence, integration and the development of community. The limitation of the Land Valuation Survey is primarily concerned with the documents that were produced. In the course of the survey it is possible that upward of 40 million pieces of information were created and there are gaps in the material that was both created and retained. Unlike the New Forest where 13% of the parish was unaccounted for, Fletton is well covered. The map for New Fletton is missing but as the valuation book contains both Old and New Fletton this is not an insurmountable problem as a modern map can be used in conjunction with personal local knowledge. The only other issue is that land owned by railway companies and other statutory bodies was exempt from duty so may not be accurately recorded, but as this research is concerned with housing rather than land then this should not be an issue.¹⁸³

Occupation, classification and social mobility

Occupation classification

Integral to the study of migration is occupation. Occupation was often one of the prime reasons why migration took place and the destination chosen. However to analyse occupation some kind of grouping needs to be used. In the early censuses no great attempt was made to group or classify occupations. However from 1841 there was an attempt to group 'under definite rules and on uniform lines'.¹⁸⁴ This

¹⁸² B. Short, 'Local demographic studies of Edwardian England and Wales: The Use of the Lloyd George 'Domesday' of Landownership', *Local Population Studies*, (51), (1993), pp. 62-70. B. Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁴ W. A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society*, (Cambridge, 1972), pp.191-310.

resulted in 877 occupation groupings being listed. Over succeeding years much refining took place and many historians have since created their own occupation systems tweaking the previous one to suit their purposes.¹⁸⁵ After a review of the systems available it was decided that for this research the 1911 Registrar General's 'Social and Occupational Classifications' was most appropriate. These classifications are contemporary with the research period and Mills and Schürer summarized general opinion when they stated that both the 1911 and the subsequent 1921 modified 'Social and Occupational Classifications' are 'superior to the 1950 scheme when used in conjunction with the nineteenth-century CEB data'.¹⁸⁶ Within the 1911 Classification there are in excess of 400 separate occupations, sub-divided into 23 orders and sub-orders to retain the diversity of the occupations of the time such as lath render and cordwainer.¹⁸⁷

For analysis purposes it was also necessary to group together all those occupations that had a link with the railways or the brickyards as this was not always clear from the occupation description alone. Occupations such as 'stationary engine driver', 'bricklayer' and clerk may be connected with the railways or brickyards but may also be totally unrelated. An additional problem is that occupations were often vague such as 'labourer' not stipulating whether they were general labourers or labourers in the railways or brickyards. In these situations consulting the original census records or parish registers may provide this detail. For example in the 1911 transcription Horace Ibbott of 6 Kings Road, Old Fletton, is recorded as a 'labourer general' but when the original CEB is consulted the industry section records Horace as working for 'G. N. Railway' so it becomes evident that he is a railway labourer.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ D. R. Mills, and K. Schürer, 'Employment and Occupations' in D. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996), p.145. Various occupation systems were appraised. The tripartite system seemed too simplistic to cater for the various dual occupations that individuals had, Tillott's classification system separates individuals into social groupings which is not relevant for this database at this time. The Anderson system relies on information that is not available to this database, likewise Armstrong's and Bank's systems relies on in-depth study that is beyond the scope of this research.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p, 136-160.

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.worldthroughthelens.com/family-history/old-occupations.php> (Accessed 11/2/2018)

Lath render-someone who split wood into laths. These thin strips of wood could then be used for lath and plaster walls, lattice work or blinds. Cordwainer-a shoemaker

¹⁸⁸ RG14/8669

When analysing female employment the issues that are faced are both the potential under and over recording of occupation and the inaccurate recording of occupation. As Golby discussed, occupations may go unrecorded due to the fact that the head of the household did not enter it on the return, the work may be seasonal or of a casual nature or it may have been household work to assist a husband or family member.¹⁸⁹ It was common for wives to assist their husbands in occupations such as agriculture, transport and brick making, so in Fletton females may have been assisting their husband's in a variety of ways both formally and informally.¹⁹⁰ In later censuses there were also instances where the female's occupation was not listed but on referral to the marriage certificate an occupation had been entered.

Throughout the Fletton censuses, and particularly in the later years, it is not unusual to see the female occupation recorded inaccurately as 'engine driver's wife', 'housekeeper' and 'at home' where actually no occupation was held at all. Another issue which needs to be considered is where general descriptive terms are used in the occupation column such as 'housekeeper' 'companion' and 'mother's help' as a substitute for household duties. In this study wherever these terms occurred the family household composition and relationship to head was assessed, in conjunction with the original census return, and a decision made as to whether the term was accurate or not and whether it indicated employment. One such example on the 1901 census was Kate Robinson, aged 22.¹⁹¹ Kate was recorded as housekeeper and was living with her uncle widower Thomas Robinson and relationship to head is niece. On the census return the entry is annotated 'dom serv' so for this analysis she is considered as being employed. Higgs has considered other methods of assessing female employment rates, and has re-asserted that despite all limitations the CEBs are 'still our best source for understanding, the economic activities of women in the Victorian period'.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ J. Golby, 'Married women and work' in J. Golby (ed.), *Studying family and community history nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Communities and families*, 3 (OU, 1994), p. 54.

¹⁹⁰ Perkyns, 'Occupation patterns', p. 58.

¹⁹¹ RG13/460/52

¹⁹² E. Higgs and A. Wilkinson, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Census Re-visited' *History Workshop Journal*, 81, 1, 2016, pp. 17-38. In this article Wilkinson also makes two pertinent summary comments: firstly that perhaps too much focus has been on isolated studies which focus on

Social mobility

An important question asked in this research is: To what degree could social mobility be achieved through marriage? And In a fledging community that was growing rapidly as a result of migration was there a relaxation in the usual barriers to social mobility or did they persist as strongly as ever? The 1911 ‘Social and Occupational Classifications’ linked occupation and social class. There are five social classes, as can be seen in table 3.1. By comparing the occupation of the groom, groom’s father and bride’s father it can be ascertained if social mobility could be achieved through marriage.¹⁹³

The 1911 Classification Scheme has limitations, which were acknowledged at the time of its creation. Two, which are most relevant here, are firstly, the vague recording of occupation titles within the census records themselves which lead to ambiguity. For example the listing of ‘railway worker’ is misleading as different occupations within the railway system can be allocated to different social groupings from ‘clerk’ in class I to ‘engine driver’ in class III and ‘platelayer’ in class V. Secondly, the unsatisfactory way that some occupations are not representative of the individuals true social standing. Two examples of this are the farmer who whatever acreage he farms will still be listed Class II intermediate class and the post office clerk, such as Frederick Bolton who is listed as Class I although he is a junior office clerk. However as a measure of social mobility, if these limitations are taken into consideration, then this method can prove illuminating.

under-enumeration and secondly that not only women suffered from under-reporting of seasonal and casual labour but men did as well. p. 34. S. Horrell and J. Humphries, ‘Women’s Labour Force Participation and the Transition to the Male-breadwinner Family, 1790–1865’, *Economic History Review* 48: 1,1995, pp. 94–5. Horrell and Humphries’s research covered 1790 to 1865 and was based on a combination of economic information, including family budgets, sourced from a wide range of documents, together with reference to husbands/ father’s occupation.

¹⁹³ <https://tinyurl.com/yby5fb7h> and <https://tinyurl.com/y8e4zh6w> (Accessed 29/9/2016). R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 118.

Table 3.1: 1911 Social classifications

Social class	Title	Grouping	Example occupation
I	Upper and middle class	Upper and middle class	Post office workers, clerks, clergymen, barristers, physicians, builders, chemists
II	Intermediate class	Intermediate class	Professional engineers, dealers, milliners, grocers, brick dealers
III	Skilled workmen	Working class	Railway guard, signalman, driver, cabinet maker
IV	Intermediate class	Working class	Warehouseman, domestic, brewer, hat maker
V	Unskilled workmen	Working class	Labourer, brickyard labourer, brick maker, railway platelayer
VI	Textile workers	Working class	All those connected with textile preparation but not dealers
VII	Miners	Working class	Some individuals connected with mining such as coal and shale, iron, copper, tin and lead. But not managers or dealers who those connected with stone and slate, clay, sand and chalk
VIII	Ag labs	Working class	Agricultural labourers
Note: Class VI, VII and VIII are all part of V			

Source: <https://tinyurl.com/yby5fb7h>

Chapter 4

Migration

‘Why on earth has your father fixed on Milton-Northern to live in!’

‘And the furniture-how in the world are we to manage the removal! I never removed in my life and only a fortnight to think about it!’

Elizabeth Gaskell¹⁹⁴

~

Introduction

Many studies of migration exist which seek to place migration to a particular area of study within the context of wider migration issues. As Pryce comments, many of these continue to take as a ‘starting point’ Ravenstein’s ‘Laws of Migration’.¹⁹⁵ The data and conclusions that these studies produce is vital in understanding migration issues. Initially this research will not differ from these other valuable studies in setting the Fletton migration context and considering population growth, the migrant’s age and gender, the migrant’s marital status, the distance travelled on migration from birthplace and the migrant’s occupation. However, as discussed in the Introduction the overarching objective in all analysis is to place centrally record linkage and longitudinal profiles which tell individual migration narratives.¹⁹⁶ These will enable the research to go beyond statistical analysis and the pattern of migration, vital though that is, and create a more individual assessment of the human experience and process of migration which Pooley and Turnbull encourage studies to explore in order to uncover the ‘human side to migration decision making’.¹⁹⁷

This chapter will begin to address three aims of this research. The first aim is to use migration narratives to set the context in which migrants lived and the possible

¹⁹⁴ E. Gaskell, *North and South* (1855) Chapter 5.

¹⁹⁵ Ravenstein, ‘The Laws of Migration’. Pryce, ‘A Migration Typology’, p. 71.

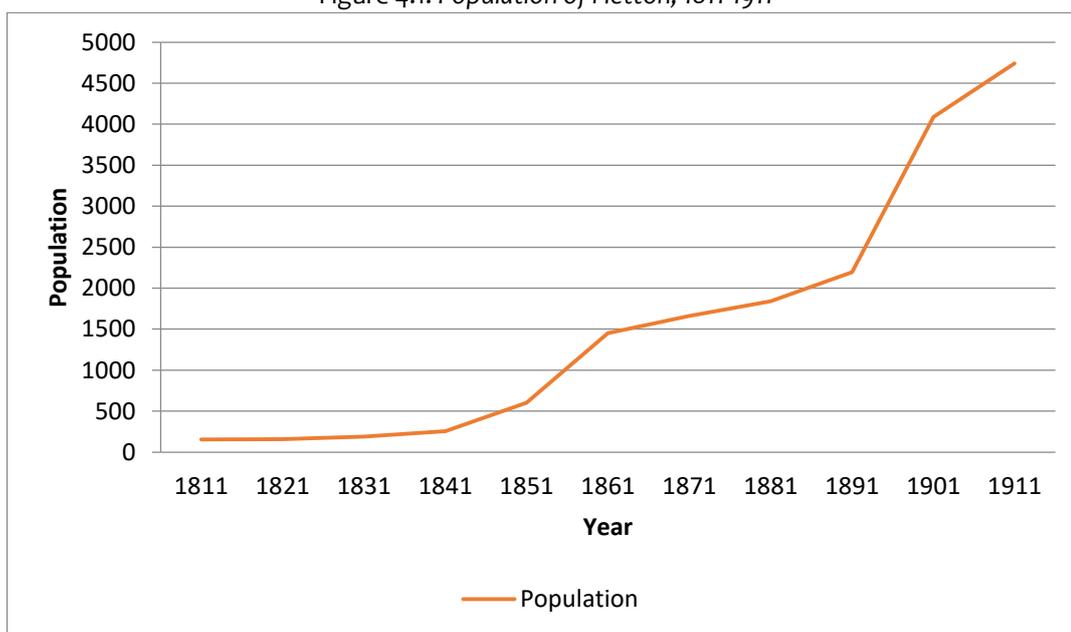
¹⁹⁶ Longitudinal profiles are created which tell individual migration narratives. From this point when this methodology is used it will be referred to as a ‘migration narrative’.

¹⁹⁷ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p.3-20. Mills and Schürer, ‘Employment and Occupations’, p. 227.

motives behind their migration decisions. The second aim is to explore the extent, nature and impact of family migration and the third aim is to consider the role and nature of the stayer as part of the migrant's narrative and specifically to look at the factors that contributed to persistency.

Any area of study can add its own voice to the wealth of migration studies that have already been conducted. As discussed in Chapter 2 *Fletton: Place and Innovator*, Fletton's own contribution comes from its unique geographical position, a rural village merely a mile south of Peterborough on the edge of a seam of Oxford clay and at the terminus of the Blisworth to Peterborough railway line at the East Station. This enabled two distinct industries to develop, the Railways and the brickyards. As a consequence, as can be seen in figure 4.1, there was a resulting dramatic population growth between 1811 and 1911, from 153 to 4,742.¹⁹⁸

Figure 4.1: Population of Fletton, 1811-1911



Source: CEBs 1841-1911

The opportunities that Fletton offered migrants in terms of occupation, community and social advancement dictated the type of migrant who would decide to 'venture forth in quest of happier surroundings'.¹⁹⁹ As Redford has noted migration was a

¹⁹⁸ The 1811 population figure was taken from the parish register.

¹⁹⁹ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p. xiii.

normal feature of an individual's life but whether the migrant came from near or far, as a family or alone, a move would have been a huge undertaking and have a far reaching impact. As will be explored later there could be cultural, occupational and social differences between parishes and even streets and a commentator at the time observed that a journey to Stanground, only 1 mile away, would involve 'a journey through marshy swamp across the Lode to a land of strangers'.²⁰⁰

Motive to migrate - 'Push' and 'Pull' factors

Part of the first aim of this research is to explore the possible motives for an individual's decision to migrate both in a broad context and using migration narratives. Motive underpins the whole migration pattern and process. In order for an individual to migrate there needs to be 'pull' factors which would be so attractive that it would entice them to leave their home and existing community. In addition there would be 'push' factors; circumstances within the home community that encourage an individual to look elsewhere for new opportunities and horizons. A 'pull' factor in the receiving community could also be a 'push' factor in the sending community. In his report, on the 1871 census, the Registrar General commented that improved roads, rail and knowledge facilitated the migration of men 'from spots where they were not wanted to fields where their labour is in demand'.²⁰¹ Pooley and Turnbull summarize the main reasons for migration to be employment, marriage, housing and family.²⁰²

Personal choice naturally played a part and Saville believed that increasingly workers felt that to be part of the 'stream of life'²⁰³ you needed to be in town. The countryside was restrictive with its tradition, custom and 'lack of opportunity'.²⁰⁴ However by 1890 most villages had been linked by complex and increasingly comprehensive transportation routes. Lawton and Pooley argue that the countryside had become more connected and links with town had 'become

²⁰⁰ Cunningham, 'Growth of Peterborough', p. 5. See Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

²⁰¹ Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', p. 167.

²⁰² Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p.201.

²⁰³ Saville, *Rural De-population*, p.19.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

stronger and more obvious'.²⁰⁵ Everitt also supports this view saying that the rural area relied on its 'local capital' and so rather than segregation there was a deepening connection and country and town became 'intimately linked'.²⁰⁶

But migration was also about an individual's perception of what an area might hold.²⁰⁷ Part of this process would be the flow of information and the most valuable of these would be word of mouth from previous migrants. Newspapers and circulars would have also played a part bringing information, not only of social pursuits, but also of local employment opportunities, an example can be seen in plate 4.1.²⁰⁸ As White concluded, in his study of Grantham, this sharing of information was particularly important when a family was migrating to ensure that both employment and housing is in place prior to the move.²⁰⁹

Plate 4.1: Advertisement for vacancies in brickyard



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday August 13th 1901, p.4.

The two main industries in Fletton, the railways and the brickyards, had their own 'pull' factors. The appeal that the railways held for its employees is well documented and include a real opportunity of advancement, better and regular pay and job security.²¹⁰ These opportunities would have been inducement enough to attract men to Fletton to take advantage of the growth in the railway and it was recorded in The Great Western Railway, General Manager's Report in 1879 that in agricultural areas 15s as a porter would attract 'as many men as required'.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ R. Lawton, and C. G. Pooley, *Britain 1740-1950: an historical geography* (Edward Arnold, 1991) p. 158.

²⁰⁶ A. Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (Hambledon, 1985), p. 301.

²⁰⁷ White and Woods, 'The foundations of migration study', p.7.

²⁰⁸ P. J. Perry, 'Working-Class Isolation and Mobility in Rural Dorset, 1837-1936: A Study of Marriage Distances', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 46, (1969), p. 121.

²⁰⁹ White, 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain', p. 49.

²¹⁰ P. W. Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of railway Labour, 1830-1870* (London, 1970), p. xv.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

The brickyards, under ownership of Hill and others, also attracted men both married and unmarried. These enlightened employers saw the advantage of not just providing opportunities for both skilled and unskilled labour but also providing a community which consisted of housing, education and amenities. Both of these industries created a wealth of subsidiary employment opportunities from domestic servants, to teachers, tailors to shop keepers, factory work to house builders to name but a few. These individuals were not always attracted by the necessity of changing employment but by the wider opportunities that Fletton presented.

Apart from personal choice, marriage and ambition, the breakdown of localised industry creating loss of employment or lack of opportunity would have been another dominant reason why an individual would migrate creating the perfect 'push' factor. The exact nature of this would depend upon the geographical location of the sending community. As discussed by Saville, one such 'push' factor was the decline in agriculture which created instability in rural employment.²¹² For many individuals this migration would have necessitated an employment change, a new community and consequently a life adjustment.

Migration narratives can reveal circumstances in the localities at the time of migration, the 'push' and 'pull' factors. John W. Coxell was one of many who made the decision to migrate to Fletton.²¹³ Son of Grant Coxell, John was born in Whittlesey and in 1891 he was living at home and was an assistant carpenter, most likely for his father, who was also recorded as a carpenter.²¹⁴ By 1901 he had married Angelina and was living in Haydn Terrace, Old Fletton and was recorded as a carpenter and joiner.²¹⁵ Coxell and Angelina had two children, Horace and Violet and their birth places were Wisbech St. Marys and Peterborough, which shows that Coxell's migration to Fletton was not a direct one. Coxell perhaps wanted to forge his own career as a carpenter, separate to his father, but not too far away from his family's home. He was perhaps drawn to Fletton by the opportunities that could be

²¹² Saville, *Rural De-population*, p.30-31.

²¹³ RG12/1302/59, RG13/1460/48

²¹⁴ See Appendix E for a map of locations where migrants originated from within the local area.

²¹⁵ Haydn Terrace, Old Fletton was the researcher's home for 30 years.

found there for a carpenter as housebuilding was booming due to the expanding population.

Coxell was in fact renting a property from William Hawkins, a local builder, and it is not unreasonable to conclude that he was also employed by Hawkins.²¹⁶ Hawkins lived only a couple of houses away from Haydn Terrace at Haydn House. Both of these houses can be seen in plate 4.2 and 4.3. Hawkins built and rented several properties in Old Fletton taking advantage of the financial opportunities the expanding population created.

Plate 4.2: Haydn Terrace, Old Fletton, 2017



Plate 4.3: William Hawkin's residence - Haydn House, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Sadie McMullon (both photos)

²¹⁶ See Appendix B for the Development of roads and streets in Fletton and home ownership and rental.

The Growth of Fletton

National and local perspectives

As stated in the Introduction before the aims, objectives and key questions can be addressed the context of migration to Fletton has to be established. To understand Fletton's population growth it should be viewed both within a national and local context. Fletton experienced population growth at a time when the population of Huntingdonshire as a whole was decreasing, mainly due to the loss of employment in agriculture.²¹⁷ As can be seen in table 4.1 this is reflected in the decline in population in the local parish of Yaxley between 1861 and 1891 where employment was dominated by agriculture.

Prior to 1841, Fletton too, had been a rural village with agriculture as its prime occupation. In the census years 1831, 1871 and 1881 Fletton's population growth remained broadly in line with growth experienced at a national level. However Fletton experienced two periods of phenomenal population growth. The first began in 1841 and continued until 1861 and the second occurred around 1901. The first period of growth witnessed a population increase from 256 in 1841 to 1,449 in 1861 and was due to the arrival of the railways. The London and Birmingham Railway Co opened the Blisworth to Peterborough line, in 1845. This terminated at the East Station, in the north of Fletton. The subsequent development of the station and the expansion in lines necessitated a growth in the workforce. The second period of growth was primarily due to the brick industry and the arrival of Hill. Prior to Hill's arrival in Fletton brick making had been a seasonal affair but he developed an operation that provided employment all year round. Importantly he also provided the market for the bricks in his house building ventures in London. As a result during this time there was an 86.4% increase in population from 2,194 in 1891 to 4,089 in 1901.

²¹⁷ Saville, *Rural De-population*, p. 55.

Table 4.1: Comparison of National, Local and Fletton Population 1831-1911

National and local Population 1831-1911 (as a percentage)							
Year	National	Fletton	Stanground	Woodston	Yaxley	Orton Waterville	Peterborough
1831	15.8	18.9					
1841	14.5	35.4	20.4	19.3	5.3	.1.0	25.9
1851	12.6	135.0 ²	18.4	10.3	20.4	4.1	21.2 ²
1861	11.9	140.0 ²	5.5	8.4	-2.4	-1.0	35.7 ²
1871	13.2	14.7 ³	16.3 ³	101.0 ³	-1.3	2.3	32.5 ⁴
1881	14.4	10.8	6.0	31.0	-2.7	1.0	30.3
1891	11.7	19.2	-6.0	100.6	-3.8	7.8	18.4
1901	12.2	86.4	18.8	53.4	21.9	3.2	18.9
1911	10.9	16.0	-2.6	1.5	6.7	20.7	10.6
National and local Population 1831-1911 (individual count)							
Year	National (000s)	Fletton	Stanground	Woodston	Yaxley	Orton Waterville	Peterborough
1831	13,897	189	706	243 ¹	1140	286	5553
1841	15,914	256	850	290	1200	290	6991
1851	17,928	603 ²	1006	320	1445	302	8473 ²
1861	20,066	1449 ²	1061	347	1411	299	11497 ²
1871	22,712	1662 ³	1234 ³	698 ³	1393	306	15230 ⁴
1881	25,974	1841	1308	915	1355	309	19846
1891	29,003	2194	1230	1836	1304	285	23502
1901	32,528	4089	1461	2817	1590	276	27958
1911	36,070	4741	1423	2776	1697	219	30940
<p>Note: Peterborough- The City of Peterborough is The Parish of St. John the Baptist. It includes Minster Precincts/ Close, Dogsthorpe, Eastfield with Newark and Longthorpe.</p> <p>¹Increase in population in Woodston is due to speculation in building and to various charities, which render a settlement desirable to the poorer classes.</p> <p>Stanground Parish was part in Huntingdonshire and part in Cambridgeshire. In 1851 the entire parish was returned to Huntingdonshire.</p> <p>1911 Stanground South situated in Old Fletton Urban District. Stanground North situated in Thorney Rural District.</p> <p>²The increase in population in Fletton and Peterborough St. John were both attributed to the residence of persons employed by several railway companies.</p> <p>From 1871 Fletton is New and Old Fletton. Old Fletton (Hunts) covered an acreage of 762. New Fletton (Northants) covered an acreage of 220.</p> <p>1911 Fletton Rural situated in Old Fletton Urban District, 762 acres (Old Fletton). Fletton Urban situated City of Peterborough, 220 acres (New Fletton).</p> <p>³The increase in population in Stanground, Fletton and Woodston was attributed to houses and cottages built for railway workers and other workers employed in Peterborough.</p> <p>⁴The increase in population in Peterborough St. John is attributed to the great facilities afforded in Peterborough to railway communication. At New England 'The Barracks', which is part of this parish, the housing is entirely inhabited by railway workers-1871 1,381 persons.</p> <p>1911 Woodston Rural situated in Old Fletton Urban District. Woodston Urban in Peterborough St. John.</p>							

Source: See below²¹⁸

²¹⁸ National figures based on those compiled by Mitchell, *British historical statistics*, 9.

Local figures compiled from various reports. 1831 Enumeration Abstract <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1841 Enumeration Abstract <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1861 Population tables <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1871 Population tables <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1881 Population tables <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1891 Population Registration areas and sanitary districts <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1891 Population Registration areas and sanitary

These population increases were mirrored in local parishes and were commented upon in the population tables and enumeration abstracts. Peterborough, Stanground and Woodston all experienced population growth that was attributed to the railways. Peterborough's growth began in 1841 and was sustained from 1861 to 1891 whilst

Stanground's and Woodston's growth occurred around 1871. The effects of the development of the brickyards was also far reaching and Stanground, Woodston and Yaxley all experienced associated growth as a result. Around 1901 Stanground and Yaxley's populations grew by 18.8% and 21.9% respectively. Some of Woodston's new housing was part of Hills vision for his workforce of good housing and community. Woodston's growth was sustained from 1891 to after 1901 when the population of the parish more than doubled.

These growths in population were not just the workers directly involved in the railways and brickyards but also the associated supporting industries that were also attracted to the area such as basket makers, grocers and merchants. The adjustments that both the receiving community and the migrant had to make can only be imagined as the population exploded.

The Fletton population

It is important to understand the composition of the Fletton population as is summarised in table 4.2. During the research period, the percentage of the Fletton population who were migrants gradually decreased from 61.6% in 1851-1861 to 47.8% in 1901-1911. At the same time the percentage of the Fletton population who stayed in the parish from one census to another, attracted by security of employment and available housing increased from 10.4% in 1851-1861 to 30.3% in 1901-1911. The percentage of the population who migrated out of Fletton 'leavers' decreased from 70% in 1851-1861 to 62.5% in 1901-1911. Whilst the percentage of the population who

districts <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1901 County of Huntingdon <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017), 1901 and 1911 Areas, families or separate occupiers, and population England and Wales, Vol II, Registration Districts, 1911 <https://www.histpop.org> (Accessed 13/4/2017)

were born in Fletton also decreased slightly from 28% in 1851-1861 to 21.9% in 1901-1911. What these figures create is an image of a population that was largely unstable affected as it must have been by large numbers of individuals both moving into and out of Fletton. However at the same time there was a growing, significant section of the population, mainly established families, who were making their life and home within Fletton, becoming what Hey referred to as ‘stable groups of core families’ which created a feeling of stability and community.²¹⁹

Table 4.2: Composition of Fletton population, 1851-1911

Composition of Fletton population, 10 and over, 1851-1911 (as a percentage of total pop)						
	Born¹	Migrated in²	Persisted³	Persisted³	Migrated out⁴	Died⁵
1851-1861	28.5	61.6	24.9	10.4	70	4.3
1881-1891	25.4	53.9	24.6	20.6	69.7	5.7
1891-1901	24.2	57.8	33.5	17.9	62	4.4
1901-1911	21.9	47.8	35	30.3	62.5	2.5
Composition of Fletton population, 10 and over, 1851-1911 (individual count)						
	Born¹	Migrated in²	Persisted³		Migrated out⁴	Died⁵
1851-1861	410	880	150		427	26
1881-1891	557	1185	453		1283	105
1891-1901	990	2363	736		1361	97
1901-1911	1037	2264	1433		2554	102
Gender of migrated in² population, 10 and over, 1851-1911 (as an individual count)						
	1851-1861	1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911		
Males	427	549	1203	1040		
Females	453	636	1160	1224		
Total	880	1185	2363	2264		
Gender of migrated in² population, 10 and over, 1851-1911 (as a percentage of total migrant pop)						
	1851-1861	1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911		
Males	48.5	46.3	50.9	45.9		
Females	51.5	53.7	49.1	54.1		
Note: ¹ Individuals born since earlier census year, as a percentage of the higher census year. ² Individuals migrated in since earlier census year, as a percentage of the higher census year. ³ Individuals who stayed since lower census year, as a percentage of the lower census year. ³ Individuals who stayed since lower census year, as a percentage of the higher census year. ⁴ Migrated out-Leavers-Individuals who migrated out since lower census year, as a percentage of the lower census year. ⁵ Leavers-Individuals who died since lower census year, as a percentage of the lower census year.						

Source: See table 4.1

It will now be useful to consider the composition of the ‘migrant’ population, in greater detail, and place this population into the wider Fletton context.

²¹⁹ D. Hey, *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Oxford, 1996), p. 429.

‘Migrant’ – age and gender

The expansion of the railways, and the later development of the brickyards, attracted male migrants to Fletton, however it is clear from table 4.2 that in all time periods, except 1891-1901, the percentage of female migrants arriving in Fletton was greater than male migrants. Only in the period 1891-1901 did male migrants outnumber female migrants, and then only marginally, 50.9% against 49.1%. Opportunities that were available in Fletton for females such as domestic service, employment at Farrows Canning factory and Symingtons Corset factory ensured that, as Ravenstein stated ‘woman is a greater migrant than man’.²²⁰ This was in direct contrast to Ravenstein’s observations regarding the county of Huntingdonshire, which saw a loss in females due to an outflow caused by a lack of employment opportunity.

On closer analysis of the age of the male and female migrants, in figure 4.2 and 4.3, Ravenstein’s statement, supported by Deacon that most migrants were young males seems to bear some truth in Fletton.²²¹ For males the peak age of migration is 20-24 in 1851-1861 and 1901-1911, and 10-14 in 1881-1891 and 1901-1911. For females the peak age of migration is later 15-19 in 1881-1891 and 25-29 in the other periods. However this is only the peak age for migration. The high percentage of 10-19 year olds migrating and the sustained migration, by both males and females, into the mid 30’s indicates the importance of family migration to Fletton.

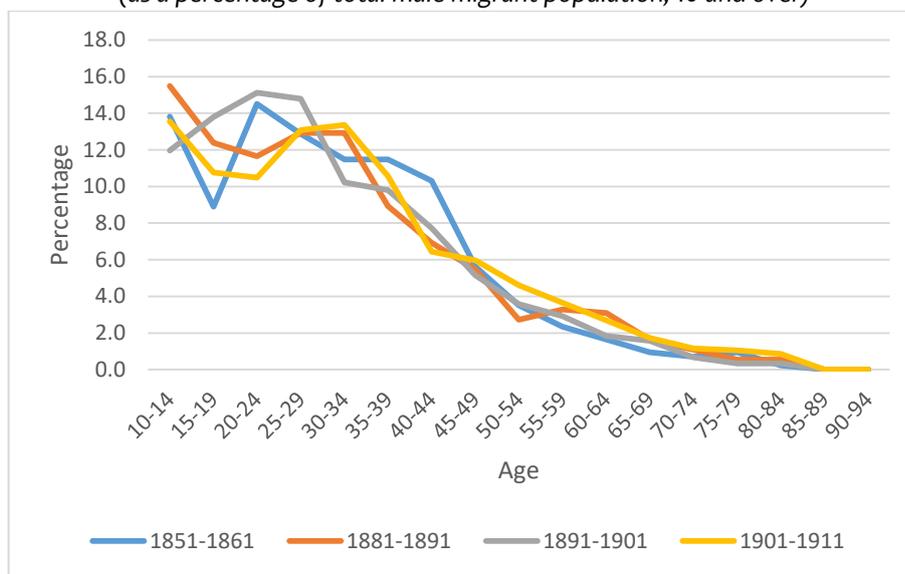
From the mid to late thirties the rate of migration predictably reduces with advancing age. However, even into advanced age individuals were migrating to Fletton, with their wives or companions, after their days of being employed ended, what might be termed ‘retirement migration’. Migration narratives reveal the migration journey that John Howes, William Bird and Emily Thurlby took to arrive in Fletton between 1901 and 1911. Howes aged 81, a retired gardener migrated with his wife Sarah Howes aged 78, from a birthplace of Stanground to privately rented

²²⁰ Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', p.198.

²²¹ Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration', p. 53.

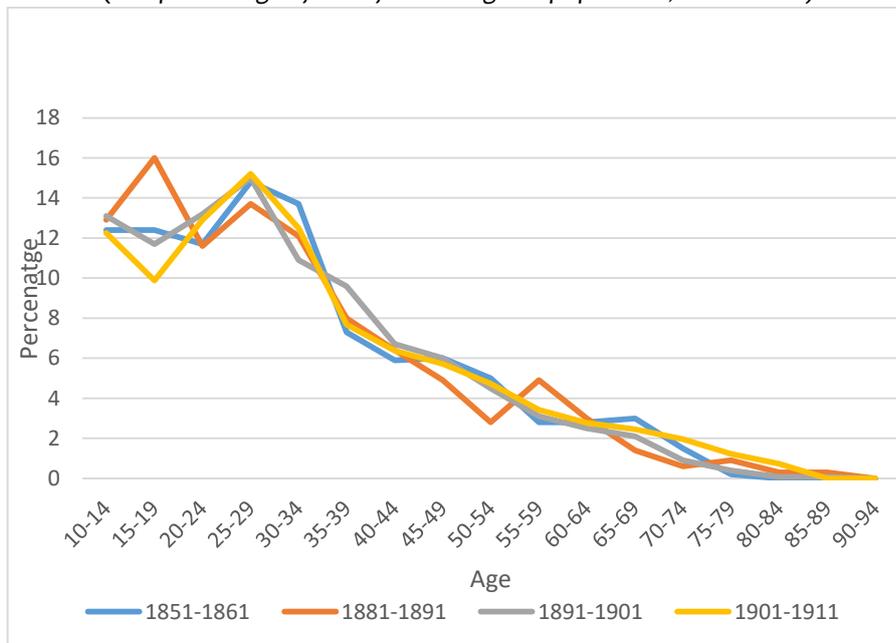
housing at 22 Park Road, New Fletton.²²² Howes migration journey took him via Cosgrove, Northamptonshire, Marks Tey, Essex before returning back to Stanground and then to New Fletton. They were married for 55 years and had eight children all of whom survived to adulthood.

Figure 4.2: Male migrant population, 10 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total male migrant population, 10 and over)



Source: CEBs 1851-1911

Figure 4.3: Female migrant population, 10 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total female migrant population, 10 and over)



Source: CEBs 1851-1911

²²² RG14/8671, RG13/1460/7, RG12/1415/103, RG10/1475/6

William Bird a retired wagon repairer aged 80, migrated with his wife Amy to 5 Bread Street, New Fletton, from a birthplace of Overton, Huntingdonshire via Peterborough.²²³ They were married for 60 years and had six children three of which survived to adulthood. Finally Emily Thurlby aged 52, living on private means, migrated with her companion Martha Stubbing aged 34, to Albion Terrace, New Fletton from Caythorpe, Lincolnshire.²²⁴

As previously discussed, to fully understand the migrant population in Fletton, the stayer population has to be considered. Broadly speaking under the age of 39 the greater percentage of the population are stayers. In contrast, above the age of 39 it is the migrant population that is older than the stayer population. This indicates that although young migrants are attracted to Fletton the vast majority of migrants are middle aged and beyond, potentially migrating after marriage and establishing a family has taken place.

The three most influential occupations in Fletton were the railways, the brickyards and for females domestic service. It is important to consider the age pattern of both the migrant and stayer workers in these industries. As can be seen in figure 4.4 and 4.5 the migrants who were attracted to the railways were, generally, younger than the stayers working in the railways, although the stayers were present in the industry to an older age than the migrants. Perkyns found in Kent that brick making was primarily a younger man's occupation.²²⁵ However, as can be seen in Fletton in figure 4.6 and 4.7 migration to and employment in the Fletton brickyards was sustained far beyond this to middle and even old age. The brickyards attracted migrants and stayers of similar ages, although stayers, between 25-34, are noticeably absent in comparison to migrant brick workers of a similar age.

Finally, migrant and stayer servants can be considered. From figure 4.8 it is clear that the greater percentage of migrant female servants are 15-19 and then predictably, due to the nature of the occupation, the numbers in each age range

²²³ RG14/8672, RG13/1462/70, RG12/1227/70, RG11/1593/19, RG10/1517/34

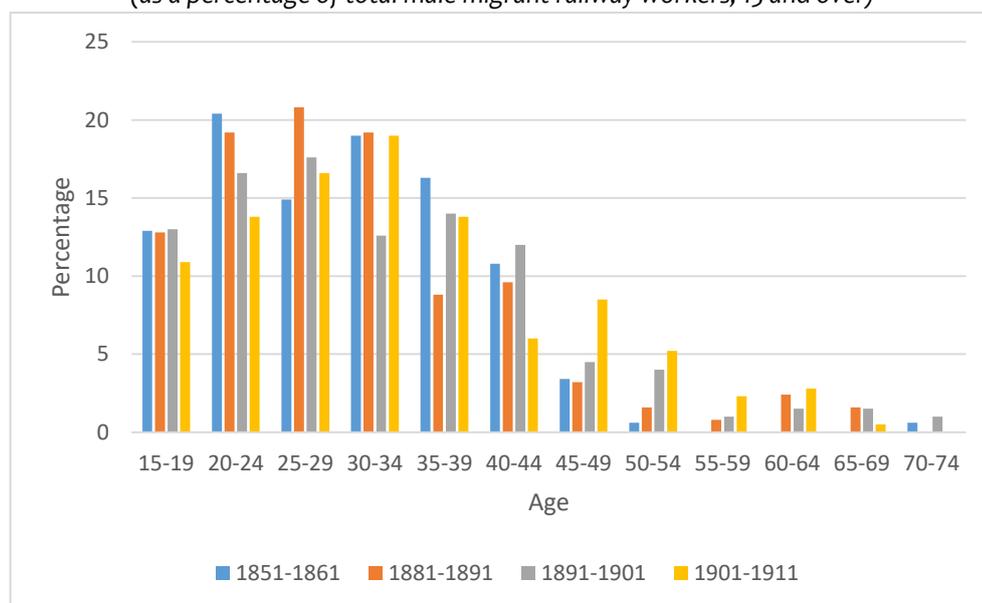
²²⁴ RG13/1461/35

²²⁵ Perkyns, 'Occupation patterns', p. 67.

decline significantly. As can be seen in figure 4.9 this is not replicated in the stayer domestic servants. The stayers who were attracted to domestic service were predominantly between 15 and 29 which is a broad age range. There is then a decline, which would be usual as females married. In Fletton at the turn of the century there was competition for the employment of females by the new industries of Farrows Canning factory and Symingtons corset factory. The appeal of working in these new factories with improved working conditions challenged the traditional employment of domestic service. However, there is a noticeable increase in stayer domestic servants between 40 and 54.

Females such as widow Jane Stone, who was born in Dedham, Essex.²²⁶ Jane migrated to Station Cottages, New Fletton from Shoreditch, Middlesex, after her husband Thomas died. She was recorded on the 1871 census as a waiting room attendant. Jane took advantage of the increasing diversity in employment offered by the expanding railways to provide for her six children, all who were born in Shoreditch, Middlesex. Jane remained in New Fletton for the next 20 years, with her daughter Amelia a dressmaker. Jane retained the same employment.

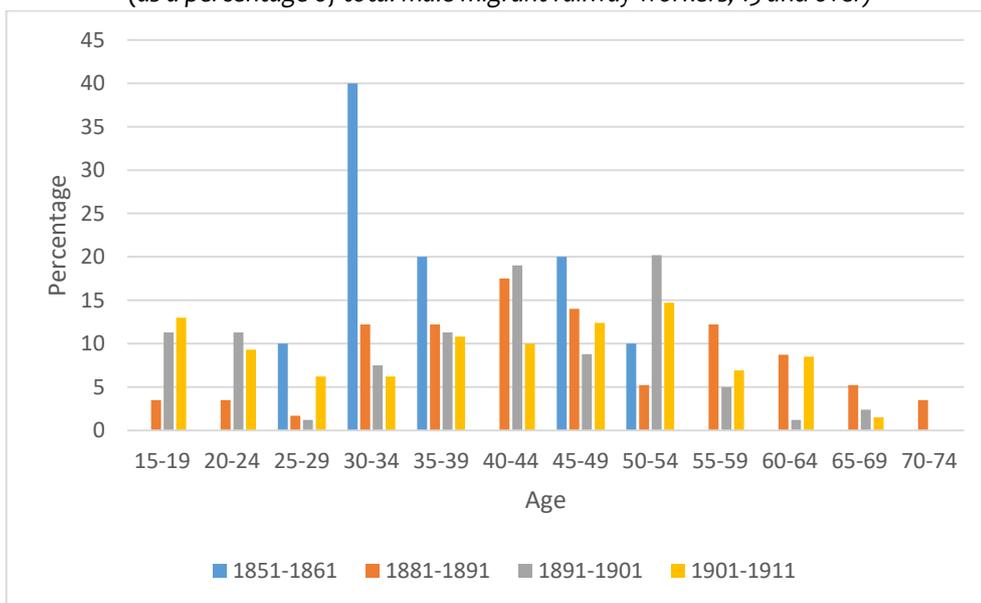
Figure 4.4: Age of migrant railway workers, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911
(as a percentage of total male migrant railway workers, 15 and over)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

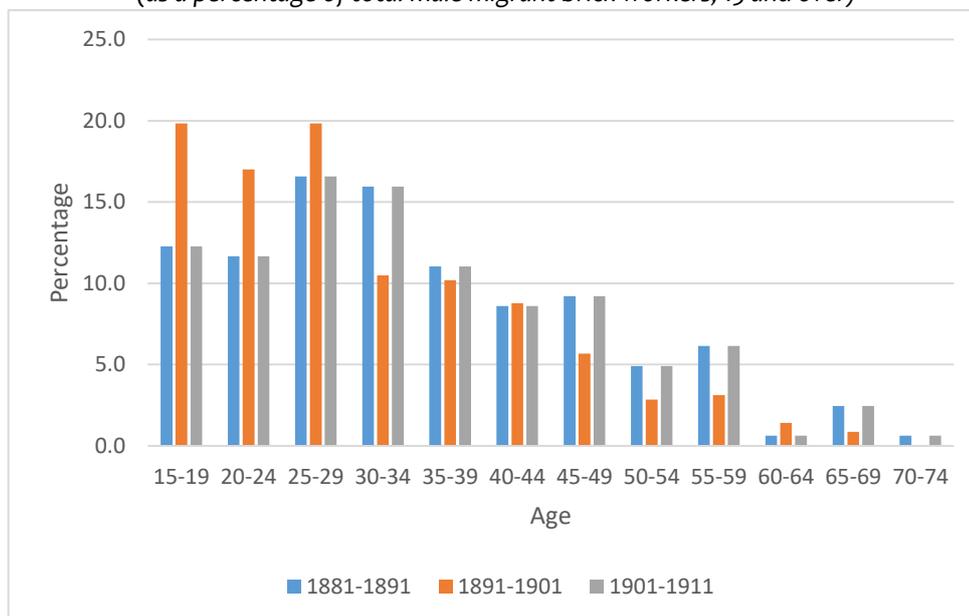
²²⁶RG12/1226/38, RG11/1591/54, RG10/707/60

Figure 4.5: Age of stayer railway workers, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total male migrant railway workers, 15 and over)



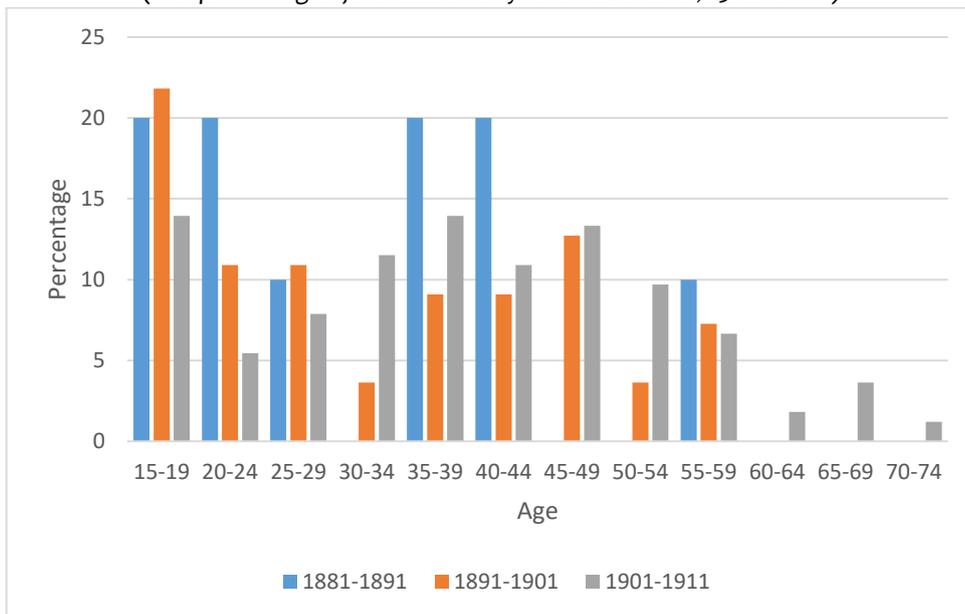
Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.6: Age of migrant brick workers, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total male migrant brick workers, 15 and over)



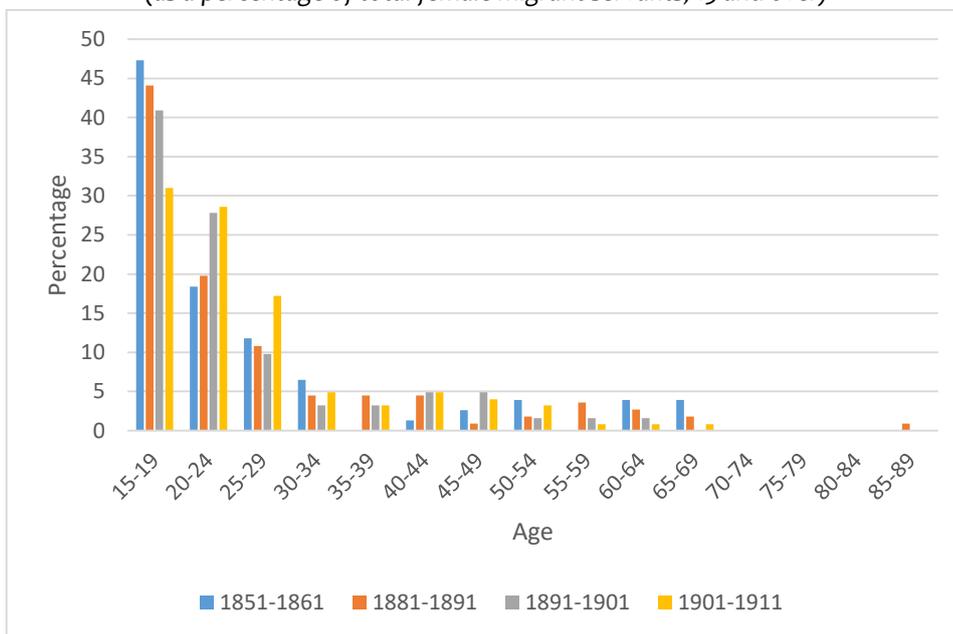
Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.7: Age of stayer brick workers, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total male stayer brick workers, 15 and over)



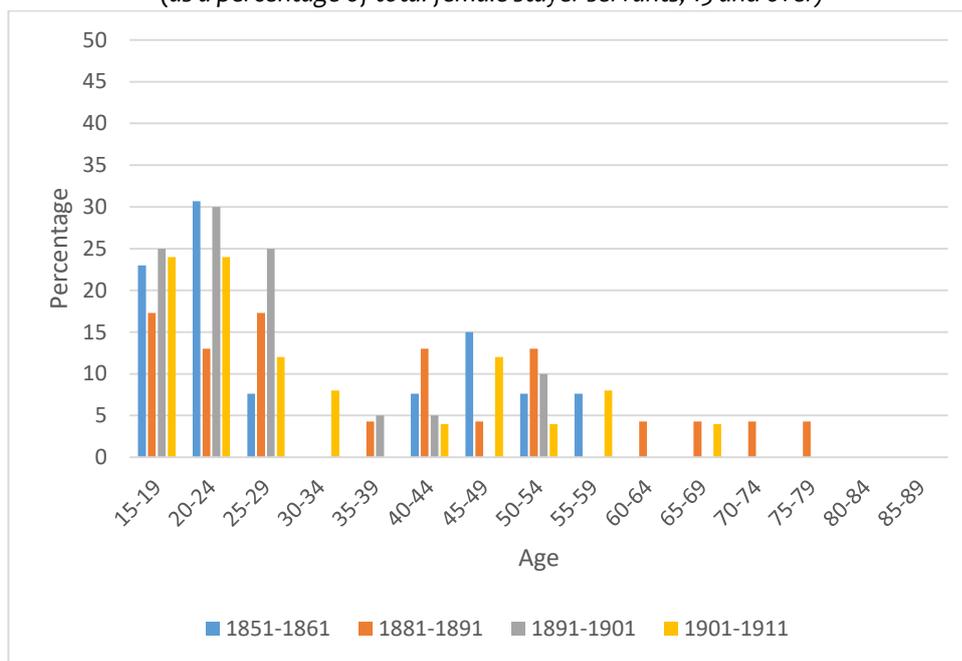
Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.8: Age of migrant female servants, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total female migrant servants, 15 and over)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.9: Age of stayer female servants, 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911
(as a percentage of total female stayer servants, 15 and over)

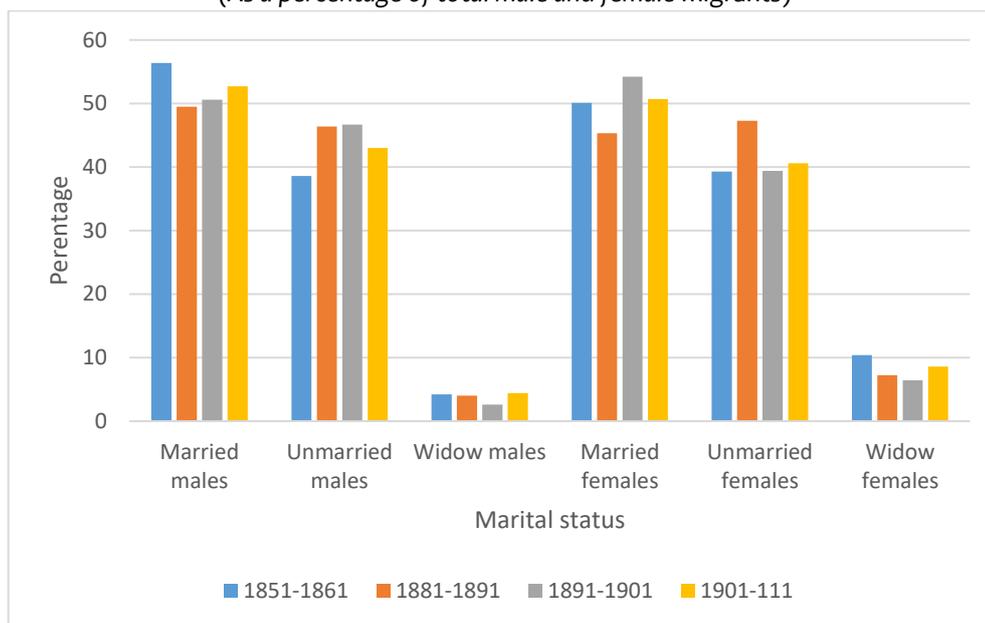


Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

‘Migrant’-marital status

Fletton attracted married and therefore family migrants. An element of the second aim of this research is to explore the extent of family migration. As can be seen in figure 4.10 for males migrating to Fletton the percentage who were married was greater than those who were unmarried. Although for 1881-1891 and 1891-1901 the difference was only marginal, 3.1% and 3.9% respectively. Female migration mirrored that of male, except 1881-1891, the greater percentage of female migrants were married rather than unmarried. In 1881-1891 there were a greater percentage of female unmarried migrants than married but again this was only a marginal 2% difference.

Figure 4.10: Migrant marital condition, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911
(As a percentage of total male and female migrants)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

In 1851-1861 there is a pronounced difference of 17.8% between the percentage of married males migrating to Fletton, 56.4%, in comparison to unmarried males migrating, 38.6%. This coincides particularly with the peak time for the expansion in the railways and their associated industries and the railways are well known for attracting families for employment. Fletton's experience echoes White's findings, in Grantham, where he found that the greater percentage of migrants were married 67.9% in 1881, as opposed to unmarried 24.9%.²²⁷

This analysis would not take into account those male and female migrants who arrived in Fletton unmarried and then married after arrival but before they are recorded in the census as married. It would be too time consuming to trace each married migrant backwards to find their date of marriage in comparison to their date of arrival into Fletton. However the proportion of individuals that would have been affected by this scenario should be too small to make a substantial difference.

²²⁷ White, 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain', p. 2. A. G. Darroch, "Migrants in the nineteenth century: fugitives or families in motion?", *Journal of Family History*, 6, (1981), pp. 3257-77. In a study of Welsh migration 1861-1871, 34 of 53 or 64.2% linked individuals migrated a part of a family group.

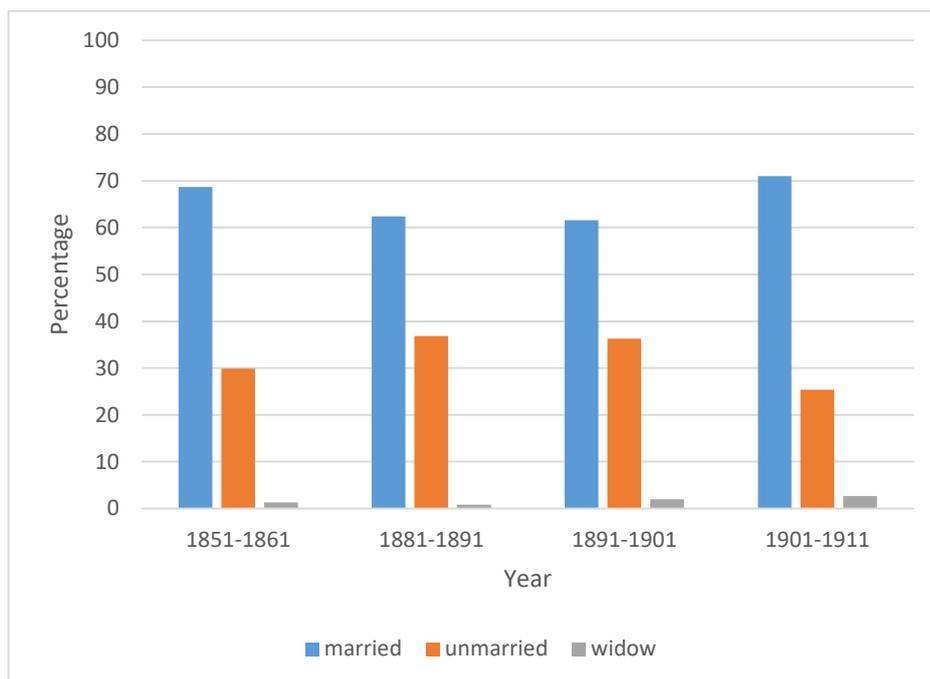
It is important to place the migrant population in the wider Fletton context. The majority of migrant males and females were married and so made their migration journey to Fletton as a family. Throughout the majority of the research period, except 1881-1891, the percentage of the migrant population who were married was greater than the percentage of stayers who were married. In contrast the percentage of the stayer population who were unmarried was greater than the percentage of the migrant population who were unmarried.

Ravenstein stated that most migrants were young unmarried males inferring that marriage and the responsibility that it brings was a hindrance to migration.²²⁸ In Fletton it would appear that the opposite was true and the greater percentage of migrants did in fact migrate when they were married. Migrants to Fletton found the responsibility of marriage and children no hindrance as they were aided in their move by the housing available and diverse employment opportunities.

As already discussed both the railway and brickyards favoured married workers but was this witnessed in Fletton? Figures 4.11 to 4.14 reveal that both industries, in Fletton, favoured the employment of married workers over unmarried workers. This remained the same regardless if the worker was a migrant or a stayer. Besides from the attraction of housing and employment, both the railways and brickyards encouraged married men and their sons into their employment, especially at times of expansion, to gain a workforce who were reliable, loyal and hard working.

²²⁸ Mills and Schürer, 'Migration and Population Turnover, p. 227.

Figure 4.11: Married and unmarried male migrants by railway occupation 1851-1911
(as a percentage of total male migrants with railway as occupation)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.12: Married and unmarried male migrants by brick occupation 1851-1911
(as a percentage of total male migrants with brick as occupation)



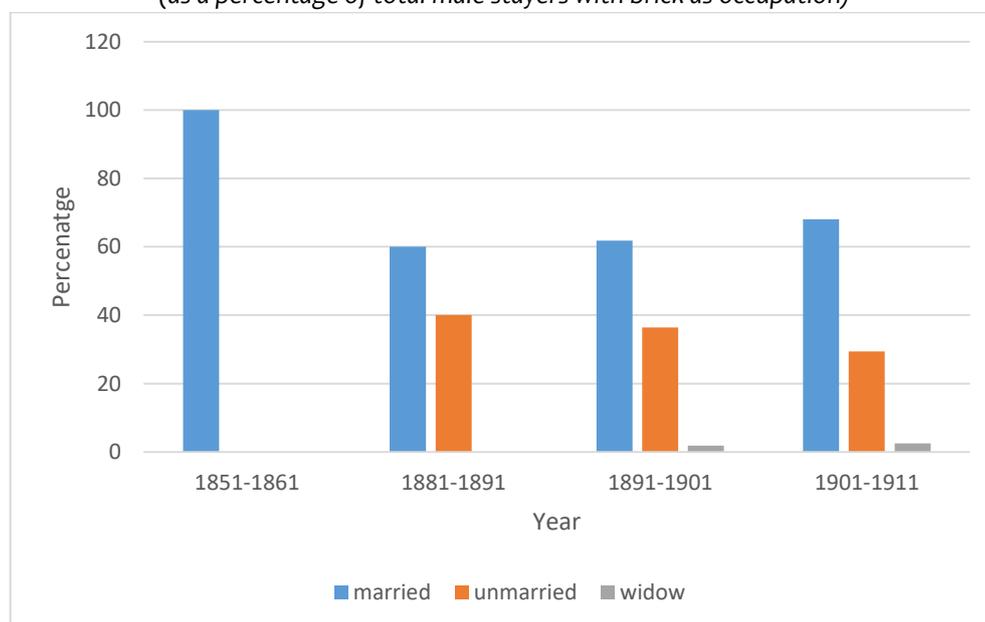
Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.13: Married and unmarried male stayers by railway occupation 1851-1911
(as a percentage of total male stayers with railway as occupation)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Figure 4.14: Married and unmarried male stayers by brick occupation, 1851-1911
(as a percentage of total male stayers with brick as occupation)



Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Distance travelled by male and female migrants from birthplace

Another important aspect of migration is how far male and female migrants were prepared to travel when migrating. To look at each migrant and trace their last place of residence, in relation to Fletton, would be extremely time consuming and not always possible. Therefore as discussed in the Introduction this research follows Ravenstein's example when establishing context and considers the distance travelled from birthplace to Fletton using the individual's birth county. Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 3 to simplify the analysis and to enable comparisons to be drawn the counties are divided into groups; local, middle, long distance and further afield.

As can be seen from map 4.1 the local counties are the ones which immediately border Huntingdonshire and include: Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire. The middle counties form a ring around these and include: Essex, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Rutland. The long distance counties incorporate the remainder and are largely over 100 miles away from Fletton. London and Middlesex are considered as separate entities as are further afield places such as Wales, Scotland, Ireland and foreign countries.

The process of categorising distances in this way is not always helpful. As Whyte suggested, when speaking of an earlier period, there is a danger of imposing a modern concept of what is a short and long distance on an earlier society.²²⁹ Furthermore White and Woods concluded that a long distance migration may not be as disruptive as a short distance migration if there was familiarity in the receiving community, such as neighbours with the same occupation or family who had previously migrated.²³⁰

Another difficulty with this kind of analysis is that it does not take into consideration any circular migration, step migration or return migration which migration

²²⁹ D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-183* (St. Martin's Press, 2000), p. 142.

²³⁰ White and Woods, 'The foundations of migration study', p. 18.

domestic servant at Ash Lea, Old Fletton, in the household of John Ashpool, a brickyard foreman (plate 4.4). She was born in Thorney, Cambridgeshire, to John, a farm labourer, and Alice. If only her journey from birthplace to destination is considered then she made a local county move, from Cambridgeshire to Huntingdonshire. However her migration narrative reveals that prior to Fletton she lived with her parents in Holme, Huntingdonshire so her move was actually an in county one.

Plate 4.4: Ash Lea, Old Fletton, 2016



Source: Sadie McMullon

Despite these shortcomings, as a strategy for large scale analysis, Sheppard in her Brighton study confirmed that birthplace analysis was ‘adequate for sketching in the broad pattern’.²³² Mills and Schürer also commented that to test hypothesis then using birthplace migration is an excellent tool.²³³

Long distance migration

When considering the distances that migrants travelled to Fletton, it soon becomes clear that the pattern of migration does not entirely conform to Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration. As seen previously in table 4.2, females were more migratory than males, they were more likely to leave their birthplaces, but contrary to Ravenstein’s hypothesis as can be seen in table 4.3 males did not always venture further. Males

²³² Sheppard, ‘Brighton’, p. 17.

²³³ Mills and Schürer, *Migration and Population Turnover*, p. 220.

and females were both equally likely to migrate to Fletton from a long distance or further afield place. In the period 1851-1861 and 1891-1901 a greater percentage of males travelled to Fletton from long distances and further afield places, 22% and 13% respectively. But in 1881-1891 and 1901-1911 it was the female migrants that travelled further, 14.5% and 17.1% respectively. But in no census period was the percentage difference that great, always less than 2%, and over the whole research period despite improved transport links migration from long distance counties was reducing for both male and female migrants, from 22% to 15.4% for males and 19.5% to 17.1% for females.

Table 4.3: Distance travelled, from birth place county, by male and female migrants, aged 10 and above (as a percentage of total male and female migrants)

	Male 1851- 1861	Female 1851- 1861	Male 1881- 1891	Female 1881- 1891	Male 1891- 1901	Female 1891- 1901	Male 1901- 1911	Female 1901- 1911
Within county	14.9	16.9 [^]	29.8 [^]	23.9	28 [^]	26.6	28.3 [^]	24.4
Local county	28	31.6 [^]	34.8	38.9 [^]	37.9	41 [^]	35.1	37.2 [^]
Total¹	42.9	48.5 [^]	54.6	62.8 [^]	65.9	67.6 [^]	63.4 [^]	61.6
Long distance	16.9 [^]	15.3	10.6 [^]	9.2	8.7 [^]	6	9.5	9.8 [^]
Further afield	.9	1.1 [^]	.8	1.2 [^]	1.5	1.7 [^]	2.1	3.5 [^]
London and Middlesex	4.2 [^]	3.1	2.3	4.1 [^]	2.8	3.6 [^]	3.8	3.8
Total²	22 [^]	19.5	13.7	14.5 [^]	13 [^]	11.3	15.4	17.1 [^]
Middle distance	29.9 [^]	27.9	20.5	21.2 [^]	20.1 [^]	18.4	20	21.2 [^]
Notes: [^] Indicates whether male or female in each census period was higher percentage.								
¹ Indicates total of 'within county' and 'local county' migration as a percentage of all male and female migration.								
² Indicates total of 'long distance', 'further afield' and 'London and Middlesex' migration as a percentage of all male and female migration.								

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Short distance migration

As is also revealed in table 4.3 whilst migration to Fletton from long distances and further afield was decreasing, short distance migration from within county and local counties, for both males and females was increasing. In 1851-1861 this was 42.9% for males and 48.5% for females increasing to 63.4% for males and 61.6% for females

1901-1911. This propensity in Fletton, for the majority of migrants, to have travelled over a shorter distance conforms to Ravenstein's law that the majority of migration occurs over short distances.

At the beginning of the research period, 1851-1861, females were more likely than males to migrate within county, and then from 1881-1891 to 1901-1911, males were more likely to migrate within county than females, however the percentage difference was never more than 5.9%. Throughout the research period, females were more likely to migrate from the local counties of Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire than males. Although again these differences were marginal, female local county migration was never more than 4.1% greater than male local county migration.

Given the close proximity of Fletton to the borders of Northamptonshire, where Peterborough was only a mile away, and Cambridgeshire, where neighbouring Whittlesey was only four miles away, it is not surprising that there should be a high level of local county migration. In particular migration from Peterborough is important. Individuals may have lived in Fletton and worked in Peterborough, or Peterborough may have been a first port of residency in a migrant's journey and, as will be discussed later in this research, Peterborough was also a prime locality where individuals sought their marriage partners from.²³⁴ In 1851-1861 21.9% of all male migrants and 23.7% of all female migrants came from Northamptonshire and this figure remained constant throughout the research period.²³⁵

Middle Distance Migration

Migration, to Fletton, from the middle distance counties also declined during the research period. In 1851-1861 male middle distance migration was 29.9% and female

²³⁴ Marriage is discussed in Chapter 6

²³⁵ Local county migration-Northamptonshire to Fletton

1851-1861 Male 21.9%	1881-1891 Male 21.4%	1891-1901 Male 18.1%	1901-1911 Male 23.8%
Female 23.7%	Female 24.4%	Female 23.5%	Female 25.3%

(As a percentage of the total male and female migrant population)

middle distance migration was 27.9%. This reduced to 20.5% and 21.2% respectively in 1881-1891 and remained constant throughout the rest of the research period.

Married v unmarried migration distances

Ravenstein's Law that unmarried males generally migrated more frequently and over longer distances is widely accepted. However Fletton does not conform to this acknowledged migration pattern. Table 4.4 reveals that except 1851-1861, the unmarried males were more likely to migrate from within county and local county and it was the married males that were more likely to migrate to Fletton, from middle and long distance counties. The same is also the case with married and unmarried females. Unmarried female migrants were more likely to have travelled from within county and from local counties and the married females were more likely to have come from middle distance and long distance counties.

Table 4.4: Distance travelled, by married and unmarried, male and female migrants, from birthplace, 1851-1911, (as a percentage of total male and female migrants)

	unmarried males				unmarried females			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
within¹	12.1	36.6	30.0	36.5	17.2	29.9	35.5	30.6
local²	32.1	35.0	39.9	35.8	31.6	38.2	39.0	35.3
middle³	32.7	15.0	18.5	15.7	27.6	18.6	13.8	20.5
long⁴	17.6	8.6	6.8	6	13.7	7.0	6.6	8.7
further⁵	0.6	0.4	1.2	1.8	0	0.6	0.9	2.1
London⁶	3.6	2.0	3.2	3.5	2.9	4.7	4.2	2.4
	married males				married females			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
within	17.0	24.5	26.5	21.9	15.4	19.8	21.1	21.0
local	25.7	35.1	35.6	34.0	29.0	40.3	42.2	38.2
middle	29.0	35.1	24.9	25.2	30.4	22.9	24.8	24.8
long	16.6	8.8	7.9	11.0	17.2	13.2	6.5	9.4
further	1.2	1.0	1.5	2.0	1.3	2.0	2.5	2.0
London	4.6	2.6	2.4	4.6	4.0	4.1	2.9	4.5
Notes: Distance travelled, for further explanation see Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology								
¹ within county			² local county			³ middle distance		
⁴ long distance			⁵ further afield			⁶ London and Middlesex		

Source: CEBs 1851-1911

Transport links at this time, especially the railways, were allowing longer distance migration to happen far easier than ever before and this perhaps assisted families to migrate further and to then maintain links with the sending community. But

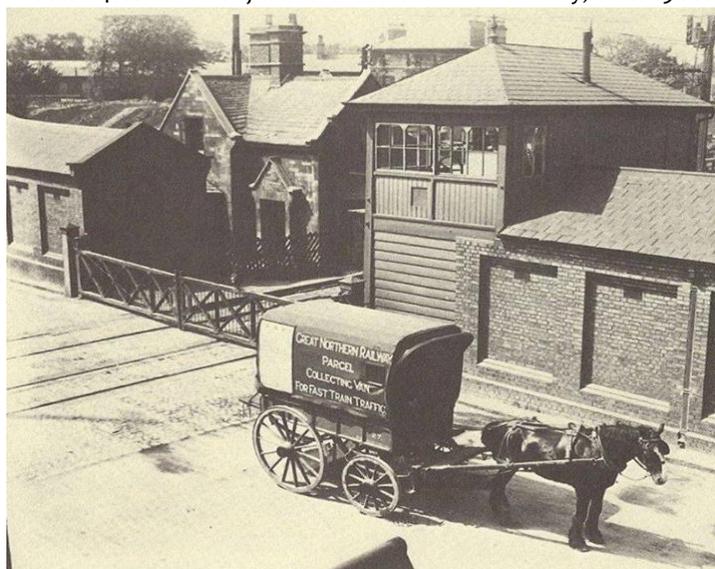
improvements in transport also had an impact locally and this caused within county and local county migration to flourish. For example, male migration from Cambridgeshire increased from 6.4% in 1851-1861, rising to 11.6% and 17.9% in 1881-1891 and 1891-1901 before falling to 10.2% in 1901-1911. As Everitt commented it was not only railways that provided transport links, the carrier cart system complemented the railway system.²³⁶ Plate 4.5 shows a local carrier cart on Fletton Avenue and 4.6 shows a mail cart resplendent in the Great Northern livery.

Plate 4.5: Carrier cart on Fletton Ave, Old Fletton, circa 1900



Source: <http://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk/blog/category/villages/fletton/page/3/>
(Accessed 31/12/2016)

Plate 4.6: Mail cart for the Great Northern Railway, circa 1900



Source: Sargood, Peterborough, p. 102.

²³⁶ Everitt, *Landscape and Community*, p. 280.

During this period rural areas became more dependent on their 'local capital' and so the number of carrier carts run by small scale local individuals increased.²³⁷ As is recorded in the *Kelly's Directory* in 1901, at a minimum there were 17 carrier carts driving through Fletton per week from towns and villages as diverse as Farcet, Huntingdon, Whittlesey, and Cambridge. Sarah Ashby's waggon came every Sunday and Wednesday morning from Huntingdon, Ashby and Co ran a cart from Cambridge on a Monday, Wednesday and Friday and no less than four carts came from Whittlesey.²³⁸ Diary entries made by Wright recalled carriers from the Fens bringing 'produce from their small-holdings' to his father's shop, on a Saturday, as they made their way to Peterborough, before returning with 'supplies' for the customers on their return.²³⁹ Wright also remembers that as a young boy he visited relatives in Ramsey St. Marys, eight miles away, for a holiday and his transport was Mr. Barnes's carrier cart. Therefore the carrier carts not only aided migration but once an individual had made a move they also provided a means by which information could be carried and links with home maintained.²⁴⁰

But how far were migrants, who were attracted to the main industries in Fletton, the railways, brickyards and domestic service prepared to travel? As can be seen from table 4.5 when the initial development in the railways took place, 1851-1861, railway migrants travelled from greater distances than at any other time during the research period. This may have been due to the demand for particular types of skills which could not be filled from local sources. As the railway expansion increased the railway migrants came increasingly from local counties but middle county and long distance migration remained important, particularly during the time of the second period of rapid railway growth from 1891 to 1901. In contrast, the brick worker migrants over the entire research period came predominantly from within county

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²³⁸ *Kelly's Directory 1901*.

²³⁹ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 27.

²⁴⁰ Everitt, *Landscape and Community*, p. 303.

and local counties. This was perhaps due to the dominant labouring nature of brick making which appealed to the agricultural labourers living locally.²⁴¹

It is also evident that females who were seeking a position in domestic service came predominantly from local counties, throughout the research period. However, also of significance is that females were prepared to make the journey to Fletton from the middle distance counties, and to a lesser extent long distance counties, particularly in the earlier period, 1851-1861, where the percentage of females migrating for employment in domestic service from middle distance counties was only slightly lower than those migrating from local counties, 26.1% compared to 31.5%. There is a possibility that these females were migrating alongside their families and then gaining employment once they arrived in Fletton.²⁴²

Table 4.5: Distance travelled, by migrant railway workers, brick workers and domestic servants from birthplace, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911, (as a percentage of total migrant railway brick workers and domestic servants)

	Railway workers				Brickyard workers			Domestic servants			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
Within¹	10.2	25.6	18.6	21.0	44.0	38.3	41.8	19.7	24.3	29.5	27.8
local²	25.8	36.0	42.2	44.2	32.7	38.0	32.2	31.5	44.1	45.8	39.2
middle³	36.2	27.2	29.6	20.0	16.7	13.9	12.7	26.1	21.6	18.9	19.5
long⁴	0.5	8.0	7.5	6.7	5.3	5.3	6.7	14.3	5.4	3.2	11.2
further⁵	1.8	0	0	1.6	1.2	0.6	1.4	0	0	0.8	0
London⁶	6.0	2.4	1.5	4.1	0	2.4	4.6	0	0.9	1.6	1.6
Notes: Distance travelled, for further explanation see Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology											
	¹ within county			² local county			³ middle distance				
	⁴ long distance			⁵ further afield			⁶ London and Middlesex				

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

'Migrant'-occupation

A question raised as part of the first aim of this research is to discover the possible motive behind the decision to migrate. One of the main inducements to migrate was employment. But which specific occupations attracted migrants to Fletton and were these the same occupations that stayers were employed in? Fletton was an area where very little child labour was witnessed and as Saito emphasises, most

²⁴¹ This is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

²⁴² This issue is discussed later in this chapter.

boys over the age of 15 were expected to work whatever the circumstances.²⁴³ Therefore in this analysis all individuals aged 15 and over will be considered.²⁴⁴

As can be seen from table 4.6 in Fletton the rate of employment for both male migrants and stayers was high with very little unemployment.²⁴⁵ The rate of employment for stayer females decreased over the research period from 42% to 30% whilst the rate of employment for female migrants increased slightly from 27.5% to 31.9%.²⁴⁶

Table 4.6: Percentage of male and female, migrants and stayers in employment, aged 15 and over, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of those 15 and over who could be in employment)

	Male		Female	
	Migrant	Stayer	Migrant	Stayer
1851-61	94.0	81.0	27.5	42.0
1881-91	95.0	97.0	32.0	35.3
1891-01	96.9	96.7	26.7	28.5
1901-11	98.4	97.5	31.9	30.0

Note: Nationally in 1902 69% of males between 15 and 64 were in employment.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

As already mentioned and as can be seen from table 4.7 the male migrants to Fletton were attracted by two main industries, the railways, included in the grouping 'transport' and brick making.²⁴⁷ These industries had a symbiotic relationship, the railways made the brick industry possible bringing in coal and taking the bricks away.²⁴⁸ They both had their own individual times of growth and depression, and these are reflected in the peak times for migration. In 1851-1861, the migrants were predominantly attracted to the railways, 42.5%, whilst the stayers found employment in the traditional field of agriculture, 29.7%, and the growing

²⁴³ O. Saito, 'Who worked when? Lifetime profiles of labour-force participation in Cardington and Corfe Castle in the late-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries', in D. R. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996), p. 196.

²⁴⁴ The age of 15 used in this analysis is unaffected by the changing compulsory school leaving age of 10 years in 1880, 11 years in 1893, 12 years in 1899 and 14 years in 1918.

²⁴⁵ C. Lindsay, 'A century of labour market change: 1900 to 2000', *Labour Market Trends*, (Labour Market Division, Office for National Statistics, March 2003), p. 133.

²⁴⁶ Female rates of employment are discussed later in this chapter. The issues regarding the recording of female occupation have been addressed in Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology.

²⁴⁷ In table 4.7 'transport' includes those employed in the railways and other occupations related to transport. In Fletton these other occupations would not be significant.

²⁴⁸ Cunningham, 'Growth of Peterborough', p. 431.

occupation of construction, 12.7%. But in this period of rapid expansion the railways needed labour quickly and so stayers were also attracted to this new industry as well, 21.2%.

Table 4.7: Occupation of male migrants and stayer, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of total male migrants and stayers 15 and over)

	Migrant				Stayer			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
Government	2.3	0.9	0.7	2.1	8.5	1.1	1.0	1.3
Professional	3.0	2.9	1.7	2.3	2.0	3.4	2.0	1.4
Servants	0.8	2.9	1.1	1.5	2.0	1.1	0.6	1.8
Commercial	7.2	3.4	3.6	5.4	2.0	1.1	0.6	3.3
Transport	42.5	28.2	19.0	23.7	21.2	33.0	26.5	21.0
Brick	0.8	17.0	32.0	15.2	2.0	5.8	17.4	24.0
Metal	4.9	8.6	13.0	16.6	8.5	9.3	11.0	15.0
Manufacture	3.8	1.3	0.9	2.8	6.3	3.4	1.6	2.3
Dress	2.0	1.5	0.7	2.6	4.2	1.7	1.3	1.6
Construction	5.5	5.6	9.0	5.0	12.7	8.7	15.0	7.0
Wood	6.3	5.2	3.0	2.1	0	4.0	3.6	3.0
Food/lodging	6.4	7.2	5.0	8.0	4.2	5.8	6.0	5.9
Agriculture	4.9	3.6	1.7	2.3	29.7	3.4	2.3	1.8
Other	11.5	11.0	7.7	9.7	4.2	18.0	10.4	10.0
Notes:								

Source: CEBs 1851-1911

With the continued decline in agriculture by 1881-1891 the stayers had to find alternative employment. This potentially came through the railways, 33%, and in metal working 9.3%. Migrants were still attracted to the railways, 28.2%, but a new industry, brick making was also attracting male migrants, 17% and to a lesser degree stayers, 5.8%.

In 1891-1901 and 1901-1911 both the railways and the brickyards remained dominant in Fletton although their influence was changing. The brickyards were attracting fewer migrants, 1891-1901 32% decreasing to 15.2% in 1901-1911 in favour of stayers 17.4% in 1891-1901 increasing to 24% in 1901-1911. At the same time, although the need for railway workers in Fletton was gradually declining, in 1891-1901 19% of migrants and 26.5% of stayers and in 1901-1911 23.7% of migrants and 21% of stayers, were still attracted to this industry. The number of stayers employed by both industries was perhaps due to the coming to working age of children who had previously arrived in Fletton as part of a migrant family and who had grown up and stayed in Fletton, encouraged to persist by the employment opportunities available.

Although the railways and brickyards were the dominant industries they also brought a wealth of peripheral and connected trades. These included metal working such as blacksmiths and foundry workers (plate 4.7), construction workers to build the houses required by an expanding population, commercial enterprises to cater for the populations needs, manufacture, such as basket making, professional employment such as clerks and teachers and the provision of lodgings and food establishments. Cunningham observed that by 1900 the thousands of pounds earned and spent weekly by the railway and brick workers was now the single most important source of income for the tradesmen of the city.²⁴⁹ This observation has also been made of other railway towns, such as Crewe, where there were few occupations that did not depend directly on the railway.²⁵⁰

Plate 4.7: Blacksmiths at the East Station, circa 1900



Source: Peterborough Library Photograph Collection

In contrast to males, female migrants and stayers, as can be seen in table 4.8, were attracted to different occupations. These occupations were chiefly domestic service, dress which included dressmaking, tailoring and corset making, professional occupations such as teaching and the processing and provision of food and lodging in various forms.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*,

²⁵⁰ Drummond, *Crewe*, p. 22.

Domestic service as an occupational category is difficult to compare across census years as the definition changed over time. It was once a term that would mean any person in the household under the heads authority. This definition changed during the Victorian era to mean those employed by the household such as domestic or groom and by the end of the era there were even more specific titles such as parlour maid and cook.²⁵¹

Gant found, when looking at Crickowell, that ‘Domestic servants formed an essential part of nineteenth century society’²⁵² In fact Schwarz calculated, that when considering the broadest definition of domestic service, servants accounted nationally for 7.1% of the total labour force in 1851 rising to 8.8% in 1871 before falling to 7% in 1891. The comparative female percentages being 12.6%, 15.5% and 12.8%.²⁵³ In Gant’s study, in Crickowell, albeit a market town in Wales so not directly comparable, the percentage of females employed in domestic service for these years was higher than the national figures at 21.3% in 1851, 20.3% in 1871 and 23.3% in 1891.²⁵⁴ A more similar situation to Fletton was Crewe and Drummond found that in 1881 30.9% of females were employed in domestic service.²⁵⁵

By comparison the percentage of employed females engaged in domestic service in Fletton were phenomenal. Of all employed female migrants in 1851-1861, 55.8% were employed in domestic service and for stayers this was 44.8%. Fletton was a developing area and consequently an attractive destination to those seeking a position in domestic service. The ability to employ a domestic servant was seen, by some, to be an indicator of wealth and imply a higher social scale. However this was not necessarily the case as a family with an income of £100 could afford a servant.²⁵⁶ Even the wives of masons and carpenters could afford to pay a ‘sixpence to clean

²⁵¹ M. Ebery and B. Preston, *Domestic service in late Victorian and Edwardian England, 1871-1914* (Reading, 1976), pp.1-13.

²⁵² R. Gant, 'Domestic service in a small market town, Crickhowell, 1851-1901', *Local Population Studies*, 84, (2010), p.16.

²⁵³ L. Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 52, (1999), p.236.

²⁵⁴ Gant, 'Domestic service in a small market town', p. 22.

²⁵⁵ Drummond, *Crewe*, Appendix 1 Table 11.

²⁵⁶ M. Drake, 'Domestic Servants', in J. Golby (ed.), *Studying family and community history: Nineteenth and twentieth century. Communities and families* (OU, 1994a), p. 47.

knives'.²⁵⁷ This meant that employing a domestic servant would be within reach of office clerks, government employees and skilled manual workers. Wright, whose father was a baker and shopkeeper, recalls fondly 'the servant' his family employed who would gather them all together 'round a roaring fire' and tell 'us tales'.²⁵⁸ By 1901-1911 those females in domestic service was in decline, especially for stayers at only 14.2%, as other opportunities beckoned. However it still remained an attractive prospect for female migrants at 35.5%.

Table 4.8: Female migrant and stayer occupation, over 15, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911
(as a percentage of total female employed migrants and stayers 15 and over)

	Migrant				Stayer			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
Government	0	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0
Professional	5.0	9.9	10.7	7.3	20.6	15.4	7.0	5.6
Servants	55.8	52.3	45.4	35.5	44.8	32.4	23.5	14.2
Commercial	0	0.5	2.6	2.0	0	0	8.0	3.4
Transport	0	0	0	0	3.4	0	0	0.5
Brick	0	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0
Metal	0	0	0	0.8	0	0	0	0
Manufacture	1.4	1.8	4.5	3.8	0	4.2	4.7	1.7
Dress	19.8	14.0	18.2	22.0	13.7	22.5	27.0	44.3
Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wood	0	0	0	0.3	0	0	0	0
Food/lodging	3.6	2.3	5.8	14.0	0	2.8	0	11.3
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	13.9	18.8	13.0	13.4	17.2	22.5	27.0	18.7
Notes:								

Source: CEBs 1851-1911

As mentioned other opportunities gradually attracted both female migrants and stayers. In 1851-1861 19.8% of employed female migrants were attracted to employment in dress, primarily dressmaking. As the research period progressed the manufacture of corsets began with the opening of the Symingtons factory in New Fletton. This was a boost to female workers and in 1901-1911 44.3% of employed female stayers were employed in dress and 22% of employed female migrants. The provision of food and lodging was another growth area for female workers with the increase in hostelryes and the opening of Farrows Canning factory. By 1901-1911 14%

²⁵⁷ Ebery and Preston, *Domestic Service*, p. 2.

²⁵⁸ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 21.

of employed female migrants were employed in food and lodging and 11.3% of employed female stayers.

Surprisingly, considering the population growth of Fletton, one area of employment which declined was professional, which included teachers. In 1851-1861 20.6% of employed female stayers were engaged in a professional occupation and this declined to 5.6% in 1901-1911. Female migrants were never particularly attracted to professional occupations, 5% in 1851-1861 increasing slightly to 7.3% by 1901-1911.

Family Migration

The second stated aim of this research is to explore the extent, nature and impact of family migration. In so doing a range of questions can be addressed including: What influence did changing occupations have on family migration? What was the impact of housing on family migration? What was the combined effect of occupation and distance on family migration? Did family migration have an impact on the household composition of the migrant? Did the availability of employment for all family members have an impact on family migration? And What role did paternal influence have in gaining employment?

Ravenstein observed that the majority of migrants were young, 16-25 and unmarried and that family migration was the exception rather than the norm. Generally held opinion and studies support this view. White and Woods and Whyte have observed that young unmarried adults migrate more, especially before 30 years of age, and that after 30 and after marriage, migration decreases as residential stability and family responsibility increases.²⁵⁹ Similar accepted opinion presumes that the stayer population is founded on married couples and their families. As has been revealed through the above close contextual analysis of the migrant and stayer population Fletton did not conform to this. In fact, in Fletton almost the opposite can be witnessed, the migrants are dominated by married couples and their families and the stayers by young unmarried individuals.

²⁵⁹ White and Woods, 'The foundations of migration study' p. 12. This is also supported in: D. Whyte, *Migration in Society in Britain 1550-1830* (St. Martin's Press, 2000), p. 4.

As previously discussed a migrant was drawn to an area primarily by the opportunities available in employment and as Deacon advocated the main factor which dictated whether a migrant would travel a short or long distance or remain in an area was their occupational background.²⁶⁰ Also important to the migrant was the availability of housing in their new community.

Fletton's dominant industries, employing almost half of the male working migrant population were the railways and the brickyards.²⁶¹ As Fletton grew the traditional male industry of agriculture declined and so too did the predominantly female occupation of domestic service. But other industries expanded and were attracted to Fletton including: Cadge and Colmans mill and Farrows Canning factory in Old Fletton and Symingtons Corset maker in New Fletton plus various food and lodging establishments. These new industries provided additional employment especially for unmarried female migrants.

Uniquely this combination of diverse industries provided in one community employment for married and unmarried individuals, both male and female allowing families to migrate. By exploring these industries further, the opportunities that were available for the migrant, the individuals that took advantage of them and the households they lived in it may be possible to ascertain why Fletton presented a uniquely different migration experience.

The influence of changing occupation

The railway

As already discussed, in Chapter 2 Fletton: Place and Innovator, the growth of the railways was astounding. *Kelly's Directory* proudly declared in 1847 that Fletton was the home of the important station for the Northampton to Peterborough branch of the North Western, Eastern counties and Syston and Peterborough railway

²⁶⁰ Deacon, 'Communities, families and migration', p. 56.

²⁶¹ Railways and brickyards employed almost half the male migrant working population in 1851-1861, 1881-1891 and 1901-1911, 42.8%, 45% and 43.4% respectively and more than half in 1891-1901 54.7%.

companies.²⁶² The railways, in particular, benefitted the Fenland area as crops grown locally could be easily transported to London by train.²⁶³

A migration narrative reveals how one migrant William Pearson, was directly affected by the extension of the Ely to Peterborough line. Pearson, a railway inspector employed by the Eastern Counties railways did not allow either age or family responsibility to deter him from migrating.²⁶⁴ Pearson was born in Springfield, Essex and he married locally born Jane. Between 1851 and 1861, when Pearson was at least 35, and Jane was at least 38, with five children, they migrated to Fletton. The birthplaces of their children reveal that they were a mobile family and their migration journey took them via Maldon, Essex and Ely, Cambridgeshire. Pearson was taking advantage of the secure employment and accommodation the railways offered his family.

The Pearson family's migration journey to Fletton was emulated by countless other families. As can be seen in table 4.9 throughout the research period at least a quarter of all male household heads in Fletton were employed in the railway, and this reached a high of 34.3% in 1881-1891. The percentage of migrant household heads employed by the railways decreased from 26% in 1851-1861 to 16.6% in 1901-1911. But at the same time the numbers of stayer household heads employed by the railways increased. These figures are lower than that witnessed in the railway town of Crewe, in 1881, where 69.4% of all household heads were employed by the railways.²⁶⁵ However in Fletton two industries were dominant, rather than one, and so the number of male household heads employed in the railways may have been lower but nonetheless remain significant.

²⁶² Kelly's *Directory of Northamptonshire*, 1847.

²⁶³ Wickes, *A History of Huntingdonshire*, p. 111.

²⁶⁴ RG9/965/37, HO107/1764/430

²⁶⁵ Drummond, *Crewe*, p.26.

Table 4.9: Male household heads employed in the railways, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911
(as a percentage of all male heads)

	1851-1861		1881-1891		1891-1901		1901-1911	
	Male household heads		Male household heads		Male household heads		Male household heads	
	Ind count	Percentage	Ind count	Percentage	Ind count	Percentage	Ind count	Percentage
Total household heads	242		402		810		930	
Railway household heads	70	29.0	138	34.3	213	26.3	257	27.6
Migrant Railway household heads	63	26.0	85	21.1	142	17.5	154	16.6
Stayer Railway household Heads	7	3.0	53	13.2	71	8.8	103	11.0

Note: The household heads were married or married with family

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Shepherd observed that new railway centres were ‘mechanical settlement(s) in an agricultural district’.²⁶⁶ And Graham Anderson’s image of men ‘laying down the implements of agriculture and hastening to compete for places... (at)... the railway station’ paints an evocative image of rural exodus.²⁶⁷ When the first railway migrants arrived at the newly built housing in Fletton, close to East Station with its industrious and vibrant engine and goods sheds, surrounded by fields and farming it must have felt very much like this. As Golby stated at a time when much employment, even in towns was seasonal, casual and irregular the security of the railways must have seemed a very attractive option.²⁶⁸

The brickyards

The advent of the brick industry in Fletton was protracted but what is certain is that on the census return for 1861 there was only three brick workers listed. At the time brick making was a seasonal industry and as the census was taken early in the year

²⁶⁶ M. E. Shepherd, *From Hellgill to Bridge End* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003), p.14.

²⁶⁷ G. P. Anderson, *The Rural Exodus-The Problem of the Village and the Town* (Methuen, 1892), p. 2.

²⁶⁸ J. Golby. 'Ideas and debates on work', in J. Golby (ed.), *Communities and families* (Open University, 1994), p. 7.

this perhaps did not capture the full extent of the industry.²⁶⁹ Wickes observed that the agricultural depression of the 1870s led to a ‘marked de-population in the upland clay areas of Huntingdonshire’ it was only the urban areas, Fenland and ‘brick –field areas of Fletton, Yaxley and Warboys’ which increased.²⁷⁰ By the 1891 census the industry had been revolutionized and 76 brick workers were returned and in *Kelly’s Directory* for 1886 four brick companies were listed.²⁷¹ By 1894 this had increased to five.²⁷² And by 1903 there were no fewer than seven brick companies listed including: Itter, McCallum, Hicks, Hempsted and Hill.

The growth in the brick industry in Fletton, as seen in the export figures for bricks in table 4.10, did not reflect what the industry in general was experiencing at this time. The preliminary report for the 1871 census mentioned the national decrease in brick makers.²⁷³ Perkyn’s also noted that there was a recession in the brick making industry due to the London building cycle and in 1900 there was a harsh winter. Table 4.10 also demonstrates how linked the export of bricks and import of coal was. Wagons full of waiting coal like those pictured in New England, Peterborough in plate 4.8 would have been a familiar sight. In April 1892 Fletton bricks were so in demand that there were reports in the local paper of a ‘brick famine’.²⁷⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2 Fletton: Place and Innovator and commented on by Schwitzer, this buoyancy in the Fletton brick industry can be attributed to the ingenuity of Hill, a man of immense energy and vision, creating what would ultimately become the London Brick Co and laying the foundation of modern Fletton.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁹ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 8.

²⁷⁰ Wickes, *A History of Huntingdonshire*, p. 111.

²⁷¹ *Kelly’s Directory of Huntingdonshire* 1886, p.200.

²⁷² *Kelly’s Directory of Bedfordshire, Hunts and Northants*, 1894, p.20

²⁷³ Perkyns, ‘Occupation patterns’.

²⁷⁴ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p.38.

²⁷⁵ J. Schwitzer, ‘A London developer: John Cathles Hill, 1857-1915’, *Hornsey Historical Society*, 40, (1999), p. 6.

Table 4.10: Brick production in Peterborough 1891-1898

Year	Bricks Exported (tons)	Coal Imported (tons)
1891	7,130	10,000
1893	20,900	7,600
1894	29,500	13,400
1895	37,200	14,000
1896	63,000	17,700
1897	83,500	19,800
1898	108,500	23,500

Source: 'The Railway Magazine' 1899

Plate 4.8: Private and G. N. R. coal trucks in New England sidings, May 1908



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 13/3/018)

The health of the Fletton brick industry and the attraction it held for family migration is seen in table 4.11. From 1881-1891 to 1891-1901 the percentage of heads of households employed in the brickyards increased from 11.7% to 28.4%, before falling back slightly to 23.1% in 1901-1911. The percentage of migrant household heads being attracted to the brickyards fluctuated from 10.2% in 1881-1891 to a high of 24.2% in 1891-1901 before falling back to the original level in 1901-1911. In comparison the percentage of stayers being drawn to the brickworks increased from 1.5% 1881-1891 to 12.1% in 1901-1911. The fluctuation in migrant household heads employed in the brickyards could be due to the close proximity of other brickyards in parishes surrounding Fletton including: Woodston, Yaxley, Stanground, Dogsthorpe and Eye. Rather than a decrease or increase in actual employment opportunities brick workers would often move from yard to yard and this would necessitate a change in residence as much of the accommodation was owned and rented by different brickyards.

Table 4.11: *Male household heads employed in the brickyards, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of all male heads)*

	1851-1861		1881-1891		1891-1901		1901-1911	
	Male household heads		Male household heads		Male household heads		Male household heads	
	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%
Total household heads			402		810		930	
Total Brick worker household heads	3		47	11.7	230	28.4	215	23.1
Migrant Brick worker household heads			41	10.2	196	24.2	102	11.0
Stayer brick worker household heads			6	1.5	34	4.2	113	12.1

Note: The household heads were married or married with family.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

The migration narrative of Walter Hounsham shows how a married migrant, with a young family, who was drawn to the secure employment of the brickyards.²⁷⁶ Hounsham was born in Fen Ditton, Cambridgeshire, to Frederick a blacksmith, and in 1891 was recorded, aged 15, as an errand boy. Hounsham married a local girl, Elizabeth, and in 1897 their son Walter George was born in Fen Ditton. By 1901 they were resident at Peterborough Road, Old Fletton and Hounsham was employed as a brickyard labourer. The family appeared to be settled as by 1911 Hounsham was still employed by Hicks and Gardner Brick Company and a further six children had arrived, all born in Fletton.

Agricultural decline

Table 4.7 above shows the shift in occupations taken by the stayers and migrants. At the beginning of the research period the stayers were employed in the traditional occupation agriculture and the new industry, the railways, attracted the migrants. As the research period progressed brick making also attracted migrants

²⁷⁶ RG12/1281/66, RG13/1460/46, RG14/8669

to Fletton and agriculture saw a dramatic decline. The Peterborough area contained some of the finest farming land but during the 1880s there was a severe depression in agriculture, due to the price of wheat, and the Peterborough area was the worst hit in the district. Simultaneously in the fens there was dissent amongst the agricultural workers due to the poor working conditions.²⁷⁷ This combination may have created the perfect conditions to push the male migrants from in county and local county districts to move to Fletton attracted by the possibility of the employment and accommodation on offer by the railways and in the brickyards. Perkyns noticed that in Kent the labour for brick making came from local agricultural workers who were attracted by relatively high wages for unskilled work. This supports the general image of agricultural labourers laying down their tools in pursuit of secure occupation.²⁷⁸

This was witnessed in the household of William Barnes, 1 Gordon Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton where all the male migrants who were boarding had left behind agricultural work in favour of the security and higher pay that the brickyards offered.²⁷⁹ But was this replicated by other migrants who were attracted to Fletton by both the brickyards and railways?

To test this perceived image a sample of 20 male migrants were analysed: ten brickyard migrants and ten railway migrants, from the 1901 census. The first ten brickyard and railway migrants on the 1901 census transcription were selected that fit the criteria. For each there needed to be five married migrant men, in the age range 30 to 45, and five unmarried independent migrant men who were boarders.²⁸⁰ These male migrants also needed to have migrated from either in county or from a local county birth place. Migration narratives could then be used to trace their previous occupations.²⁸¹ The age range 30 to 45 is necessary to enable their occupation to be traced on the previous census record but this creates a

²⁷⁷ Cunningham, 'Growth of Peterborough', p. 427.

²⁷⁸ Perkyns, *Occupation patterns*, p. 45.

²⁷⁹ RG13/01460/69, RG12/1302/20, RG12/112/12, RG12/1301/49

²⁸⁰ Independent migrants are discussed later in this chapter.

²⁸¹ RG12/1222/136, RG12/1222/47, RG13/1461/24, RG12/1234/114, RG12/1299/12, RG12/1228/47, RG12/1572/88, RG12/1226/1, RG12/1226/15, RG12/129/98

difficulty as the number of males boarding at this age greatly reduces. For unmarried independent railway migrant males the age range had to be extended to 25 to 45 years of age and from all counties in order to obtain a sample size of five. Creating migration narratives on unmarried independent males is more challenging than married males as there is no surrounding supporting evidence which assists in positively identifying an individual, such as a wife or children. The results of any initial analysis must also be viewed with caution as the numbers are so few but nonetheless they indicate whether further analysis would be profitable.

Of the five unmarried independent male migrant brickyard boarders, aged between 30 and 42, only four could be traced to a previous census. The birthplaces included one in county and three local county. Of the four migrants three had previously been agricultural labourers and one a general labourer. The same method was applied to the married male brickyard migrants. They were aged between 30 and 38 and their birthplaces included two in county and three local county. Of the five men two had previously been employed as agricultural labourers, one was a brickyard labourer, one an assistant engine fitter on the railway and one a blacksmith. With this limited analysis there is an indication that there was, as Perkyns suggested, a movement from agricultural labouring to brick labouring especially amongst the unmarried independent male migrants. The married male migrants would appear to have a more diverse range of previous occupations. However the two individuals with more skilled occupations, blacksmith and assistant engine fitter went on to work in more skilled areas of the brickworks rather than labouring. Arthur Watson a blacksmith was also a blacksmith in the brickyards and Frederick Hitchbourn an assistant engine fitter on the railways became a foreman in the brickyards.

Of the five unmarried independent male migrant railway boarders aged between 26 and 45 only three could be traced to the previous census and the birthplaces were all in county. Two of the migrants had been employed in the railways and one was an agricultural labourer. Of these five unmarried male migrants four could be traced to the next census and all were still employed in the railways. The same tendencies were witnessed by the married male railway migrants. All five married male railway

migrants were traced to the previous census: four were born in county and one local county and all were previously employed by the railways. All were also traced to the next census and all remained employed within the railways. It would appear that Anderson's observation 'that men ... laid down their tools to work on the railways'²⁸² was not witnessed in Fletton. It would seem that for many individuals the railways were their first employment and they remained loyal.

Family migration, occupation and place of residence

An insight can be gained into the impact that this unique and changing combination of occupation opportunities had on family migration to Fletton if the household that unmarried migrants were resident in, after migration, is considered. The unmarried migrants that were chosen for analysis were in the 15-19 age range as this group had the ability to migrate both independently, as well as part of a family group.²⁸³ By using the census records and the relationship of the individual to the head of household a decision can be made as to whether migration was made independently or not. Those who are living with an extended family are included in the independent group as without in depth record linkage the exact circumstances of their migration cannot be known.

Table 4.12 shows that between 1851 and 1911, the number of unmarried male migrants, aged 15-19, who had migrated independently and so were either boarding, living with their extended family or in their place of employment reduced from 34% in 1851 to 16% in 1911 and as can be seen in table 4.13, the residence of unmarried female migrants mirrors that of males. In 1851 67.2% of unmarried female migrants were resident in a household where they were employed, boarding or living as part of their extended family. By 1911 this had reduced to 31.4%.

²⁸² Anderson, *The Rural Exodus*.

²⁸³ Only 10 individuals in this age range were married.

Table 4.12: Residence circumstances of unmarried male migrants aged 15-19, 1851-1911

Relationship	1851		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%
Boarder	3	13.0	15	22.7	12	17.6	37	22.3	8	7.1
With extended family			6	9.1	2	2.9	6	3.6	8	7.1
Living in place of employment	5	21.7	4	6.0	2	2.9	3	1.8	2	1.8
With family	15	65.2	41	62.0	51	75.0	119	71.7	93	83.0
Visitor					1	1.5	1	.6	1	.9
Total	23		66		68		166		112	

Note: The total number of individuals represents the number of unmarried male migrants in the age range 15-19.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Table 4.13: Residence circumstances of unmarried female migrants aged 15-19, 1851-1911

Relationship	1851		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%
Boarder	1	3.1	0	0	2	1.9	5	3.8	2	1.7
With extended family	4	12.5	8	9.5	7	6.9	9	6.7	8	6.6
Living in place of employment	16	51.6	39	46.4	46	45.5	42	31.6	28	23.1
With family	7	22.6	35	41.6	42	41.6	73	54.8	81	66.9
Visitor	3	9.6	2	2.4	4	3.9	4	3.0	2	1.7
Total	31 (1)		84 (2)		102 (1)		136 (3)		121	

Note: The total number of individuals represents the number of unmarried female migrants in the age range 15-19. The figure in brackets is how many females 15-19 were married.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Migration narratives can reveal what attracted independent individuals to migrate to Fletton, what employment they had and where they stayed. One unmarried male migrant was Alfred Manton. Manton migrated to Fletton at a time when independent migration was at a high.²⁸⁴ He was one of the 27.7% who migrated independently to Fletton, between 1891-1901, and one of the 22.3% who boarded in Fletton. Manton was born in Warmington, Northamptonshire, in 1882, and he found employment in the brickyards as a labourer whilst boarding in the household of Bessie Rainbow, Peterborough Road, Nr Church, Old Fletton.

²⁸⁴ RG13/1460/45

Fanny Brewin and Mary Pooler, were amongst the 42.1% of female independent unmarried migrants who, between 1891-1901 were attracted to Fletton by the prospect of secure employment, accommodation and perhaps community in common experience. They were also part of the 31.6% of female independent unmarried migrants who were living at their place of employment as domestic servants. They lived next door to one another, at Ash Lea and Annan Dale, Old Fletton. Fanny, at only 15, was employed by John Ashpool, a brickyard foreman, and in the household were his wife Susannah, son Arthur, an insurance salesman, and three unmarried male boarders; a bricklayer, carpenter and brickyard labourer.²⁸⁵ In contrast Mary was employed by Thomas and Margaret Miles, school master and mistress and staying as a visitor was Mary's sister Ellen.²⁸⁶

Fanny and Mary migrated from the local county rural districts of Thorney and Crowland in Lincolnshire. These were rural agricultural districts where employment opportunities may have been limited for females. Saville has observed that rural de-population occurred quicker for females than for men as the domestic service opportunities declined first.²⁸⁷ Fanny's father was an agricultural labourer and Mary's a boilermaker but both were also migratory themselves.²⁸⁸

In Fletton the greater percentage of female servants migrated from local counties. In 1851-1861 31.5% of migrant female servants travelled from local counties and between 1891-1901, when Fanny and Mary migrated, this figure was at its highest at 45.8%. Therefore Fletton's experience, where female servant migrants are concerned, supports Ravenstein's hypothesis that females migrate most from local areas searching for local employment where contact with their home community can be maintained.

As can be seen in tables 4.12 and 4.13, at the same time as migration by independent young migrants was decreasing, migration by young unmarried migrants as part of

²⁸⁵ RG13/1460/50, RG12/1225/56. Fanny was also discussed earlier in this chapter. Plate 4.4 shows Ash Lea, Old Fletton.

²⁸⁶ RG13/1460/50

²⁸⁷ Saville, *Rural De-population*, p. 131.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

a family was increasing. Unmarried males had always been able to migrate to Fletton with their families more readily than unmarried females as the employment opportunities available to their fathers were also open to them but the percentage who did so increased from 65.2% in 1851 to 83% in 1901-1911. Similarly the numbers of unmarried female migrants who migrated as part of their immediate family increased from 22.6% in 1851 to 66.9% in 1911. This increase can be attributed to the growth in diverse employment opportunities available to unmarried females. In 1851-1861 only seven unmarried female migrants moved as part of a family unit. Of these only one daughter had employment, as a 'straw bonnet maker'. Four daughters had no employment and were listed in the census records as 'at home' and two daughters were scholars. By 1901-1911 this was a very different picture. As can be seen in table 4.14, for unmarried female migrants who migrated with their families and who were employed, the opportunities were varied including dressmaking 11.1%, shop assistant 4.9%, domestic service 8.6% and apprenticeships 6.1%. The impact of two new factories, corset makers Symingtons in New Fletton and canning factory Farrows in Old Fletton, were also having a significant impact and employed 32% and 7.4% respectively of the unmarried female migrants, who were living with their family and who were in employment, respectively.

Table 4.14: Occupation status of unmarried female migrants aged 15-19, who migrated as part of their family, 1901-1911 (as a percentage of unmarried female migrants resident with their family, aged 15-19)

Occupation	Individual count	Percentage
Unemployed/ no occupation listed	17	20.9
Apprentice (dressmaker, milliner)	5	6.1
Assistant	4	4.9
Clerk/ typist	2	2.4
Symingtons (Corset makers)	26	32.0
Domestic service (Day servant so live out)	7	8.6
Dressmaker/ milliner	9	11.1
Farrows (Pea packers, canning)	6	7.4
Scholar	1	1.2
Shop assistant	4	4.9
Total	81	99.5
Note:		

Source: CEBs 1901 and 1911

The diversification in occupations available for unmarried females did not attract unmarried independent female migrants, 15-19, in any great number. Those employed in dress and those in a profession, such as teaching, only increased from

1.9% in 1851-1861 to 6.9% in 1901-1911. Unmarried independent female migrants did not appear to have the opportunity or inclination to board with a family as those doing so only increased from 1.4% in 1851-1861 to 4.9% in 1901-1911.

One such boarder in 1911 was Martha Goodall, an elementary teacher, boarding in the household of Sarah Stimson. Martha was a pioneering unmarried independent female migrant, not representative of other migrants.²⁸⁹ Martha was born in Brimington, Derbyshire and it was from here that she migrated to Fletton. Although moving such a long distance from the security of her grandmother's home must have seemed daunting for the young Martha there may have been a familiarity as she was boarding in a household with two other teachers, Horace and Tom Stimson, and their sisters, of a similar age to Martha, 18 year old Amy and 24 year old Beatrice.

Migration narratives of four families: Ibbott, Ellis, Ayres and Crane can provide examples of how changes in employment opportunities in Fletton affected the ability to migrate as a family. Just prior to 1911 two brothers Frances and Sidney Ibbott aged 18 and 15, had migrated with their family to 183 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton.²⁹⁰ Their parents Frederick and Emma were no strangers to moving around. Frederick was born in Somersham, Huntingdonshire and was a bricklayer by trade so evidently moved to obtain employment. The children's birthplaces revealed their migration journey to Old Fletton took them via Thorney and Earith, Warboys and Pidley in Huntingdonshire. With the expansion of the population in Fletton housebuilding would have been booming so work for Ibbott would have been plentiful. But the move was advantageous for the whole family as both Frances and Sidney found employment as brickyard labourers.

Arthur Ellis, G. E. R. Station Master, migrated to Fletton from a birthplace of Ipswich, Suffolk. He was recorded on the 1911 census as living at Bridge End, in the East Station complex, with his wife Ellen and family.²⁹¹ Again the children's

²⁸⁹ RG14/8671

²⁹⁰ RG14/8670

²⁹¹ RG14/8670, RG13/1671/86

birthplaces reveal a lengthy migration route which encompassed Harlow Essex, Long Melford Suffolk, Marks Tey Essex and Chelmsford Essex. Not only was the move advantageous for Ellis but his four older children were also able to gain employment and so made the move with their family. His daughters, Mabel 19 and Grace 15, were both employed as apprentices, one in drapery and one as a bookseller and his sons Percey 22 and Herbert 20 were both railway clerks.

Amos Ayres was a metal worker, a blacksmith.²⁹² In 1901 Ayres, his wife Ellen and children Alfred, Reuben and Maud were resident at 1 Hawthorn Villa, Princes Road, Old Fletton which can be seen in plate 4.9. Ayres' migration journey took him from a birthplace of Wyton, Huntingdonshire to Fletton via Melbourne, Cambridgeshire and Rougham, Suffolk. Ayres' children had diverse occupations, indicative of the opportunities that had been created in the expansion of Fletton: Alfred was a carpenter, Reuben an engineer's apprentice and Maud a draper's assistant. Amos and his family purchased their house in Princes Road and this perhaps brought them stability and the desire to stay in the Fletton community as they were still at 1 Hawthorn Villa, Princes Road in 1911.

Plate 4.9: 1 Hawthorn Villas, Princes Road, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

²⁹² RG13/1460/62

Rose Crane, aged 15 in 1911, found employment at Symmingtons corset factory.²⁹³ Rose migrated to Fletton with her family, from nearby Yaxley in 1910, and they resided at 42 St. Margarets' Road, Old Fletton which can be seen in plate 4.10. These were newly built houses owned and rented by Hill and Rose's father Thomas, a brickyard labourer, may have been encouraged to migrate with the prospect of improved, modern accommodation and availability of employment for his children. Rose's brother, James, had also secured employment at the brickyards and her remaining four brothers would potentially have had this opportunity as well.

Plate 4.10: 42 St. Margarets' Road, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Sadie McMullon

'Near' or 'far' – the impact of occupation and distance on family migration

Contrary to established views, when the railways and brickyards expanded and required labour in large quantities it was not fulfilled by young unmarried males, as Ravenstein predicted. Rather as Drummond had witnessed in the railway town of

²⁹³ RG13/1459/06

Crewe it was fulfilled by married males travelling to Fletton from the middle and long distance counties, see table 4.15

Table 4.15: Migration distance, from birthplace, married and unmarried male railway and brick worker migrants, 185-1861 to 1901-1911 (as a percentage of all married and unmarried male railway and brick worker migrants)

	married male railway workers				unmarried male railway workers			
	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11	51-61	81-91	91-01	01-11
within¹	10.2	23.1	23.1	20.2	10.8	27.5	27.5	28.5
local²	24.4	31.6	31.6	40.9	34.7	40.0	40.0	48.5
middle³	35.3	30.3	30.3	23.1	34.4	20.0	20.0	14.1
long⁴	15.0	10.8	10.8	10.3	8.4	7.5	7.5	3.4
further⁵	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.7
London⁶	8.5	3.7	3.7	3.8	8.6	2.5	2.5	3.5
	married male brick workers		unmarried male brick workers					
	91-01	01-11	91-01	01-11				
within	39.5	40.7	37.0	42.8				
local	35.8	25.2	40.2	39.2				
middle	16.2	21.9	11.5	3.4				
long	5.5	6.5	5.0	6.8				
further	0	1.0	1.2	1.7				
London	1.5	3.8	3.2	5.3				
Notes: Distance travelled, for further explanation see Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology								
¹ within county		² local county		³ middle distance				
⁴ long distance		⁵ further afield		⁶ London and Middlesex				

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Being married and having a family with familial responsibility did not appear to be a hindrance to railway and brick worker migrant families making the move to Fletton. In fact it may have been an impetus, needing to provide for children when they were young and looking for a destination that could provide the whole family with employment and housing when they were older. White commented, that in studies on family migration, it is increasingly witnessed that a migration destination was chosen where there were opportunities for all family members to contribute to the household income.²⁹⁴

The prevalence of married males migrating to Fletton confirms that these opportunities were available in Fletton. As Chaloner stated the railway's encouraged married men to take employment by offering housing, education and most importantly employment security.²⁹⁵ In creating this community the Railway

²⁹⁴ White and Woods, 'The foundations of migration study', p. 46.

²⁹⁵ Drummond, Crewe, p. 19.

companies wanted to ease the pain that migrants would feel ‘dissevered from the many ties of kindred affection’.²⁹⁶ Similarly, in Old Fletton, Hill’s new brick worker community, was achieving the same results. In reality, in New Fletton, railway housing was only provided for a ‘small minority of men’.²⁹⁷ And in Old Fletton residents in the new brick workers community complained of unmade roads, muddy conditions and lack of sewers.²⁹⁸ But nonetheless nothing prevented the steady flow of migrants.

Examples of long distance migrants are easy to find and migration narratives reveal the motive behind their migration and the route they took to arrive in Fletton. Men such as Thomas Bell, born in Tydo, Worcestershire embarked on a long distance migration to take advantage of the opportunities that working for the railways provided in Fletton.²⁹⁹ He migrated, with his wife Elena, to Bread Street, New Fletton in time to be recorded on the 1861 census as a railway engine driver. Once settled in the new community they then began their family.

Similarly William Gill, brickyard engine driver, was one of the 6.5% of married male brick worker migrants who arrived in Fletton from a long distance county between 1901 and 1911. He migrated to Fletton with his wife Rosa and their five children from a birthplace of Lamerton, Devon.³⁰⁰ Gill did not migrate for a change of employment as he was already a steam engine navvy but Fletton offered opportunities for the whole family. In this case William followed his father and was also employed in the brickyards and daughters Emma and Florrie were employed by the corset makers Symingtons, in New Fletton. In their previous home, in Stanhope Durham, they had a boarder William Britton, who had a birthplace of Northamptonshire. He may have provided information to the Gill family about the opportunities available in Fletton and the kind of life they might lead. As Moch explained migrants were ‘inspired by letters, word of mouth, individual recruiters and personal contacts’.³⁰¹ Baines goes

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁹⁷ Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen*, p. xv.

²⁹⁸ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, November 13th, 1901, p. 6.

²⁹⁹ RG9/965/52

³⁰⁰ RG13/661/24, RG14/8670

³⁰¹ L. P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650* (Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 199.

further saying that to long distance migrants especially, these kinds of communications were critical.³⁰²

There were also men who migrated from middle distance counties. One middle distance migrant was Edward Dickinson who migrated with his wife Annie, from Grantham a town in the middle distance county Lincolnshire.³⁰³ This was a journey replicated by 18.5% of married male migrant brick workers who also travelled from middle distance counties between 1881 and 1891.

Mills and Schürer point out that male migrants would often travel a greater distance if they were migrating for skilled employment.³⁰⁴ Lawton also observed that within different occupational groups there were different patterns of movement.³⁰⁵ The unskilled often migrated directly and the skilled migrated in stages. Redford also observed that the majority of migrants only travel a short distance from within the migration centres sphere of influence and that this journey is made in a series of short steps.³⁰⁶ Drummond also noticed this pattern of movement into Crewe where skilled workers would first of all migrate to the local area before finally moving into Crewe.³⁰⁷ In Fletton, whilst perhaps predominantly true, these patterns of migration were not always seen. It would appear, as Cunningham observed, that a railway area that was experiencing such growth as was exhibited by Fletton, attracted 'numerous skilled artisans and mechanics to the city' from all areas.³⁰⁸

Again the migration narrative of individuals can shed much light on their migration experience and motives with the opportunities that Fletton provided at its centre, which may include step-wise and circulatory movements made by skilled and unskilled workers. George Hayes was one such unskilled male who migrated whilst

³⁰² D. Baines, *Emigration from Europe: 1815-1930* (MacMillan, 1991), p. 40-41. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Econom*, p. 177.

³⁰³ RG10/3358/1, RG11/3231/138, RG12/1226/47.

³⁰⁴ Mills and Schürer, *Migration and Population Turnover*, p. 227. This was also witnessed in Sheppard's study in Brighton and Drummond's in Crewe.

³⁰⁵ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 211.

³⁰⁶ Redford, *Labour Migration in England*, p.186.

³⁰⁷ Drummond, *Crewe*, p. 21.

³⁰⁸ Cunningham, 'Growth of Peterborough', p. 434.

married from a middle distance county. Hayes migrated with his wife Ellen from Wolvey, Warwickshire and in 1901 was one of the few railway workers resident in railway owned housing at 7 Great Eastern Railway Cottages, New Fletton.³⁰⁹ Hayes was an unskilled labourer at the carriage works but he took advantage of the opportunities the railways held becoming a night foreman with the London North Western Railway. Hayes and Ellen were settled and in 1911 they had moved to privately rented housing at 18 Silver Street, New Fletton which can be seen in plate 4.11.³¹⁰

Plate 4.11: 18 Silver Street, New Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

In contrast, Richard Newbon was locally born in Alwalton, Northamptonshire, five miles from Fletton.³¹¹ Newbon and his wife Maria were resident in New Fletton at 4 Station Cottages, in 1891, and Newbon is recorded as a railway inspector. Having already reached a high position in the railways, Newbon and Maria remained settled in the community throughout 1901 and 1911.

William Polhill Snr was a skilled worker whose long distance county migration conceals a complex migration journey.³¹² William Snr was an engine fitter and had previously migrated from Dover, Kent to Crewe, Cheshire. By 1871 the family, including William Jnr who was born in Crewe, had moved from the railway centre of

³⁰⁹ RG12/2456/73, RG13/1461/7, RG14/8671

³¹⁰ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

³¹¹ RG12/1226/38, RG13/1461/6, RG14/867

³¹² RG10/1475/22, RG11/159/43, RG12/1229/63, RG13/146/69, RG14/8669, Parish Register 257P/5

Crewe to Wolverton, Buckinghamshire.³¹³ Wolverton was the first purpose built railway town which was established to provide housing for the workers of Stevenson's Wolverton Railway Works. Peterborough, with its own expanding railway industry, must have been an attractive prospect for William Snr and his family as in 1881 they were living at 64 Cobden Street, Peterborough. William Snr was recorded as a railway engine fitter and his son an engine iron turner. By 1891 William Jnr was boarding, with his brother Richard, at 1 Rosemary Cottages, Lincoln Road, Peterborough and was a steam railway engine fitter.

William Jnr married Mary in 1893 and judging from the birthplaces of their children they moved to privately rented accommodation at the house in plate 4.12, 4 Livingstone Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton just in time for the 1901 census.³¹⁴ Boarding with the couple was William Jnr's brother Harry, also a steam railway engine fitter. William Jnr and Mary made the right decision to make Fletton their home as their eldest children gained employment locally. Their son Charles was employed in the railways as a railway cleaner and their daughter Annie May was a corset maker machinist at Symingtons. William Jnr and Mary remained settled at 4 Livingstone Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton for at least the next 10 years.

Plate 4.12: 4 Livingstone Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

³¹³ <http://www.mkheritage.co.uk/wsah/hood/index.html> (Accessed 28/12/2016). This website provides a fascinating insight into the Wolverton Railway and town.

³¹⁴ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets

In contrast, as Lawton predicted, unskilled worker William Wither's migration journey was far more direct.³¹⁵ Born in the Strand, London in 1869, in 1891 he was lodging at 1 Pancras Street, Tottenham and was employed as a bricklayer's labourer. Perhaps living close to the London to Peterborough railway line he heard of the opportunities in Peterborough and the surrounding areas, and being unmarried, he was encouraged to make the move northwards. By 1901 he was living at 25 Oundle Road, New Fletton with his new wife Martha and was employed as a general labourer.

The Gill family, who are discussed earlier, are one example of a family who have spent a lifetime migrating finding family and responsibility no hindrance. William Gill was born in Lamerton, Devon so would be identified as a long distance county migrant but this conceals the steps that his migration journey took if you consider the children's birthplaces. This reveals that the route Gill, a steam engine driver, took from Lamerton to Fletton was via Rochford, Cardiff, Consett and Stanhope, County Durham.

To another migrant, William Jeffs, Fletton was only a step in his onward migration journey. Jeffs, a railway labourer, migrated to Fletton, by 1901, with his wife Jane, directly from his birthplace Warwickshire, a middle distance county.³¹⁶ Jeffs and his wife were another privileged railway family who were resident in railway owned housing at 1 Great Eastern Railway Cottages. By 1911 Jeffs and Jane had moved on to Coventry, Warwickshire most likely as a result of promotion as Jeffs was recorded as a railway pumping driver.

Some of the migrants arriving into Fletton recorded a birthplace of Fletton. The draw of Fletton, for these individuals, was never too far away in their pattern of circulatory migration. This migration often occurred with the neighbouring parishes of Woodston, Stanground, Yaxley, Farcet and Peterborough either following work or moving when housing became available. Men such as William B. Woods, a brickyard labourer, who was born in Fletton in 1870 and in 1901 was residing in

³¹⁵ RG12/119/146, RG13/1461/37

³¹⁶ RG13/1461/6, RG14/18526, RG12/2469/37

privately rented housing at 2 Burleigh Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton, with his wife Emma and young son.³¹⁷ Soon after Wood's birth his family, headed by Henry Woods, an agricultural labourer, moved to the neighbouring parish of Stanground. Henry was also born in Old Fletton. By 1891 the family had returned to Love Lane, Old Fletton. Their move would appear to have been driven by security of employment as Henry is recorded as a woodyard labourer and Wood's a brickyard labourer. Wood's brothers Frederick and Thomas had also found employment in the brickyard and woodyard. Wood's found both occupational and community stability as in 1911 he was still a brickyard labourer living in Hill rented housing at 32 Princes Road, Old Fletton.

Saville said that the improvement in the transport facilities that the railway brought would mean that migration would reach areas and regions that 'remained beyond the main stream of national life' but amongst migrants, in Fletton, this would appear not be witnessed by as many as expected.³¹⁸ Over the research period the distance that migrants, both married and unmarried, were prepared to travel decreased and migration from local counties flourished. Drummond, in her study of Crewe, also found that in 1881 the greater percentage, 32%, of male in-migration came from within a 7-10 mile radius.³¹⁹

It would appear that the improved transport links did not extend substantially Fletton's migration 'field' and it could be, as Wojciechowska discovered in Brenchley, that Fletton had its own natural catchment area from which it drew the greater percentage of its migrants.³²⁰ Between, 1851-1871 almost half of Brenchley inhabitants came from neighbouring counties and the Brenchley born decreased slightly from 51.8% to 43.8%. Perkyns, in her study involving six Kentish parishes 1851-

³¹⁷ RG13/1460/67, RG10/1516/7, RG12/1226/56, RG14/8670 See Appendix B Development of roads and streets

³¹⁸ Saville, *Rural De-population*, p. 9.

³¹⁹ Drummond, *Crewe*, p. 23. In 1851 17.17% of residents originated from Crewe, 15.7% of residents originated from nearby (7-10 mile radius of Crewe) and 17% of residents originated from the Midlands. By 1881 32% of residents originated from Crewe, 18.5% of residents originated from nearby (7-10 mile radius of Crewe) and 11.9% originated from the Midlands.

³²⁰ Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley', p. 3.

1881, supports this view of a local population.³²¹ She discovered that of the checkable population 58% were native born and 85.6% had a birthplace within 5 miles. Fletton's own native born population was less than that in both Brenchley and the Kentish parishes at 30% in 1851-1861, decreasing to 15.5% by 1901-1911 suggesting that rather than migrating to Fletton and then starting a family the migrants arrived in Fletton with families already complete.

Residence, household composition and family migration

Context and challenge

A crucial element of exploring the extent, nature and impact of family migration is: Did family migration have an impact on the household composition that the migrant lived in? In doing this comparisons will also be made with stayers and so the third aim of this research will also begin to be addressed to consider the role and nature of the stayer as part of the migrant narrative.

After the availability of employment, of prime concern to the migrant, whether married or unmarried, moving as part of a family or independently, was where they would live. Whether this was living as a family unit, living at a place of employment or boarding independently, with a co-worker or with members of your extended family. The accommodation that was available would affect the type of individual who could migrate to Fletton and the resultant household that they would be part of.

Fletton was ideally placed to provide accommodation for migrants, especially families. The railway companies desire to employ married men is well documented and consequently in the 1860s there was, at the East Station in Fletton, a small railway housing development financed by London Railways. Close by in New Fletton, although not directly financed by a railway company, there grew up a

³²¹ A. Perkyns, 'Birthplace accuracy in the censuses of six Kentish parishes, 1851-1881', in D. R. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books*. (Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996), p. 243. If the total population is considered, the 'home parish' is 58% and within 5 miles 74.3%

railway community where other railway migrants gravitated.³²² There were numerous private landlords who had seen the financial rewards that could be gained from building and renting property to migrant workers.³²³

Then towards the end of the period Hill, embarked on his extensive programme of house building in Old Fletton, creating modern housing set in spacious tree lined streets.³²⁴ However this development could not always keep pace with demand and there was much comment on the lack of housing available 'there is not a house to be had nearer to the works... the matter of house accommodation is becoming a serious one'.³²⁵

Fletton was not alone in this provision of housing in order to attract families. In many of the railway centres such as Crewe, Wolverton, Swindon and more locally the Barracks in New England, Peterborough there was railway provided housing and communities were established as a result.³²⁶ The provision of brick worker housing was also observed by Perkyns in her study of Kentish parishes.³²⁷ Locally Itter, a brickyard owner who resided in Fletton, created a model village at Kings Dyke, only three miles from Fletton, which consisted of housing, a chapel and school which can be seen in plate 4.13.

³²² This railway community is discussed at greater length in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

³²³ Property and private landlords are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

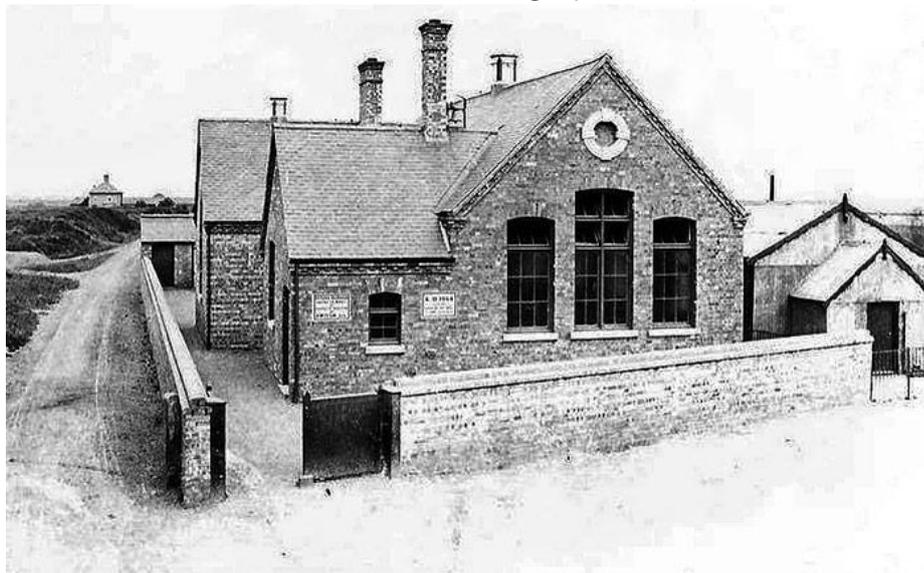
³²⁴ The impact that J. C. Hill had in the Old Fletton community is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

³²⁵ *Peterborough Standard*, 22 October 1892.

³²⁶ Drummond, Crewe.

³²⁷ A. Perkyns, 'Migration and Mobility in Six Kentish Parishes, 1851-1881', *Local Population Studies* 63 (1999), p.68.

Plate 4.13: 'Itter's School' Kings Dyke, circa 1910



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimage.co.uk> (Accessed 3/6/2017)

To explore if the type of accommodation that was available had an impact on the migration pattern to Fletton and the resultant household composition it is necessary to consider railway and brick worker migrants during the census period 1891-1911. A comparison will also be made to the household composition of stayers' in the same occupation. The timeframe 1891-1911 has been chosen as at this time both the railways and the brickyards were experiencing growth so comparison is possible. In conjunction with this male analysis female migrants employed by Farrows, Symingtons and Cadge and Colmans will also be considered for 1901-1911, which is immediately after the opening of these factories.

The term 'household' is not a simple one and is often used to mean 'family'.³²⁸ Laslett provides a definition of family 'as a group of persons living together... a co-resident domestic group' but the individuals are not necessarily related so may include extended kin, servants, boarders and visitors.³²⁹ Laslett's definition supports the 1851 census definition that a household or family was 'persons under one head... persons constantly or accidentally in the house'. This research, in its analysis, will adopt Laslett's definition when the term 'household' is used.

³²⁸ P. Laslett, 'The history of the family' in P. Laslett and R. Wall (ed.), *Household and Family in Past Time*, (Cambridge University Press, 1972) p. 1.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

An analysis of household composition can be conducted using the census records. However the collection of household information by the enumerator was not a simple process. The completion of the return relied on the enumerator distributing the schedules as instructed and subsequently completing the return accurately recording each household, but this was often open to misunderstanding. Primarily, as far as this research is affected, the difficulties lay with the recording of lodgers and boarders. Schürer and Mills deal with the complexities of this so a summary here will suffice.³³⁰ On the census return each new household was indicated by a double slanted line and where a lodger was present this should have been a new household. From 1891 enumerators were instructed to issue separate schedules to lodgers to indicate that although they may have been sharing the physical space with another family they were actually a separate household.³³¹ However often this was not the case as practise changed from enumerator to enumerator and lodgers were returned as part of the household. This would often lead to under and over estimation of households. In contrast boarders were considered as part of the household as they shared living space with the household and were provided with meals. For the purposes of this research boarders and lodgers have been considered together and given the title boarder as in Fletton the terms seem to have been used interchangeably. Men such as Albert Hutton, railway servant, born in Lowestoft, Suffolk was lodging with Frederick Gee, bus driver.³³² Whereas Thomas Retchless, bricklayer, born in Tydd St. Marys, Lincolnshire and David Bates, brickyard labourer, born in Stanground were boarding in the household of Ebenezer Hall, platelayer at 29 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton.³³³

A continuous debate in this thesis is whether there was sufficient housing available in Fletton? Evidence shown in table 4.16 to 4.19 would suggest that although the housing was built over a period of time it would appear to have been of sufficient quantity that when a married railway or brick worker male migrant arrived in Fletton they were able to predominantly become 'head' of their own household in their

³³⁰ Mills and Schürer, 'Migration and Population Turnover', p. 281.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

³³² RG13/1461/35

³³³ RG13/1460/52

own home in either a rented or purchased house, 97.2% and 98.9% in 1891-1901 and 95.6% and 96% in 1901-1911. Only six married male railway and brick worker migrants were resident elsewhere, four were staying with extended family and two were boarding. This is comparable with 'stayers' where 100% of married male stayers were heading their own households after marriage. The number of male railway and brick worker widows migrating to Fletton in 1891-1911 was small at only sixteen. Of these seven headed their own household, two lived with extended family and seven were boarding. There was also a small number of 'stayer' widows. The ability to live in your own home with small garden attached, whether it was rented or owned, rather than share accommodation with other boarders or family must have been a strong attraction for married migrants coming to Fletton.

Male 'migrant' and 'stayer' residence and household composition

The tables 4.16 and 4.19 show that of the unmarried male migrants who migrated to Fletton in 1891-1901, the brick workers were more likely to have migrated as part of their family, 42.9%, than the railway workers, 35.4% and this is the same for 1901-1911 61.9% compared to 56%. Conversely the unmarried male railway workers were more likely to have migrated independently and to be boarding, 56.9%, than the brick workers, 44.2%. In addition, the brick workers were more likely to be resident in the house of extended family, 11.7%, than the railway workers, 4.6% suggesting that they moved independently but with family assistance. This pattern of residence after migration is mirrored in 1901-1911.

In 1891-1901 unmarried brick worker stayers were more likely to be living with family, 90.5%, than unmarried railway stayers, 76%. Whilst the railway stayers were more likely to be resident with extended family 16.6% opposed to brick worker stayers 9.5%. There were no stayers boarding. For 1901-1911 the pattern of residence for stayers is different to that of 1891-1901. Slightly more unmarried railways stayers were living with their family, 81%, than unmarried brick worker stayers 79.2%, but the difference is marginal. If you were an unmarried brick worker stayer then you were more likely to live with extended family, 13.2%, than if you were an unmarried

railway stayer 9.5%. In 1901-1911 both unmarried railway and brick worker stayers were equally likely to be boarding 7.1% and 7.5%.

The difference between the unmarried railway workers and brick workers pattern of migration and residence can be attributed to the way that these industries operated. Brick workers operated in gangs of five or six men and it would be advantageous if these men knew each other or were related in some way to guarantee loyalty and efficiency. In contrast railway workers were employed individually for their own worth and mobility within the railway company was common for both advancement and to meet the need of the companies' workforce requirement.

Table 4.16: *Railway worker male migrant and stayer residence, 1891-1901*

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (143)	Head	139	97.2	Married (66)	Head	66	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended	3	2.1		Extended		
	Boarding	1	.7		Boarding		
Unmarried (65)	Head	1	1.5	Unmarried (30)	Head	2	6.6
	Family	23	35.4		Family	23	76.0
	Extended	3	4.6		Extended	5	16.6
	Boarding	37	56.9		Boarding		
Widower (5)	Head	2	40.0	Widower (3)	Head	3	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended	1	20.0		Extended		
	Boarding	2	40.0		Boarding		
Notes:							

Source: CEBs 1891 and 1901

Table 4.17: Brick worker male migrant and stayer residence, 1891-1901

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (192)	Head	190	98.9	Married (34)	Head	66	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended	1	.5		Extended	1	3.0
	Boarding	1	.5		Boarding		
Unmarried (154)	Head	2	1.3	Unmarried (21)	Head		
	Family	66	42.9		Family	19	90.5
	Extended	18	11.7		Extended	2	9.5
	Boarding	68	44.2		Boarding		
Widower (o)	Head			Widower (o)	Head		
	Family				Family		
	Extended				Extended		
	Boarding				Boarding		
Notes:							

Source: CEBs 1891 and 1901

Table 4.18: Railway worker male migrant and stayer residence 1901-1911

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (160)	Head	153	95.6	Married (99)	Head	99	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended	2	1.3		Extended		
	Boarding	5	3.1		Boarding		
Unmarried (57)	Head			Unmarried (42)	Head		
	Family	32	56.0		Family	34	81.0
	Extended	3	5.3		Extended	4	9.5
	Boarding	22	38.6		Boarding	3	7.1
Widower (6)	Head	1	16.6	Widower (2)	Head	2	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended				Extended		
	Boarding	5	83.3		Boarding		
Notes:							

Source: CEBs 1901 and 1911

Table 4.19: Brick worker male migrant and stayer residence 1901-1911

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (102)	Head	98	96.0	Married (112)	Head	112	100
	Family				Family		
	Extended	2	2.0		Extended		
	Boarding	2	2.0		Boarding		
Unmarried (63)	Head	1	1.6	Unmarried (53)	Head		
	Family	39	61.9		Family	42	79.2
	Extended	10	15.9		Extended	7	13.2
	Boarding	13	20.6		Boarding	4	7.5
Widower (5)	Head	4	80.0	Widower (4)	Head	1	25.0
	Family				Family		
	Extended	1	20.0		Extended	2	50.0
	Boarding				Boarding	1	25.0
Notes:							

Source: CEBs 1901 and 1911

In Fletton there was only one large railway boarding house in which railway workers could stay and no provision was available for brick workers in a large boarding house. In the absence of this provision and with no family or extended family available further analysis indicates that both unmarried independent railway workers and brickyard workers in 1891-1901, were drawn to the households of their co-workers and this remained the same for 1901-1911. By being resident with other workers within their own industry these unmarried independent workers were finding support in what both Pullin and Reeve refer to as an 'occupational family' an extension of their own family.³³⁴ In finding this accommodation White and Woods stress how important an 'information flow' would be, either through word of mouth exchanges, advertising in the workplace or local newspapers, like that seen in plate 4.14, and visits or letters home.³³⁵

³³⁴ J. Pullin, 'The LBSCR drivers: a study of the engine drivers employed by the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, 1850-1885', MA Thesis (University of Leicester, 2016). H. Reeve, 'One Big happy Family? Exploring the idea of the 'railway family' in Gloucester, 1901-1948'. Local Population Studies Autumn Conference 2017, Population and Transport. H. Reeve, 'Railway families', *Local history News*, 122, January 2017, pp. 8-9.

³³⁵ White and Woods, 'The foundation of migration study', p. 7.

Plate 4.14: Advertisement for board and lodgings, New Fletton



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday November 27 1901, p. 4.

In 1891-1901 the 37 unmarried male railway migrant boarders resided in 30 separate households. Of these 10, or 33.3%, boarded with a head of household who was also a railway worker. For brick workers the 68 unmarried male brick worker migrant boarders resided in 53 separate households. Of these 40, or 58.8%, boarded with a head of household who was also a brick worker. In 1901-1911 32 male railway migrant boarders resided in 23 separate households and of these 11 or 34.4% boarded with a co-worker. For brick workers 15 boarders resided in 14 households and 66.6% boarded with a co-worker. In addition in 1891-1901, 19 or 63.3%, of the railway boarders and 38, or 55.8% of brick worker boarders resided in a household where there was another boarder. By 1901-1911 this reduced quite substantially to 40.1% for railway boarders and only 13.3% for brick workers.

This co-existence of individuals with a shared life experience would have created a sense of extended familial relations and community in the broader sense.³³⁶ The senior members of the extended household would have offered support and an introduction to the community they now lived in and the co-boarders would have offered companionship with which to enjoy the new life. Although as family migration increased this support network became less important.

Migration narratives can reveal more about the typical households which opened their doors to co-working boarders. Kedar May was born in St. Ives, Huntingdonshire and migrated to 8 Bread Street, New Fletton as a married man before the 1891 census.³³⁷ In 1901 May, a railway shunter, his wife Alice and children, were recorded as being resident in privately rented housing at 43

³³⁶ M. W. Dupree, *Family Structure*, pp. 109-111.

³³⁷ RG13/1461/28, RG12/1226/68

Orchard Street, New Fletton see plate 4.15. May and Alice had four boarders, John Hawkins a shoemaker from Upwell, Cambridgeshire, and three railway engine cleaners; Fred Bausen from Moulton, Lincolnshire, Tom Bartram from Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire and Bertie Sharp from Staughton Huntingdonshire. The boarders must have found a sense of community from living with other men who had made the same migration journey from their families to an unfamiliar place. Bausen, Bartram and Sharp would also have had common ground with May as they were all employed by the railways.

Plate 4.15: 43 Orchard Street, New Fletton



Source: Sadie McMullon

Another household which exemplifies the type of complex relations that could exist where migration has occurred resulting in a co-resident boarding household was that of migrant widower William Barnes. Barnes migrated to Fletton from Whittlesey and in 1901 was recorded as living at 1 Gordon Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton.³³⁸ On migration Barnes changed employment from an agricultural labourer to a brickyard labourer. This change of occupation enabled Barnes to purchase his own house. Barnes was settled within this community as he still

³³⁸ RG13/1460/69, RG12/1302/20, RG12/112/12, RG12/1301/49

resided at the same address in 1911. Also present in the household in 1901, was a housekeeper Mary Ann Holmes, born Coates, Cambridgeshire. Mary was presumably working for Barnes and caring for the household. The migration narrative reveals that Mary was Barne's sister-in-law so perhaps this was a mutually beneficial arrangement. In the household there was also three boarders all brickyard labourers. Bert Holmes was born in Holloway, London and was Mary Holme's son so would have migrated with his mother to his uncle's home. There was also boarding William Allerton and Samuel Allerton both born in March, Cambridgeshire. William and Samuel, father and son had also exchanged agricultural work for work in the brickyards.

Two migrants who were supported in their migration by extended family were Henry Mee and William Wilson. Mee, the son of John an agricultural labourer, was born in Holme.³³⁹ In 1901 he was living with his sister Emma and her husband Richard Berry at 1 Preston Villas, Duke Street, Old Fletton. These were newly built Hill houses and both Mee and Berry were employed in the brickyards, Mee as a labourer and Berry as a gravel digger. Berry and Emma must have shared with Mee details of their new life in Fletton and the opportunities that could be found. Berry may have even been instrumental in securing his brother-in-laws employment. Mee remained with Berry and Emma until he was able to move on.

William Wilson, the son of a gardener, was born in Binbrook, Lincolnshire.³⁴⁰ By 1901 he was resident at 2 Wellington Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton with his uncle and aunt John and Elizabeth Smith. Smith was a railway guard but undoubtedly he heard about the numerous labouring jobs that were available to unskilled men in the local brickyards and his nephew took one of these. Working at the brickyards was only temporary for Wilson and by 1911 he had moved to Lincoln and was employed as an attendant in a lunatic asylum.

These households demonstrate the advantage to the migrant of taking residence with co-workers, other boarders and extended family. Accommodation was

³³⁹ RG13/1460/64, RG12/1234/107

³⁴⁰ RG13/1460/66, RG12/2609/34, RG14/1976

provided to migrants who travelled from near and far. The male migrants were married, widowed and unmarried, moving both independently and as a family unit to both an unknown area and to an area where family members already lived confirming Wall's proposal that migration created more complex households.³⁴¹ Anderson also witnessed this in Preston, households who 'took in' migrants until they had established themselves and were able to move on.³⁴²

Female 'migrant' and 'stayer' residence and household composition

Table 4.20: Farrows and Cadge and Colman female worker migrant and stayer residence, 1901-1911

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (2)	Head			Married (0)	Head		
	Family	2	100		Family		
	Extended				Extended		
	Boarding				Boarding		
Unmarried (13)	Head			Unmarried (12)	Head		
	Family	9	69.2		Family	12	100
	Extended	1	7.7		Extended		
	Boarding	3	23.0		Boarding		
Widower (1)	Head			Widower (0)	Head		
	Family				Family		
	Extended	1	100		Extended		
	Boarding				Boarding		

Notes: The figures for Farrows and Cadge and Colmans have been amalgamated as it is not always clear which company individuals worked for.

Source: CEBs 1901 and 1911

³⁴¹ R. Wall, 'Mean household size in England since the sixteenth century', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge University Press, 1972) p. 160.

³⁴² Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*.

Table 4.21: Symingtons female worker migrant and stayer residence, 1901-1911

Migrant				Stayer			
		Ind count	Percentage			Ind count	Percentage
Married (o)	Head			Married (o)	Head		
	Family				Family		
	Extended				Extended		
	Boarding				Boarding		
Unmarried (54)	Head			Unmarried (43)	Head	1	2.3
	Family	46	85.2		Family	41	95.3
	Extended	5	9.3		Extended	1	2.3
	Boarding	3	5.5		Boarding		
Widower (o)	Head			Widower (o)	Head		
	Family				Family		
	Extended				Extended		
	Boarding				Boarding		
Notes:							

Source: CEBs 1901 and 1911

As can be seen in table 4.20 and 4.21 above the unmarried female migrants who migrated to Fletton and who were employed by Farrows canning factory, Symingtons corset makers and the mill Cadge and Colmans, were overwhelmingly unmarried 95.7%, and living with their families 82%. There was a small percentage 17.8% who were boarding and living with extended family. This is mirrored by the female stayers where 96.4% of females employed in these industries were resident with their families. The pattern of residence for both unmarried female migrants and stayers is a reflection of the increase in family migration to Fletton, which enabled daughters, sisters, nieces and granddaughters to remain with their families secure in the knowledge that Fletton had employment opportunities for them.

One group often forced to migrate, were widows, as Laslett proposed families would take in older family members who could care for children and look after the house so that wives could work to provide additional income.³⁴³ Although small in number they are still worthy of consideration due to their impact on the households they resided in. In 1851-1861 7.5% of female migrants were widows varying only by 3% throughout the whole period. As can be seen in table 4.22 there was a greater

³⁴³ Laslett, 'The history of the family', p. 231.

percentage of female widows than male widows migrating to Fletton. Once widowed a female was in a vulnerable position and Morokvasic has found that more widowed females would migrate than men in the same situation.³⁴⁴

Table 4.22: *Percentage of male and female widows migrating, 1851-1911*

	1851-1861	1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911
Female	10.4	7.2	6.4	8.6
Male	4.2	4.0	2.6	4.3
Note:				

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

The complex reasons why female widows either decided to or were compelled to migrate are difficult to unpick. Were they attracted by employment opportunities for themselves or for their children? Did their extended family offer shelter or was this a mutually beneficial arrangement? Did the widow move to be with her family or was the move as a family unit? Migration narratives can assist in this analysis so it is less reliant on speculation and inference. Because of the analysis that was possible the data in table 4.18 can only be used as an indication and the groupings had to be slightly different.

As can be seen in table 4.23, between 1851 and 1911 the composition of the households in which the female migrant widows were part of changed. In 1851 89.5% of widows were also heads of household and only 10.5% were living with extended family members. By 1911 the number of female migrant widows who were household heads had decreased to 59.4% whilst those living with extended family increased to 33.9%. The number of widows living at their place of employment and boarding was negligible.

The residence pattern for female migrant widows is potentially connected to both her age and to the increase in employment opportunities in Fletton. The older female migrant widow living with her extended family could assist with childcare and carry out household chores. Where the female migrant widow was recorded as household head she may have migrated to take advantage of employment opportunities for herself to provide for young children or for the benefit of adult

³⁴⁴ M. Morokvasic, 'Women in migration: Beyond the Reductionist Outlook', in A. Phiacklea (ed.), *One way Ticket: Migration and Female labour* (Boston, 1983).

children secure in the knowledge that Fletton held employment opportunities for all members of the family.

Table 4.23: *Residence circumstances of female migrant widows, 1851-1911*

Relationship	1851		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%	Ind count	%
Visitor			2	2.6	1	2.1	2	2.7		
Extended	2	10.5	20	25.6	15	32.6	22	29.7	36	33.9
Boarding			4	5.1	1	2.1	3	4.0	5	.9
Living in ¹					5	10.8	6	8.1	2	1.8
Head	17	89.5	48	61.5	24	52.2	41	55.4	63	59.4
Total	19		78		46		74		106	

Note: ¹ Living at place of employment

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Four examples reflect the variety of the female migrant widows' personal experiences. Mary Alletson was a head of household who saw the possibilities that the railways would bring to her commercial venture and to her family. She was born in Alwalton and in the 1851 census was living in London Road, New Fletton close to the East Station.³⁴⁵ At the great age of 81 Mary was living with her unmarried daughter Elizabeth and unmarried granddaughter Mary. The family traded in flour and their location near Cadge and Colman mill and alongside both the East Station and the River Nene was ideal so production and transportation could be easily achieved.

Another female migrant widow was Sheffield born Sarah Goodley. Sarah had been a widow since 1899 when her husband William, a railway engine driver, died. In 1911 Sarah resided with her son Herbert, a hairdresser and tobacconist and his wife Florence in Oundle Road, New Fletton.³⁴⁶ Herbert and Florence had two very young children Lydia 18 months and Margaret six months. Sarah would have perhaps been a very welcome extra pair of hands in this busy household assisting with the care of Lydia and Margaret whilst Sarah assisted her husband in his business. This was not Sarah's first mutually beneficial stay since widowhood as in 1901 she was living with

³⁴⁵ HO107/1747/276

³⁴⁶ RG13/1551/99, RG12/1522/49, RG14/8672

another son William and his wife Elizabeth, in March. They too had a small son, 10 month William to care for.

Another widow who had to support her family after the death of her husband James was Caroline Bloodworth, aged 45. She took advantage of the opportunities in Fletton that that the railways brought for trade. She migrated to Peterborough Road, Old Fletton with her daughter Carrie 11 and son Edis 7 and is recorded on the 1901 census as a fish merchant.³⁴⁷ It was these same opportunities encouraged by the railways that encouraged Edis to move to Peterborough. In 1911 he was boarding at 117 Cromwell Road, Peterborough and he was an apprentice engineer.

Ann Holding, 65, was recorded on the 1901 census living near the Church, Old Fletton, with her son John 29 a brickyard labourer and his wife Betsy.³⁴⁸ Undoubtedly with three small children, Thomas 7, Martha 6 and Kate 4, having another pair of hands would have been valuable and so the arrangement was mutually beneficial. Holding was able to take advantage of the employment opportunities available in Fletton and by 1911 was employed by Coote and Warren railway wagon builders as a labourer. By 1911 the family had another two children James and Frederick so another pair of hands to share the load would have been even more valuable.

Compared to the picture conveyed by the female migrant widows, table 4.24 shows that in comparison, female stayer widows were more likely to be household heads and less likely to live with members of their extended family. This is possibly because the families had already migrated to Fletton and established a life or business before the death of the husband. Household head female stayer widow Julia Edgson, born in Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1911 owned and ran, with her two daughters Gertrude and Mabel, a grocery and bakery business in Bridge End, New Fletton.³⁴⁹ This was the same business that Julia had previously ran with her

³⁴⁷ RG13/1460/46, RG12/1230/64, RG14/8689/13

³⁴⁸ RG13/1460/45, RG14/8668/151

³⁴⁹ RG14/8671, RG12/1226/6

husband Charles and so for Julia it was easier to continue taking advantage of opportunities started with their husbands in a familiar location.

In 1901 Ellen Fearn and Elizabeth Watts were mother and daughter female widow stayers who lived with their extended family.³⁵⁰ Also in the household was Ellen's brother Arthur Watts, a brickyard machine minder. They lived in brickyard rented housing at 27 High Street, Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton.³⁵¹ This was a busy household as Elizabeth took in boarders and Ellen contributed to the family income by working as a stocking knitter. This arrangement was obviously mutually beneficial as Ellen and Arthur remained living together even when they moved to 155 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton after Elizabeth died. In 1911 also living in the household was Arthur's niece Ellen Watts a laundry clerk, nephew William Anniss aged 4 and two boarders Richard Baker general labourer and Atley Neal blacksmith. Arthur provided income and security for his sister and niece and they in turn contributed to the household income by working and taking in boarders and caring for the house.

Table 4.24: Residence of female stayer widows, 1851-1911

Relationship	1891		1901		1911	
	Ind count	Percentage	Ind count	Percentage	Ind count	Percentage
Visitor					1	1.8
Extended	6	20.7	4	12.5	9	16.4
Boarding	1	3.4			2	3.6
Living in ¹					1	1.8
Head	22	75.9	28	87.5	42	76.4
Total	29		32		55	
Note: 1851 no widows 1881 2 widows both household heads ¹ Living at place of employment						

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Family employment, paternal impact and family migration

As part of the second aim of this research a question that can be addressed is: Did the availability of employment for all family members have an impact on family migration and what role did paternal influence have in gaining employment? As this

³⁵⁰ RG14/8670, RG13/1460/52, RG12/1226/58

³⁵¹ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

research has demonstrated migration to Fletton was not dominated by young unmarried migrants but by families, demonstrating that family responsibility was not a hindrance to migration. Fletton was not alone and other local studies have also witnessed this tendency of family migration, such as Perkyn's study in Kent, White's study in Grantham and Scunthorpe and Drummond's research in Crewe.³⁵² Fletton attracted families not just for the occupation opportunities for the male head of the household but for all the family members. Work on family migration, particularly in textile areas, has also revealed that families would often migrate where there were opportunities for wives and children to gain employment and so contribute to the family budget.³⁵³

In Fletton male employment was increasingly secure with good wages. In 1850 agricultural labourers could earn 10 shillings a week but the migrant railway worker could double this income with security, the prospect of gaining promotion and social advancement.³⁵⁴ Wages in the brickyards were also favourable compared to agricultural labour and as the work became less seasonal more secure. In 1886 at Arthur Fuller's new brickyard in Warboys, 10 miles from Fletton, fifty men were employed at £1 a week.³⁵⁵

The attractions in Fletton for female married migrants were what attracted their husbands, the twin combination of secure employment and housing. Evidence suggests that alongside caring for their family married females have been observed both supporting their husbands work and engaging in seasonal work which is not recorded on the census records. One such employment was assisting in the brickyards, an example of which can be seen in plate 4.16. Mothers working meant that childcare arrangements had to be inventive, as can be seen in plate 4.17. Whilst William Henry Edwards remembers, 'When I was very small, my mother worked in

³⁵² Perkyns, *Occupation patterns*, pp. 44-62. White, 'Family Migration in Victorian Britain', pp. 41-50. Pooley and Turnball, *Migration and Mobility*, p.147. Drummond, *Crewe*, p. 20. Grantham was also a town that grew rapidly following the arrival of the Great Northern Railway in the 1850s in conjunction with a simultaneous increase in agricultural engineering.

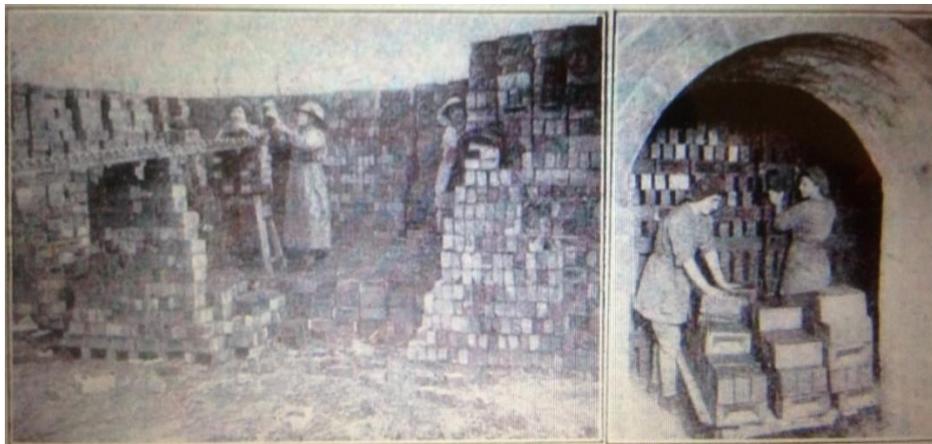
³⁵³ White, 'Family migration in Victorian Britain', p.46.

³⁵⁴ F. McKenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970* (Faber and Faber Limited, 1980), p.25.

³⁵⁵ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 55.

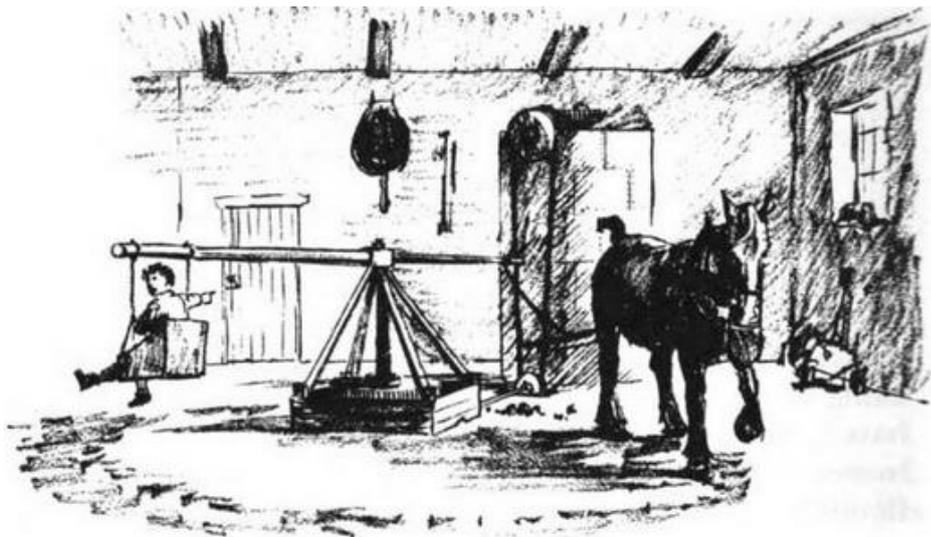
the brickyards... My mother were a very good hand at making tiles... pay for making tiles was 3/6d per thousand’.

Plate 4.16: Women at work in the brickyards between 1914 and 1918³⁵⁶



Source: Peterborough Evening Telegraph

Plate 4.17: Inventive childcare arrangements, circa 1880



Source: S. Marshall, *Fenland Chronicle* (Cambridge University Press, 1967)

As can be seen in table 4.25 there was a small but significant group of married female migrants who were able to migrate alongside their husbands and gain employment to supplement the family income. Throughout the research period,

³⁵⁶ Photographs of women working in the brickyards in the Great War. On the left women stack bricks ready for transportation by rail and on the right women stack bricks for firing. Although later than the research period there were reports of women doing similar types of work during the research period.

except for 1881-1891 where the figure fell to 4%, approximately 10% of married migrant females were employed. In contrast table 4.26 shows that for stayers the percentage of married females employed was negligible, after the initial period 1851-1861 when it was 24.1%. Compared to other study areas and to the national trend this was comparatively low. In 1851, in agricultural Eynsham, 43% of married females were employed.³⁵⁷ In the railway town of Crewe, in 1881, 22% of married females were employed out of the home.³⁵⁸ Nationally during this period 25% of married females were employed. This figure was potentially low as although there was employment for married females it was not required as male employment was high, secure and with good salaries.

Initially employment opportunities were limited to more traditional occupations such as laundry work and dressmaking but towards the end of the research period Farrows had opened in Old Fletton. As plate 4.18 shows advertisements began to appear in the local paper advertising for pea pickers not only to work in the mill but also for them to 'supply peas to pick at pickers homes'.³⁵⁹ This enabled married females to work alongside their other household duties.

Table 4.25: *Employed female migrant marital condition, 1851-1911*

	Individual Count				Percentage			
	Total employed	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total employed ³	Married	Unmarried	Widow
1851-1861	141 ¹	15	93	31	28.1	10.7	67.0	22.3
	494 ²							
1881-1891	212	9	165	38	32	4.2	77.8	17.9
	660							
1891-1901	269	26	199	44	26.7	9.7	73.9	16.4
	1008							
1901-1911	340(343)	34	261	45	31.9	10.0	76.8	13.2
	1073							

Notes: ¹The number of female migrants 15 and over who were employed.
²The total number of female migrants 15 and over.
³Total employed (percentage) is the number of female migrants who were employed as a percentage of all migrant females 15 and over who could potentially be employed.
1851-1861 there is 1 individual where marital condition is not known.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

³⁵⁷ Golby, 'Married women and work', pp.50-52.

³⁵⁸ Drummond, Crewe, p.28.

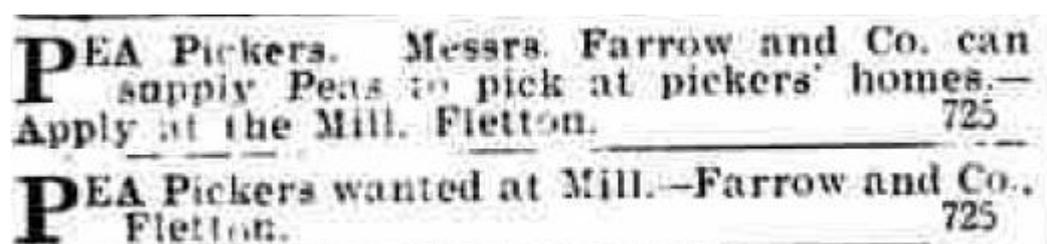
³⁵⁹ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, October 15, 1902

Table 4.26: *Employed female stayer marital condition, 1851-1911*

	Individual Count				Percentage			
	Total employed	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total employed ³	Married	Unmarried	Widow
1851-1861	29 ¹ 69 ²	7	15	7	42.0	24.1	51.7	24.1
1881-1891	71 201	1	60	10	35.3	1.4	84.5	14.0
1891-1901	85 298	1	78	6	28.5	1.2	91.7	7.0
1901-1911	176 586	13	154	9	30.0	7.4	87.5	5.1

Notes: ¹The number of female migrants 15 and over who were employed.
²The total number of female migrants 15 and over.
³Total employed (percentage) is the number of female migrants who were employed as a percentage of all migrant females 15 and over who could potentially be employed.

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

Plate 4.18: *Farrows pea picking advertisement*

Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, October 15, 1902.

Married migrant females such as Lydia Clarke migrated to Fletton with her husband George.³⁶⁰ They are recorded as living in Bread Street, New Fletton in 1911 with their two children Kathleen 3 and George 1. Clarke Snr was born in Boston, Lincolnshire and Lydia in Doncaster, Yorkshire. Clarke was a factory hand at the Cadge and Colman mill by the East Station. Lydia led the way for married females when she saw the opportunity to contribute to the household income, at the same time as caring for her small children, by working from home as a pea picker.

Harriet Ward was another married female who took advantage of these new employment opportunities for women.³⁶¹ Harriet and her husband George migrated to Fletton, with their four children, from nearby Peterborough where George was a

³⁶⁰ RG14/8672, RG13/1463/63

³⁶¹ RG14/867, RG13/1465/14

bricklayer. In 1911 they are recorded as living in privately rented housing at 11 Tower Street, New Fletton.³⁶² Ward was born in Downham Market, Norfolk and Harriet in Hilgay, Norfolk. Ward was a handyman and Harriet took the opportunity to work in the Farrows factory as a pea packer.

Also migrating with their families were unmarried females and over the research period the opportunity for them to gain employment, whilst staying within the family home, increased with the opening of industries such as Symingtons in New Fletton, Farrows in Old Fletton and the expansion of Cadge and Colmans by the East Station and smaller commercial ventures providing day to day services. The percentage of unmarried female migrants in employment increased from 67% in 1851-1861 to 76.8% in 1901-1911 and unmarried female stayers in employment increased from 51.7% in 1851-1861 to 87.5% in 1901-1911. Due to these opportunities Fletton's employment rate for unmarried females was high compared to other study areas. In Perky's study of Kentish parishes unmarried female employment between 1851 and 1881 was 64.5% and in Crewe Drummond found that for the age group 15-19 the percentage of females who worked was 54.3% in 1881.³⁶³ However where female employment rates are considered it is difficult to make comparisons on the national stage. As Shaw-Taylor comments, female experience is diverse and any 'national narrative' is likely to 'be seriously mis-leading'.³⁶⁴

Fletton's development provided a diverse range of opportunities for unmarried females to gain employment. This meant that all family members could migrate and be employed together in the same community. An example of one such family was that of Demarion Agnes Whitfield. This family's migration narrative reveals that their migration to Fletton was routed in occupational opportunities. Demarion

³⁶² See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

³⁶³ Perky's, *Occupation patterns*, p.61. Drummond, Crewe, p. 225.

³⁶⁴ L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Diverse Experiences: the Geography of Adult Female Employment and the 1851 Census' in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), p.39. X. You, *The Missing Half: Female employment in Victorian England and Wales* <https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/occupations/outputs/onlineatlas/femaleemployment.pdf> (Accessed 22/5/2018), p. 13. You discusses in detail regional differences in female employment. Where heavy industry existed female employment was likely to be lowest, whereas in light industry areas female employment rates were at their highest.

migrated with her extended family and gained employment with Farrows.³⁶⁵ In 1911 she was resident at the property in plate 4.19 6 Falcon Villas, Milton Road, Old Fletton, which was privately rented by her sister Mary and brother-in-law John from Hill.³⁶⁶ This was truly an extended household as also resident was John's widowed mother Fanny Graham. All the family had their roots in Lincolnshire as they were born in Whaplode Fen, Boston, Pinchbeck West and Lawrence.³⁶⁷ John was a manager, Fanny a foreman and Demarion a packer. Fanny moved to Old Fletton from 11 Whitemoss Lane, Boston where she had shared her home with her daughter Lizzie and son-in-law William. Fanny had been employed in a mustard factory and it may have been that she and her son John transferred to the Fletton factory as part of the initial workforce when the factory opened.

Plate 4.19: 6 Falcon Villas, Milton Road, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

Another family who were able to migrate and remain living together due to the employment available in Fletton were the Lilleys.³⁶⁸ Melbourne Lilley and his family migrated to New Fletton from the neighbouring parish of Woodston. In 1911 Lilley, his wife Rebecca and their seven children were resident in privately rented housing

³⁶⁵ RG14/8670, RG12/2575

³⁶⁶ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

³⁶⁷ <http://letslookagain.com/tag/joseph-farrow/> (Accessed 11/6/2017) Fanny worked at a mustard factory in Boston and Farrow's first factory was in Boston. Therefore it is assumed that on migration the family were also employed by Farrows as was Demarion Agnes Whitfield.

³⁶⁸ RG14/8672, RG13/1461/59

at 25 George Street, New Fletton which can be seen in plate 4.20.³⁶⁹ The family displayed a diverse range of occupations. Lilley and his son Cecil were carpenters. Another son Sydney was a clerk in the brickyards. Daughter Hilda was a dressmaker and another daughter Daisy had exchanged the more traditional employment of domestic service and joined her two sisters Edith and Gladys in the new Symingtons factory as corset machinists.

Plate 4.20: 25 George Street, New Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

As previously mentioned migrating to an area where industries such as railways and brickworks existed was also beneficial for sons in gaining employment or apprenticeships, as these industries were not adverse to patrimony when appointing. Railway work was 'kept in the family' and railway companies believed that this fostered loyalty.³⁷⁰ This was a pattern seen by Sheppard in Brighton.³⁷¹ In Brighton, in 1861, out of 172 employees with London Brighton and South Coast Railway 81 had fathers also employed in the railways, just under 50%. In Fletton patrimony also played an important role for both the railways and brickyards. Due to the way that this analysis was conducted the true impact of patrimony, in

³⁶⁹ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

³⁷⁰ McKenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970*, p.50.

³⁷¹ Sheppard, 'Brighton', p. 30.

Fletton, may be significantly higher than that witnessed especially in the railways where mobility was high.³⁷²

Over the research period the potential paternal influence in their son's occupation changed as can be seen in table 4.27 and 4.28. The percentage of unmarried migrant sons and fathers both being employed by the railways reduced from 50% in 1881-1891 to 21.9% in 1901-1911 and this is mirrored by the stayer unmarried sons and fathers reducing from 66.6% to 38.2%. In contrast, during the research period, the percentage of unmarried migrant sons and fathers both being employed in the brickyards increased from 50% to 64.1% and this is echoed in the stayer unmarried sons and fathers increasing from 33% to 76.2%. The railway figures echo Miles's findings that between 1723 and 1914 individuals who cite family, friends and patronage as being instrumental in procuring employment decreases in favour of application, advertisement, interview and examination.³⁷³

Peak times for patrimony seem to be at times of expansion in the two industries, which perhaps reflected that employers needed to recruit a larger quantity of men quickly so the best method was via fathers as their sons could be vouched for to be of good character and reliable. The stayers appear to be more inclined towards patrimony but due to the way the analysis was conducted this may also reflect the persistence of these individuals. It was not unusual for a father in the brickyard to have several sons working alongside him as the excavation of clay and manufacture of bricks was completed in groups or 'gangs'.³⁷⁴ This trend was not unusual in

³⁷² The calculation of sons employed in the railways and brickyards, where fathers were also employed, gives only an indication of the impact of patriarchy. Using the census records for Fletton only fathers and sons both resident in Fletton were traced. Therefore the true figure is likely to be higher than that calculated. Both sons and their fathers could have been employed by the railways or brickyards but have moved away from Fletton. This analysis also does not account for married sons, nephews, brothers, in laws and other close relations that may be affected by patriarchy or who may have since moved occupation. These cannot be found without extensive record linkage.

³⁷³ Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?' p. 33.

³⁷⁴ http://www.benleethistory.org.uk/page/page_id_1122.aspx (Accessed 25/6/2017)

A brick making gang consisted of six men which included a temperer, flattie, moulder, off-bearer, barrow-boy or barrow worker and pusher-out. Producing 900 bricks an hour required considerable teamwork and effort.

Taylor's study of social mobility in the Black Country 1851-1901, at times of expansion in the nail and iron works in Wombourne, there was also an increase in patriarchy.³⁷⁵

Table 4.27: Potential paternal influence in railway workers son's occupation, 1881-1891 to 1901-1911

Year	Migrant			Stayer		
	Sons ¹	Fathers ¹	Percentage	Sons ¹	Fathers ¹	Percentage
1881-1891	14	7	50.0	9	6	66.6
1891-1901	25	18	72.0	23	15	65.2
1901-1911	32	6	21.9	34	13	38.2

Notes: ¹Individual count

Source: CEBs 1881 to 1911

Table 4.28: Potential paternal influence in brick worker's son's occupation, 1881-1891 to 1901-1911

Year	Migrant			Stayer		
	Sons ¹	Fathers ¹	Percentage	Sons ¹	Fathers ¹	Percentage
1881-1891	22	11	50.0	6	2	33
1891-1901	80	31	38.8	24	13	54.2
1901-1911	39	25	64.1	42	32	76.2

Notes: ¹Individual count

Source: CEBs 1881 to 1911

Below are three examples of patriarchy in action. Worthy Christmas migrated to Oak Villas, Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton which can be seen in plate 4.21, from nearby Peterborough, between 1891 and 1901, with his wife Eliza and two young children Harold and Lilian. Christmas a railway guard not only gained promotion to G.N.R Inspector but in so doing may have secured Harold's position as G.N.R clerk.³⁷⁶

Plate 4.21: Worthy Christmas residence, 2017



Photo: Sadie McMullon

³⁷⁵ D. T. Taylor, 'Examining the effect of occupational structure on social mobility - an investigation of a Black country village, 1851-1901', *Family and Community History*, 20, 2, (2017), p. 95.

³⁷⁶ RG12/1229/54, RG13/1460/48,

Alexander Brown migrated to privately rented accommodation at 10 Bread Street, New Fletton in approximately 1856, from nearby Whittlesey, with his wife Emma and their four children.³⁷⁷ For Brown this move meant not only a change of residence but also of employment from gunsmith to railway engine fitter. The developing railway community in New Fletton must have been welcoming to Brown and his family as in the 1871 census they are still resident in Bread Street and their son Alexander had taken advantage of the paternalistic nature of railway employment and was recorded as a railway fireman.

Finally George Jeffs, a brick setter, migrated to a house which was rented by a brickyard owner Gardener at 32 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton. A sample of the Persimmon housing can be seen in plate 4.22. He is recorded on the 1901 census as living with his wife Naomi and six sons. It would have been very important for the sons to secure employment and the brickyards provided the perfect opportunity. Four of Jeff's sons, Thomas, George, Ernest and Herbert, all found employment at the brickyards as brickyard labourers perhaps working alongside their father in a 'gang'.

Plate 4.22: 32 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton, 2017



Source: Eleanor McMullon

³⁷⁷ HO107/1765/168, HO107/176/16, RG11/1591/68

Persistence - who stayed?

The third aim of this research is to consider the role and nature of the stayer and address the question: What factors contributed to persistency which includes the impact of occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding? This will primarily be dealt with in Chapter 5 Integration and Community but is also important to note here. As the research period progressed Fletton's unique characteristics were encouraging an increasing number of its residents to persist. As can be seen in table 4.29 in 1851-1861 persistence was 10.4% and by 1901-1911 this had increased to 30.3%. This was lower than the 49.7% persistency rate which Birch found in rural Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire 1851-1881 and closer to the 38.1% persistency rate that Lawton found in an nineteenth century urban environment amongst the professional classes.³⁷⁸ Fletton's persistency rates were also lower than national persistency rates, which ranged between 40-60%, but these rates still reflect the increasing opportunities available in occupation, accommodation and marriage partners.³⁷⁹ At the same time those who felt the need to leave Fletton in pursuit of these necessities decreased from 70% in 1851-1861 to 62.5% in 1901-1911. As Taylor said of Adlington, Kent, it may not be true that everyone in Fletton 'grew up and grew old together'³⁸⁰ but there appeared to be a more settled stable community within the parish whilst more transient individuals came and went.

But it was not the native born individuals who made the decision to settle, but those who had migrated to Fletton. Over the research period the percentage of native- born stayers decreased in comparison to those who had stayed from the previous census but were not born in Fletton, from 30% in 1851-1861 to 15.5% in 1901-1911. This contrasts with the percentage of non-native stayers increasing from 70% in 1851-1861 to 84% in 1901-1911. This decrease in native-born stayers echoes what

³⁷⁸ M. Birch, 'Bolton Abbey, West Riding of Yorkshire, 1851-81: Population Turnover in a 'Static' Community', in D. R. Mills (ed.), *Victorians on the Move: Research in the Census Enumerators' Books 1851-1881* (Mills Historical Computing, 1984), p. 6-9. Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p.220.

³⁷⁹ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 220.

³⁸⁰ P. Taylor Newton, 'Residential Continuity and Problems of Measurement in Aldington, Kent, 1801-1851', *Family Community History*, 3(2), p. 93. Anderson, *The Rural Exodus*.

Wojciechowska found in Brenchley. Between 1851 and 1871 the percentage of Brenchley born individuals residing in Brenchley decreased from 51.8% to 43.8%.³⁸¹ What was witnessed in Fletton does not wholly support Lawton's findings in Liverpool that being locally born encourages persistence.³⁸² Once again the critical factor encouraging persistency was perhaps an individual's occupation and the opportunities that brought. Migrants moved to Fletton with the skills in place that employers wanted. In contrast the native born individuals perhaps did not have these skills or were not prepared to adapt to the new industries so had to seek employment elsewhere.

Table 4.29: Percentage of stayers, native and non-native born, 1851-1861 to 1901-1911

	Native born stayer		Non-native born stayer		Total stayer
	Percentage	Individual count	Percentage	Individual count	
1851-1861	30.0	46	70.0	107	153
1881-1891	25.8	117	74.0	335	453
1891-1901	20.2	149	79.3	584	736
1901-1911	15.5	220	84.0	1199	1433
Note:					

Source: CEBs 1851 to 1911

The use of migration narratives can confirm if occupation was indeed a factor. Amongst those who decided to stay in Fletton and make it their home was non-native born stayer George Boden who was born in Cromford, Derbyshire. Cromford Mill was Sir Richard Arkwright's cotton mill and the village of Cromford was built to house the mill's employees.³⁸³ Boden was a cotton spinner and his father, Thomas, was a labourer. ³⁸⁴In 1881 Boden was living with his family at 14 Cromford Hill, Derbyshire. By 1891 Boden had migrated to Fletton and married Susannah of Stanground. He was employed as a railway clerk and was resident in privately rented housing at Haydn Terrace, Old Fletton.³⁸⁵ The cotton industry experienced a decline in Britain and this was perhaps what motivated Boden to seek more stable employment elsewhere. Taking employment as a railway clerk in Fletton offered

³⁸¹ Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley', p. 30.

³⁸² Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 220.

³⁸³ <http://www.cromfordmill.co.uk/history.html> (Accessed 24/11/2017)

³⁸⁴ RG11/3451/84

³⁸⁵ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

security.³⁸⁶ Boden found stability in both community and occupation and in 1901 he was still a railway clerk living at the same address, Haydn Terrace.

Another non-native stayer was William Robert Wells.³⁸⁷ Wells was born in Heacham, Norfolk and prior to 1901 he migrated to privately rented housing at 30 Grove Street, New Fletton with his wife Nellie Creeke.³⁸⁸ Well's father was a cabinet maker and joiner and at the age of 14 Wells was living with his family in Heacham and was employed as a florist. The railways and the opportunities they held must have attracted Wells and he found employment as a railway clerk. Wells had found occupational security and he and his wife Nellie must have also felt settled in the Fletton community as by 1911, they had moved to Ellesmere, 108 Fletton Ave, Old Fletton, and had a daughter Dorothy. They also offered other migrants to Fletton a place to stay. They had two boarders Ernest Had, a printer from Cambridge, and Sydney Howes, a teacher from Norwich.

Conclusion

As has been demonstrated migration to Fletton was complex and unique. A broad statistical appraisal, using birthplace analysis, has set the migrants into context alongside the stayer population. It has been revealed that although unmarried males were attracted to Fletton, the majority of male migrants were married. This indicates that migrants were not deterred by the responsibility that marriage and children brought. At a time of railway expansion, which gave migrants greater access to far away destinations, the distance that both male and female migrants were prepared to travel was decreasing, in favour of an increase in short distance migration. It has also been found that contrary to acknowledged migration patterns, the migrants to Fletton from middle and long distances were more likely to be married and unmarried migrants were more inclined to travel short distances from local counties.

³⁸⁶ D. Farnie, 'Cotton 1780-1914', in D. T. Jenkins (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles Vol 1* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 712.

³⁸⁷ RG14/8669, RG13/1461/43, RG12/1563/12

³⁸⁸ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

But statistical analysis can conceal the true process and experience of migration. The use of longitudinal profiles to create migration narratives has enabled this research to tell both the migrant and stayers narrative. They have also shown that it was the changing nature of employment opportunities in Fletton that created the unique family migration pattern. As well as families with dependent children, families with adult children looking for employment were able to migrate and so keep the family together. This resulted in an increase in unmarried migrants living within the family household, rather than living independently or boarding.

Migration narratives have also revealed that although Fletton's population was largely unstable, with migrants moving in and out, there was an increasing section of migrants, a stable core of families, who were persisting. These families were attracted by the occupational opportunities that Fletton had. It is to this community, and the integration into it that this research now turns.

Chapter 5

Integration and Community

‘Everybody is defined by the community she belongs to’

Orson Scott Card¹

~

Introduction

Drake reminds us that migration, integration and community are threads that are woven together and so must be considered together.² Previously this research has been occupied with the migration element of the three threads. Initially focussing on the data driven pattern or mechanics of migration which sets the context of migration to Fletton. Attention then moved on to consider what lies behind the data; what was it about Fletton that attracted particularly family migrants? what encouraged them to build their own lives and community? The personal will and desire that governs the process of migration. In order to explore the process of migration longitudinal profiles were created. Longitudinal profiles tell individual migration narratives; histories which are personal and unique to each individual and family and which are often overlooked, in favour of addressing the broader picture of migration patterns, as their creation is time consuming. But they are an integral part of gaining a real understanding of migration and so they cannot be ignored and as Few demonstrated in her study centred in North Devon, the study of one family can ‘illuminate the overall situation’.³

Against a back drop of statistical analysis to establish context this chapter will again have as it’s overarching objective the centrality of migration narratives to explore what experiences the individual or family had after the initial migration occurred, the ‘integration and community’ that Drake spoke of. In using migration narratives

¹ O. S. Card, *Speaker for the Dead*, (Orbit, 2011).

² M. Drake, (ed.), *Time, Family and Community*, (Open University, 1994), p, 5.

³ J. M. Few, 'Faith, Fish, Farm or Family? The Impact of Kinship Links and Communities on Migration Choices and Residential Persistence in North Devon 1841-1901, PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2009), p. 30. As discussed in Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology, the use of Ancestry makes the creation of longitudinal profiles a less daunting task.

this chapter will continue to address the first two aims of this research which in summary are: to set the context in which the migrant lived prior to migration, if relevant where the migrant went to next and the possible motives behind their migration decisions and to explore the extent, nature and impact of family migration. However the driving force behind this chapter are the third and fourth aims. The third aim is to consider the role and nature of the stayer as part of the migrant's narrative and specifically to look at the factors that contributed to persistency including the impact of occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding. The fourth aim is to link migration and community and to begin to understand what factors underpin the creation of a new community. There will be particular focus on the effect of the type of housing available, rented or owner occupied, what role employment played and the relationship between the workplace and home in what.

Historiography

It is difficult to define and quantify what is meant by community as it is a subjective concept. Any definition should not be fixed but remain fluid in time and space as by integration, and in contrast via segregation, communities were broken down, re-created and maintained. As Williams reminds us, whatever definition or methodology is decided upon the term community is very rarely used 'unfavourably'.⁴ When referring to an area it is assumed that a community must have existed which was harmonious, supportive and growing.⁵ What this research will explore is what attributes were exhibited in Fletton that demonstrated that a community may have existed, that migrants were integrated into it and what life may have been like for the migrant and the host community. As Dennis and Daniels observe, an individual's occupation can be recorded, a marriage can be traced and residential house moves tracked but this reveals little about the community they lived in.⁶

⁴ R. Williams, *Keywords*, (Oxford University Press, 1976), p.65-66.

⁵ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', pp. 202-224.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p, 203.

Phythian-Adams observed that before transport links improved, man was bounded by geographical features such as rivers, water ways and mountain ranges and each of these areas had a 'strong cultural tradition of its own' encouraging individuals to look in on themselves rather than across borders.⁷ As transport links developed this natural feel for the 'underlying landscape' became lost. But evidence of them still remain in the formal boundaries that are visible for political, religious and administrative purposes.⁸ An individual no longer existed in one community and Mitson proposed that an individual could be tied to several communities simultaneously depending on how they conducted their social and economic affairs, where their family lived and what connections they had in parish, market town and county.⁹ Whilst Lord further observed that boundaries could be equally defined by reference to occupation and social grouping.¹⁰

Halvorson and Spierling warn that the study of community is problematic as the nature of community should not be restricted by the imposition of too many definitions.¹¹ In contrast Mills advocated a tight methodology concentrating on the identification of the community and relationships within and between communities.¹² Deacon and Donald preferred to define community, not by face to face contact, but by processes which allows for a more flexible approach taking into consideration the fact that an individual may belong to several communities simultaneously, such as kin and allegiance to an employer.¹³ Withington and Shephard argue that flexibility can also be gained if community is viewed not just through people but also by place and by activities.¹⁴ This approach includes

⁷ C. Phythian-Adams (eds.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850-Cultural Provinces and English Local History*, (Leicester University Press, 1996), p.10.

⁸ P. Bysouth, *Hertfordshire's Icknield Way: 19th Century Migration Frontier and Marriage Obstacle* (EAH Press, 2010), p. xi.

⁹ A. Mitson, 'Kinship Networks', p, 25.

¹⁰ E. Lord, 'Communities of Common Interest: the Social Landscape of South-East Surrey, 1750-1850', in C. Phythian-Adams (eds.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship: 1580-1850 Cultural Provinces and English Local History*, (Leicester University Press, 1993), p.139.

¹¹ M. J. Halvorson and K. E. Spierling (ed.) *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2008), p. 5.

¹² Mills, 'Defining Community', p, 6.

¹³ B. Deacon, and M. Donald, 'In Search of Community History', *Family and Community History*, 7, no. 1, (2004), p. 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p, 17.

institutional arrangements, acts and artefacts and the rhetoric through which the community was legitimised.

For any analysis some form of parameters have to be imposed, even if they are fluid. It would appear that the best definition of community would combine attributes from all of these above approaches and so the analysis of the Fletton community and an individual's integration into it will incorporate: segregation, residential persistence, relationship between workplace and home, kinship, marriage and special interest groups. But as Strathern noted all these aspects of community could also be a barrier to the migrant's ability and potential to integrate.¹⁵

Of paramount importance, and perhaps the most overarching principal which should lie behind any assessment of community, is what Hoskins and Finberg advocated. An analysis of community has to be more than a tracing of events over the centuries. It has to capture how it functioned and changed over time to encapsulate 'origin, growth, decline and fall'.¹⁶ What a study must not do is perpetuate, as Finnegan saw it, a 'Golden Age' where community is only viewed as coherent and stable when in reality it often experienced 'conflict, movement and change'.¹⁷

The Impact of Regional Identity - was Fletton a community?

As already mentioned the fourth aim of this research is to link migration and community in order to begin to understand what factors can underpin the creation of a new community. As part of this the regional identity of Fletton can be considered. This will lay the foundations and pose questions for later analysis both in this chapter and Chapter 6 Marriage. Although the concept of community is difficult to define an important aspect is regional identity. Schürer concluded that migration and mobility could be 'inhibited and restricted by a variety of barriers' either physical, economic,

¹⁵ M. Strathern, *Kinship at the core: an anthropology of Elmdon, a village in north-west Essex in the nineteen-sixties* (Cambridge, 1981).

¹⁶ Deacon and Donald, 'In Search of Community History', p, 15.

¹⁷ Finnegan, "Community': What is it and how can we investigate it?', p. 209.

social or cultural, and these barriers, real or perceived, may create 'regional identities'.¹⁸ This might explain why male migrants, although living and working in Fletton, would look to their birthplace for brides and why boarders also gravitated to co-workers with the same birthplace as themselves.

An individual's perception of social or cultural barriers, although 'artificial', could also explain, as will be seen later, why relatively few individuals from New Fletton integrated into Old Fletton and vice versa¹⁹ Those living in New or Old Fletton perhaps viewed themselves as members of those communities, with the associated shops, schools and religious houses that each had. The majority of individuals rented housing and it would have seemed fruitless to move unless there was an inducement to do so. This can be seen in individuals such as Levitt Carter, discussed below, who as a railway guard saw an opportunity to purchase and rent properties in Old Fletton and so a move from New to Old Fletton was to his advantage.

If individuals strived to retain their regional identity, whatever boundary this might encompass then the identity of a place was also important and its retention could be at risk. Langton and Hoppe, in their study in Western Ostergotland, pose the possibility that with migration this might be problematic.²⁰ In order to preserve a set of values and ideals there may be a determined act to keep migrants out, or as this research will demonstrate, in the case of Old and New Fletton, a reluctance to cross from one community to the other.²¹ Persistence in a community could be critical in retaining the cultural norms and conveying them to the next incomers. In Fletton, an area of high migration, persistence was unexpectedly high. As can be seen in table 4.2 in Chapter 4 Migration, the percentage of the population who were stayers rose from 10.4% in 1851-1861 to 30.3% in 1901-1911. To the younger generation,

¹⁸ K. Schürer, 'Regional Identity and Populations in the Past', in D. Postles (ed.), *Naming, Society and Regional Identity*, (Leopard's Head Press, 2002), p. xvii and p.226.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁰ J. Langton and G. Hoppe, (2002) 'Patterns of Migration and Regional Identity: Economic Development, Social Change and the Lifepaths of Individuals in Nineteenth-Century Western Ostergotland', in D. Postles (ed.), *Naming, Society and Regional Identity* (Leopard's Head Press, 2002), p. 237.

²¹ Schürer, 'Regional Identity', p. 216.

even migrants, after a period of time, would be a constant in the community; a familiar face passed by in the street.

When individuals have a sense of identity and an associated desire to preserve a set of values and ideals then perhaps migration and marriage choices are restrictive or controlled. Where migration does occur this can be facilitated and controlled by internal factors. Those seeking employment and accommodation may have their passage eased by kin or other members of their previous village or town or work colleagues who have made the journey before them. These factors could lead to migrants either coming from localised areas or those from the same occupation residing together so values and beliefs may be shared more readily providing reassurance and security in an unknown place. In marriage choices there may be a bias towards endogamous marriage or where exogamous restricted to certain areas or parental occupation.

Whyte has argued that local migration may not have made such a cultural impact on the community in comparison to journeys made from further afield.²² However distance travelled may be irrelevant if values and customs are alien. Locals even considered a move within the same parish, from Old to New Fletton as a move to 'the next village'.²³ While migrants from further afield might arrive to familiarity if family members had previously made the journey. Fletton was an area of good employment, the railways were established, the brickworks were growing and Farrows, Symingtons and Cadge and Colman brought opportunities to all members of the family. These factors could encourage persistence and so stability and the ongoing sense of community.

However, a sense of identity can also lead to a community being 'insular and inward looking' and to outsiders these new communities were strange and something to be wary of. Stanground was the next parish to Fletton and yet residents commented 'out of Fletton, into Stanground (passports required)'.²⁴ Stanground

²² Whyte, *Migration in Society in Britain*, p.147.

²³ Wright, *Tales of my Childhood*, p. 15.

²⁴ <https://www.grandadsfootball.co.uk/morefletton.htm> (Accessed 20/2/2018)

people were also seen as ‘insular... [and]... one felt a little intimidated when entering their domain-almost a no-go area’.²⁵

As Clark and Souden have indicated, it is difficult to imagine that high levels of migration would not have caused some unrest in the community as the residents or ‘stayers’, felt that their way of life may have been under threat.²⁶ The adequate provision of services and housing was key.²⁷ As the available housing fell behind demand social tension was perhaps exacerbated by overcrowding.²⁸ This anti-migrant suspicion was evident in 1880, in the local newspaper, in the mill village of Copley, Derbyshire. It was reported that migrants would bring disruption with their ‘habits of unthrift and intemperance’ and even worse ‘they are not so clean and tidy in their household affairs’.²⁹ This attitude was also witnessed in other railway communities such as Crewe.³⁰

Locally when Peterborough’s ‘Charter of Incorporation’ was passed on 17 March 1874 there was much opposition to the railway housing area in New England, referred to locally as ‘The Barracks’, being ‘married to the town’ as it was a district belonging to the Great Northern Railway Co.³¹ As reported in the *Peterborough Standard*, the perception in Fletton was that although Hill built houses ‘by the hundred’³² this did little to alleviate the housing plight of the labourers who had to seek accommodation wherever they could find it.³³

Migration narratives are ideally placed to explore aspects of regional identity. One family who aided others in their migration journey from their sending community was headed by Matthew Cook.³⁴ Cook was born in 1866 in Thorney, and in 1881 was recorded as being resident, with his parents, at Caves Yard Lodging House, Thorney. In 1891 Cook married a girl from his own community, Elizabeth Marshall. Elizabeth

²⁵ Ibid.,

²⁶ Clark and Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* p, 27.

²⁷ Schürer, ‘Regional Identity’, p. 209.

²⁸ Whyte, *Migration in Society in Britain*, p, 96.

²⁹ Dennis and Daniels, ‘Community’, p, 208.

³⁰ Drummond, *Crewe*.

³¹ R. Perrin, *The History of New England*. Priestgate (Peterborough Museum Society, 2001), p, 15.

³² *The Peterborough Standard*, 10 April 1915.

³³ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 56.

³⁴ RG13/1460/64, RG14/8670/134, RG11/1599/43

lived with her father James and brother Harry. Cook, James and Harry were all agricultural labourers. After Cook married Elizabeth they moved to Hill rented housing, 1 Peverill Villa, Duke Street, Old Fletton, plate 5.1, as Cook had gained employment in the brickyards. Thorney, 9 miles north-west of Fletton was a declining rural population of 1,799 inhabitants in 1901. There was a direct rail link with Peterborough and also carrier carts so the security of brickyard occupation must have been attractive whilst being close enough to Thorney to retain links with family and friends.³⁵

The Cooks assisted other Thorney residents both family and friends, to make the migration journey to Fletton. They would have eased the transition to the new community providing familiarity and support. On the 1901 census Elizabeth's father was also living in the household and was recorded as a brickyard labourer. There was also a boarder, 18 year old, Charles Briers.³⁶ Both of these men had exchanged the precarious life of agricultural labours for the more secure prospect of work within the brickyards.

Joining Cook, Marshall and Briers was Elizabeth's brother Harry.³⁷ Knowing that the brickyards operated a gang system means that it is likely that all these men worked together as well as living and socializing together. All the men were settled in the Fletton community and persisted until the 1911 census making the transition from migrants to familiar members of the community.

Cook remained at 1 Peveril Villa and had received promotion as he was recorded as a brickyard foreman. Still living with Cook was his father-in-law Marshall a brickyard labourer. They were also providing support for a young niece three year old Florence Bettles. Briers had retained employment with the brickyards but had moved to the neighbouring parish of Woodston, plate 5.2. The only one not to work in the brickyards was Harry Marshall. Harry had married Olive in 1899 and had made

³⁵ <https://www.cambridgeshirehistory.com/statistical/1901cambstats.html> (Accessed 9/2/2017)
Thorney was in the county of Cambridgeshire. The housing was commissioned by the Dukes of Bedford for their estate workers. There were 380 inhabited houses. In 1891 the population was 1,878. In 1901 the population was 1,799, 909 males and 890 females.

³⁶ RG14/8674/230

³⁷ RG14/8671/306, RG13/1461/14

the unusual step of moving to 16 Elm Street, New Fletton and was recorded as a jobbing gardener.

Plate 5.1: 1 Peveril Villa, Duke Street, Old Fletton



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 5:2 Charles Briers



Source: Marilyn Grainger

Arrival in Fletton – Residence in two communities

One factor which might underpin the creation of community is housing. As Lawton has stated when a migrant decides to move perhaps the most important consideration after their future employment, must be the availability and relationship of housing to their place of employment.³⁸ Therefore a question that will be explored is whether integration into and development of the Fletton community relied on the availability of housing. The destination of the migrant worker to Fletton, whether married or unmarried, did not seem to depend on the birthplace of the migrant but their occupation, if housing was provided and if previous migrants or family members with the same occupation had made the journey to that area before.³⁹

When considering integration by residential moves the census periods 1881-1891, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911 have been considered. The earlier census period of 1851-1861 has not been used and the reasons for this are threefold: firstly in the earlier censuses the addresses are more difficult to trace from one census to the next and

³⁸ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p, 211.

³⁹ J. Robin, *Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) p, 196.

so change of residential address does not necessarily mean a residential move. Secondly, due to the absence of the 1871 census data, a natural break has been created between the earlier and later period and from 1881 continuous analysis can be made. Finally the ownership and occupancy of properties can be traced in later years, using the 1910 Land Valuation Survey known as the 'New Domesday Survey'.⁴⁰

Primarily an individual's or family's first motive to move was for occupation purposes and this was usually dictated by the occupation of the male, although as already discussed this was by no means the only motive to move. It was also occupation that would often dictate the residence of the migrant. Therefore the first two groups of migrants considered for this analysis were the migrant males who were employed in the railways and brickyards.

It is also important to consider an occupation where housing is not provided by the employer and where an individual's place of residence is not directly connected to their place of employment. This is quite difficult as some occupation groups in Fletton were not greatly represented, such as professionals, and so are too small to analyse, some such as servants and agricultural labourers may have had accommodation provided and some like metalworkers may have actually been associated with the railway or brick industry but not be stated as such on the census. For this reason construction workers have been chosen, although it is conceivable that within this group some bricklayers may have been employed by the brickyards for building kilns, although this percentage would have been small. It must also be borne in mind that due to the nature and availability of employment construction workers may have generally been more transient.

The traditional view is that for the railway worker migrant, the location of accommodation would have been pre-determined, as in the main their housing would have been provided for them by their employer creating a railway community. A report dated 1849 stated that Crewe had '514 houses' all belonging

⁴⁰ Fletton LVD Vol 24. A discussion regarding the absence of the 1871 census data and the advantages of using the Land Valuation Survey 1910 can be found in Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology.

to 'the company'.⁴¹ However, Drummond also comments that in Crewe after the 1850s only the very occasional street was built by the company.⁴² Kingsford supports this alternative view of railway housing provision commenting that only 10% of railwaymen lived in railway accommodation.⁴³ The Land Valuation Survey reveals that only a small percentage of housing in Fletton was actually owned by the railways.⁴⁴ The location of these 13 cottages can be seen in map 5.1. The railway cottages were close to the East Station and within the railway station complex itself. Railway workers were drawn to the newly built houses in the New Fletton area, in the north west of Fletton.⁴⁵ Cossey proposed that it was advantageous for railway workers to live close to the station, side by side with other workers doing the same job.⁴⁶ In some areas this made it easy for the 'knockers up', an example of which can be seen in plate 5.3, when they did their rounds and also ensured sympathy if a worker needed to sleep during the day.

In contrast, as can be seen in map 5.2, housing for brick workers was located in the south east of Fletton, in the village or Old Fletton and included initially Persimmon Terrace and Hicks Lane but extended later to include the Hill built housing.⁴⁷ Initially brick workers were not provided with housing but men engaged in the same occupation were none the less drawn to the same district. As the research period progressed various local brickyard owners such as Gardener and Ellum and Hicks saw the need to provide their workers with housing, but this was on a very small scale. It was not until Hill arrived in Fletton, in 1888, that housing would be provided for brick workers on a larger scale when he created much of what is today recognisable as 'Old' Fletton.⁴⁸ Rows of neat terraced houses with front and rear gardens, good drainage and wide tree lined streets.⁴⁹

⁴¹ *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, 13, 22 June, (1850), p. 391.

⁴² Drummond, *Crewe*, p. 17.

⁴³ P. W. Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen: The Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour, 1830-1870* (Routledge, 1970), p. 110.

⁴⁴ Short, 'Local demographic studies', pp. 62-72.

⁴⁵ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

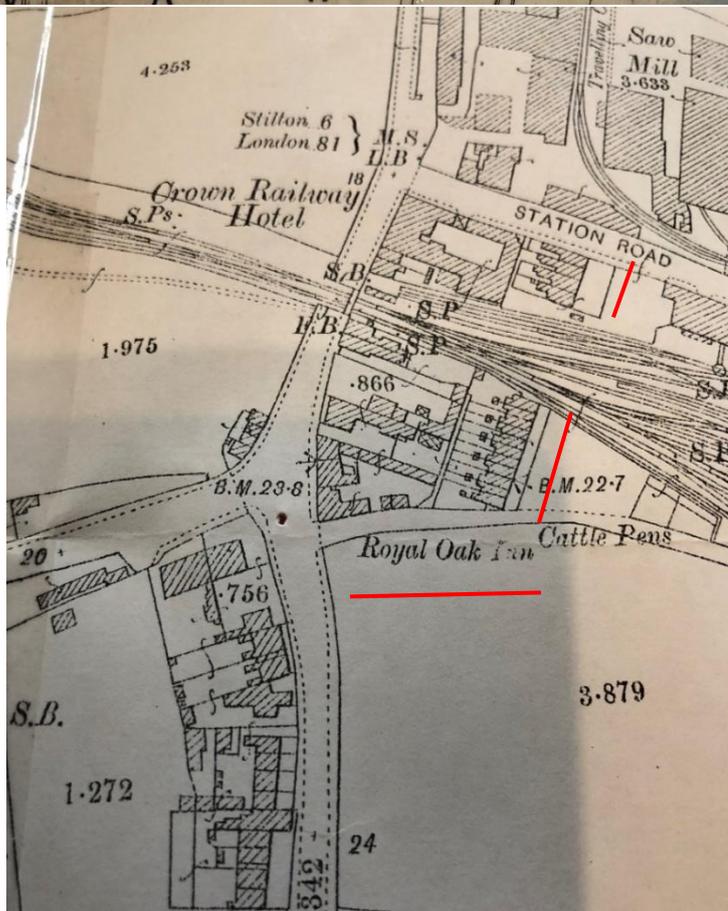
⁴⁶ F. Cossey, 'Peterborough Railwayman 1861-1881', *The Journal of the Peterborough Museum Society*, 2 (1986), p. 25.

⁴⁷ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁴⁸ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 44.

⁴⁹ London Brick Rent Rolls.

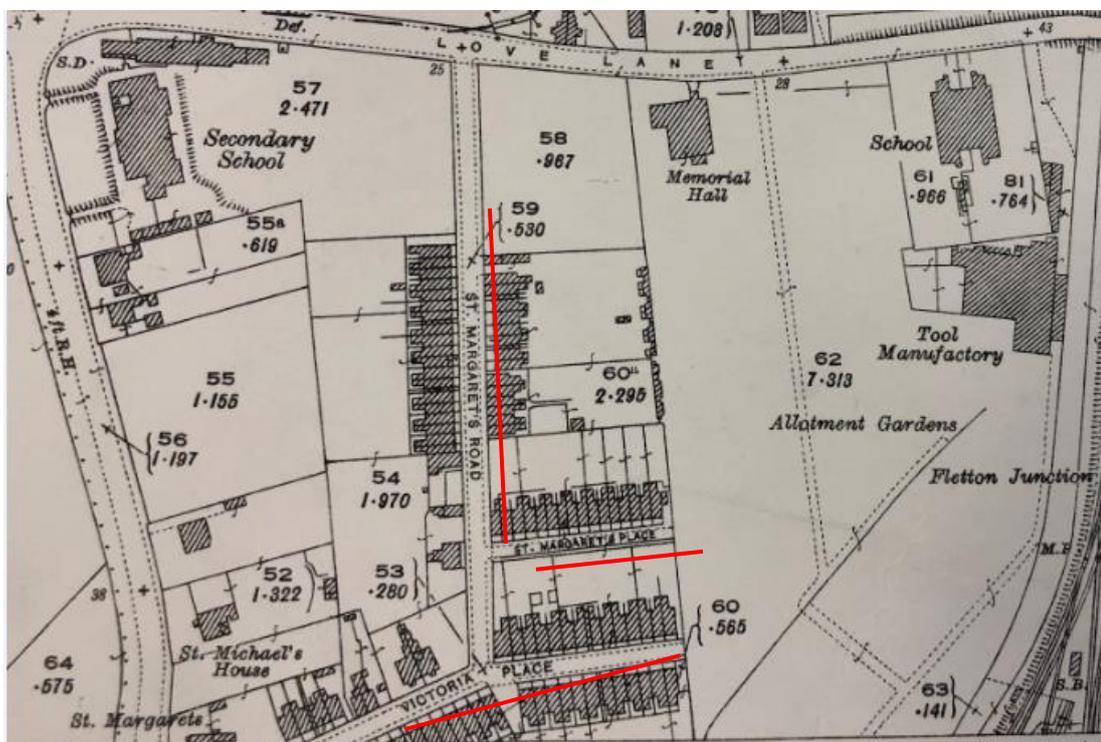
Map 5.1: East Station complex and surrounding area, 1902



Note: The map shows the railway housing, a row of 13 cottages, just above the Royal Oak pub. Also on this map is the corn mill Cadge and Colmans, top right.

Source: 1902 Ordnance survey

Map 5.2: Old Fletton brickyard housing, 1926



Note: Map 5.2 shows Persimmon Terrace, just south of Manor farm. There is also Milton Road, Duke Street, Princes Road and Queens Road which all run vertically north to south and Fellowes Road which runs west to east. St. Margarets Place and Victoria Place run off of St. Margarets Road. Hicks Lane is off map to the south of Victoria Place.

Source: 1926 Ordnance Survey Map

Plate 5.3: A 'knocker up', circa 1900



Source: Private possession of Tony Mills

Lawton suggests that to assess integration or assimilation into the local community it is useful to link censuses together and this is what this analysis does.⁵⁰ Although this method can only assess if physical integration through, house moves, occurred not the more difficult to assess social integration.⁵¹ As Schürer and Mills observed it can be difficult to accurately track an individual's movements as road names underwent changes and numbers of houses were both introduced and subsequently changed.⁵² But with local knowledge and referral to ordnance survey maps, where they exist, these difficulties are easy to overcome. Appendix B Development of Roads and Streets records the expansion of Fletton through reference to the census records. It also follows the street name changes which makes this analysis easier. However, for the purposes of accuracy a residential move is only counted as such if a complete change of road is traced, or a change of house within the same road if this can be proved ie: from one house name to another. For example Persimmon Terrace in 1891 to High Street in 1901 cannot automatically be termed a residential move as Persimmon Terrace is in High Street. Through record linkage sometimes a move can be ascertained in conjunction with other families

⁵⁰ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p, 211.

⁵¹ Ibid, p, 214.

⁵² Mills and Schürer, 'Migration and Population Turnover'.

living in the same vicinity. Because of this strict methodology residential moves are likely to be under rather than over estimated.

As can be seen from table 5.1 it is clear that during the period 1881-1901 both the married and unmarried railway and brick worker migrants were polarized in their migration destination; male railway migrants were drawn predominantly to New Fletton and male brick worker migrants to Old Fletton. By 1901-1911 male brick worker migrants were still predominantly drawn to Old Fletton but the male railway migrants were beginning to see the attraction of Old Fletton as well. In 1901-1911 65% of married male railway migrants (MRM) arrived in New Fletton and 34% in Old Fletton whilst for unmarried male railway migrants (URM) the attraction of the two areas were even closer at 57% and 42% respectively. Throughout the whole period married and unmarried construction workers were divided almost equally between the two areas.

Table 5.1: Destination of male married and unmarried migrants, 1881-1911

	Old Fletton						New Fletton						Total migrants		
	%			No			%			No			No		
	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11
URM	15.0	18.5	42.0	6	12	24	85.5	81.5	57.0	34	53	32	40	65	56
MRM	21.9	25.2	34.0	18	36	53	78.0	74.0	65.0	64	107	105	82	143	158
UBM	81.5	78.1	87.5	22	150	49	18.5	21.9	12.5	5	42	7	27	192	56
MBM	88.4	75.3	92.2	38	116	95	11.0	24.6	7.7	5	38	8	43	154	103
UCM	50.0	54.8	46.6	5	17	7	50.0	45.1	53.3	5	14	8	10	31	15
MCM	53.3	56.1	42.8	8	24	9	46.6	43.9	57.1	7	33	12	15	57	21
<p>Note: URM-unmarried railway migrant MRM-married railway migrant UBM- unmarried brick migrant MBM-married brick migrant UCM-unmarried construction migrant MCM-married construction migrant 81-91- These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1881-1891 and who are recorded on the 1891 census. 91-01- These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1891-1901 and who are recorded on the 1901 census. 01-11- These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1901-1991 and who are recorded on the 1911 census.</p>															

Source: CEBs 1881-1911

However, as previously discussed in Chapter 4 Migration, not all the unmarried male migrants can be viewed in the same way, some unmarried migrant males moved as part of a family whereas some were independent decision makers and moved to be part of an extended family, to board or as the head of their own household. As can be seen from table 5.2 throughout the period 1881-1911 railway migrants who moved independently (URMI) were overwhelmingly attracted to the established railway community in New Fletton: 92.3%, 76.2% and 68%. Initially this was echoed by unmarried male railway migrants (URMF) who moved with their family; 69.2% arriving in New Fletton in 1881-1891 and 91.3% in 1891-1901. However by 1901-1911 there was a shift and both New and Old Fletton became equally attractive to the unmarried male railway migrant (URMF) arriving with their family: 48.4% to New Fletton and 42% to Old.

Table 5.2: Destination of male unmarried migrants, 1881-1911 (family and independent)

	Old Fletton						New Fletton						Total migrants					
	%			No			%			No			%			No		
	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11	81-91	91-01	01-11
URMF	30.8	8.7	51.6	4	2	16	69.2	91.3	48.4	9	21	15	33.3	35.4	55.4	13	23	31
URMI	7.7	23.8	32.0	2	10	8	92.3	76.2	68.0	24	32	16	66.6	64.6	44.6	26	42	25
UBMF	75.0	78.0	100.0	12	57	36	25.0	21.9	0	4	16	0	59.3	47.4	64.3	16	73	36
UBMI	63.6	76.5	70.0	7	62	14	36.4	23.5	30.0	4	19	6	40.7	52.6	35.7	11	81	20
UCMF	33.3	46.6	60.0	1	7	6	66.6	53.3	40.0	2	8	4	30.0	45.5	62.5	3	15	6
UCMI	57.1	66.6	16.6	4	12	1	42.9	33.3	83.3	3	6	5	70.0	54.5	37.5	7	18	1

Note: URMF-unmarried railway migrant family
URMI-unmarried railway migrant independent
UBMF-unmarried brick migrant family
UBMI-unmarried brick migrant independent
UCMF-unmarried construction migrant family
UCMI-unmarried construction migrant independent
These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1881 and 1891 and who are recorded on the 1891 census.
These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1891 and 1901 and who are recorded on the 1901 census.
These are the migrants who arrived in Fletton between 1901 and 1911 and who are recorded on the 1911 census.

Source: CEBs 1881-1911

An explanation for this change in settlement pattern from New Fletton to Old Fletton is twofold. Firstly, there was a change in the way that the sidings at the brickyards operated. Between 1878 and 1902 sidings extended into the brickyards from the main line but in 1903 these sidings were operated directly from Fletton Station, which can be seen on map 2.6 in Chapter 2 Fletton: Place and Innovator.

Therefore unmarried railway workers may have taken accommodation in Old Fletton to be closer to the Fletton Station and the sidings. Secondly, there was an increase in the numbers of houses being built in Old Fletton and therefore there were more opportunities to own or rent in the area.⁵³

Over the period the increase in family migration can be seen in the shift in unmarried male railway migrants arriving in Fletton. The total of those arriving independently (URMI) decreased from 66.6% in 1881-1891 to 44.6% in 1901-1911 whilst those arriving with family increased (URMF) from 33.3% to 55.4% over the same period.

Whether moving to New or Old Fletton, as a family or independently, following other migrants or boarding with co-workers, railway workers would have been conscience of the proximity of their accommodation to the East Station. Cossey explains that rooms for rent were often advertised within the workplace and in the wider community and undoubtedly was a welcome extra income for many families.⁵⁴

Migration narratives can reveal the residential decisions that migrants made and the impact of these on the community. Thomas Brewington migrated to New Fletton from his birthplace Thorndon, Suffolk and is recorded on the 1901 census living in the privately rented house in plate 5.4 19 Park Street, New Fletton.⁵⁵ His family were agricultural labourers and perhaps seeking occupational security he migrated to New Fletton, with his wife Emma, to find employment with the railways as a signaller. They had taken two boarders who were independent unmarried migrant males (URMI), both railway engine cleaners and both from Norfolk; George Smith from Ashby and William Bird from Yarmouth. The couple remained in New Fletton moving to the house in plate 5.5 The Hythe, Queens Walk, by 1911 when Brewington is recorded as shunter.⁵⁶ They were still assisting newcomers to the area by

⁵³ Modern housing development came later to New Fletton than Old Fletton, at the end of the research period.

⁵⁴ F. Cossey, 'The First Peterborough Railwayman, 1851', *The Journal of the Peterborough Museum Society*, 1. (1982-3) p, 11.

⁵⁵ RG13/1461/1, RG14/8671. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁵⁶ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

providing accommodation. An independent unmarried migrant male Arthur. J. W. Reeve, a signalman, from Ely was boarding with them.

These independent unmarried railway migrants had been drawn to the New Fletton area by the railway community that was already in existence there and by so doing re-enforcing the permanence of that community.

Plate 5.4: 19 Park Street, New Fletton



Plate 5.5: *The Hythe, Queens Walk, New Fletton*



Source: Sadie McMullon

Unmarried male brick worker migrants whether migrating independently or as part of a family were more inclined to settle in Old Fletton. The houses in Old Fletton were predominantly owned and rented by Hill and other smaller brickyard owners and although there was a much commented upon general shortage of housing when it was available brick workers would have undoubtedly taken priority. Walter and Arthur Broomhead were two unmarried migrant males who migrated with their family to Old Fletton between 1901 and 1911.⁵⁷ On the 1911 census they are recorded as living in Hill rented housing at 13 Milton Road, Old Fletton. Both brothers and their father Arthur were brick makers. Theirs was a migratory family and the children's birthplaces of Odiham, Hampshire, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, Marwell, Hampshire and Wimblington, Cambridgeshire, reflect this. By moving to housing

⁵⁷ RG14/8670/171

rented from the brickyards the family became part of the Old Fletton brick workers community.

The increase in unmarried male migrants moving to Fletton as part of a family is replicated amongst unmarried male migrant construction workers (UCMF) from 30% in 1881-1891 to 62.5% in 1901-1911. At the same time migration by independent male migrant construction workers (UCMI) decreased from 70% in 1881-1891 to 37.5% in 1901-1911. Construction workers due to the nature of their occupation were able to have more governance over their destination. As a consequence, between 1881-1901 they were not predominantly drawn to either New or Old Fletton. However by 1901-1911 Old Fletton attracted the majority of the unmarried migrant male construction workers (UMCF) who migrated as part of a family, 60%, whilst the independent unmarried migrants (UMCI) were drawn to New Fletton, 83.3%.

Residential integration

Record linkage and migration narratives - a step further

Although it is valuable to know where a migrant chose to settle when they first arrived in Fletton, and the possible reasons for that choice, this only gives limited information about their possible integration within the local community. As stated earlier in this chapter one question that this research wants to explore is the effect of housing on persistency and the subsequent development of community. Through record linkage from one census to another it is possible to shed further light onto a migrant's integration into the Fletton community, if they chose to stay in Fletton and if they made a residential move within Fletton, where that move was to. Naturally not every migrant may have had free choice over their movements. Their move may have been governed by their family, occupation and availability of housing but nonetheless the results will be valuable insight.

For this analysis the residence of the male migrants, married and unmarried, when they arrived in Fletton will be compared with their residence at the next census. The time frames that will be considered are 1891-1901 and 1901-1911. The unmarried male migrant's will once again be considered as two separate groups; the family

unmarried male migrants and the independent unmarried male migrants, as their decisions to move would have possibly been influenced by differing factors. Often the numbers of individuals that this research analyses are small but nonetheless the results are enlightening as long it is remembered that they may not be wholly representative. Census to census record linkage can take the analysis so far but it is with migration narratives that the broader picture of residential integration can be fully revealed.

Unmarried migrant males

As can be seen in table 5.3 in Fletton 1891-1901, unmarried males, whether migrating with a family or independently, employed on the railways, in the brickyards, or in construction, were not likely to remain in the area. The unmarried males who migrated as part of a family were more likely to remain than the unmarried males who migrated independently and the brick workers were more likely to remain than the construction workers or railway workers. It is not possible to know for sure whether the unmarried male's reluctance to remain in the area was due to a lack of opportunity in Fletton or rather an increased opportunity elsewhere but occupational working practices would have played a part. The brick workers were attracted to stay by the 'gang' method of employment whereby family worked together. Construction work was always of a more transient nature and unmarried males perhaps found the need to follow employment opportunities wherever they may be. Similarly the railways encouraged an individual to be mobile both to meet demand in workload and for promotion.

The migration narrative of George Brains reveals how he, along with 37.5% of brick worker unmarried males who migrated as part of a family and 36.4% of those who migrated independently, were encouraged to stay in Old Fletton by the combination of residence, occupation, family and marriage. Brains, an unmarried male, migrated with his family to Old Fletton and in 1891 was resident at 2 Hill House, Village Street, Old Fletton.⁵⁸ Both Brains and his father, William, were brickyard labourers. By the 1901 census Brains had moved, within Old Fletton, from

⁵⁸ RG12/1226/54, RG13/1460/65, RG11/3198/90

the family home to Hill rented housing at 1 Nizel Villa, Duke Street, Old Fletton. This move followed his marriage to Emily on 20 November 1892 at St. Margarets, Fletton. By 1901 they had had four children Arthur, Albert, Maggie and Holly. Brain's employment must have been secure to support his family and their servant Eliza Darby.⁵⁹ His family also remained close by and this support would have been invaluable with four small children. The family would have been part of the both the brick worker and wider Old Fletton community.

In contrast, both railway unmarried males who migrated with their family and independently were least likely to remain in Fletton, 23% and 15.3% respectively. The migration narratives of both George W. Ground and Joseph Thimbledee reveal that the nature of the employment within the railways meant that individuals could move easily from station to station, engineering works to engineering works, remaining in the same occupation or gradually advancing up the career ladder.

George W. Ground migrated to Fletton from Whittlesey, as part of a family, with his parents William, a chemist assistant, Caroline his mother and five siblings.⁶⁰ In 1891 Ground was 15 and was a clerk with the railways. By 1901 Ground was still working with the railways as a clerk, but he had married Ruth a widow with four children and moved to Cambridge. Ground's employment with the railways would have necessitated this move and made it possible.

One local example of career progression in the railways, in conjunction with residential moves, was Joseph Thimbledee, son of an agricultural labourer who was born in Chatteris, Cambridgeshire.⁶¹ Thimbledee perhaps had experience of how difficult and uncertain life could be as an agricultural labourer and so took advantage of the secure employment and possibility of advancement that the railways offered. In 1891 Thimbledee was boarding in the neighbouring parish of Woodston and was employed as a railway engine cleaner. By 1901 he had advanced

⁵⁹ Emily's maiden name was Darby and their servant, Eliza's, surname was Darby. In the 1881 census Emily was living at home with her sister Eliza in Thurlby, Bourne. It would therefore seem that their servant was in fact Emily's sister. As relation to head states servant it can only be assumed that she was employed by them and not working elsewhere.

⁶⁰ RG12/1226/46, RG13/1530/111

⁶¹ RG14/8674, RG12/1226/103, RG13/1460/70

his career and was now a railway agent, boarding in the household of railway shunter George Goodenough, at 3 Alma Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton.⁶² By 1911 Thimbledee had moved back to Woodston, achieved promotion to railway engine driver and was boarding at 264 Oundle Road, Woodston.

Table 5.3: *Unmarried male migrant house moves within Fletton, 1891-1901 (family and independent)*

Occupation	Individuals who remained in Fletton from census to census		Individuals who remained who made a residential move within Fletton		% of individuals who moved within their locality (New to New or Old to Old Fletton)		% of individuals who moved out of their locality (New to Old or Old to New Fletton)	
	No	%	No	%	%		%	
Unmarried railway migrants - family	3 of 13	23.0	1 of 4	25.0	100	¹ O>O 100	0	³ O>N 0
						² N>N 0		⁴ N>O 0
Unmarried railway migrants - independent	4 of 26	15.3	4 of 4	100	100	O>O 25	0	O>N 0
						N>N 75		N>O 0
Unmarried brick migrants - family	6 of 16	37.5	5 of 6	83.3	100	O>O 100	0	O>N 0
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Unmarried brick migrants - independent	4 of 11	36.4	3 of 4	75.0	100	O>O 100	0	O>N 0
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Unmarried construction migrants - family	1 of 3	33.3	1 of 1	100	100	O>O 100	0	O>N 0
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Unmarried construction migrants - independent	2 of 7	28.8	2 of 2	100	50	O>O 50	50	O>N 50
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Note: Those individuals who remained in Fletton from one census to the next and who made a subsequent residential move. ¹ O>O Old Fletton to Old Fletton ² N>N New Fletton to New Fletton ³ O>N Old Fletton to New Fletton ⁴ N>O New Fletton to Old Fletton								

Source: CEBs 1891-1901

By 1901-1911 the desire or ability to remain in Fletton had reduced even further as can be seen in table 5.4. Unmarried males migrating with their family were still more likely to remain in Fletton than the unmarried males migrating independently. Brick workers were also more likely to remain than either the construction workers or railway workers. 24.7% of unmarried male brick workers who migrated with their family remained in Fletton compared to 17.4% of unmarried male railway workers and 20% of unmarried male construction workers who migrated with their family.

⁶² 3 Alma Cottages Queens Road, Old Fletton was an owner occupied house.

Only a minority of unmarried males who migrated independently chose or were able to remain in Fletton: railway 14.3%, brick 14.8% and construction 16.6%.

Table 5.4: *Unmarried male migrant house moves within Fletton, 1901-1911 (family and independent)*

Occupation	Individuals who remained in Fletton from census to census		Individuals who remained who made a residential move within Fletton		% of individuals who moved within their locality (New to New or Old to Old Fletton)		% of individuals who moved out of their locality (New to Old or Old to New Fletton)	
	No	%	No	%				
Unmarried railway migrants - family	4 of 23	17.4	4 of 4	100	75.0	¹ O>O 25.0	25	³ O>N 0
						² N>N 50.0		⁴ N>O 25.0
Unmarried railway migrants - independent	6 of 42	14.3	5 of 6	83.3	60.0	O>O 0	40	O>N 20.0
						N>N 60.0		N>O 20.0
Unmarried brick migrants - family	18 of 73	24.7	10 of 18	55.5	80.0	O>O 70.0	20	O>N 10.0
						N>N 10.0		N>O 10.0
Unmarried brick migrants - independent	12 of 81	14.8	8 of 12	66.6	100	O>O 100	0	O>N 0
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Unmarried construction migrants -family	3 of 15	20.0	2 of 3	66.6	100	O>O 50.0	0	O>N 50.0
						N>N 0		N>O 0
Unmarried construction migrants- independent	3 of 18	16.6	3 of 3	100	66.6	O>O 66.6	33.3	O>N 0
						N>N 0		N>O 33.3
<p>Note: Those individuals who remained in Fletton from one census to the next and who made a subsequent residential move.</p> <p>¹O>O Old Fletton to Old Fletton ²N>N New Fletton to New Fletton</p> <p>³O>N Old Fletton to New Fletton ⁴N>O New Fletton to Old Fletton</p>								

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

The migration narrative of Charles Moxon can reveal what might have encouraged him to stay in Fletton. Moxon was one of the few unmarried male railway workers who migrated independently and decided to remain in Fletton after migration.⁶³ Moxon, son of Cole a boot and shoemaker, was born in Downham, Cambridgeshire and whilst living in his birth village he was employed as an agricultural labourer. Moxon must have been a literate young man as he exchanged the seasonal and precarious nature of agricultural labour for that as a railway clerk when he migrated to New Fletton. By 1901 he was boarding in the privately rented household of Susan Smith widower at 9 Grove Street, New Fletton; the natural destination for railway

⁶³ RG12/1299/109, RG13/1461/41, RG14/8672

workers.⁶⁴ Moxon must have been settled in his employment and within the community as in 1911 he was still boarding with Susan Smith and was employed as a railway clerk with the Great Northern Railway.

Of those unmarried male migrants who did decide to remain in Fletton 1891-1901, the majority did not remain stationary but were mobile moving to different residences over time, from street to street but remaining within the confines of the area or community to which they first arrived. So those who first migrated to New Fletton remained in New Fletton and those migrating to Old Fletton remained in Old Fletton. As before the railway workers were predominantly drawn to New Fletton and Old Fletton attracted the brick workers.

The only unmarried male who crossed over the Fletton Spring was William Smith an independent migrant construction worker who moved from Old to New Fletton. Smith's migration narrative might reveal the impetus for this move. Smith, a bricklayer, migrated to Old Fletton from a birthplace of Wadnoe, Northampton.⁶⁵ On the 1891 census he was boarding in the household of Thomas Robinson, a brickyard labourer, in Love Lane, Old Fletton. Boarding in the household as well were two other bricklayers Charles Tibbles and Joseph Monk. With the surge in housebuilding in Old Fletton, initiated by Hill, as a result of the expansion in the brick worker population, bricklayers would have found an abundance of work and it would have been advantageous to live locally to that work. Smith married widow Susanna Cuthbert in 1899. Susanna had previously lived with her husband, brother Arthur and two children, at 83 Palmerston Road in the neighbouring parish of Woodston. On the 1901 census the newly married couple were living at 20 Oundle Road, New Fletton. Smith remained in Fletton for at least the next 10 years attracted by ongoing employment and his marriage to Susanna. They made the move to New Fletton perhaps encouraged by Susanna's familiarity with the area, Palmerston Road is close to Oundle Road, and the flexible nature of Smith's employment as he was now a carpenter on his own account.

⁶⁴ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁶⁵ RG12/1226/57, RG12/1226/94, RG14/8672

By 1901-1911 the unmarried migrant males, both family and independent, were slightly less mobile but when they did move they were more prepared to move from one area to another, from New to Old Fletton and vice versa. Both family and independent unmarried male migrant railway workers, nearly all made a residential move and when they did so they were more prepared to integrate by crossing the Fletton Spring from New to Old Fletton and vice versa. In contrast the brick workers were more stationary, only 55.5% of brick worker family and 66.6% of independent unmarried males made a move. They were also more reluctant to integrate as only 20% of family unmarried migrant males made the journey across Fletton Spring, and no independents. It is difficult to know if this reluctance to move on behalf of brick workers was due to lack of housing in New Fletton, a feeling of inclusion in the Old Fletton community or a desire to remain close to their place of employment. Again an important factor for brick workers was perhaps the influence of the 'gang' system encouraging individuals to work and reside together.

From the examples reviewed here it is evident that marriage was a significant factor, alongside occupation, for the unmarried migrant male when deciding to remain in Fletton and making subsequent residential moves. As can be seen in table 5.5 this was particularly true for those who arrived in Fletton in 1891 and persisted in Fletton for the 1901 census. 71.4% of unmarried migrant male railway workers who remained also married, this figure was 80% for brick workers and 100% for construction workers. For the period 1901-1911 the percentage reduced to 40% for railway workers, 43.3% for brick workers and 83.3% for construction workers. It is difficult to ascertain why there was a decrease in the percentage of unmarried migrants who persisted also marrying from 1891-1901 to 1901-1911 without extensive record linkage. One possible reason might be the age of the migrant on arrival in Fletton and the age when they married.

Table 5.5: Unmarried male migrants who remain in Fletton and married, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911

Year	Occupation	Individual count who remained	Individual count who married	Percentage who married	Residential move		
						No	%
1891-1901	Railway	7	5	71.4	O>O ³	2	40.0
					N>N ⁴	3	60.0
					O>N ⁵	0	0
					N>O ⁶	0	0
	Brick worker	10	8	80.0	O>O	8	100
					N>N	0	0
					O>N	0	0
					N>O	0	0
	Construction	3	3	100	O>O	2	66.6
					N>N	0	0
					O>N	1	33.3
					N>O	0	0
1901-1911	Railway	10	4	40.0	O>O	1	25.0
					N>N	3	75.0
					O>N	0	0
					N>O	0	0
	Brick worker ¹	30	13	43.3	O>O	10	76.9
					N>N	0	0
					O>N	0	0
					N>O	0	0
	Construction ²	6	5	83.3	O>O	2	40.0
					N>N	0	0
					O>N	1	20.0
					N>O	1	20.0
Notes: ¹ Three unmarried migrants married but did not move residence ² One unmarried migrant married did not move residence ³ O>O Old Fletton to Old Fletton ⁴ N>N New Fletton to New Fletton ⁵ O>N Old Fletton to New Fletton ⁶ N>O New Fletton to Old Fletton							

Source: CEBs 1891-1911

The migration narratives of two unmarried migrant males can reveal how occupation and finding a bride in Fletton encouraged persistence in the Fletton community. William Busby an agricultural labourer, was born in Stilton, Huntingdonshire.⁶⁶ He was an independent unmarried male migrant encouraged to migrate to Old Fletton from Folksworth by the employment opportunities in the brickyards. In 1891 Busby was lodging in the household of William Woods, also a brickyard labourer, at 6 Summerville Terrace, Old Fletton.⁶⁷ Lodging in the Wood's household was a fortuitous move for Busby as it was here that he found his future

⁶⁶ RG12/1226/57, RG11/1589/37, RG13/1460/62, RG14/8670/79, RG12/110/121

⁶⁷ Next to the Wood's family lived the Wright family. Frederick Wright was the author of the diary used in this research 'Tales of My Childhood'.

bride, Wood's daughter Fanny, and they married on the 18 May 1891 at St. Margaret's church. The combination of secure employment in the brickyards and a supportive family encouraged Busby and Fanny to establish their first marital home in Hill housing at 2 Hawthorn Villas, Princes Road, Old Fletton.⁶⁸ The couple were settled and are recorded as being in the same house on the 1911 census.

Charles Dunham, a railway independent unmarried male migrant, migrated to New Fletton after finding security in railway employment.⁶⁹ Born in Luton, Bedfordshire, Dunham was the son of George, a timber merchant agent at the Customs House, Sutton Bridge, Lincolnshire and the prospects that accompanied being a railway clerk must have been attractive for an educated young man. In 1901 Dunham boarded in the household of Harry Southwell in Oundle Road, New Fletton. They were both clerks with the Great Northern Railway and Dunham perhaps found this accommodation through their shared workplace. Dunham, a railway clerk in the goods department, married Harry's daughter Bessie in 1900 and they remained in the family home. The couple would have been established members of both the railway and New Fletton community as they remained at the same address until the 1911 census and Dunham retained the same employment.

Marriages between migrants and local brides would have created a more stable community especially when the newly married couple persisted after marriage. Marriage encouraged integration within the immediate community as newly married couples moved from street to street but it did not encourage integration across Fletton Spring from New to Old Fletton and vice versa. The only workers who integrated across Fletton Spring on marriage were construction workers whose occupation on a daily basis was already more transient in nature.

Married migrant males

As can be seen in table 5.6 and 5.7 in contrast the residential moves and integration patterns of married male migrants followed a different path. On arrival in Fletton married male migrants, whether employed in rail, brick or construction occupations,

⁶⁸ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁶⁹ RG12/1226/67, RG11/3208/48, RG13/1461/36, RG14/8672/57

were still drawn predominantly to the same areas as unmarried male migrants in the same occupations; rail workers to New Fletton, brick workers to Old Fletton and construction workers divided between the two. However, married male migrants were generally more likely to remain in Fletton.

From 1891 to 1911 the numbers of brick and construction workers who were able or willing to stay decreased from 55.8% to 35.9% and 73% to 38.7% respectively. This decline was most likely linked to the building industry. Due to the unique nature of the manufacture of the 'Fletton' brick work in the brickyards was available throughout the year. However supply still heavily relied on the demand created by house building in London and this was extremely fickle, creating as Hillier commented a 'Boom and Bust' industry.⁷⁰ Although Fletton did not suffer from this to any great extent, brick workers must have always been aware that their employment was not secure. In a similar way construction workers were also dependent on the building industry and towards the end of the research period this began to decrease in Fletton. In contrast railway workers evidently felt more settled and secure as the percentage who remained increased from 41.4% to 50.3%. This was perhaps because married railway migrants had achieved a certain stage in their working or family life where it was possible to remain settled in one place aided by the security of employment with the railways.

This situation can be seen in the migration narrative of railway signalman James Unwin. Unwin arrived at 1 Park Street, New Fletton with his wife and two children in 1891.⁷¹ Looking at the birth places of his children the family had already moved from Kings Lynn, Norfolk to Snettisham, Norfolk before settling in New Fletton. Unwin and his family were settled in the New Fletton community and they persisted in the same house for the 1901 census.

Once living in Fletton male married migrants in all occupations were more settled in their residences and less prepared to make a residential move than unmarried male migrants. This reluctance to move a settled family a very short distance

⁷⁰ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p, 38-49.

⁷¹ RG12/1226/43, RG13/1461/22

unnecessarily is understandable. Brick workers residential moves remained fairly constant at 55% whilst construction workers became more settled, those making a residential move decreasing from 63.6% to 54.5%. However over time rail workers became more mobile within Fletton, the percentage who made a move increased from 47% to 58.3%.

Migration narratives reveal that the increased mobility did not seem to be affected by home ownership or rental. Men such as Livett Carter and Josiah Davison who are discussed later in this chapter, both railway guards moved from rented housing in Fletton to purchasing their own home in Old Fletton, Carter in Princes Street and Davison in Queens Road.⁷² However men such as Alexander Brown, a railway goods checker, and Percy Diamond a locomotive fireman moved between rented houses.⁷³ Brown from 10 Bread Street, New Fletton to 35 Grove Street, New Fletton and Diamond from 57 Tower Street, New Fletton to 43 Tower Street, New Fletton.

In all occupations, except construction, and in both time periods, moves were still predominantly within the community where the migrant first resided, however married migrants were increasingly prepared to integrate across the Fletton Spring. Any movement though was perhaps difficult to make as housing would seem to have been in great demand and perhaps when moves were made, especially into 'Old' Fletton' they may have been frowned upon by others also seeking local housing. Local newspaper reports, at the time, reported that within Fletton, Woodston and Stanground 'there is not a house to be had nearer to the brickworks'.⁷⁴ This meant that huge numbers of men had to come to work, by whatever means possible, from great distances such as Yaxley and Orton both 6 miles away and some even further. For some this journey was made by horse and cart for which they paid 2/- weekly, for the more athletic by bicycle or a lengthy trudge by foot.⁷⁵ Whichever method was employed it would not have been as convenient as living close to your place of employment.

⁷² RG13/1460/70, RG14/8669/71

⁷³ RG14/8672/124, RG12/1226/68, RG13/1461/46, RG14/8672/162

⁷⁴ *Peterborough Standard*, 22 October 1892

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,

Table 5.6: Married male migrant house moves within Fletton, 1891-1901

Occupation	Individuals who remained in Fletton from census to census	Individuals who remained who made a residential move within Fletton	Individuals who moved within their locality		Individuals who moved across the Fletton Spring divide	
	%	%	%		%	
Rail	41.4	47.0	75.0	¹ O>O 12.5% ² N>N 62.5%	25.0	³ O>N 0 ⁴ N>O 25%
Brick	55.8	54.1	76.9	O>O 76.9% N>N 0	22.9	O>N 15.3% N>O 7.6%
Construction	73.0	63.6	100	O>O 42.8% N>N 57.1%	0	O>N 0 N>O 0
Note: Those individuals who remained in Fletton from one census to the next and who made a subsequent residential move. ¹ O>O Old Fletton to Old Fletton ² N>N New Fletton to New Fletton ³ O>N Old Fletton to New Fletton ⁴ N>O New Fletton to Old Fletton						

Source: CEBs 1891-1901

Table 5.7: Married male migrant house moves within Fletton 1901-1911

Occupation	Individuals who remained in Fletton from census to census	Individuals who remained who made a residential move within Fletton	Individuals who moved within their locality		Individuals who moved across the Fletton Spring divide	
	%	%	%		%	
Rail	50.3	58.3	71.4	¹ O>O 9.5 ² N>N 61.9	28.5	³ O>N 11.9 ⁴ N>O 16.6
Brick	35.9	55.0	78.8	O>O 73.6 N>N 5.2	20.9	O>N 7.8 N>O 13.1
Construction	38.6	54.5.0	83.3	O>O 58.3 N>N 25.0	16.6	O>N 0 N>O 16.6
Note: Those individuals who remained in Fletton from one census to the next and who made a subsequent residential move. ¹ O>O Old Fletton to Old Fletton ² N>N New Fletton to New Fletton ³ O>N Old Fletton to New Fletton ⁴ N>O New Fletton to Old Fletton						

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Migration narratives can reveal what family circumstances may have prompted a move and why it was within the same community or from New to Old Fletton or vice versa. Tom Oxby was one of the 50.3% of married railway migrants who after migrating to Old Fletton in 1901 decided to stay. He was also one of the 58.3% of married railwaymen who made a residential move within Fletton and one of the 11.9% who integrated from Old to New Fletton.⁷⁶ Oxby a railway signaller, was born in Heighington, Lincolnshire and was already a signaller when he migrated with his wife Ellen from Skellingthorpe, Lincolnshire to privately rented housing at 2

⁷⁶ RG12/2587/117, RG13/1460/70, RG14/8671/392

Inkerman Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton in 1901.⁷⁷ By the 1911 census Oxby had moved to New Fletton and was resident at 20 Glebe Road, see plate 5.6. This meant that the Oxby family was living in larger, newer accommodation and in a semi-detached house rather than terraced. Perhaps the larger accommodation also allowed the couple to assist fellow railwaymen as boarding with them were: Edgar Cobb, 26, shunter, Frank Haywood, 21, railway porter and Albert Link, 25, pointsman.

Plate 5.6: 20 Glebe Road, New Fletton



Source: Eleanor McMullon

William Hitchbourn was another railway married migrant who remained settled in Fletton. He was also one of 71.4% of railwaymen who, when they did make a move, remained in their own locality. Hitchbourn migrated to Fletton from nearby Stanground and in 1891 was a railway engine driver living in privately rented housing at 4 Haydn Terrace, Old Fletton with his wife Elizabeth and five children, all under six years old.⁷⁸ With the railways as secure employment and a very young family to provide for Hitchbourn and Elizabeth remained in Old Fletton throughout the next twenty years only moving to nearby 169 Fletton Avenue by the 1911 census.

⁷⁷ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁷⁸ RG12/1226/53, RG13/1460,48, RG14/8670/33

‘Segregation’ and ‘Integration’ the development of community - residential moves

This thesis has already begun to explore the question that is part of both the third and fourth aim of this research: What was the effect of the type of housing available on persistency and the subsequent development of community? One way of assessing if migrants were integrated into or segregated from the local community is to consider their residential patterns and house moves and if these were influenced by the availability of housing through rental or ownership.

As with ‘community’ the terms ‘segregation’ and ‘integration’ are not always simple to define and can be value laden. ‘Segregation’ implies the negative behaviour of individuals residing separately whereas ‘integration’ has a more positive tone of individuals socializing and mixing together. Because of this ambiguity and inherent bias O’Leary has suggested a less emotive term to use to explain residential patterns is ‘clustering’.⁷⁹ However, for ease of definition this research will maintain ‘segregation’ and ‘integration’, whilst always bearing in mind how influential these definitions can be.

This analysis confirms, in part, what Dennis found in Huddersfield that although integration could occur via residential moves in reality individuals born out of the area, who then moved into the area, rarely moved far from their first place of residence after migration and so became increasingly residentially segregated.⁸⁰ However Dennis also found that residential domination by one sector of employees was not total. The same was seen in the railway town of Crewe which was known for its lack of residential segregation. In Crewe between 1851 and 1881, 19% of those living in railway housing were not employed by railway companies but held a diverse range of occupations.⁸¹ Fletton’s residential pattern was more varied and changed over time. In Fletton properties even within the same street could be owner

⁷⁹ O’Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, p, 133.

⁸⁰ Dennis, ‘Inter-censal mobility in a Victorian city’, pp, 349-355.

⁸¹ Drummond, *Crewe*, p, 24.

occupied, privately rented or owned and rented by the railways or brick companies, so any analysis has to consider a smaller geographical scale.

In the railway worker dominated area of New Fletton the percentage of housing owned by the railways was limited. In 1901 13 houses including, 'Railway Cottages' and 'East Station', were owned and rented by the railway and perhaps predictably all except one were occupied by railway workers and this remained the same for 1911. In contrast the odd numbered side of Orchard Street, New Fletton which was privately rented, and therefore held no allegiance to who the properties were rented to, showed a diverse range of occupants. In 1901, of the 32 houses, 27 were occupied, seven heads of households or 25.9% were railway workers, six or 22.2% were brickyard workers and 14 or 51.9% were not connected with either of those industries. In addition, three of the households had a connection with the railways and three with the brickyards, via other family members or boarders in the property. By 1911 the occupants had become even more diversified: 31% of household heads were railway workers, 10.3% were brickyard workers and 58.6% were not connected with either of those industries.

An example of individuals living together with diverse occupations was William Youles, a general labourer born in Whittlesey who was privately renting 7 Orchard Street, New Fletton in 1901.⁸² Youles was living with his wife Elizabeth, three sons Charles, James and George and boarder George Chambers. Youles was a railway engine cleaner, James a bottler at a wine merchants, George a press boy at the brickyards and George Chambers a railway wagon lifter. When the family moved it was to another residence in New Fletton, privately rented, 24 Park Street, New Fletton.⁸³

The row of houses in Orchard Street, along with many others in the New Fletton area, were owned and rented by Harry Bark Hartley, solicitor and brickyard

⁸² RG13/1461/27, RG14/8671/340

⁸³ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

investor.⁸⁴ Hartley, born in Marborough Yorkshire was articled to James W. Reeve in Whittlesey. He married one of his client's daughters Mary Elizabeth, from Crowland, Lincolnshire in 1891.⁸⁵ The newly married couple moved to Whittlesey where Hartley had his practice and their daughter Enid and son Leslie were born. Hartley was closely involved in both the Whittlesey and Fletton brick industry and it was from brick makers Arthur James and George Keeble that the family were offered the house in plate 5.7, Fletton Towers, New Fletton.

Plate 5.7: Fletton Tower, New Fletton, 2000



Source: https://www.buildingcentre.co.uk/case_study/grade-ii-listed-peterborough-property
(Accessed 18/1/2017)

Hillier cites two little used sources which can reveal a wealth of information about a local area and its aspirations 'Auction Catalogues' and 'Notices for Sale'. An example of the latter can be seen in plate 5.8.⁸⁶ When Fletton Tower was sold in 1879 the entry in the Auction catalogue revealed that the house and grounds were laid out in lots for the erection of 36 detached 'gentlemen's houses' and also three rows of terraced houses.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ RG12/1232/159, RG14/8672/137, RG13/4401/34. Fletton Tower was the childhood home of author L. P. Hartley. When Harry Bark Hartley died on 30 November 1954 he bequeathed £73491 2 s 9d to his three children Enid, Leslie and Annie.

⁸⁵ Wright, 'Tales of My Childhood', pp. 13-15.

⁸⁶ Hiller, *Clay that Burns*, p. 140. *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday May 28th, 1898, p. 4

⁸⁷ R. Hiller, 'Auction catalogues and Notices: their value for the Local Historian', *The Local Historian*, 13(3), (1978), pp.131-139.

Plate 5.8: Advertisement for building land for sale in Old and New Fletton

OLD FLETTON, WOODSTONE, AND
CITY OF PETERBOROUGH.
IMPORTANT Sale of Valuable FREE-
HOLD BUILDING SITES, DWELL-
ING-HOUSE, and PASTURE LANDS.
FOX AND VERGETTE
Are honoured with instructions from G. C. W.
Fitzwilliam, Esq., to Sell by Auction, at the
Corn Exchange, Peterborough, on Tuesday,
June 21st, 1898, at 2 for 5 o'clock in the After-
noon, viz.:-
IN OLD FLETTON.
A Valuable Parcel of BUILDING LAND,
having a frontage of 59 feet to Stanground road,
adjoining the Police-station, containing 1a. 0r. 36p.,
Four BUILDING SITES, near the above, on
the same road, each having a frontage of 36 feet.
A Valuable HOUSE, PREMISES, and PAS-
TURE FIELD, adjoining containing 1a. 2r. 7p
ON OUNDLE ROAD, WOODSTONE.
An exceedingly valuable BUILDING ESTATE,
comprising:-
FOUR SITES, fronting the Oundle-road, near
the New Fletton Schools.
TEN SITES on the Eastern and TEN on the
Western side of a Proposed New Road, extending
from Oundle road towards the London and North-
Western Railway, each Plot having a frontage of
36 feet.
A Valuable Parcel of Accommodation PAS-
TURE LAND, north of the Sites, and fronting
the Railway, containing 1a. 3r. 14p.
This Estate lies East of the Jubilee Estate,
and is in an excellent position for Building Pur-
poses. The demand for Houses is very great in
this district.
OLD FLETTON ROAD & PARISHOME.

Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday May 28th, 1898, p. 4.

Many more houses were rented by the various brickyard companies in Old Fletton. Plate 5.9 shows an example of an advertisement that was placed to advertise Hill's housing. Cottages were available to rent in Old Fletton and cottages and businesses to rent in the neighbouring parish of Woodston. Applications had to be made to Hill's agent, manager and builder John T. Thurley who lived at the house in plate 5.10 1 St. Margarets Road, Old Fletton and who is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 Place and Hill.

Plate 5.9: Advertisement for workmen's cottages to let

TO Let, Workmen's COTTAGES with every
convenience at reduced rentals, situate in
Woodstone and Old Fletton, rent from 2s. 6d. per
week, upwards. Also a Butcher's SHOP, situate
in Woodstone with every accommodation, stable,
coachhouse, also slaughter-house, with Brace-
borough water laid on; possession can be had
at once; rent moderate.—Apply No. 1, St. Mar-
garet's Road, Old Fletton, Peterborough. 1048

Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday 27th November, 1901, p. 4.

Plate 5.10: 1 St Margarets Road, Old Fletton



Source: Eleanor McMullon

In 1901 in St Margarets Road, Old Fletton, 15 houses were rented by Hill. As was seen in the railway rented housing the housing owned by an industry favoured those working in that industry. Of the 15 houses rented by Hill, 11 heads of households had a relationship to the brickyards and in 1911 this had increased to 12. In contrast, in the same street, the houses that were privately rented again show a more diverse occupancy. In 1901 of 15 properties in St Margarets Road, Old Fletton which were privately rented seven occupants (46.6%) were connected to the brickyards and by 1911 this had reduced to five (33.3%). In 1901 only one occupant had a connection to the railways. The privately rented properties were owned by Mrs Eliza Sturton of Thorpe Road, Peterborough.⁸⁸ Eliza was the widow of John Rowland Sturton, a pharmaceutical chemist, and had obviously seen the financial benefits in investing in the expanding housing in Old Fletton. In an auction catalogue, in 1921 when Eliza's estate was disposed of, it is evident that she had built up a portfolio of property including a house and gardens, five villas, 36 terraced cottages, five shops, 8 acres of pasture land and one building plot.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ RG12/1231/17, RG11/1596/89, RG13/1463/84, RG14/8685. When Eliza died on 2 February 1921 she bequeathed £7981 17s 2d to her sons.

⁸⁹ Hiller, 'Auction catalogues and Notices'.

Although houses owned by either the railway company or the brickyards were then mainly rented to rail or brick workers the housing was located very differently. As can be seen in plate 2.23, the railway houses were geographically segregated, positioned as they were around the East Station complex separated from New and Old Fletton by fields. Whether this resulted in social segregation is more difficult to ascertain but would seem unlikely as the railway owned housing was small in number. Although the railway cottages were closer to the station there did not appear to be a social hierarchy in the men who lived there as all occupations were represented. In 1901 these included a railway engine stoker, guard, general labourer and carriage washer. The brick worker houses, however, were not segregated geographically as they were located in streets that also contained privately rented houses and so it would seem unlikely that their occupants did not integrate with those who they shared the same street with especially when they often had occupation in common. The occupational background of those who rented privately was different for those in New Fletton to Old. Although in both areas there was an acceptance to individuals from a diverse occupational background in Old Fletton this did not include rail workers. It is obviously unknown whether this was a deliberate decision on behalf of the owners, those who rented or the wider community.

As new houses were built and employment felt secure Fletton saw the beginnings of home ownership. But did home ownership affect where an individual first decided to live and subsequently move to? In order to consider this the Land Valuation Survey 1910 can be used in conjunction with the other primary sources when creating migration narratives to assess the homeowner's residential histories. In Fletton there were no streets that were totally owner occupied although some streets had higher percentages of home ownership than others. In this appraisal, three roads were considered Queens Walk, New Fletton and Princes Road and Queens Road, Old Fletton. In Princes Road, Old Fletton there were 28 houses, 23 were rented and five owner occupied, two by brick workers, two by railway workers and one by a labourer. In Queens Road, Old Fletton there were 70 houses, 65 were rented and five owner occupied, four by railway workers and one by a brick worker.

Queens Walk, New Fletton was under construction at the time of the Land Valuation Survey but 29 were occupied. Of these 15 were rented and 14 were owner occupied, seven by railway workers and seven by workers from other employments, none were brick workers.

Of the nine Old Fletton owner occupiers three migrated to Old Fletton from the local parishes Stanground, Woodston and Whittlesey and six moved from New Fletton.⁹⁰ Of the 14 New Fletton owner occupiers 10 came from local parishes 9 from Woodston and one from Orton Waterville, Huntingdonshire three moved within New Fletton and one moved from Old to New Fletton.

For those who moved from a rented house and then purchased their own home there was more movement from New to Old Fletton. Three new home owners in Old Fletton in 1901 were neighbours George Goodenough, Matthew Wilmott and Josiah Davison.⁹¹ They lived at 3, 2 and 1 Alma Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton and they were all railway workers, a shunter, signalman and passenger guard. Goodenough migrated to 3 Alma Cottages with his wife Elizabeth, from Whittlesey where he was a railway gate keeper. Goodenough and Elizabeth also had a boarder Joseph Thimblebee, a railway engine fireman. All three were born in Chatteris so in providing accommodation for Thimblebee on migration the couple were assisting individuals from their birth community. As a railway porter Matthew Wilmott migrated to 4 Prospect Place, New Fletton, with his wife Susan, from a birthplace of Coates 1891. By 1901 he had moved from New to Old Fletton and purchased 2 Alma Cottages, Queens Road and was a railway signalman with three children. Josiah Davison migrated to the railway owned Railway Cottages, New Fletton, with his wife Jane, from a birthplace of Eccleshall, Staffordshire. This move appears to be part of a series of moves due to career progression as his children were born in Market Harborough, Leicester and Fletton and his wife hailed from Monks Kirby, Warwickshire. By 1901 Josiah had moved from New to Old Fletton and purchased 1 Alma Cottage, Queens Road. This move had perhaps become necessary as he now

⁹⁰ One could not be traced.

⁹¹ RG12/1302/87, RG13/1460/70, RG14/8669/69, RG12/1226/39, RG13/1460/70, RG14/8669/70, RG11/2778/97, RG12/1226/38, RG13/1460/70, RG14/8669/71

had eight children. For these individuals being a homeowner and being settled in the community encouraged persistence as all were recorded at the same addresses in 1911.

At this time house building for home ownership was taking place in Old Fletton not New Fletton. So the railway workers were restricted in their choice of location by availability. They had to purchase in Old Fletton and therefore integrate into what was a traditional brick worker community. Also of significance is that predominantly those who purchased homes came from either within Fletton or the surrounding parishes so the individual had an idea of what the community was like before they made the financial and emotional investment to purchase there.

House moves were not always governed by a reluctance to integrate or a willingness to remain segregated. As has been discussed geographically Old and New Fletton were divided by Fletton Spring, running north east to south west and this was lined with fields. Images in plates 5.11 to 5.14 show that both New and Old Fletton had their own amenities such as: shops, schools and religious houses so offered similar facilities. Plates 5.15 and 5.16 shows the modern and spacious Hill housing stock in Old Fletton which was developed later than the majority of the New Fletton housing, see plate 5.17. There was very little incentive or benefit to move unless the housing gained was genuinely of a higher standard, such as that in plate 5.18, or if promotion or a change in occupation or employer necessitated a move.

There was very little promotion in Fletton which also resulted in a house move. For those employed on the railway Fletton was either the culmination of a career or a move away from Fletton was required to achieve promotion.⁹² Migration narratives show that in the brickyards only two individuals, Martin Rimes and George Broughton, made a residential move in conjunction with a traceable promotion.

⁹² Pullin, 'The LBSCR drivers'. J. Pullin, 'Nineteenth-century engine drivers: a case study in occupational and residential mobility' Local Population Studies Autumn Conference 2017 Population and Transport. Pullin commented that movements within the railways were often internally related ie: demotion, wastage and seasonal need. There was little promotion locally as the railways preferred to keep their employees mobile.

George Broughton is discussed later in this chapter. Martin Rimes made the transition from brickyard labourer in 1901 to stationary engine driver in 1911.⁹³ In Old Fletton, movement between streets was more often than not imposed upon an individual if their employment changed, for example, from one brickyard to another, as a lot of the housing was owned and rented by different brickyards.

Plate 5.11: *Shops on High Street, Old Fletton, circa 1910*



Source: Peterborough Archives Photograph Collection

Plate 5.12: *Public House, New Fletton, circa 1920*



Source: Peterborough Archives Photograph Collection

⁹³ RG13/1460/65, RG14/8670

Plate 5.13: Shops on Oundle Road, New Fletton, circa 1910



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 2/2/2018)

Plate 5.14: Shops on Oundle Road, New Fletton, circa 1920



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 2/2/1018)

Plate 5.15: Milton Road, Old Fletton, circa 1925



Note: All of the J. C. Hill housing in Duke Street, Princes Road, Milton Road, Queens Road, St Margarets Road and Fellowes Road followed the same style. There were three bedrooms, a small front garden and a long narrow rear garden. There was a walk through every few houses with a communal passage behind the houses.

Source: Peterborough Archives Photograph Collection 80/14/1

Plate 5.16: Princes Road, Old Fletton, circa 1925



Source: Peterborough Archives Photograph Collection 80/14/4

Plate 5.17: Bread Street, New Fletton, circa 1960



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 21/2/2018)

Plate 5.18: Fellowes Road, Old Fletton, circa 1925



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 2/2/2018)

'Activity action space' and community

Although an indication O'Leary reminds us that residence is not always the best measure of the extent of integration or segregation.⁹⁴ As Swift and Gilley observe, although individuals may have lived in different areas away from one another they would have had to integrate in their daily lives, whether that be at work, in school, in church, in meeting rooms or in the local markets.⁹⁵ Wright remembers that women would meet at the bakehouse when they 'used to bring their dinners to bake on Sundays'.⁹⁶ Dennis and Daniels referred to each individual having their own activity action space.⁹⁷ In fact an individual may have several activity action spaces operating at the same time: one for work, family commitments, social activities, religious observance, cultural pursuits and so on. These action spaces could also be viewed as spheres of activity, an orbit around the individual, sometimes operating independently to others and sometimes converging and overlapping and can be revealed with migration narratives.

Livett Carter who can be seen in plate 5.19, was born in Pottton, Bedfordshire and entered the service of the London and North Western Railway at the age of 19 on 1 June 1878 at the East Station.⁹⁸ By 9 September 1881 Carter had moved department and was a railway porter boarding in Hardingstone, Northamptonshire.⁹⁹ His future wife Sarah, also born in Pottton was also in service in Hardingstone. On Christmas Eve 1884 Livett and Sarah were married in St. Margaret's Church, Old Fletton. By 1891 they were living in privately rented housing at 73 Tower Street, New Fletton and Carter was recorded as a railway guard.¹⁰⁰ With the new house building in Old Fletton Carter took the opportunity to make an investment and purchased 23 and 25 Princes Road, Old Fletton. Carter and his family lived in one property, number 23, plate 5.20, and they rented number 25 to John Yates. Yates was perhaps a co-worker of Livett as he was a railway engine stoker. Carter and his family were also

⁹⁴ O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, p, 10.

⁹⁵ R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1939* (Pinter Publishers, 1989), p, 79.

⁹⁶ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood'.

⁹⁷ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities', p, 203.

⁹⁸ *Railway Employment Records, 1833-1895*, piece 1814.

⁹⁹ RG14/8670/76, RG13/1460/61, RG12/1226/76, RG11/1541/26

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

members of the United Methodist Chapel on Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton. Personal family records reveal that Carter was active in the Railway Unions and was a member of the official Peterborough Welcoming Committee of the Annual Congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS), pictured in plate 5.21, which was held in Peterborough in 1903.

As can be seen Carter was involved in many action spaces individually and simultaneously. He looked back towards his birth place where his family resided and where his wife was born. He also worked for the railways which brought him into contact with other men, places and opportunities. At the same time he was involved with the chapel which would also involve another circle of friends and acquaintances both nearby and further afield within the circuit, including John Upex who also lived in Princes Road, Old Fletton, and who is discussed later in this chapter. Carter would also have had association with his neighbours in Princes Road, Old Fletton and Tower Street, New Fletton and through his wife and children he would have been introduced to the local school and community events.

Plate 5.19: Livett Carter, 1903 (centre back)



Source: Private possession of Colin Baker

Plate 5.20: Princes Road, Old Fletton



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 5.21: Reception Committee 1903 Peterborough



Source: Private possession of Colin Baker

So the physical location of an individual would seem to be less important when considering integration and segregation. Anderson argued that the physical distance an individual moves is not necessarily the disruptive factor. What is vital and more difficult to measure is the importance and strength of any social relationships that an individual can maintain. If a relationship was important then individuals thought nothing of walking great distances so an individual's sphere of activity could extend beyond the immediate migration location.¹⁰¹ This is particularly borne out with marriage partners coming from the same birth place. The sphere of activity was looking backwards to a place of origin as well as forwards to their new community.

This is witnessed in the migration narrative of John Thorpe. Thorpe was born in Littleport, Cambridgeshire and so too was his wife Betsy Pope.¹⁰² In 1891 Thorpe was living at home with his parents at Burnt Chimney Drove, Littleport and was

¹⁰¹ M. Anderson, 'Indicators of population change and stability in nineteenth-century cities: some sceptical comments', in J. H. Johnson, and C. G. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, (St. Martins Press Inc, 1982), p. 291.

¹⁰² RG14/8670/142, RG13/1460/67, RG12/1299/98, RG12/1280/5

recorded as an agricultural labourer. In the same year Betsy a servant, was recorded as living in Chesterton, near Peterborough. By 1901, Thorpe was a brickyard labourer boarding in privately rented accommodation at 1 Burleigh Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton with Cyrus Noble.¹⁰³ Betsy's place of residence is unknown. Just a few months later on 24 July 1901 they were married and in 1911 they were living in their own Hill rented housing at 43 Duke Street, Old Fletton. Mary Ann Pope, Betsy's mother, born in Hilgay, Norfolk, was living with them. With four children under 9, including a 2 month old baby, Mary was undoubtedly a welcome pair of extra hands. Thorpe perhaps saw the opportunities that the brickyards could bring and migrated to Fletton to seek employment and housing before marrying Betsy. The fact that Betsy was also in employment nearby meant there was a familiar face from his home community.

Persistence within the community

The third aim of this research is to consider the role and nature of the stayer as part of the migrant narrative. As part of this there will be an exploration of what factors contribute to persistency including consideration of the impact of occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding. The creation and maintenance of a community relies on the transference of a set of values and moral codes that newcomers can become a part of. Therefore the importance of persistence cannot be underestimated and stayers within a community would have created stability even if they themselves were once migrants.¹⁰⁴ Research reveals that it is a myth that people were born and brought up together but it is also a myth that everyone moved away. Younger members of the community would see even stayers from census to census as established members of the community. As Booth noted the persistence of individuals would give an area a familiarity even if an individual was only known by sight.¹⁰⁵

Persistence does not rely solely on an individual remaining in the same house.

Dennis and Daniels observed that short distance circulatory moves were indicative

¹⁰³ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor Newton, 'Residential Continuity', p, 71.

¹⁰⁵ C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (MacMillan and Co Ltd, 1903).

of a working class area.¹⁰⁶ These local movements were perhaps as frequent as a modern day commute to work and so it may be wise to consider not just persistence in the same house but also in the same district. However, as Dennis and Daniels also commented, the boundaries of an area should not be pre-judged, the geographical space in which the individuals persisted must also be 'relevant social spaces'.¹⁰⁷ Enumeration districts and parishes do not always provide these areas. However for any meaningful analysis boundaries have to be imposed. Fletton provides an unique situation where an analysis of integration and persistence can be observed in the whole parish of Fletton but with an additional focus on the two separate communities of Old and New Fletton.

To assess rates of persistency the census records are a valuable resource. Potentially all individuals are recorded and through record linkage they can be traced from census to census. In reality not all individuals can be traced, there are inherent problems using transcriptions and because of the nature of record linkage there is a bias towards married men and families and unmarried individuals are a challenge.¹⁰⁸ However these issues should not affect the figures significantly as the male household heads were analysed, the percentage of individuals who could not be traced were small and as an additional check personal knowledge of local family names was invaluable. An additional obstacle is the way that houses and streets were recorded, in Fletton, within the enumerators' books and from census to census. For example, the same house can be recorded by its name, its number or just by the street. In Old Fletton there was also significant re-numbering and re-naming of streets between the censuses; for example Peterborough Road became Fletton Avenue and Love Lane was joined to High Street, and the whole street became High Street. In New Fletton much of the housing of the period has been demolished so referral to the physical fabric could not take place. Again local knowledge of the area became invaluable. To remove any ambiguity caution was

¹⁰⁶ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities', p, 205.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p, 206.

¹⁰⁸ The challenges of record linkage and methodology used are discussed in Chapter 2 Sources and Methodology.

exercised when analysing persistence figures so the rates could actually be higher than reported here.

Before looking at persistence in Fletton it is first wise to look at persistence in other areas. Ward, in Leeds discovered that out of 271 households, who were traceable through successive censuses, 34% were to be found at the same address and 36% had moved to less than a quarter of a mile away.¹⁰⁹ Daunton found in Canton, Cardiff 11% were at the same address and 37% were in the same area, whilst in North Roath 23% were at the same address and 32% in the same area.¹¹⁰ Fletton, an area of high migration, appears to have also experienced a high level of persistence. Table 5.8 shows that 28% of the household heads persisted in Fletton from 1881 to 1891. This increased to 48%, from 1891 to 1901, before falling back slightly to 46.3% from 1901 to 1911. In Old Fletton persistence rates increased from 22.8% in 1881-1891 to 42.1% in 1901-1911 whilst in New Fletton persistence decreased from a high of 71.7% in 1881 to 1891 to 45.9% in 1901 to 1911.

Table 5.8: Percentage of male household heads who persisted in Fletton between census years

	Population of Fletton in lower census year	No of male household heads in lower census year	Persistence within Fletton parish	Persistence within Old Fletton	Persistence within New Fletton
	No	No	%	%	%
1881-1891	1841	328	28.0	22.8	71.7
1891-1901	2195	402	48.0	34.7	51.3
1901-1911	4089	810	46.3	42.1	45.9

Note: The roads and streets in districts of Old Fletton and New Fletton are listed in Appendix B

Source: CEBs 1881-1891

Despite high levels of migration into Fletton, once migrants had arrived the opportunities afforded to them and crucially to their families, such as employment, housing and in some cases the attachment of extended family, must have been sufficient to encourage them to stay. This persistence would have undoubtedly contributed to the creation of a stable community where values and tradition could be passed on and upheld from generation to generation.

¹⁰⁹ Ward, 'Environs and Neighbours'.

¹¹⁰ Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*.

The impact of persistence on the community did not require individuals to remain at the same residence. Persistence was also about remaining in the same area. As can be seen in table 5.9 individuals were increasingly mobile within the areas of both Old and New Fletton. During the years 1881 to 1911 the number of individuals who persisted in Old Fletton increased but those who remained in the same residence decreased from 81% to 55%. This meant that individuals were more mobile within Old Fletton, an increase from 19% to 44.9%. In contrast although persistence in New Fletton decreased significantly those remaining in the same residence only decreased slightly from 50% in 1881 to 45.9% in 1911 and those who moved within New Fletton only increased slightly from 50% to 58.1%.

Table 5.9: Percentage of male household heads who persisted in Old and New Fletton between census years-at the same address and in the same area

	Persisted in Old	Same residence Old	Moved within Old	Persisted in New	Same residence New	Moved within New	Old-New	New-Old
1881-1891	22.8	81.0	19.0	71.7	50.0	50.0	3.3	2.2
1891-1901	34.7	56.7	43.3	51.3	61.6	38.4	3.6	10.4
1901-1911	42.1	55.0	44.9	45.9	41.9	58.1	5.9	6.4
Note:								

Source: CEBs 1881-1911

Impact of employment on persistency

The increasing rate of persistency in Old Fletton and the decreasing rate of persistency in New Fletton, can be attributed to the same two factors: the availability of employment and housing. Employment in the area was plentiful and as the time period progressed increasingly varied. Not only could employment be found in the railways, brickyards and associated industries, but there were also new opportunities, especially for daughters, with the opening of the Farrows Pea factory on Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton, Symingtons Corset factory in New Fletton and the continued development of the nearby Cadge and Colmans Mill on the River Nene beside the East Station. Some employment encouraged persistence such as the localised brickyards in Old Fletton but some employment like the railways, in New Fletton, with the ease of transition between divisions and location, encouraged mobility.

The migration narrative of Charles Bentley demonstrates how localised employment both created mobility from house to house but also encouraged persistence within the community. Bentley migrated to Fletton from nearby Stanground with his wife Susan and two children Charles and George.¹¹¹ In 1891 they resided in Mile End Road, Old Fletton and Bentley was recorded as a brickyard labourer. By 1901 Bentley was a brick burner and he resided at Lambert Cottages, St. Margaret's Road, Old Fletton. In 1911 he was a brickyard labourer and resided at Persimmon Terrace, 169 High Street, Old Fletton. Bentley and his family moved three times within the same area and by referring to the Land Valuation Survey it becomes clear that all three properties were owned by different brickyards. Mile End Road by Hicks, St. Margaret's Road by Hill whilst Persimmon Terrace was owned by Gardener and Ellum. Bentley was able to remain in a community he was evidently attracted to by the employment opportunities that were available to him but in changing employment from one brickyard to another he also had to move house.

Impact of Hill housing on persistency

The availability of housing was an important factor in persistence. In New Fletton house building, supported by local investors took place at an earlier date than the program of housing development initiated by Hill in Old Fletton. Towards the end of the period there was also an expansion in home ownership but again this occurred earlier in Old Fletton compared to New Fletton.

Hill's program of house building to provide his brick workers with a stable community was central to the development of Old Fletton and the wider area. Hill had probably been influenced by the model housing that had been provided for workers in other industries such as Samuel Greg and Edward Ackroyd in the mill colonies of Styal, Cheshire and Copley, Calderdale. Samuel Greg, who created the model mill village of Styal provided decent housing and gardens so that workers would be weaned from 'unsettled and migratory habits'.¹¹² Similarly Edward Akroyd, in Copley, wanted 'an attached and contented population'. In Copley, from 1851 to

¹¹¹ RG13/1460/76, RG12/1226/60, RG14/8669/182

¹¹² Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p, 207.

1861, the persistence rate was 39% with 26% residing in the same house. The persistence figures in Old Fletton detailed above would indicate that Hill appears to have achieved his aim of retaining his employees in the community, but what role did his housing play?

An initial sample analysis looks at 15 Hill rented houses, 30-58 St. Margaret's Road, Old Fletton which were built between 1891 and 1901. In 1901 all the heads of households in these houses were migrants. In 1911 11 of those heads of households were traceable: four remained in Old Fletton but the exact location of the address cannot be verified, three had moved to other Hill owned housing, two were still on St Margaret's Road, one just around the corner in Victoria Place and one was privately renting at 25 Queens Road, Old Fletton. By 1911 the same 15 houses had completely different occupants, 11 were migrants new to the Fletton area and three were stayers. Two of the three stayers had moved very locally from other Hill housing in St. Margaret's Place and one from High Street although the exact location of the address is unknown.

Two migration narratives can reveal how important Hill housing was to those who persisted in Old Fletton. George Broughton was one migrant who persisted in Old Fletton. Broughton, a brickyard labourer, moved to 36 St. Margarets Road, Old Fletton from his birthplace Stanground, with his wife Elizabeth and three children.¹¹³ Living next door was his brother Daniel with his wife Harriet and their four children. Even though migrating from Stanground, barely two miles away, was not a long distance move it must have been reassuring to have familiar faces so close at hand when bringing up young children. Elizabeth died in 1907 and following Broughton's re-marriage to Annie in 1909 the family moved 26 Cross House, St. Margaret's Road, Old Fletton. Broughton seems to have received promotion as his occupation was now a brickyard machinist so it was perhaps this that meant a house move was necessary, from one Hill rented property to another. On the 1911 census 26 Cross House is listed as having seven rooms. The 1901 census has the facility to show how many rooms a property has but for this street the box was not completed by the

¹¹³ RG13/1460/74, RG14/8669/267

enumerator. Local knowledge of the area reveals that these houses had six rooms and were terraced so Broughton would seem to have moved to a slightly larger property, perhaps as a result of promotion and occupation change.

Another migrant who persisted in Old Fletton was Samuel Thaxter, brickyard labourer. Thaxter migrated to 40 St. Margaret's Road, Old Fletton from Haddenham, Ely with his wife Elizabeth and four children.¹¹⁴ By 1911 Thaxter was still employed as a brickyard labourer, but he and his family of six children had moved to the next road 3 Victoria Place. Both Victoria Place and St. Margaret's Road were very similar sized housing rented by Hill and Thaxter does not appear to have received an advance in his employment.

The benefits of the new Hill housing were not necessarily sufficient in themselves to encourage persistence within the same house but the community that developed around it encouraged persistence. Old Fletton stayers were able to move into the modern Hill housing alongside migrants to Old Fletton whilst others moved from Hill housing to other areas of Old Fletton to privately rent or purchase. For some a house move does not seem to be a gain either in terms of employment or better housing, perhaps the tenancy had ceased or there may have been a hierarchy of housing that is hidden to the present day researcher. This means that individuals could be very mobile within the same area, sometimes just a few doors away, and renting from the same landlord.

Ongoing persistence

The combined factors of employment and housing had an effect on longer term persistency which impacted on the creation of community. An analysis linking male household heads through the census records reveals between 1881 and 1901, of the 328 1881 male household heads, 44 or 13.4% persisted for the 20 years. Between 1891 and 1911 this persistence over 20 years decreased to 9.5%, which is 38 of the 402 1891 male household heads. When considering persistence over 30 years, between 1881 and 1911, of the 328 1881 male household heads 28 or 8.5% persisted. Therefore even

¹¹⁴ RG14/8669/267, RG13/1460/74, RG14/8669/245

over the longer term there appears to be a small central core of individuals who remained in Fletton who would have been able to pass on the values and traditions of the community. It must be remembered that this analysis only considers male household heads. In addition there would also be other family members living and remaining in the community so the actual number of individuals persisting would have been significantly more.

The Malton family who persisted in Fletton were able to do so by taking advantage of the twin opportunities of employment and housing.¹¹⁵ William Malton a farm labourer and his wife Eliza Malton moved from Soham, Cambridgeshire with their five children between 1897 and 1901, to rented brickyard housing 9 Victoria Place, Old Fletton, seen in plate 5.22. The brickyards provided employment for Malton as a brick burner, and two of their sons Joseph and James. By the 1901 census the Maltons were providing support for a fellow Soham born brick worker Harry Jones who was boarding with them. By 1911 Malton, still a brick burner, and Eliza had moved just a few doors away to 13 Victoria Place, Old Fletton. Malton and son Aubrey were employed by the brickyards and daughter Olive had gained employment in the mustard factory, Cadge and Colmans. What circumstances required a move of just two doors, from one rented Hill house to another can only be guessed at as nothing can be gleaned from census records.

Plate 5.22: Victoria Place, Old Fletton



Source: Eleanor McMullon

¹¹⁵ RG13/1460/78, RG14/8669/240

Persistency - Old to New and vice versa

Although there was persistency within Old and New Fletton there were few moves between Old and New Fletton and vice versa unless there was an incentive to do so. As already discussed Old and New Fletton were two distinct districts, separate communities, each offering their own amenities and similar housing stock with a mix of terraced and more affluent housing, rented and owned. As can be seen in table 5.9, the numbers of male household heads persisting within Fletton, but moving from Old to New Fletton and vice versa, was comparatively small, but did increase during the period 1881 to 1911. Male household heads moving from Old to New Fletton increased from 3.3% in 1881 to 5.9% in 1911 and from New to Old Fletton, 2.2% in 1881 to a peak of 10.4% in 1891 before decreasing slightly to 6.4% in 1911.

Old Fletton offered new modern housing available for rent or purchase before New Fletton was able to do so. Rail workers especially found the housing in Old Fletton increasingly attractive and brick workers, who had perhaps initially migrated to New Fletton, moved to be closer to their place of employment as housing became available. Men such as Ernest Pickin brickyard labourer, born in Eynesbury, Huntingdonshire, first settled in privately rented accommodation at 52 Silver Street, New Fletton with his bride Gertrude.¹¹⁶ By 1911 they were living in Hill rented accommodation that can be seen in plate 5.23, at 20 Milton Road, Old Fletton.

Plate 5.23: 20 Milton Road, Old Fletton



Source: Eleanor McMullon

¹¹⁶ RG13/1461/26, RG12/1242/84, RG14/8670/156

But as Dennis and Daniels have observed, persistence does not always mean that an individual is content with the community they find themselves in or has any independent attachment to the locality.¹¹⁷ An individual could be tied to a community by employment and economic restrictions rather than by choice and in reality does not find any commonality with that community rather finding links with another area more satisfying. One difficulty with measuring persistence is determining what factors constitute persistency. How long should an individual stay in Fletton to be classed as persisting? And what connections need to be made to enable the passing on of community values and traditions. One factor which aids in the creation of community is kinship and neighbourly interaction.

Impact of Kinship and neighbours on persistency

Kinship - co-resident kin

Migrating to a new area and establishing a new life within a new community would have been a daunting prospect, and one way this experience could be eased was via kinship connections. Kin could provide a conduit for information regarding employment and housing, provide housing until the new arrival could find their own, provide support for young and old or take advantage of an extra set of hands in child rearing and household chores. Ruggles, however, counters this idealistic image of the Victorian home and family.¹¹⁸ In reality, he argues, there were rarely any benefits for a nuclear family to take in kin and they were often a 'heavy burden' to the family.¹¹⁹ However Dupree has maintained that in an area where the inhabitants were kin there would be a greater sense of community.¹²⁰

It is difficult to analyse how important these kinship connections were but one way is to look at co-resident kin within a family. As Dupree observes and Davidoff and

¹¹⁷ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities', p, 204.

¹¹⁸ S. Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth Century England and America* (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 9.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹²⁰ Dupree, *Family Structure*, p, 2. Dennis and Daniels, 'Community' and the Social Geography of Victorian Cities', p, 213.

Hall advocate 'there is no essential family only families'.¹²¹ This may be true but to enable the structure of a family who resided together to be analysed; to make comparisons, both between families and between areas, it is necessary to place definitions on the various family dynamics that may have existed. Anderson, acknowledged the variation in family composition and so grouped family units into nuclear, stem and composite families, a form which will be adopted by this research.¹²²

One essential family situation, for co-residency, that is easily overlooked was summarized by Ruggles 'In order to live with extended relatives, one must have extended relatives'.¹²³ But as Reay also commented it is 'a giant step from structure to sentiment' and even if there were numerous kin living in close proximity to one another there is no guarantee that these kinship ties would be utilised.¹²⁴ Where migration occurs this would often mean that one part of a family would move followed by other strands of that family or various members of a family would move together. In Preston in 1851 Anderson found that co-residency was relatively high, at 23%, due to the high levels of inward migration and the scarcity of housing. Ruggles research, for localities where time-series data is available, finds that the rate of co-residency between 1850 and 1885 was 20% and extended families became more common until 1870 or 1880.¹²⁵ In contrast Dupree found that in the potteries, where housing was plentiful and migration low that the rate of co-residency was lower at 18%.¹²⁶ As a comparison the national rate of co-residency, found by Schürer, using the I-CeM data is 20.5%.¹²⁷

¹²¹ Dupree, *Family Structure*, p, 2. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

¹²² M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 44. See table 5.10 for explanation of terms.

¹²³ Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*, p. 60.

¹²⁴ B. Reay, "Kinship and the neighbourhood in nineteenth-century rural England: the myth of the autonomous nuclear family", *Journal of Family History*, 21-1, (1996), p. 96.

¹²⁵ Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*, p. 7. Localities included Puddletown Dorset, Ealing Middlesex, Cardington Bedfordshire, Corfe Castle Dorset, Clayworth Nottinghamshire, Chilvers Coton Warwick, Bilston Staffordshire, Ardleigh Essex, Appledore Devon, Rhode Island, Erie County New York.

¹²⁶ Dupree, *Family Structure*, p. 102.

¹²⁷ K. Schürer, E. Garrett, H. Jaadla and A. Reid, 'Household and Family Structure in England and Wales, 1851-1911: continuities and change', *Continuity and Change*, (2018).

The period that has been analysed in Fletton for co-residency, 1891-1911, is later than those covered by both Anderson and Dupree. At this time migration to Fletton saw the population grow from 2,194 to 4,742 and as already mentioned there were reports in the local newspapers highlighting the issue of housing shortage. If Anderson's conclusions are replicated in Fletton then it would be expected to see high co-residency. However as shown in table 5.10 co-residency rates in Fletton although variable were decreasing, from a high of 21.9% in 1891 reducing to 16.8% by 1901 and then increasing slightly again to 18.5% by 1911.

The data reveals the rates of co-residency but does not reveal the circumstances of co-residency: Which kin had to rely on family members for support? What occupations were they engaged in? Where did they reside? in short why did kin choose or were compelled to co-reside with kin and why they did not?

Table 5.10: Structure of family in Fletton, 1891-1911

	1891		1901		1911	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Head alone, or with an unrelated person	31	6.7	31	3.8	54	5.0
'Composite' family ¹	14	3.0	12	1.5	9	0.8
'Nuclear' family with children ²	271	58.9	491	60.2	672	62.7
'Nuclear' family without children ³	57	12.4	126	15.5	147	13.7
'Stem' family ⁴	87	18.9	125	15.3	190	17.7
Total families	460		815		1072	
Co-resident families ⁵	101	21.9	137	16.8	199	18.5
Note: ¹ Unmarried siblings or other combinations of unmarried kin ² Married couple with unmarried dependent children ³ Married couple with no children ⁴ Married couple with extended family members and their children if any, such as niece, nephew, grandparents ⁵ 'Composite' and 'stem' families are the co-resident families						

Source: CEBs 1891-1911

For this analysis the year 1891 has been chosen as this year had the highest percentage of householders who had co-resident kin, 21.9%, only 1.1% lower than the rates of co-residency observed by Anderson in Preston. This was an important year in the history of housing development in Fletton as it was the year before newspapers began to report housing shortages in Old Fletton amongst brick workers, and it was

also prior to Hill's extensive house building project.¹²⁸ Potentially the housing shortage would have led to co-residency amongst kin. By 1901, when co-residency had reduced to 16.8% of households there were adverts offering Hill built houses at a reduced rental which must indicate that the housing shortage had been alleviated.

The co-residency rates will be calculated for both New and Old Fletton and in light of the conclusions drawn from other studies the analysis will consider what influence migration had. As can be seen from table 5.11 in 1891 New Fletton had more than twice the number of households than Old Fletton, 333 compared to 134. A total of 104 households in Fletton had co-resident kin but whether an individual lived in New or Old Fletton the probability of living with one's kin was the same, 22.5% in New Fletton and 21.6% in Old Fletton.

In New Fletton co-residency did not seem to be influenced by migration. An individual migrating to New Fletton was equally likely to be part of a co-resident family, 49.3%, as a stayer already resident in New Fletton from the last census 50.6%. In Old Fletton a very different picture emerges where co-residency, as Anderson stated, has a direct link to migration and potentially the reported housing shortage. As a migrant to Old Fletton you were more likely to be part of a co-resident household, 69%, than if you were a stayer already resident in Old Fletton from the last census, 31%.

Table 5.11: *Co-residency in New and Old Fletton in relation to migrants and stayers, 1891*

Households	New		Old	
	No	%	No	%
Total No households	333		134	
Co-resident households	75	22.5 ¹	29	21.6 ¹
Co-resident migrant households	37	49.3 ²	20	69.0 ³
Co-resident stayer households	38	50.6 ²	9	31.0 ³
Note: ¹ As a percentage of the total number of households ² As a percentage of the total number of co-resident households in New Fletton ³ As a percentage of the total number of co-resident households in Old Fletton				

Source: CEBs 1891

¹²⁸ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

If the relationship of the co-resident individual to the household head were known then there would be an indication as to whether they were dependent on the household or if they brought additional income or some other kind of contribution to the household. Anderson stated that co-resident kin would often come from a narrow band of relatives who were young and separated by death or work.¹²⁹ Schürer comments that there has been little exploration into who co-resident kin were.¹³⁰ This lack of research is potentially due to the time consuming nature of this analysis. However the methodology used in this research makes the record linkage required easier to conduct.

Table 5.12 shows the relationship of the 125 co-resident kin to the household head. In the majority of households Ruggles statement that kin could be 'a heavy burden' would seem to be accurate as 64.4% of the co-resident kin in Fletton could potentially be dependent on the household head as the relationships were in laws, mother and father, niece and nephew and grandchildren.¹³¹ Naturally the parents may have brought a contribution to the family in the form of household assistance or caring for the children but this cannot be known for certain.

The distribution of the relationship between co-resident kin to household head is not typical. Unusually the largest single group of co-resident kin, in Fletton, were brothers and sisters, 29.6%. This compares to Preston where Anderson found that co-resident siblings accounted for 18.9% of co-resident relationships and Dupree had a similar figure in the potteries with 19%.¹³² This figure is unusually high and suggests that siblings were providing one another with support in migration. One sibling may have migrated to Fletton to seek employment and possibly housing and then sent word back to their family for other siblings to follow.

In this situation the siblings were not a burden, in a financial way, as they had an income. Rather, as Davidoff observed, in the 'long family' where families were large

¹²⁹ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 23.

¹³⁰ Schürer, Garrett, Jaadla and Reid, 'Household and Family Structure', p. 23.

¹³¹ Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*.

¹³² Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 45. Dupree, *Family Structure*, p. 106.

and children plentiful over a spread of years, siblings would often be charged with taking on responsibility for and adopt a caring role towards each other; ensuring where possible that opportunities were extended throughout the family.¹³³ An older brother 'already in funds' could assist a younger brother in numerous ways from 'supplying references' to purchasing clothes or tools and providing accommodation.¹³⁴ This sibling assistance was found in Bailey's study of migration to London from Devon, Norfolk and Sussex, 1841-1861.¹³⁵ In 1851, of 118 migrants to London who were individually traced, 76 had at least one other brother already there able to provide physical support, communication of information and assistance in employment. To them London was not a 'mythical golden city of opportunity' but a pre-planned destination.¹³⁶

Table 5.12: Relationship to household head of co-resident kin 1891

Relationship to household head	Individual count	Percentage
In law	13	10.4 ¹
Grandchild	36	28.8 ¹
Niece/ nephew	25	20.0 ¹
Brother/ sister	37	29.6
Mother/ father	7	5.6 ¹
Aunt/ uncle	1	0.8
Dau/ son-in-law	6	4.8
Total	125 (104 households)	
Note: Potentially dependent co-resident kin ¹		

Source: CEBs 1891

Migration narratives are uniquely placed to reveal the individual circumstances in which co-residency took place. Migrant George Thompson, grandparent and uncle, had co-resident dependent kin living in his household. Thompson aged 68 was born in Masham, Berkshire. A foreman platelayer on the railways in 1891 he was was living at 29 Tower Street, New Fletton in privately rented accommodation.¹³⁷ In the household with him was his daughter Emma aged 28 and son John aged 14. Emma's occupation was recorded as housekeeper and John had no recorded occupation. Also co-resident in the household were Thompson's nephew Walter aged 9 and three granddaughters

¹³³ Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, pp. 78-164. Davidoff discusses the positive and negative impact that responsibility and caring for siblings could bring.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹³⁵ Bailey, 'I'd heard it was such a grand place! Mid nineteenth century internal migration to London', p. 113.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹³⁷ RG12/1226/74. Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

Maud aged 7, Elizabeth aged 5 and Alice under a year. Thompson had evidently migrated to New Fletton to seek employment and with Emma was working to support and care for four young dependent kin. Alongside familial responsibility and affection they must have also felt the 'heavy burden' of caring for co-resident kin that Ruggles spoke of.¹³⁸

John Brookbanks had independent co-resident kin in his household. In 1891 Brookbanks and his wife Martha were resident at 10 Summerville Terrace, Old Fletton. They had migrated to Fletton from Yaxley with two of their four sons Christopher and Arthur.¹³⁹ Brookbanks had exchanged the life of an agricultural labourer for that of a brickyard labourer. Christopher had employment as a railway engine cleaner and Arthur procured employment as a baker's apprentice. ¹⁴⁰ Co-resident in the household were two of Brookbanks' brothers, Robert a stationary engine cleaner and William a brickyard labourer. Robert and William were evidently not burdens to the household as they were both employed so were contributing to the household income. Both Robert and William were also migrants from Yaxley, their birthplace. They had been living with their parents Nathaniel and Ann and had followed Brookbank's example by exchanging agricultural labour for brickyard labour. Both Robert and William's stay with their brother was short. By 1895 Robert was married and in 1901 was a railway engine stoker in Coalville, Leicestershire.¹⁴¹ Similarly William also found new employment in Coalville, Leicestershire as a labourer in an iron foundry and was boarding.¹⁴² It is difficult to determine which brother moved to Fletton first but evidence would suggest, with the move to Fletton and then the subsequent move to Coalville, that information and practical support regarding employment and housing was being passed from brother to brother.

By 1901 Brookbanks and Martha had moved to Gardener and Ellum rented housing at Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton and their assistance for co-resident kin had ceased. Their son, Christopher, had become a brickyard labourer and had moved to Hill rented

¹³⁸ Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections*. None of the family members can be traced prior or post 1891 so it is unclear whose children Maud, Elizabeth and Alice were, Emma's or one of her siblings.

¹³⁹ RG11/1590/14, RG12/1226/57, RG11/1590/25, RG13/1460/53

¹⁴⁰ RG13/288/108

¹⁴¹ RG13/2973/15

¹⁴² RG13/2973/36

housing in the neighbouring parish of Woodston, only a short walk away.¹⁴³ Arthur had been lured by the opportunities that the railways offered and was recorded at Bethnel Green Railway Station as a railway porter. This pattern of co-residency confirms that whilst employment was plentiful in Old Fletton there was a shortage of suitable accommodation for unmarried migrants and kin became vital to an individual's success.

In contrast Henry Pank's household was a professional one with no young dependents that required care. Pank, a solicitor's clerk was living in London Road, New Fletton with his wife Sarah.¹⁴⁴ Residing with them was Henry's sister-in-law Kate Crisp, a school mistress, aged 25. Both Sarah and Kate were daughters of a surgeon, born in Whittlesey, and prior to marriage Sarah was a school teacher. Again it is difficult to establish who made the move to Fletton first but it would be a fair assumption that Pank and Sarah moved and made a home before unmarried Kate was invited to join them, taking advantage of the increased demand for school mistresses with the expanding population and a ready-made home. Pank and Sarah were settled and remained living in the community of New Fletton at Oak Lea, London Road, through to 1911. Kate married a farmer and in 1901 resided in Warboys.¹⁴⁵

Co-resident parents could either need support themselves or contribute to the household income in some way either directly or through domestic activities. John Stimson, a railway shunter, was born in Whittlesey and migrated to Marshall Villa, Old Fletton, with his wife Esther and three children, from Stanground between 1887 and 1891.¹⁴⁶ Elizabeth Cottingham, Stimson's mother-in-law, was living with the family and on the census was recorded as living on her own means. With three children Elizabeth was undoubtedly a help in the household.¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth, born in Tansor, Northamptonshire, had also moved from Stanground to her son-in-law's home in Old Fletton, after her husband Thomas, an agricultural labourer, died. This arrangement

¹⁴³ RG13/1460/103

¹⁴⁴ RG11/1692/68, RG13/1461/12, RG14/8671/251

¹⁴⁵ RG13/1476/68

¹⁴⁶ RG12/1226/52, RG11/1591/14

¹⁴⁷ RG11/1591/12

seems to be of a reciprocal nature John's mother-in-law helping with domestic and childcare duties in return for a place to stay in her widowhood.

Charles Cox a railway servant, and his wife Sarah were an established stayer family. On arrival in New Fletton the couple privately rented in Grove Street and they then purchased their own house at 13 Tower Street, New Fletton.¹⁴⁸ In the household at this time, they were supporting Sarah's mother Elizabeth Page and a nephew George Horseman an errand boy. The family were diverse in their background, Cox had been born in Coopersale, Essex, Sarah in North Crawley, Buckinghamshire, nephew George was born in Kennington, Middlesex and prior to moving to Fletton Elizabeth had supported herself as a lodging housekeeper in Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire.

Co-resident kin and occupation

As Fletton was dominated by the railway and the brickyards and there were reports regarding a shortage of housing for brick workers it would be worthwhile determining if co-residency was affected by occupation. Of the 104 co-resident households 25 (24%) of the household heads were railway workers. This is high compared to the national figure of co-residency amongst those involved in the more general 'transport' group of 14.6%, as identified by Schürer.¹⁴⁹ In comparison the figure for co-residency amongst brick worker household heads was low at eight (7.7%). Of the 125 co-resident kin five (4%) were railway workers and nine (7.2%) were brick workers. These co-residency figures do not appear to support the severe housing shortage that the newspapers reported. Although employees in both occupations were prepared to offer support to kin it was not kin primarily employed in these occupations that required assistance. By referring to migration narratives the circumstances of the railway and brick worker co-resident households can be explored more fully.

Thomas Jaggard, a railway shunter, lived in privately rented housing at 34 Park Street, New Fletton with his wife Sarah and two children.¹⁵⁰ Living with them was Walter, his

¹⁴⁸ RG12/1226/73, RG11/1591/66

¹⁴⁹ Schürer, Garrett, Jaadla and Reid, 'Household and Family Structure', table 8.

¹⁵⁰ RG12/1226/41, RG13/1551/49, RG11/1690/37. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

brother, a railway goods guard.¹⁵¹ For both brothers New Fletton was only a step in their longer migration and occupation journeys. In 1881 Jaggard had been boarding in March and was a railway porter. After their stay in New Fletton, the family by 1901 had returned to March and Jaggard was a guard with G.E.R. It may have been that Jaggard was able to secure his brother, Walter, a position in the railways or at least advise him of a vacancy at the East Station. Whatever the arrangement, while Walter was living in his brother's household he would have been contributing to it. Prior to living with his brother in 1881, Walter was living at home in Stetchworth, Cambridgeshire and the life of an agricultural labourer awaited him, as it had done for his father. By 1901 Walter had married Harriet and they had had two children. They then moved to Gaywood, Norfolk and Walter was a Railway Goods Guard but he in turn was assisting his brother Herbert who was a stableman, potentially also on the railways.

In 1891 stayer William Stallon, a carpenter, lived with his wife Mary and two daughters Bessie aged 32 and Eliza a domestic cook aged 30, at Selbon Villas, Love Lane, Old Fletton.¹⁵² The couple had migrated to Fletton prior to the 1881 census from Feltwell, Norfolk. Theirs was a complex co-resident household providing support for Stallon's grandson 9 year old Harry Stallon, Stallon's son-in-law Frank Rimes, a brickyard labourer and Rime's two children George aged 7 and Bertha aged 6.¹⁵³ Undoubtedly this was partially a reciprocal arrangement. Following the death of Frank's wife, Mary Ann, Frank would have contributed to the household income and Mary Snr would care for her grandchildren with the assistance of daughter Bessie.

Fletton presents a varied co-residency portrait. As Anderson found in Preston, in Old Fletton the rates of co-residency were influenced by migration whereas in New Fletton they were not. Despite reports in the local newspaper co-residency was not unduly influenced by a lack of housing for brick workers. Although co-residency amongst brick workers undoubtedly did exist, it was predominantly dependent kin that found the need to live in a co-resident household rather than workers unable to find

¹⁵¹ RG11/1675/67, RG13/1887/6

¹⁵² RG12/1226/ 62, RG11/1591/81

¹⁵³ RG11/1590/80

accommodation. It must also be remembered that even in 1891 when co-residency in Fletton was at its highest 78.1% of households were not co-resident households.

Kinship connections

As Young and Willmott indicated, to look at only co-resident kin does not adequately consider the possible kinship connections that may exist within a community.¹⁵⁴ Kin did not necessarily have to reside in the same household to provide support. It has also been noted that the presence of kin in a community may have had a negative effect. Mitson has observed the predominance of kin in an area could 'act as a spatial and psychological boundary' encouraging individuals to look inwards and so form a 'common interest group in its own right'.¹⁵⁵ Kin, in this circumstance, could have the effect of blocking occupation to outsiders and so create a 'self-perpetuating kinship system'.¹⁵⁶ Strathern also noticed that if communities had kinship at the core then outsiders could view this as a barrier.¹⁵⁷ However, it has also been suggested by Dennis and Daniels that communities are more likely to function successfully if residents are also kin.¹⁵⁸ Although criteria would have to be established by which success could be measured. Anderson found that of 97 sons, who in 1851 lived with their fathers, by 1861 70% were living independently but less than a quarter of a mile away and so there was 'a web of inter-connected units' providing each other with valuable support.¹⁵⁹

To assess the impact of any kinship connections that may have existed in the Fletton community detailed migration narratives were used to explore 16 families. In assessing kinship connections proximity is an important factor but also difficult to measure and quantify as there is no accepted pre-determined distance within which the interactions should take place. Anderson found that parents, children and siblings could live back to back to one another and not support one another, but if motivation dictated individuals were 'not daunted by the prospect of a walk of 20 or

¹⁵⁴ M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, (Routledge, 1957).

¹⁵⁵ A. Mitson, 'Kinship Networks', p. 24.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p, 77.

¹⁵⁷ Strathern, *Kinship at the core*.

¹⁵⁸ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p, 213.

¹⁵⁹ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p, 213.

more miles in a day to see kin or friends'.¹⁶⁰ In reality it is difficult to know for sure whether those kin who lived close to one another did or did not provide each other with support, and a walk of 20 miles could not realistically be made on a frequent basis. But the fact remains that if an individual was willing to provide assistance then the physical distance between kin may be unimportant.

Plate 5.24: Railway timetable for October 1861

TIME TABLES FOR OCTOBER.
Between Great Grimsby, Louth, Boston, Peterborough, and London.

Stations.	Week Days.				Sundays.			
	mor	after	after	after	mor	after	after	after
	1,2,3,1,2,3	1 & 3	1 & 3	1,2,3,1,2,3	1,2,3	1,2,3	1,2,3	1,2,3
GT. GRIMSBY dep.	5 0	9 40	..	5 0	8 15	9 40	8 15	..
Waltham ..	5 8	9 47	..	5 7	..	9 45	..	..
Holton-le-Clay ..	5 14	9 55	..	5 13	..	9 54	..	..
North Thoresby ..	5 21	10 2	..	5 19	8 57	10 2	8 57	..
Ludborough ..	5 28	10 7	..	5 25	..	10 7	..	..
LOUTH ..	5 40	10 20	..	5 39	8 49	10 20	8 49	..
Legbourne ..	5 45	10 27	..	5 44	..	10 27	..	..
Anthorpe ..	5 52	10 35	..	5 51	..	10 35	..	..
Claythorpe ..	6 0	10 40	..	5 58	..	10 40	..	..
Alcon ..	6 0	10 50	..	6 0	9 50	10 50	9 50	..
Willoughby ..	6 10	11 0	..	6 5	..	11 0	..	..
Burgh ..	6 20	11 7	..	6 15	9 14	11 7	9 14	..
Fussley ..	6 30	11 15	..	6 25	9 24	11 15	9 24	..
Little Steeping ..	6 40	11 20	..	6 35	..	11 20	..	..
East Vile ..	6 50	11 30	..	6 45	..	11 30	..	..
Old Leake ..	7 0	11 40	..	6 55	..	11 40	..	..
Sibsey ..	7 10	11 45	..	7 5	..	11 45	..	..
Boston ..	7 15	12 0	..	7 10	9 44	12 0	9 44	..
Ditto ..	7 25	12 5	..	7 20	9 54	12 5	9 54	..
Peterborough ..	7 35	12 15	..	7 30	10 4	12 15	10 4	..
Ditto ..	7 45	12 25	..	7 40	10 14	12 25	10 14	..
LONDON King's Cr.	7 55	12 35	..	7 50	10 24	12 35	10 24	..

A Market Train leaves Boston every Wednesday and Saturday at 2-35 p.m., for Louth, calling at the intermediate stations.

Source: *The Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, Saturday October 12th, 1861.

The practical distance that an individual could easily travel was increased by the advent of the Stanley Safety bicycle, the spread and availability of cheaper train travel and the continued increase in the use of carrier carts.¹⁶¹ The railway timetable for October 1861 can be seen in plate 5.24 (above), and demonstrates the number of towns and villages that Fletton, via Peterborough, was connected to on just one railway line. Consequently close proximity is not necessarily proof of support nor a greater distance evidence of lack of support. However in any analysis boundaries have to be imposed and so emphasis will primarily be given to links traceable within

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 37 and p. 57.

¹⁶¹ The introduction of the bicycle is discussed further in Chapter 6 Marriage. Carrier carts are discussed in Chapter 4 Migration and Chapter 6 Marriage.

the parish, although this does not exclude or lessen the importance of any that may occur outside of these confines both physical and emotional.

By their nature, these migration narratives are biased as the families which were chosen had unusual or frequently occurring surnames or they were male dominated as these are easier to track within the area. Therefore the selection criteria already indicates some kind of extended family was present. There may be other individuals, connected and supporting one another that remain invisible due to names being different and not obviously connected however the exploration can also widen out unexpectedly to include other relatives, locations and family links.

Despite these caveats the results are still illustrative of the kinship connections that existed in a community and the impact these had on an individual's motive to move, their type of employment, the impact of home ownership and home rental, the importance of proximity and integration and most importantly with regard to the question posed at the start of this section impact on persistency. A summary of the findings can be seen in Appendix F Family Connections.

In the families analysed there were varying family combinations moving and potentially supporting one another from brothers such as those of the Sulch family to more extended families which included uncles and nephews. Joseph and William **Sulch** were born in Yaxley.¹⁶² Joseph, a brickyard labourer, married Emma on the 4 November 1883 and in 1891 they were living in North Street, Stanground with two children. In 1901 Joseph had moved to Peterborough Road, Old Fletton and was now a brickyard foreman. This local move from Stanground to Old Fletton was one frequently made by families and may have been prompted by Joseph's promotion and a need to be closer to his place of work. Joseph and Emma remained in Old Fletton and in 1911 were living in Hill housing at 5 Milton Road, Old Fletton. Joseph's brother William, also a brickyard labourer, seemed to have followed Joseph's residential moves. Initially, in 1891, he lived in South Street, Stanground with his wife Harriet.¹⁶³ In about 1900 William, now a brick burner, and Harriet moved to

¹⁶² RG12/1226/25, RG14/8670/167, RG10/1515/39

¹⁶³ RG12/1226/10, RG13/1460/67

Beaconsfield Cottages, 3 Queens Road, Old Fletton. They remained in Old Fletton and in 1911 lived at 10 Queens Road, William was still a brick burner.

It is difficult to say if Joseph assisted William in any way with either finding employment or housing. They were both employed by the brickyards, lived only a few streets away from one another and Joseph was a foreman. Joseph rented his house from Hill whilst William lived in privately rented housing.¹⁶⁴ Both brothers were brought up in a family where supporting each other was natural as when they were children both their maternal grandfather, Thomas Marshall, and maternal uncle, Edward Marshall, lived with them. It must have also been reassuring for the wives, Emma and Harriet, to have family support locally as they cared for their children who were similar ages; Joseph and Emma's were 12, 9 and 4 and William and Harriet's were 11, 6 and 1.

The majority of families analysed migrated to Fletton from local areas, but some families moved to Fletton from greater distances such as the **Hunting** brothers from Yoxford, Suffolk.¹⁶⁵ Yoxford is 104 miles away from Fletton and when migration took place over such a distance family support was invaluable for passing on information and familiarity when forging new links in the receiving community.¹⁶⁶ George, John, Joseph, Henry and Frederick, were five of 13 children born in Yoxford, Suffolk to William, a farmer, and Elizabeth. Yoxford was a rural parish one mile from nearby Darsham Railway Station, on the Eastern Union line to East Anglia.¹⁶⁷ It would appear that it was the railways that attracted George to Peterborough as in 1851 he was living in Albert Place, Peterborough with his wife Emma, and he was employed by the Eastern Counties railway as a guard, although before he left the railways he was promoted to outdoor goods inspector.¹⁶⁸ The areas appetite for

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

¹⁶⁵ HO107/1747/388, HO107,1017,12 RG9/965/59, RG10/1516/68, RG11/1591/69, RG12/1226/89, RG13/1461/56, RG9/967/9, RG10/1521/33, RG9/134/3, RG12/1227/22, ED27/8/6, RG14/8684/81, RG9/965/53, HO107/2099/341, RG11/1591/66, RG12/1226/90, RG14/8673/47, RG12/1232/104, RG13/1467/82, HO107/1747/1011

¹⁶⁶ GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, History of Yoxford in Suffolk Coastal | Map and description, *A Vision of Britain through Time*. URL: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/8139>. (Accessed 15/3/2017)

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.,

¹⁶⁸ Information regarding the Hunting family came from Alan Johnson.

coal was insatiable, and taking advantage of this George entered a partnership with his brother Joseph as coal merchants. In an advertisement dated 1853 they were operating from the Great Eastern Wharf taking advantage of the rail connections.¹⁶⁹ By 1861 George, his wife and six children had moved to Grove Street, New Fletton.

Employment in the railways also attracted John, Joseph and Henry to the area. In 1881 John a railway guard, lived next door to sibling George, with his wife Charlotte, two children, his grandfather William and a boarder, Charlotte's brother, George Pickering a railway servant. Joseph had made the move to Narrow Street, East Side, Peterborough by 1861.¹⁷⁰ He was first employed by the Great Eastern Railway but soon saw opportunities to diversify. Included in his plethora of occupations he was: a coal merchant, lampdealer, agent for Coote and Warren coal merchants, Wagon works manager, farmer and innkeeper. Joseph lived with his wife, Harriet, and three children. The eldest two children, Joseph and Harriet had were born in New Fletton and they were all brought up in the Catholic faith.¹⁷¹ They may have lived independently in Fletton or possibly stayed with George. Also living with the family was Fanny Haynes, Joseph's sister-in-law and Emma's sister. She was employed with them as a nursemaid as the youngest child Eliza was only 12 weeks old. By 1881 Joseph and his family had returned to Fletton and were also living next door to sibling George. Co-incidentally George's wife Emma and Joseph's wife Harriett were sisters. George married Emma Haynes in 1849 in Peterborough and Joseph married her sister Harriett on 23 March 1856. As Davidoff explained this 'double sibling' marriage increased the 'density of the kin network' and obligation within it.¹⁷²

Henry and his wife Sophia had also lived next door to George's family in 1871. Henry was a railway guard and mobility in the railways had enabled him to move from Boston, Lincolnshire to Bread Street, New Fletton. Henry and his wife Sophia remained in Grove Street, New Fletton for the next 20 years before moving to nearby Jubilee Street in Woodston. When Sophia died Henry moved to 73 Oundle

¹⁶⁹ *Deacons Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire Court Guide and County Blue Book* (London, 1890).

¹⁷⁰ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 23 October 1897.

¹⁷¹ Only the children appeared to brought up in the Catholic faith. Joseph and Harriet were married in a Church of England church.

¹⁷² Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, p. 227.

Road, Woodston to be supported in the household of his nephew Frederick Hunting. Frederick, the son of Frederick a licensed victualler from Eye Green, Cambridgeshire, was the local butcher so would have been a well-known local figure and one of the companies liveried vans, with employees, can be seen in plate 5-25.

Plate 5.25: H. S. Hunting Butchers Van

Picture taken in 1924 when Harry Hunting, son of Frederick, ran the butchery



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 21/3/2018)

George was settled in New Fletton for approximately the next 20 years and became an important member of the community as he was innkeeper of the establishment in plate 5.26 'Swiss Cottage', coal merchant, wagon works manager and churchwarden at St. Augustines, Woodston. By 1881 George was joined by his brother Joseph and his wife Harriet together with their six children. They lived next door in Tower Cottage and Joseph continued trade as coal merchant and tobacconist.

Joseph was active locally serving on the St. Margaret's Parochial Church Council from 1888 to 1891, he was Fletton's representative on the Board of Guardians, a member of Fletton Parish Council, an Independent and Liberal Councillor and mayor in 1898. Joseph is pictured in plate 5.27 in his full mayoral regalia. Not far away at 37

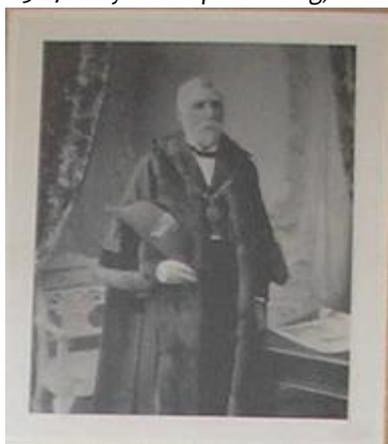
Grove Street, John and Charlotte were now supporting Charlotte's mother Rebecca Pickering. By 1871 the fourth brother, Frederick, a licensed victualler and farmer at the Greyhound Inn, was resident only 5 miles away with his family, in Eye Green. Frederick's step migration journey had taken him via Islington, Stanground and Peterborough. As a widow he would in turn be supported by his daughter Rebecca and son-in-law Fred, a cabinet maker.

Plate 5.26: *Swiss Cottage, New Fletton*



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 5.27: *Mayor Joseph Hunting, circa 1898*



Source: Private possession of Alan Johnson

George remained in the area moving to the neighbouring parish Woodston, by 1891. At this time the family was supporting his mother-in-law Mary Robinson. George had returned to his agricultural roots farming at Manor Farm, as well as being a local merchant. George also had a formidable public career counting in his positions

Alderman of the city, Councillor, Chairman of the Woodston Parish Council, member of the Norman Cross Highway Board, founder member of the Fletton Constitutional Association and Overseer of the Poor.¹⁷³ From this brief review of house moves, occupation, co-residence and involvement in the community the Hunting family would appear to be totally inter-connected, socially, professionally and geographically dominating the local political and business worlds but at the same time offering one another support and assistance. Locally the family would be honoured when a street was named after them: Hunting Avenue, New Fletton.

One extended family who were attracted to Fletton were the **Medlocks**, father and son, brothers and cousins who came from nearby Stanground. The Medlocks had various occupations including brickyard labourers, builder, railway wagon fitter, railway engine driver and railway fireman. The first Medlock to migrate to Fletton Village, Old Fletton, for the 1881 census was James Medlock, railway wagon and car wheel turner, with his wife Elizabeth.¹⁷⁴ James remained in Old Fletton and in 1891 is recorded as living in Love Lane. By 1901 he had moved to 1 South View, London Road, New Fletton and in 1911 the family had purchased their own home South House, London Road, New Fletton. Throughout these moves James's employment remained the same.

Jame's brothers Frank and Walter made the move from Stanground to Old Fletton between 1891 and 1901. Frank and his wife Emily moved to St. Margaret Cottages, Old Fletton following their marriage in 1891. Emily was born in Fletton, daughter of John and Hannah Woods and her first marital home was next door to her parents. Having this close family support would have been invaluable when their son Arthur arrived in 1900. They remained in Old Fletton and purchased their next house, 70 Queens Road. Walter Medlock, railway engine driver, and wife Fanny moved to a privately owned and rented house at 3 Bright Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton just prior to the 1901 census.¹⁷⁵ They remained in Old Fletton and were privately renting 116 Myrtle Villa, Fletton Ave in 1911. All three brothers worked for the

¹⁷³ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22nd October 1909.

¹⁷⁴ RG11/1591/84, RG12/1226/58, RG13/1461/14, RG14/8671/291, RG13/1460/48, RG12/1226/54, RG14/8669/50

¹⁷⁵ RG13/1460/68, RG14/ 8669/8. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

railways and there may be a possibility that one assisted another in the procurement of employment or at least passed information on regarding employment opportunities.

Sometime prior to 1891 the brother's cousin, Joseph Medlock, moved to Brickyard Lane, Yaxley Road, Old Fletton with his wife Emma, from Stanground.¹⁷⁶ In Stanground Joseph had been a general labourer and when he moved to Brickyard Lane he was employed as a brickyard labourer. Kin connections may have played a factor in securing Joseph this position. In 1871 when Joseph and Emma had been living in Stanground Emma's brother James Lucy was boarding with them. In 1891 James was the manager at the Fletton brickyard, Hicks and Co.¹⁷⁷ James, and his wife Sarah, born in Stanground, remained in Old Fletton both living and working at the brickyard though the next 20 years. Interestingly, before Sarah married James she was a servant in the household of James Bristow, auctioneer and co-owner of Hicks brickyard, in Fletton.¹⁷⁸ Joseph himself also remained in Brickyard Lane until Emma died in 1909, he then moved in with his son Joseph, a chimney builder, who lived in Woodbine Street, New Fletton.

Another extended family who assisted each other were the **Bentley** brothers. Charles Bentley, a brickyard labourer, and his wife Susan were the first to arrive in Fletton at Mile End Road, Old Fletton. Whilst his occupation remained constant the family moved around Old Fletton living at Lambert Cottages, St. Margarets Road in 1901 and 169 High Street, Old Fletton in 1911. Charles's children were able to take advantage of the diverse employment in the area, son George was a fitters apprentice, eldest daughter Ellen was in service and youngest daughter Jane was employed at Symingtons Corset factory. Charles perhaps shared his experiences with his brother Thomas.

Thomas, a brick burner, made the journey from Stanground to brickyard rented housing at 37 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton with his wife Sarah and daughter

¹⁷⁶ RG12/1226/62, RG10/1516/33, RG13/1460/72, RG14/8671/315

¹⁷⁷ RG12/1226/62, RG13/1460/72, RG14/8669/287

¹⁷⁸ RG10/1516/86, RG10/1516/33

Maggie.¹⁷⁹ Thomas assisted two family members when they made their own migration journey, nephew Charles Mantle, a brick setter, and brother Harry a brickyard labourer. But Fletton was not a foreign place to the Bentlys as their mother Sarah Bentley, nee Coles was born in Fletton.¹⁸⁰ She later married Joseph, their father, a brick maker, at St. Margarets Church on 3 December 1854, and they made their first home in Fletton before moving to Stanground. Their daughter Mary Ann was the only female this research has discovered who was recorded as working in the brickyards in 1861.

These extensive migration narratives revealed that families did not have to be resident in the same household to provide one another with support in housing, in employment and in day to day interactions. In general families seemed to either be centred in New or Old Fletton with only limited moves across Fletton Spring. However movements between Fletton and the neighbouring parishes of Woodston, Stanground, Farcet and Yaxley were not uncommon. Amongst all the families' one common factor was persistence. Once an individual arrived in Fletton they then persisted within Fletton for at least 10 years and in many cases a lot longer. Whether this persistence was as Robin stated due to housing, family being present in the area, occupational security, community ties or a combination of factors is difficult to conclude with certainty, but kin would appear to be a very important contributory factor.¹⁸¹

Kinship - neighbours

Kin within a community, although important, was not the only support network that migrants could rely on. In fact, as Stacey observed, in areas where migration was high neighbours were vitally important for the creation of community.¹⁸²

Neighbours could either replace kin, where none existed, or enhance a kinship network. Dupree noted that various situations, of differing need, would require the individual to approach a variety of support networks, creating a hierarchy of who

¹⁷⁹ RG13/1460/51, RG14/ 8669/192, RG12/1226/11

¹⁸⁰ HO107/1747/264, RG9/965/70

¹⁸¹ Robin, *Elmdon: Continuity*, p. 196.

¹⁸² M. Stacey, *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury* (Oxford University Press, 1960), p, 101.

would be called upon dependent upon the requirement.¹⁸³ For day to day assistance this would often be a neighbour or friend, for financial support this could be church or chapel, civic institution or the employer. For longer term support, as in the case of caring for an elderly relative or for childcare, then this would be the family. In most situations an individual would have the ability to call on a range of support networks both family and external. As Lord observed, females were pivotal in this role responsible for integrating the family within the local community, keeping alive family traditions and sustaining moral values.¹⁸⁴

Perhaps it cannot be proved that neighbours interacted with one another and assisted in time of need but one strand of evidence that can be utilised to explore this possibility, is the Land Valuation Survey. Throughout this thesis whether a house was rented or owned and its impact on mobility and persistence has been noted, but for a detailed analysis of these issues Queens Walk, New Fletton was chosen.¹⁸⁵ Queens Walk, New Fletton was under construction when the Land Valuation Survey was being carried out and at that time the majority of the houses in Queens Walk were owner occupied, so the new residents had made a deliberate decision to purchase and live there.

If the previous addresses of the residents are considered it is revealed that some of these new neighbours had been neighbours previously. 14 houses were owner occupied, of these, nine individuals previous addresses were in Woodston, three were in New Fletton and two were from out of the area but still within a five mile radius. So all were local and knew the community before purchasing. For example; Thomas Baker, railway wagon maker, Edmund Groves, railway engine driver and Alfred Tomlin, railway engine stoker all purchased houses in Queens Walk, at Belvedere Villa, Hilda House and Linford House, and their previous addresses were 166, 198 and 146 Palmerston Road, Woodston.¹⁸⁶ Although in different parishes Queens Walk, New Fletton intersects with Palmerston Road, Woodston so the move in terms of distance and familiarity would not have been great for the families

¹⁸³ Dupree, *Family Structure*, p, 274.

¹⁸⁴ Lord, 'Communities of Common Interest', p. 178.

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

¹⁸⁶ RG14/8671/186, RG13/1461/71, RG14/8671/180, RG13/1461/70, RG14/8671/176, RG13/1461/71

involved. Obviously it cannot be known for certain, but it would seem likely, that these individuals and their families knew one another before and after the move. In addition the male household heads all worked in the railways so it would also be possible that the men were work colleagues as well.

One way that a feeling of community can be formed was to have a shared history and heritage to refer to in an individual's daily interactions with neighbours. If your neighbours are also your kin then this occurs naturally. But if a street consists of individuals drawn from a variety of places in a wider area then how can this occur? One common factor may be place of birth, even though since that event migration has occurred.¹⁸⁷ If an individual discovers that their neighbour was born and perhaps spent a number of years in a similar location to themselves then this gives a commonality to their beliefs and social histories. Mayer discovered that in Africa there may have been a tendency for those with the same birthplace to cluster together when migrating.¹⁸⁸ Anderson's study in Preston confirmed this when in one street, in 1851 three individuals and in 1861 four individuals were born in the same village, Kirkham.¹⁸⁹ To investigate this further two streets, one in New and one in Old Fletton were analysed to assess if birthplaces of the residents were similar. The streets chosen were compact where houses face houses rather than the longer linking streets. The streets were entirely rented housing as there were no entire streets of owner occupied housing to make comparison possible. As Fletton was undergoing a period of growth and development the analysis was also completed for census years where there was most stability in the building of the housing in those streets.

The streets chosen were Duke Street in Old Fletton, rented by Hill and Orchard Street, in New Fletton, rented by Hartley, solicitor and brickyard owner, of Fletton Towers, New Fletton. In 1901, Duke Street was a new development and had attracted 122 residents in 25 households. As can be seen in table 5.13 there were 25

¹⁸⁷ K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and belonging: Community, identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁸⁸ P. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen Conservatism and the process of Urbanization in a South African City* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

¹⁸⁹ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 101.

heads of households and all except one were migrants newly arrived in Fletton. There were 42 different birthplaces recorded and 55% of all individuals were born in one of just five locations: Farcet, Fletton, Peterborough, Stanground and Woodston. Table 5.14 shows that, in addition, 85.2% of all the residents came from Huntingdonshire or the local counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. Only 17 individuals came from 9 other counties, and 8 of these were born in Lincolnshire. Of the 34 individuals who were employed in Duke Street only seven were not employed by the brickyards meaning that 79.4% of those employed had a common workplace experience. Although Duke Street was a street of migrants, their migration journey, from birthplace, was a local one. Not only could they talk about their place of birth, but they most likely had remaining family links there as well, and as the birthplaces were so close maintaining those links would have been possible.

By the 1911 census there were 219 residents in 38 households in Duke Street. There were 67 birthplaces recorded and 54.8% of individuals were born in Fletton, Stanground, Peterborough, Whittlesey, Farcet and Deeping, Lincolnshire. Again the majority of residents, 79.4%, came from Huntingdonshire and the local counties. However, the other residents came from a more varied selection of 18 different counties including Hampshire, Cheshire, Ireland and Wales. There could be several birthplaces represented in one family indicating that these families were continually mobile. The occupation of the residents, although more varied, was still dominated by the brick industry.¹⁹⁰ 55% of those employed were working for the brickyards, 8.6% by the railways and 35.8% were employed in a range of other occupations.

The migration narrative of the Barfield family reveals how important Fletton was. In 1911 Frances Barfield, a brickyard labourer, and his wife Hannah together with their six children, had recently arrived at 13 Duke Street, Old Fletton from Stanground.¹⁹¹ Barfield was born in Old Fletton and following their marriage on 13 October 1898 at St. Mary's, Peterborough the couple established their first home in Hill rented housing at 1 Willow Villa, Princes Road, Old Fletton with, at the time, their only child

¹⁹⁰ 1911 81 employed: brickyards 45, railways 7, other 29

¹⁹¹ RG14/8670/130, RG13/1460/63, RG12/1226/61, RG13/1460/77, RG14/8858/216

who had been born in Peterborough.¹⁹² They were therefore return migrants. The birthplaces of their other children, in the intervening years, reveals they had moved from Fletton to Irthingborough then to Kempston, Bedfordshire, on to Stanground before returning back to Fletton.¹⁹³ In 1911 Barfield's parents Frances and Mary were also resident in Kempston.¹⁹⁴ Kempston, Bedfordshire is another well-known brick producing area and in 1899 Hill (London Brick) began brick production there. It would seem that the Barfield family may well have transferred from Kempston to Fletton to meet labour demands and as Fletton was already familiar to the Barfield family this would have been an easy move to make.

Table 5.13: Birthplaces of residents in Duke Street, 1901 and 1911

Birthplaces	1901		1911	
	%	No	%	No
Fletton	11.5	14	27.7 ¹	60
Farcet	10.6	13	1.0	2
Stanground	11.8	15	6.0	13
Peterborough	17.2	21	15.2	34
Woodston	0	0	0	0
Whittlesey	0	0	3.3	7
Deeping	0	0	1.6	3
Total	55.1	68	54.7	120

Note: Birthplaces recorded have more than 2 individuals born there and are shown as a percentage
 1901 122 individuals over 25 households with 42 birthplaces
 1911 219 individuals over 38 households with 67 birthplaces
 Fletton includes those birthplaces listed as Fletton, New and Old as often on census records individuals did not state which.
¹The increase in Fletton births may be due to individuals persisting from 1901 and having Fletton born children.

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

¹⁹² See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

¹⁹³ http://www.archaeologyuk.org/cbas/index_htm_files/JULY%201970%2013.pdf (Accessed 2/4/2017) There were small brickyards at Irthingborough although these had largely closed by 1905 at great loss.

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.bedfordshiregeologygroup.org.uk/leaflets/BLGGBrickmaking.pdf> (Accessed 2/4/2017)

Table 5.14: Birth counties of residents in Duke Street, 1901 and 1911

Birth counties	1901		1911	
	%	No	%	No
Huntingdonshire	46.7	57	45.7	100
Bedfordshire	0.8	1	2.7	6
Cambridgeshire	16.4	20	11.4	25
Northamptonshire	21.3	26	19.6	43
Other counties	14.8	18	20.6	46
Total	100	122	100	219
Note: Birth counties are shown of the local counties and are shown as a percentage 1901 Births were recorded in 13 different counties 1911 Births were recorded in 22 different counties				

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Tables 5.15 shows the birthplaces of the 241 residents in Orchard Street, New Fletton in 1901 who resided in 55 households. As with Duke Street there had been a huge influx of migrants and all except two household heads were new to the area. There were a massive 120 different birthplaces represented and only 32.8% of individuals came from places that had six or more births recorded in them and these included: Fletton, Downham Market in Norfolk, Peterborough, Woodston, Longstanton in Cambridgeshire and Whittlesey. Most notably absent are the two birthplaces that are important in Duke Street Stanground and Farcet. Nonetheless, as can be seen in table 5.16, the majority of residents, 65.9%, came from Northamptonshire or the local counties. But 17 other counties were also strongly represented giving a greater diversification, including further afield places such as Scotland, Somerset and Durham. This is an indicator that the individuals living in Orchard Street were drawn from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds with different migration narratives.

The owner of these houses, Hartley, had no allegiance to whom he rented his houses to and to what occupation they were employed in, unlike the company owned houses of Duke Street, Old Fletton. As Orchard Street is in New Fletton it would be expected that railway workers would be dominant, and they were with 34% of workers employed on the railways. Those employed in the brickyards accounted for 20.6% meaning that the remaining 45.4% of those employed were engaged in a diverse range of occupations.¹⁹⁵ This range of occupations could explain the broad spectrum of birth places that are represented in Orchard Street.

¹⁹⁵ 1901 97 employed: railways 33, brickyards 20, other 44

The ease of movement for rail workers has been commented on by Drummond and throughout this thesis examples of rail worker migration have demonstrated this.¹⁹⁶

Turner commented that the railways were not known for advertising but two advertisements for job vacancies were located and are reproduced in plate 5.28.¹⁹⁷

It is also surprising how broadly employment opportunities in the brickyards were advertised. As well as local advertisements like that in plate 4.1, an advertisement for brickyard machinists even made its way into the Dundee Advertiser in 1897.¹⁹⁸

The placement of this advertisement may have been targeted as Hill was known for employing Scots. This diversity caused by varied occupations may have caused a lack of community feeling however it may conversely have led to the creation of a diverse community.

Plate 5.28: Railway vacancy employment advertisements

MIDLAND RAILWAY.

THE Midland Railway Company have vacancies for a number of steady men qualified to act as Goods Guards, and others having railway experience, who are willing to be trained for such duties.

The conditions of service for Goods Guards are as follows—

Under Guards in the Country, 20s per week, with clothing;

Under Guards in London, 23s per week, with clothing.

Head Guards from 21s to 30s per week, with clothing.

When the men are required to sleep from home, 2s per night in the country, and 3s per night in London is allowed for Lodging expenses.

The men will work either on the time system or on the trip system, as may be required by the Company.

When working on the time system, 66 hours to constitute a week's work. All overtime to be paid for at the rate of eleven hours per day.

The payments for men working on the Trip system are carefully calculated upon the average time occupied by each trip.

If the trains are unavoidably delayed by circumstances beyond the Guard's control, an allowance will be made for extra time.

The men to give and receive a fortnight's notice before leaving the Company's service.

Application to be made to
Mr E. M. NEEDHAM,
Superintendent of the Line,
Midland Railway, Derby.

JAMES ALLPORT,
General Manager.

Derby, January 4th, 1879. 289

THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY have VACANCIES at Bristol Station for CARMEN, at commencing wages of 18s and 20s per week: candidates must be of good physique, and over 18 and under 30 years of age; satisfactory testimonials necessary.—Apply Box No. 24, Office of this Paper. 113-6.

Source: *The Northern Evening Mail*, Wednesday, January 8, 1879, p. 2. and *The Western Chronicle*, Friday, June 13, 1902, p.1.

The migration narrative of James Whyman reveals how Fletton and Peterborough were at the heart of their return migration journey. In 1901 newly arrived resident Whyman and family were living at 27 Orchard Street.¹⁹⁹ Whyman, an iron turner with

¹⁹⁶ Drummond, Crewe.

¹⁹⁷ Dr. David Turner of the University of York made this comment in an e.mail exchange.

¹⁹⁸ *Dundee Advertiser*, 1897

¹⁹⁹ RG13/1461/28, RG14/8671/98, RG12/1226/103, RG11/4906/25

the G. E. R. railways, was born in Peterborough and his second wife, Anne, was born in Fletton so he was a return migrant to the area. Whyman and his first wife Sarah's childrens' birthplaces reveal the route that his migration journey took. The eldest five were born in Hartlepool, County Durham and the youngest was born in Woodston. Whyman's move back to Fletton from Hartlepool was perhaps aided by the fact that he worked for the railways. Arthur, the eldest son, was also employed by the railways as clerk and Herbert, the second eldest, was an assistant fitter. The sons may possibly have been aided in securing their employment by their father's connections. Whyman and Anne were settled in the New Fletton area and remained in Orchard Street, although by 1911 they moved to number 68.

As can be seen in table 5.15 by the 1911 census there were 314 residents in Orchard Street in 62 households and 116 different birthplaces were recorded. 51.5% of individuals came from birthplaces that had six or more births recorded in them and they included: Fletton, Birmingham in Warwickshire, Cambridge, Whittlesey, Peterborough and Woodston. Not surprisingly, due to the geographical closeness, Orchard Street had strong connections with Peterborough as 33.1% of individuals recorded Peterborough as their birthplace. This is in direct contrast to Duke Street where in 1911 only 17.2% of individuals recorded Peterborough as their birthplace. Interestingly in 1911 only 8.9% of individuals in Orchard Street recorded Fletton as a birthplace which is less than was recorded in 1901. Therefore if individuals were staying in Orchard Street from 1901 to 1911 they were not having children. So either families were already established or unmarried individuals were moving in and out of the area. As in 1901 there are no individuals in 1911 who were born in Stangroud or Farcet. The residents in Orchard Street came from a more localised area than before, 77.7% of individuals were born in Northamptonshire or local counties, see table 5.16. Despite this localism 19 other counties were still widely represented. The occupations held by the Orchard Street residents had become increasingly diverse, 34.4% were employed on the railways, only 4.5% in the brickyards and 63.1% in other occupations.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ 1911 111 employed: railways 36, brickyards 5, other 70

One Peterborough born family, who in 1911 were resident at 47 Orchard Street were Cecil Mould a basket maker, and his wife Harriet Mould.²⁰¹ Boarding with the family was Granger Price, also a basket maker, who was born in Rippenden, Yorkshire. Price had recently arrived in New Fletton from Leicester.²⁰² His wife Elizabeth was still resident in Leicester with their three children, so Price must have been pursuing an employment opportunity in Fletton or Peterborough before either returning home or sending for his family.

Table 5.15: Birthplaces of residents in Orchard Street, 1901 and 1911

Birthplaces	1901		1911	
	%	No	%	No
Downham Market, Norfolk	2.5	6	0	0
Fletton	10.0	25	8.9	28
Longstanton, Cambridgeshire	2.9	7	0	0
Peterborough	11.2	28	33.1	104
Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire	3.3	8	1.9	6
Woodston	2.9	7	3.5	11
Birmingham	0	0	1.9	6
Cambridge	0	0	2.2	7
Total	32.7	79	51.5	162
<p>Note: Birthplaces are where more than 6 individuals were recorded as having the same birthplaces and are recorded as a percentage. 1901 241 individuals over 55 households with 120 birthplaces 1911 314 individuals over 61 households with 116 birthplaces</p>				

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Table 5.16: Birth counties of residents in Orchard Street, 1901 and 1911

Birth Counties	1901		1911	
	%	No	%	No
Huntingdonshire	26.5	64	31.8	100
Bedfordshire	0.8	2	0	0
Cambridgeshire	18.7	45	17.8	56
Northamptonshire ¹	19.9	48	26.8	84
Other counties	34.1	83	22.3	70
Total	100	241	100	314
<p>Note: Birth counties are shown of the local counties and are shown as a percentage 1901 Births were recorded in 21 different counties 1911 Births were recorded in 23 different counties At this time Orchard Street was in Northamptonshire not Huntingdonshire¹</p>				

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Duke Street, Old Fletton presents a picture of a community with, in the main, similar birthplaces, which are local, and a shared occupational experience which creates a shared common heritage. In contrast, on the surface, Orchard Street, New Fletton

²⁰¹ RG14/8671/89, RG13/1461/63

²⁰² RG13/3010/ 88, RG14/19174

in 1901 presents a more fragmented community, both in terms of birthplace and occupation, with few common meeting points which by 1911 only seems marginally more localised with increasingly diverse occupations. But the critical question is does either represent a community? This is where perhaps other factors, such as persistence, may indicate if a community has been established.

As can be seen in table 5.17 in 1901 the residents of both Duke Street, Old Fletton and Orchard Street, New Fletton were migrants, 96.5% in Orchard Street and 96% in Duke Street, with only one or two stayers. By 1911 Orchard Street, New Fletton was still predominantly occupied by migrants to the area, 61.3%, although a significant percentage of stayers had also started to move into Orchard Street, 38.7%. In contrast, in 1911 in Duke Street, there were fewer migrant residents, 42.1%, than residents who had persisted from the previous census, 57.9%. Both areas were offering employment and housing which not only appealed to those moving to the area but also to those who wanted to stay in the Fletton community.

One family who moved to Orchard Street and then made the decision to stay was the Long family.²⁰³ Benjamin Long, born in Fransham, Norfolk, a marine store dealer, migrated to 38 Orchard Street, New Fletton following his marriage to Fanny, born Sawtry, Huntingdonshire, in 1894. Orchard Street is ideally located for Long's business as it is close to the Woodston wharfs. The young family were able to take advantage of local occupation opportunities. In 1911 they remained at 38 Orchard Street with their eight children. Eldest son Benjamin was employed by the railways as a railway wagon engineer and eldest daughter Ethel had entered service as a nursemaid.

As previously alluded to, Orchard Street, New Fletton appears to be a more transient community than Duke Street, Old Fletton. As is shown in table 5.17, this is borne out when the persistence of individuals is considered. Of the 58 household heads in Orchard Street in 1901, only 29% were still resident in the street in 1911, 6.5% had persisted in Fletton and 62% had moved away. In contrast, Duke Street, Old Fletton was more settled. Of the 25 household heads in Duke Street in 1901, 48%

²⁰³ RG14/8671/113, RG13/1461/30, RG12/1554/22

were still resident in the street in 1911, 12% had persisted in Old Fletton and 40% had moved away. This is not representative of the area as a whole. The residents of Orchard Street, New Fletton show a lot less persistence than the residents of the New Fletton area (45.9%) and Duke Street, Old Fletton appears to be more settled than the rest of Old Fletton (42.1%).

Table 5.17: Percentage of stayer and migrant head of households Orchard Street, New Fletton and Duke Street, Old Fletton 1901-1911

	1901				1911			
	Stayer		Migrants		Stayers		Migrants	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Orchard Street, New Fletton	2	3.4	56	96.5	24	38.7	38	61.3
Duke Street, Old Fletton	Stayer		Migrants		Stayers		Migrants	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
	1	4.0	24	96.0	22	57.9	16	42.1

Note:

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Table 5.18: Percentage of Orchard Street and Duke Street household heads persisting in Fletton, 1901-1911

	Persisting same street		Persisting Fletton		Moved away	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
¹ Orchard Street, New Fletton	18	29.0	3 (New)	4.8	36	62.0
			1 (Old)	1.7		
² Duke Street, Old Fletton	12	48.0	0	0	10	40.0
			3 (Old)	12.0		

Note: ¹Orchard Street 58 heads, 2 stayer, 56 migrants

²Duke Street 25 heads, 1 stayer, 24 migrants

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

But what would encourage an individual to stay in a community? The birthplaces of those who persisted were varied and it did not appear to make a difference to their tendency to persist if an individual was locally born or migrated to Fletton from some distance away. Amongst those who persisted in both streets one factor which seemed to have importance was occupation. Of the 22 heads who persisted in Orchard Street or Fletton, 11 (50%) were employed in the railways so although working on the railways could aid mobility it could also provide security of residence and a reason to persist in a community.

The migration narrative of Walter Galley reveals that he experienced both mobility and stability with the railways.²⁰⁴ Galley born in Dullingham Lay, Cambridgeshire, found employment as a railway signalman and in 1881 was lodging in Bluntisham, Cambridgeshire. After marrying Martha and starting a family Galley moved to 36 Orchard Street between 1894 and 1901. He was now a railway guard. The family remained settled in Orchard Street until 1911 and Galley remained a railway guard. The family also offered support to Martha's sister Susan Flamaud, a widow, who lived with them.

In Duke Street of the 15 heads who persisted, 10 (66.6%) were employed in the brickyards, two (13.3%) were employed in the railways and three were not traceable but the family had persisted. The brick industry was localised employment and so encouraged individuals to stay close by. Also of importance to the Duke Street residents were family connections. Of the 15 heads who persisted, six (40%) had locally born wives from Fletton, Whittlesey and Peterborough.

The migration narrative of Frederick Sutton shows that he married a local girl with local family connections.²⁰⁵ Sutton an agricultural labourer from Sutton, Cambridgeshire married Louisa at St. Margarets Church on 5 December 1895. After marriage the couple perhaps moved back to Sutton as their eldest child Frederick was born in Sutton. By the time of their son Arthur's birth in 1900, Sutton and Louisa were living in Duke Street and Sutton had exchanged the uncertain life of an agricultural labourer for that of a brickyard labourer.

Sutton's wife Louisa, the daughter of a railway servant was born in Fletton. In 1901 when Louisa returned to Old Fletton her mother Jane Gilbert was living with her niece, Louisa Cox, at Myrtle Villa, Old Fletton. They were both widows so the arrangement may have been mutually beneficial. The fact that Louisa had family in Fletton, together with the attraction of work in the brickyards for her husband, may have attracted them back to Old Fletton. The couple remained settled and in 1911

²⁰⁴ RG11/1606/62, RG12/1239/48, RG13/1461/30, RG14/8671/114

²⁰⁵ RG11/1683/38, RG13/1460/65, RG14/8670/131, RG12/1226/52, RG13/1460/49

were still resident in Duke Street. Louisa had family locally as her mother was still close by living with her brother in Whittlesey.

Kinship - boarding

For some migrants an extension of their family and part of their community would be the household in which they boarded. In Fletton large boarding houses were rare and respectable working class individuals found a place to board in a private household.²⁰⁶ In Fletton the percentage of those boarding should be high due to the high percentage of migrants into the area and to the reports that accommodation was hard to find, however, this could be affected by the fact that family migration was high and unmarried migration lower so there would be less of a need for boarding.

As can be seen in table 5.19 in the 1901 there were 999 households and of these 156 households recorded 223 boarders meaning that 15.6% of all households had someone boarding. By 1911 this had decreased slightly so that of the 1,092 households 174 recorded 132 boarders meaning that 12% of all households had someone boarding. As predicted this is a high percentage. In comparison in the potteries 6% of households had boarders whilst in Preston this was 12%.²⁰⁷ As also predicted the percentage of boarders who were migrants to Fletton was high, in 1901 only 2 boarders were stayers and in 1911 88.3% of boarders were migrants.

Fletton was more rural than both Preston and the potteries so not directly comparable, but what is notable is that the Fletton households who had boarders tended to have fewer boarders in comparison to the potteries and to Preston. Also in comparison to Preston the composition of those who boarded was also quite different. Preston had equal numbers of male and female boarders and equal numbers of married and unmarried boarders. In Fletton, in 1901, the boarders were predominantly male (83%) and unmarried (88%) and this situation had not changed

²⁰⁶ Dupree, *Family Structure* p, 109.

²⁰⁷ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*.

significantly by 1911, when male boarders accounted for 79.3% of those boarding, and unmarried boarders 74.7%.

In Fletton there was also a division between the occupations of individuals who boarded. Of those who boarded in 1901 32.7% were brick workers and 19.3% were railway workers. By 1911 only 12.6% of boarders were brick workers and railway workers remained constant at 19.5%. This reduction in the number of brick workers boarding could be due to the impact of the Hill housing in Old Fletton. But it could also be due to a reduction in unmarried male migrants working in the brickyards at this time.

Table 5.19: *Boarding in Fletton and elsewhere, 1901 and 1911*

No of boarders in each household	Fletton 1901		Fletton 1911		Potteries	Colchester	Preston
	No of households who had a boarder	No	No of households who had a boarder	No			
	%	No	%	No	%	%	%
1	66.0	103	78.0	103	57	70	41
2	25.0	40	15.2	20	27		
3	7.0	11	4.5	6	16 ¹		
4	1.3	2	1.5	2			21 ²
5			.8	1			
Total no of households with boarders		156		132			
Total no of boarders		223		174			
Total no of households		999		1,092			
Note: This is the figure for 3 and 4 boarders combined. ¹							
This is the figure for households who have more than 6 boarders. ²							

Source: CEBs 1901-1911, Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Dupree, *Family Structure*

The migration narratives of the boarders reveal the family circumstances and occupation that led them to board. Two migrants who were boarding in 1901 were Henry Stone, 24, and William Stone, 18, who were staying in the household of George Rowles, in Hill rented housing at 2 Peveril Villas, Duke Street, Old Fletton.²⁰⁸ They were brothers from Littleport who had made the 34 mile migration journey together. Rowles was employed in the brickyards and so too was William so Rowles was assisting a co-worker, whilst Henry was a railway porter. For both William and

²⁰⁸ RG13/1460/64, RG14/8703, RG14/9270

Henry Fletton was only a stepping stone on their onward migration journey. By 1911 Henry had married Nellie and was an agricultural labourer at Home Farm, Marholm and William had married Emma and was living with his in laws at Ransonmoor Grange Farm, March and he was a brewer's drayman.

In 1911 Harry Purslis Cockerton, railway guard, born in Cheveley, Cambridgeshire, was boarding in the household of Frederick Rantom, also a railway guard, in Hartley rented housing at 66 Orchard Street, New Fletton.²⁰⁹ In providing accommodation for Cockerton Rantom was assisting a co-worker. Cockerton, the son of Thomas a famer's engine driver, was obviously settled in this household as he had been boarding there since he had arrived in Fletton in 1891.

Home ownership, persistency and establishment of community

As has been established a critical factor in the establishment of a community is for the individual to persist. As part of the third aim of this research consideration has been given to what factors contributed to this persistency including: occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding. Escott commented in her study of Binfield that home ownership could also encourage persistence.²¹⁰ The history of home ownership in Fletton only developed from 1895 onwards and so was in its infancy when the most useful source for considering the impact of home ownership, The Land valuation Survey was conducted in 1910. Another difficulty is that houses were built and owned, in small blocks or individually so unlike the appraisal of rented housing where the analysis could be based on whole streets this study can only assess small groups of housing or individual houses. Therefore it is difficult to assess if home ownership encouraged persistency as the two sources most relevant; the Land Valuation records for 1910 and the 1911 census are very close together in time and would only represent persistency of 1 year. Therefore to achieve a realistic length of persistency these two sources were used in conjunction

²⁰⁹ RG13/1461/31, RG14/8671/99, RG12/1226/100, RG11/1674/41

²¹⁰ M. Escott, 'Residential Mobility in a Late Eighteenth Century Parish' Binfield, Berkshire 1779-1801', *Local Population Studies*, 40, (1988), pp. 20-35.

with the 1901 census. The unfortunate impact of extending the research period reduces the number of houses that were owned.

For this analysis twenty owner occupied houses were chosen, 10 in New Fletton and 10 in Old Fletton.²¹¹ The criteria applied was two-fold; firstly the houses included should be terraced or semi-detached in streets that are already familiar in this research such as Tower Street and Bread Street in New Fletton and Queens Road and Princes Road in Old Fletton. Secondly larger houses which were owner occupied by men such as Adams, Itter and Colman were deliberately excluded so to reduce bias in terms of desire to remain in Fletton encouraged by business interests and the fact that some of these men owned homes elsewhere as well. For example Itter also lived in Waverley, Hendon.

Of the 20 houses which were owner occupied in Fletton in 1901 14 (70%) had the same owner in 1911. New Fletton show greater persistence at 80% compared to Old Fletton at 60%. It would appear that home ownership did in fact encourage persistence. Persistency brought about by home ownership was also found by Daniels in West Hill Park, Halifax a model estate.²¹² From 1871-1881 59% of the houses were owner occupied and 33% of owner occupied households persisted. This was in contrast to the back to back houses to the north where houses were rented and 17% of households persisted.

However, as has been discovered so far in this research it is too simplistic to state that home ownership alone encouraged persistency and subsequently community. Other factors have to unite to create the environment in which community can exist and develop. As has been witnessed these include employment opportunities, not only for the head of household but also for adult children, geographic location and, as Escott observed, the positive effect of kinship relations.²¹³ Lawton summarizes

²¹¹ The houses chosen were New Fletton: 4 in Grove Street, 1 in Oundle Road, 1 in Bread Street, 1 in Bridge End, 3 in Tower Street. Old Fletton: 5 in Fletton Avenue, 3 in Princes Road, 2 in Queens Road.

²¹² S. Daniels, 'Moral order and the industrial environment in the woollen textile districts of West Yorkshire, 1780-1881' PhD. Thesis (The University of London, 1980), p. 226.

²¹³ Escott, 'Binfield', pp. 20-35.

that persistence rates could be linked to 'age, life-cycle stage, income, status and social mobility'.²¹⁴

In Fletton occupation played a central role for home owners who persisted. The 14 household heads who persisted were employed in a diverse range of occupations; two were retired or lived on their own means, two worked in the brickyards, three worked on the railways, one was a schoolmaster, three worked in construction and three in trade. What is striking is that during the period 1901 to 1911 all household heads also experienced persistency in their occupation. It is easy to see why those in trade such as J. Warren grocer and potted meat salesman, Fred Fowler butcher and Julia Edgson grocer and baker remained settled as their home was also their business.²¹⁵ Others like D. Haywood bricklayer and G. Brummitt plumber had skills that were in strong demand locally with the explosion in housebuilding. These individuals were able to persist in their home as the service they provided through their employment was in demand locally.

Migration narratives also reveal that in those who persisted in Fletton kin was another important factor alongside occupation. Frank Butters a wood working machinist, moved from his family home 34 Park Street, New Fletton to 11 Princes Road, Old Fletton following his marriage to Emma.²¹⁶ By 1911 Butter's widowed mother Mary and daughter Emma aged 43 had also moved to 32 High Street, Old Fletton. The two families now lived within easy walking distance to one another. Boothman also found kin important in her study in Long Melford, Suffolk, where in 54.4% of couples, one member also had grandparents in the village.²¹⁷

The combination of kin and occupation can also be witnessed in bricklayer David Hayward.²¹⁸ It is clear from the census records that due to his occupation Hayward and his wife Catherine had a mobile existence before they purchased Edith House 140 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton, which included Portsmouth, Islington and

²¹⁴ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 220.

²¹⁵ Occupations are from the 1901 and 1911 Access database.

²¹⁶ RG11/1591/50, RG13/1461/15, RG14/8669/112

²¹⁷ Boothman, 'Studying the stayers', p. 17.

²¹⁸ RG13/1460/49, RG14/8669/89, RG10/259/34

Peterborough. The extensive house building that was taking place in Fletton must have been a great incentive to move and then persist to be close to work that was plentiful. The boom in housebuilding meant that in 1901 Hayward and all his five sons were engaged in house building either as bricklayers or bricklayer labourers. The continued opportunities that were available locally, in conjunction with kinship support, must have been a significant factor in Hayward's son David Jnr's decision to purchase a house in the next street and in 1901 he was living with his wife Sarah at 46 Queens Road, Old Fletton.

It is also illustrative to consider the three household heads who over the ten years sold their houses and moved.²¹⁹ Of the three who can be traced with certainty John Ward and William Munden persisted in Fletton and James Robertson McFarlane moved away. John Ward and William Munden did not remain in the same house but they did persist in Fletton. In 1901 Ward a painter and decorator lived at 2 Grove Street, New Fletton with his wife Elizabeth.²²⁰ By 1911 Ward had moved, but it was only a few doors away to number 7 Grove Street. Munden a bricklayer's labourer lived at 48 Grove Street, New Fletton with his wife Harriet.²²¹ By 1911 Munden William had moved to 98 Oundle Road, New Fletton. Unfortunately, due to incomplete records and re-numbering it is unclear if this move was to rented or owned accommodation.

James Robertson McFarlane moved away from Fletton.²²² McFarlane, a Scottish born carpenter lived in Aninda Villa, Old Fletton with his wife Annie. By 1911 McFarlane was living in New Malden, Surrey with his new wife Gertrude. However the birthplaces of his children reveal that this move was not a direct one. By 1902 McFarlane had moved to Haringay, London. Haringay was only a short distance away from Hornsey and Crouch End where Hill's housing development was taking place. With McFarlane's skills as a carpenter and a shared Scottish heritage, both

²¹⁹ Three household heads cannot be traced with certainty. Upex and Smedley are only recorded by surname not the initials. In the 1911 census there were individuals living in the house with the same surname but it is impossible to know if the occupant was the same person or a different family member. One household head cannot be traced at all in the census.

²²⁰ RG14/8673/11

²²¹ RG14/8672/100

²²² RG14/3453/86

McFarlane and Hill were born in Dundee, it would not be an unnatural assumption that McFarlane had gained employment from Hill and that he had been instrumental in his migration journey both to Fletton and to Haringay.

Although home ownership was only one of several factors that encouraged persistency it was an important one as purchasing a home is an investment of money and emotion. Of the 20 owner occupiers sixteen persisted either in the original property they purchased in 1901 or within Fletton.

Relationship between workplace, home and creation of community

As part of the fourth aim of this research, the last question that will be addressed is: What was the relationship between the workplace and home in the creation of community? An employer, such as the railways and the brick making industry, would often be a major influence in the creation of a community, after all it was primarily for work that a migrant moved to a new area and the employer had a vested interest in providing a stable community with amenities for their employees to live in and become part of, discouraging the need to move. As Robin stated, a major attraction to an individual and especially to a married migrant, when seeking employment was housing and housing provision is linked to the creation of a community.²²³ In Fletton both the brickyards, and to a lesser extent the railways, provided housing for their employees.

Railway Housing

The railways have been renowned for their provision of housing in order to attract married men to their employment. For example, as previously discussed, in Peterborough in 1852 the Great Northern Railway built what would become known as New England or 'The Barracks' near to the loco sheds.²²⁴ Houses were built in identical rows which symbolized the 'military discipline' that the G. N. R. wanted to

²²³ Robin, *Elmdon-Continuity*, p. 196.

²²⁴ Perrin, *New England*, p. 5. Perrin covers the history of this area very thoroughly in his study of the area.

instil in their workforce.²²⁵ What can be concluded is that although the G.N.R. ultimately provided a school, shops, Mission Hall and church, this was not without opposition by the shareholders.²²⁶ Even when the housing was provided, sanitary conditions were lacking. On 9 November 1874 Dr. Thomson was appointed Medical Officer of Health in Peterborough. On 20 August he reported that typhoid fever was endemic in the New England area and that although the Great Northern Engineers had had disinfectants supplied more steps needed to be taken. This was followed in March 1887 by an outbreak of smallpox and the G.N.R. were advised that their filter beds and drain were in an offensive state.

In New Fletton the involvement of the railway companies seems to have been even more lacking. The housing that the railways provided was minimal and was centred on the area near to the East Station. In 1901 this consisted of 11 cottages and the Eastern Station house and associated buildings. By 1911 the only addition made by new owners London North Western Railway Company were four houses at Bridge End and an additional four houses owned by Great Eastern. Apart from one property, 11 Great Eastern Railway Cottage, all the properties were rented to railway workers. As discussed, in Chapter 4 Migration, between 1901-1911 24.8% of all male workers in Fletton were employed by the railways yet the railway companies appeared to only directly provide a maximum of 19 dwellings for railway workers to use. To the eye of the modern researcher there does not appear to be any criteria applied, which is visible from the census, to how railway workers gained residence in railway owned housing as all grades of occupations were represented.

One railway migrant, who in 1901 was fortunate enough to live in railway owned housing at 8 G. E. Railway Cottages was John Allpress.²²⁷ Allpress a railway platelayer, migrated to New Fletton with his wife Harriet and son John from March, where he was also employed by the railways as a platelayer. Boarding with the

²²⁵ Steare, *Landscape*, p. 279.

²²⁶ At a director's meeting in 1854 the Chairman Mr. Edmund Denison G. N. R. requested a school and church. The shareholders objected asking if they were 'A Railway Company or a Church Extension Society'. The school was eventually agreed to but on the second debate reading in the House of Commons the bill to build a church was thrown out. It was not until 1869 that St. Pauls Church was built by generous subscription and a donation of £2000 from the Denison family.

²²⁷ RG12/1301/68, RG13/1461/7, RG14/11646/125

family was another railway platelayer, Tom Parrish. Allpress's stay in New Fletton was a stepping stone on the promotion ladder as in 1911 he had progressed to G. E. Railway Inspector in Kings Lynn, Norfolk.

A significant proportion of railwaymen would have needed to board, either overnight as part of their duties or on a permanent basis, as railwaymen often lived and worked in different areas. On the 1901 and 1911 censuses there were only two specific lodging houses recorded, the 'London North Western Lodging House' on Oundle Road and the 'Railway Lodging House' 1 Nene View, Station Road, which is pictured in plate 5.29.²²⁸ The lodging houses did not seem to attract many boarders. In 1901 there were no railway workers boarding and in 1911 just one Matthew Pitt, a brakesman, married with a birthplace of Welham, Leicestershire. As the census represents only one night it may have coincidentally been a very quiet time at the lodging house.

Alternatively, there may have been sufficient accommodation provided locally within private households so that the provision by railway companies was not necessary. Railwaymen could be found boarding with families in the Fletton area attracted perhaps by advertisements like that in plate 5.30 in the local paper. The migration narrative of Robert Mealing reveals the type of individual who opened their doors to boarders within Fletton, together with those who took advantage of this opportunity. In 1901 Mealing, a railway platelayer, from Feltwell, Norfolk, was living at 4 Bread Street, New Fletton which was privately rented.²²⁹ Mealing was assisting two of his co-workers, Harry Abbott 22 and Carey Hunter 24, both railway firemen, by providing accommodation.²³⁰ For Carey Hunter (Thomas), born in Whaplode Drove, Lincolnshire, and Harry Abbott, born Moulton, Lincolnshire, New Fletton was a step in their onward migration journey to West Ham, Essex, where they were both employed as railway engine stokers.²³¹

²²⁸ By reference to the Land Valuation this Lodging House could be owned by London and North Western Railway. The Land Valuation map is missing for New Fletton.

²²⁹ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

²³⁰ RG13/1461/40, RG12/1226/72

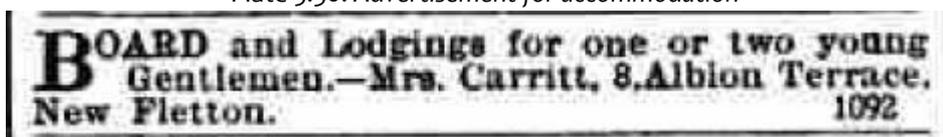
²³¹ RG14/9637/394, RG14/ 9370/325, RG11/103/92, RG14/8671

Plate 5.29: 'Railway Lodging House', circa 1930



Source: J. and V. Bull. 'Peterborough Through Time A Second Selection', p. 83.

Plate 5.30: Advertisement for accommodation



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday November 27th, 1901, p. 4.

Providing accommodation for railway workers was a welcome source of additional income for most families. However for some households the provision of accommodation appears to have been a major source of income, for example when the head of household is listed as 'lodging house keeper' or condition is 'widow'. As can be seen in table 5.20, from 1891 to 1911 those who boarded in such a household increased from 16% to 22.2%. Elizabeth Seymour, born in Sampford Courteney, Devon, was one such widow.²³² Elizabeth provided accommodation for two railway boarders John Dumitt, 56, and Sydney Orman, 23, at her home 2 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton. John Dumitt, born Boston, Lincolnshire was a railway engine iron fitter and Sydney Orman, born Romford, Essex, was a railway clerk. For Sydney Orman, Fletton was a step on his both his migration and career journey to Ipswich, Norfolk, where he became a railway station master.²³³ Elizabeth was an experienced lodging house keeper previously running a large establishment at 42 Claverton Street,

²³² RG13/1461/7

²³³ RG14/10828/193

Hanover Square, London. In 1911 she herself was a boarder at Southey Villa, Queens Walk, New Fletton.

Table 5.20: *Residence of railway worker boarders, 1891-1911*

	Total number of railway worker boarders	Boarding with co-worker		Boarding with non-railway worker		Boarding in specified house ¹	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1891	25	10	40.0	11	44.0	4	16.0
1901	40	20	50.0	17	42.5	3	7.5
1911	36	16	44.4	12	33.3	8	22.2

Note: ¹These boarders were resident in a household where taking in boarders appears to be solely for income, for example the 'head of household' is recorded as a widow. Only one household designated as L. N. W. Lodging House had boarders in 1911.

Source: CEBs 1891-1911

Railway Community

As McKenna reminds us, the railway companies did not only provide housing but were involved in every part of the railway workers lives. Activities were promoted for railwaymen so not only did they work together, perhaps live together but they also socialized together.²³⁴ Even in times of illness or disability there were funds available for railwaymen and their families drawn from either the railway companies or locally organised self -help groups. The moral well- being of the railwaymen was also important and the Railway Temperance Movement was a major force.²³⁵ Railway companies also engineered church attendance by adjusting timetables, encouraging clergy to speak to workers in the week and indicating that promotion could be gained from knowledge of church.²³⁶ There was also the Railway Mission led by Rev'd Ewart. In 1898 there were 23 full time evangelists and missionaries employed by the railways.²³⁷ The focus was very much on creating an organised well behaved community and Dennis and Daniels observed that in railway communities the hierarchy in the workplace was often replicated within the community.²³⁸

The feeling of the Fletton district officialdom echoed this desire for an ordered community. Mr. Walter Sturton applied on behalf of Emma Ellington Watts for a

²³⁴ McKenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970*, p. 42-49.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²³⁸ Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p. 210.

license to operate as a beer seller in New Fletton.²³⁹ As reported in the *Peterborough Advertiser* despite Mr. Walter Sturton professing a need for it due the expansion of New Fletton, the application was opposed by The Temperance Federation and the Peterborough Free Church Council as they felt it was not required and Emma's husband was in the employ of the railways.²⁴⁰ The desire for temperance and adherence to moral values was high in Fletton. Rev'd Hughes led the Fletton based Committee for Social and Evangelical work amongst railway and brick workers and in 1901 opened the New Coffee Tavern on the Station Approach in Yaxley.

Although the railways attracted a surge of migrant families to New Fletton the provision of services, such as a school and shops, by the railway was lacking. In June 1853 solicitor Mr Lawrence, of Fletton Tower, New Fletton wrote to the London and North Western, Eastern Counties and Midland Railways requesting a donation of £100 towards the building of a new school noting that 'The Railway Company are understood to be desirous of promoting the welfare of the persons in their employ'.²⁴¹ The land had already been donated by Earl Fitzwilliam along with a donation of £100. Mr Lawrence argued that the children were 'connected with the railways' and that the boys should be trained for 'skilled labour' and the girls should become 'useful and respectable members of society'. Furthermore he wanted the 'school to be conducted on the most liberal and comprehensive principles'. In all cases the railway boards 'respectfully declined the application' citing lack of funds which 'could be applied to such a purpose'.²⁴² It was left to churchmen, local land owners and businessmen to fund education provision in New Fletton. In the Land Valuation Survey of 1910 there was just four shops owned by the Great Eastern Railway Company and these were all situated close to the railway station at Bridge End. These were rented by Thomas Goring, H. Neaverson, Thomas Dunthorne and Thomas Mendham.²⁴³

²³⁹ Mr. Walter Sturton was the husband off Mrs. Sturton who invested in house building in New Fletton.

²⁴⁰ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, August 30th, 1899.

²⁴¹ HP28/25/1/1

²⁴² *Ibid.*,

²⁴³ Thomas Mendham was a fishmonger and lived at 50 High Street, Old Fletton and was a stayer.

McKenna observed that railway workers could be defensive of their space even viewing other railway workers as foreign.²⁴⁴ But in the absence of Railway Company input it was reliant on the workers and local influential businessmen to build a community in New Fletton. The Land Valuation Survey reveals that throughout New Fletton shops were privately rented and fulfilled a diverse range of services. To name a few, they included: a grocers on Silver Street run by Sarah Taylor, furniture stores owned and run by Mr. S. S. Stanley on Oundle Road and a bicycle repair shop on Orchard Street run by the Rimes family. The recreation ground on Oundle Road where the local community could socialize was owned and donated to the community by Hartley. The land that the Baptist Chapel was built on was donated by the Colman family and Rev'd Dowman opened the Church of England Mission Room on Glebe Road, New Fletton.

It would appear that the railway community that existed in New Fletton may have been forged not by the railway companies but by those who lived, worked and had interests there.

Brickyard housing and community

The brickyard workers were resident primarily in Old Fletton around the brick pits close to where they were employed. Originally the brickyards consisted of many small brick companies and over the years these had seen the advantage of providing their workers with housing and amenities. The extent of this provision can be ascertained from the Land Valuation Survey: Kate Craig, daughter of brickyard owner James McCallum Craig, of Dogsthorpe Grange, Peterborough owned workshops in Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton together with several houses, R. A. Gardener and R. Ellum owned houses and shops between 117 and 199 High Street, known as Persimmon Terrace, R. C. Thurley owned houses in Kings Street and James Bristow (Hicks and Co) owned Fletton Lodge and neighbouring cottages.²⁴⁵ As land became available for development it was advertised in the local paper, see plate 5.31. Local investors purchased and built on the land and it was often owned

²⁴⁴ McKenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970*, p. 41.

²⁴⁵ LVD 24.

and managed by third party agents including: J. Rowe, Eastwood Co Ltd, J and M Plowman Ltd, Bray and Co and Buck and Co.²⁴⁶

Plate 5.31: Advertisement for land for sale²⁴⁷



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday March 12th, 1898, p. 4.

However it was Hill, of London Brick, the largest brick company, who was credited with the creation of Old Fletton and who undoubtedly built more houses than anyone else both in Old Fletton and the neighbouring parish of Woodston. In 1909 London Brick Company had 340 houses on its rent roll in Fletton and Woodston and in 1901 the rent was between 3 and 4 shillings per week.²⁴⁸ It was reported in the *Peterborough Express* on 3 March 1898 that the workforce had a 'real impact on the local economy with its spending power' but they also had 'an impact on the house market'.²⁴⁹ As previously discussed Hill perhaps modelled his community on other similar developments he had witnessed. Hill contributed to the extension of St. Margarets Church and to the building of the Methodist Chapel on Fletton Avenue and even owned and financed local shops until suitable tenants could be found.

But Hill's ambitious plans were not without difficulty. The minutes of the Norman Cross District Council Meetings and local newspaper reports show that there was verbal warfare between Hill's manager Adams a parish councillor, and railway clerk George Boden concerning Hill's 'pet scheme' for widening Love Lane and the covering of the open drain to rid the area of the 'objectionable smell'.²⁵⁰ Boden stated that Adams attempts at rectifying the situation were 'poor in the extreme'

²⁴⁶ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

²⁴⁷ Mr. Dickinson was Hill's manager.

²⁴⁸ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁵⁰ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, November 13th, 1901, p. 6.

and challenged him to 'serve the interests of the parish'.²⁵¹ The condition of Duke Street was praised with its excellent road but the asphaltting of the pavement had yet to be completed. Whilst Princes Road seems to have been completely forgotten and the road and pavement were in a 'disgraceful state' and after heavy rain the 'road and paths were one sheet of water'.²⁵²

The vast numbers of brickyard workers that were required by the brickyards meant that, despite extensive housebuilding from 1891 to 1911, it was still reported in local newspapers that accommodation was in short supply. As has been explored the reality was perhaps different but contemporaries still observed that workers either had to travel into Old Fletton to the brick pits or they had to find a place to board 'wherever it existed' within the area.²⁵³ This meant that brick workers often boarded with their co-workers and there may well have been a system whereby this was arranged. As table 5.21 reveals in 1891 63.6% of all brick worker boarders were resident in households where the head was also a brick worker. This figure gradually reduced to 59% in 1901 and 54.5% in 1911. At the same time those boarding in the household of a non-brick worker increased from 27.3% in 1891 to 40.9% in 1911. There was a particular growth in formal boarding houses around 1901, where providing for boarders was the main source of a family's income. In 1901 16.9% of brick workers boarded in these households. This increase coincides with a peak time in expansion of the brickyard workforce. It is understandable that an influx of workers would need accommodation in the short term and widows and female household heads looking for a way to boost their income would meet that need.

Migration narratives can reveal much about individuals who opened their homes to assist their co-workers and who took in boarders as a way to augment their income. Individuals who this research has met before are Cyrus Noble and John Thorpe. Noble was a brickyard labourer who assisted his co-workers with accommodation. In 1901 he was living in privately rented housing at 1 Burleigh Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton, with his wife Elizabeth, and boarding with them was George

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Saturday, October 29th, 1898, p. 7.

²⁵³ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 56.

Whitelaw and John Thorpe.²⁵⁴ Noble and Whitelaw were both born in Benwick, Cambridgeshire so they or their families may have had connections to one another prior to migrating to Fletton. Thorpe was born in Littleport. Noble migrated to Fletton from Chatteris where he had been living with his brother. It may have been here that he was introduced to his wife Elizabeth or her family as her birthplace was also Chatteris. Both Noble and Thorpe exchanged the uncertain life of agricultural labour for the prospect of the regular employment that the brickyards offered. Thorpe found opportunities in Fletton that encouraged him to stay and in 1911 was resident in Hill housing at 43 Duke Street, Old Fletton. However he also retained connections with his birth parish and married Betsy who was also born in Littleport.

Bessie Rainbow provided accommodation for boarders as a means of supporting herself and her eight year old daughter Alice.²⁵⁵ In 1901 she was living in Peterborough Road, Nr the Church, Old Fletton and boarding in the household were three brickyard labourers George Tate, William Thomas and Alfred Manton. Bessie did not remain in Fletton but evidently had an eye for an opportunity as in 1911 she was recorded as a small shopkeeper in a busy village known for its coal mining, Selston, Nottinghamshire.²⁵⁶ Interestingly George Tate, one of Bessie's Fletton boarders is still boarding in her household so must have migrated with her. For all three boarders Fletton was only a brief stop on a longer migration journey as all had left Fletton by the 1911 census.

Table 5.21: Residence of brick worker boarders, 1891-1911

	Number of brick worker boarders	Boarding with co-worker		Boarding with non-brick worker		Boarding in specified house ¹	
	No	No	%	No	%	No	%
1891	11	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1
1901	71	42	59.0	17	23.9	12	16.9
1911	22	12	54.5	9	40.9	1	4.5

Note: These boarders were resident in a household where taking in boarders appears to be solely for income, for example the 'head of household' is recorded as a widow.¹

Source: CEBs 1891-1911

²⁵⁴ RG13/1460/67, RG12/1300/48, RG12/1299/98, RG14/8670/142. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

²⁵⁵ RG13/1460/45, RG14/20371

²⁵⁶ <http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/articles/doubleday/selston1.htm> (Accessed 30/3/2017)

Influential individuals

By providing housing and amenities the brickyard and railway companies were offering a commitment to their employees and expected it to be repaid by dedicated work and a certain standard of behaviour in the employee's private lives. Donnachie commented that a measure of being part of the community was the adherence to the community expectations 'often instilled... via the influential community members'.²⁵⁷ To achieve this, in some communities, it could be the same individuals that held influential positions in both the workplace and community and this was evident in Fletton.

The St. Margaret's Parochial Church Council dealt with issues such as burial, lighting and distribution of alms.²⁵⁸ Between 1889 and 1900 the Church Council was heavily influenced by brickyard owners, Arthur Itter, Richard Gardener, James Bristow and Edward Dickinson, business owners Herbert Colman and railway officials Henry William Page, see plate 5.32.²⁵⁹ These men were all resident in Fletton so not only were they influential in the lives of their employees at work they were a constant daily presence in the community as well. For example the landlord of Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton, Richard Gardener, had a pound of tea delivered each Christmas to each household 'with the landlord's compliments'.²⁶⁰

Hill, although not living in Fletton, influenced daily life as well as he directly supported church, chapel and school and sat on the Fletton Urban District Council and Huntingdonshire County Council.²⁶¹ Hill's father and mother, Robert and Elizabeth Hill, lived in Fletton and were his constant presence in the community and his sister taught at the school.²⁶² Hill's 'strongly paternalistic'²⁶³ nature led him at

²⁵⁷ I. Donnachie, 'Work and Community: Changing Occupational Roles', in J. Golby (ed.), *Studying Family and Community History: 19th and 20th Century. Communities and Families* (Open University, 1994), p. 68.

²⁵⁸ St. Margarets Vestry Minute Books

²⁵⁹ RG12/1226/54, RG12/1226/54, RG12/1226/46, RG12/1226/47, RG12/1226/44, RG12/1226/35. Richard Gardener married to Clara Bristow, James Bristow's daughter. Herbert Colman was the son of Samuel Crakenthorpe Colman founder of Cadge and Colman mill.

²⁶⁰ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 11.

²⁶¹ *The British Clayworker*, April 15th, 1915, p. 8.

²⁶² RG13/1460/72

²⁶³ Schwitzer, 'A London developer', p. 7.

Christmas to provide a 'feast' for all the school.²⁶⁴ He also provided his workers with an annual day's outing to the seaside at Yarmouth.²⁶⁵

Plate 5.32: Edward Dickinson, circa 1891



Source: Private possession of Julian Baldwin

Religion was important to many of these men of influence and their presence at chapel was especially important. Both Hill and Itter were religious men, Hill a 'rigid Presbyterian' and Itter a Methodist.²⁶⁶ They were conscious of the community having good moral values and a basic education. Hill, in his address to the Fletton Council School at the annual prize giving in 1908, praised the diligence of mothers in getting the children up and ready for school clean and smart. Itter echoed these opinions believing that children should be sent to school 'regularly and clean' but it was not enough to learn the 3 R's, at home they should 'also be taught the 3 M's, morality, method and manliness, and in addition they should be brought up in the knowledge of god'.²⁶⁷

Hill certainly took pride in his achievements at Fletton. At the Fletton Council School, Old Fletton Annual Prize Giving in December 1908 he commented that the London County Council had set aside £10,000.00 to feed hungry children as the

²⁶⁴ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 7.

²⁶⁵ Schwitzer, 'A London developer', p. 7.

²⁶⁶ Hillier, *Clay that Burns*, p. 57.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

council had heard that Fletton was ‘going to the wall’ and ‘everyone was going to be starved out’ but as he looked around at the children sitting before him he knew by their ‘clean appearance’ that this was not the case. He went on to say that he was proud of the school that he initiated which had become ‘a centre of life and learning in the district’.²⁶⁸

Politics at all levels seems to have occupied the interests of influential residents and allowed them to shape the community they lived in. In 1901 Mr. Hunting opposed Adams candidature for public office by ‘shrewdly suspecting’ that Hill was fighting the seat through his manager. Mr. Hunting compared Adam to a mechanical doll saying that if Hill pushed a button Adam would jump up and ‘mechanically respond’.²⁶⁹ In 1905 there was the first annual meeting of the Fletton, Woodston and Stanground Liberal Association held at the council school.²⁷⁰ In attendance were some familiar names including: Messrs A. Adams, E. Dickinson, J. Thurley and J. C. Hill of London Brick, A. Farrow of Farrow's Canning factory and Mr Coleman of Cadge and Colman. In June 1910 Dickinson was appointed chairman of the Fletton Urban District Council, most likely acting in Hill's interests, and was therefore ex officio a Justice of the Peace for the Norman Cross Division of Huntingdonshire.²⁷¹

Culture, Religion and Community

As has been seen, as the third and fourth aim of this research has been addressed, many factors impacted on persistency and resulting creation of community. But the creation of community relies on more than where an individual worked, the school they or their children attended and the physical space in which they lived. Also influential, and potentially more important, in the creation of community were cultural activities, religion and how leisure time was spent.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Schwitzer, 'A London developer', p. 7.

²⁶⁹ *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday, September 11, 1901 p. 5.

²⁷⁰ *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, Friday April 7, 1905. Earlier in this chapter the Hunting brothers were discussed.

²⁷¹ *The Grantham Journal*, Saturday, June 11, 1910, p. 4. It was reputed that Hill was disappointed that he never held this position.

²⁷² Education in Fletton is discussed in Chapter 2 Fletton: Place and Innovator and earlier in this chapter.

Culture and Community

Records so far accessed such as newspaper reports, photographs, diaries and minute books, hold little personal information but what is revealed is that those who lived in Fletton did have the opportunity to come together as a community, which would have engendered feelings of belonging, unity and loyalty.

The bakehouse was the place where communal baking took place giving wives a chance to get together to share news and forge friendships. On a Sunday villagers could be seen 'toddling down to the bakehouse' with their joint in a covered tin.²⁷³ The local shops would have been the hub of the village community and in both new and Old Fletton the shop boys would have been a constant presence as they collected and delivered paraffin for lamps, delivered groceries, collected beer bottles and ran other errands.²⁷⁴

Sport was an important part of the community and Fletton United Football club, locally known as 'The Brickies' or 'The Posh', (plates 5.33 and 5.34) situated in the south of the village behind The White Hart public house, would have brought a wealth of visitors to the village. In addition to football traditional sporting pursuits also persisted. Rev'd Dowman purchased land for the cricket pitch and for the well-heeled Mrs. Hannah Farnsworth of Fletton House led the local Boxing Day hunt.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 9.

²⁷⁴ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood'.

²⁷⁵ Wright, 'Tales of my Childhood', p. 14. RG13/1460/56, RG12/1226/59, RG11/3415/155, RG14/8669

Plate 5.33: Fletton United FC team of 1902-1903



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 15/2/2017)

Plate 5.34: Fletton United FC team of 1906-1907



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 7/12/2017)

Other opportunities for the community to come together would have been at times of celebration where the Victoria Band would be prominent participants (plate 5.35). At the turn of the century, Wright also spoke of an Italian organ grinder, a German band and even a dancing bear visiting Fletton.²⁷⁶ Fletton also had its own horse and cattle sale and a 'mart' in March, where contacts with the wider area could be established and maintained. But the highlight of the year must have been the fair on Fletton Common in the north of the parish, on the first Wednesday and

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Thursday of October. The whole countryside would have flocked to it and the *Peterborough Advertiser* reported in 1859 that there were 37 drinking booths, 52 hardware stalls and 44 gingerbread stalls. In addition in 1864 it was reported that there was 5,000 beasts, 700 horses, 180 sheep and 75 rams. The railways brought in thousands on excursions and stalls extended right into Peterborough.²⁷⁷ This must have been a time when family members could catch up with one another and when courtship could take place, which is discussed in Chapter 6 Marriage.

Plate 5.35: *The Victoria Band, Fletton, circa 1900*



Source: <https://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk> (Accessed 15/2/2018)

Religion and Community

The presence of the church or chapel was another way that individuals were drawn together. But Tiller discovered that religion was not always a unification within a community, it could divide as well as unite and it would appear that this may have been the case in Fletton.²⁷⁸ There was the parish church, St. Margarets with it's Mission Hall or Iron church, a Baptist Chapel in New Fletton and the New Methodist Chapel in Old Fletton. In nearby Peterborough there was also a Catholic Church.

²⁷⁷ Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History*, p. 124.

²⁷⁸ K. Tiller, 'Religion in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in J. Golby (ed.), *Studying Family and Community History: 19th and 20th Century* (The Open University, 1994), p. 156.

On 30 March 1851 a religious census was taken which recorded the numbers who worshipped at 14,077 churches in the Church of England tradition and 20,390 places of worship belonging to other religious bodies.²⁷⁹ The results were bad reading for the Anglican Church and they claimed ‘foul play’ blaming high dissenting figures on special services being planned and the especially bad weather on the day.²⁸⁰ This was a view supported by Mr. Smith of New Road, Peterborough, who undertook the count of worshippers at Salem Chapel. On his return he reported ‘Owing to bad weather, and the fact we had no supply, very thinly attended, and figures would be no representation’.²⁸¹ What is revealed from the figures is that within Huntingdonshire 94.2% of the local population attended some kind of religious service.²⁸² Of these attendances 44.9% attended a Church of England service and 50.8% attended a Methodist, Independent or Baptist service.

Locally in Peterborough 9,851 individuals attended a service: Church of England 4,485, Non-conformist 5,129 and Catholic 237. Within Fletton 179 attended St. Margarets and 440 attended either the Baptist Chapel in New Fletton or the United Free Methodist in Old Fletton resulting in a total of 619 attendees. As the population of Fletton in 1851 was 603 this means that if everyone attended one service the entire population would have attended. However as the religious houses usually offered more than one service a day it is impossible to accurately calculate if someone attended more than one service. Despite this ambiguity, as Tiller maintains, this reveals that religion, no matter what form it took was an ever present force in the community, dominating an individual’s life both in public and private.²⁸³ In times of need and celebration it was religion that people turned to.

By the end of the century attendance appeared to have remained high enough to warrant the building of the extension at St. Margarets, due to ‘Fletton becoming the metropolis of the local brick industry’.²⁸⁴ In addition, as St. Margarets was at the

²⁷⁹ <https://tinyurl.com/ycfzyls4> (Accessed 2/12/2015)

²⁸⁰ Tiller, 'Religion in Nineteenth-Century Britain', p. 156.

²⁸¹ Newspaper report undated and untitled. HP28/1/7/1

²⁸² K. Tiller, 'Family, Community and Religion', in J. Golby (ed.), *Studying Family and Community History: 19th and 20th Centuries; Communities and Families* (Open University, 1994), p. 165.

²⁸³ Tiller, 'Religion in Nineteenth-Century Britain', p, 156.

²⁸⁴ Newspaper report undated and untitled. HP28/1/7/1

extremity of the parish boundary, at the east end of Old Fletton, to meet the needs of the parishioners of New Fletton in the north-west, The Mission Hall or Iron Church was built in Glebe Road.²⁸⁵ The church itself had the capacity for 270 seats and the Mission Hall 300. In 1901 122 boys and 151 girls attended Sunday school at the Mission Hall. In addition the United Methodist Chapel, where Hill laid a foundation stone (plate 5.36), must have felt confident enough to build a new chapel. Building of extensions of this nature and particularly chapels show 'substantial investment of money and time' within the community as there was no state funding available.²⁸⁶

Plate 5.36: *New Methodist Chapel and stone laid by J. C. Hill*



Source: Sadie McMullon

In St. Margarets Church there are two plaques which can be seen in plate 5.37 and 5.38, and these demonstrate the centrality of the church to those who wanted to gain influence in the community. The first commemorates the extension of the North aisle built at St. Margarets and dedicated on 25 September 1901. This was funded by 'offerings of people of the parish' but primarily by Hill, whose 'gestures were made on a grander scale than most', to accommodate the expanding population caused by the expansion of the brickyards.²⁸⁷ The second, is to commemorate the installation of the clock in the tower for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee 21 June 1897. The names on the plaques list individuals who were migrants to Fletton diverse in their residence and occupation and yet brought together by their desire to be integrated into influential organisations and so have

²⁸⁵ HP28/1/9/2

²⁸⁶ Tiller, 'Religion in Nineteenth-Century Britain', p. 173.

²⁸⁷ Schwitzer, 'A London developer', p. 7.

control in the community. These included: Henry Bates, see plate 5.39, William Everest Streatfield, Henry Page, Arthur Itter, Allen Simpkin and Charles Everard.²⁸⁸

Plate 5.37: Plaque commemorating enlargement of the North Aisle



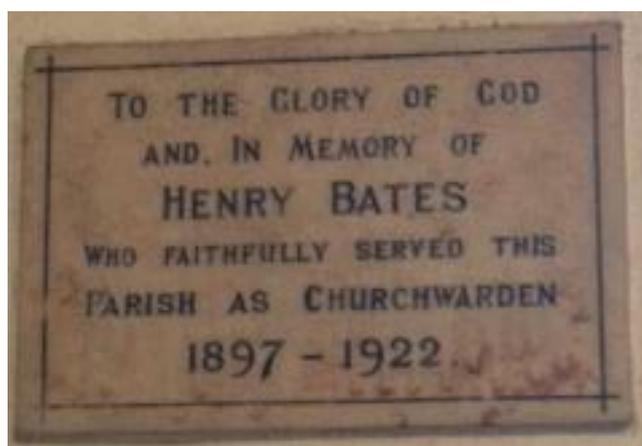
Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 5.38: Plaque commemorating installation of the clock in the tower



Source: Sadie McMullon

Plate 5.39: Henry Bates memorial



Source: Sadie McMullon

²⁸⁸ RG14/8671/211, RG13/1461/8, RG12/1228/69, RG13/1461/54, RG14/8683/101, RG12/37/12, HP28/1/7/1, RG12/1226/35, RG11/1690/59, RG10/1592/62, RG9/1120/90, HO107/1787/128, RG12/1226/44, RG11/1596/5, <http://www.aggregate.com/about-us/history/bardon-hill-quarries/> (Accessed 30/3/2017), HP28/1/7/1.

All those listed on the plaques, except Arthur Itter, held the position of churchwarden at St. Margarets so this is a select group of individuals, however migration narratives can reveal how connected their lives were within the local community, in occupation, interests, residence and family. Unfortunately it is difficult to know if the wider Fletton parishioners were diligent in their attendance at church, if they attended by choice or if their employers placed an expectation on attendance? If it was the migrants or stayers who were more inclined to attend to establish a place for themselves in the community?

In Wolverton in Bucks, in 1851, a clergyman wrote that due to movement of men 'no certainty exists here'.²⁸⁹ In an area where community was shifting what role did religion play? As a constant in a community the Anglican Church often played an important, but authoritarian role, providing schools, leadership, activities and upholding and re-enforcing accepted values. St. Margaret's, and it's representatives, would appear to have met this authoritative role within the parish, due in part to their wider commitments to the many institutions they were involved in both in Old Fletton, New Fletton and other local parishes.

Best observed that the role of the church could go beyond merely attending a service.²⁹⁰ The church, through social activities, could provide recreation, excitement and contact with the opposite sex. In fact, as Dyos stated the church could become the focus of community life.²⁹¹ Surviving records from 1891-1894 reveal that although St. Margaret's church was active within the community the activity was also limited. Parishioners could pay subscriptions into the Sick Fund, Poor Club, Parochial Club and Hospital Fund for times of difficulty. Leisure activities which the church encouraged through subscription were focused on self-improvement and moral well-being. The parish had a library with 24 members, a parish magazine with 240 subscribers and a Women's Guild with 5 members. Moral attitudes were important and the Temperance Work Club had 59 members whilst the choir boasted 20 members and there were 16 Sunday school teachers.

²⁸⁹ Tiller, 'Family, Community and Religion', p, 177.

²⁹⁰ G. B. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (Flamingo, 2008), p. 197.

²⁹¹ H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

Although these groups were in existence it has to be questioned whether they appealed more to the middle lower class elite than to the lower classes in Fletton as the numbers attending were not that large. A report in the Peterborough Advertiser records the first meeting of the Temperance Society, held in the parochial room Old Fletton, but covering the parishes of Woodston, Fletton, Yaxley, Farcet and Stanground. In attendance were clergy from the local area. Their aim was to combat the problems brought about by the population growth created by the brick industry. It was reported that extension of the Day school was proceeding apace following fundraising and attention was now focussed on the workers. Although the mission members were anxious for the workers to consider themselves not 'necessarily more drunken than others'.²⁹²

In direct opposition to the authoritarian Anglican Church Non-Conformism underwent an expansion in Fletton. On Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton there was the United Methodist Chapel with trustees from a large catchment area including: Yaxley, Whittlesey, Helpston, Stanground and Peterborough.²⁹³ Being a member of the Chapel ensured social integration between these communities. Unlike the individuals who held office in the parish church the trustees who were resident in Fletton were all workers and not influential businessmen.

Migration narratives can provide the background of three of the trustees; G. W. Bloodworth brick works clerk, John. W. Upex burner in brickfield and William Hull brick maker. In 1911 George W. Bloodworth, a brickworks clerk, was resident at 136 High Street, Old Fletton with his wife Edith and three children.²⁹⁴ Bloodworth was born in Ripon, Yorkshire and his wife Edith was born in Holme, Norfolk. Following the birthplaces of their children their step migration journey took them to Peterborough, Fletham, Middlesex and Macclesfield, Cheshire before arriving in Old Fletton. Bloodworth also exchanged the manual labour of a stonemason for the advantageous position of brick works clerk.

²⁹² *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday July 26, 1899, p. 3.

²⁹³ LVD volume 24

²⁹⁴ RG14/8670/64, RG13/3314/15. 136 High Street was named 'Southwood' the same name as Hill's house in London.

In 1901 and 1911 John Upex, a brickyard labourer and then a brick burner, was resident with his wife Emma, and sons Edmund and Percy, at 15 Princes Road, Old Fletton which he had purchased.²⁹⁵ To have family around him must have been important to Upex, as he followed his father William, a railway platelayer and brother Wilby, a brick machine manager, when they migrated to Old Fletton from Farcet, Huntingdonshire. In Fletton they lived just a couple of doors away from each other when they purchased their own properties on Princes Road. Edmund, Upex's son, would also make his marital home locally at 81 High Street, Old Fletton. It may have been possible that Wilby assisted his brother in securing employment in the brickworks as he made the transition from agricultural labourer to brickyard labourer and then with promotion to brick burner.

In 1911 William Hull a brick maker and his wife Sarah were resident in Hill rented housing at Woodstock Villa, Duke Street, Old Fletton.²⁹⁶ Hull was born in Apethorpe, Northamptonshire and his wife Sarah was born in Kings Cliffe, Northamptonshire. They had initially migrated in 1901 to Hill rented housing at 3 St. Margarets Road, Old Fletton from Stanground. Hull was another agricultural labourer who had seen the opportunities that were available in the brickfields of Fletton.

In New Fletton the Baptist community drew together under Rev'd Barrass the charismatic leader of the Baptist Church in Peterborough.²⁹⁷ When he arrived in Fletton in 1852 the membership was 36 and by a meeting on 13 April 1885 membership totalled 522. His work was extensive and he was attributed as being the 'Nonconformist Bishop'.²⁹⁸ He served the Baptist community in Peterborough for over 50 years and in his successor's obituary was referred to as 'one of the saints of the nineteenth century'.²⁹⁹ The members raised £1,300.00 to provide an extension for their chapel on George Street, for an expanding congregation. As reported at the laying of the foundation stone, on register the chapel had 250

²⁹⁵ RG14/8670/71, RG13/1460/60, RG11/1590/82. See table 6.17.

²⁹⁶ RG14/8670/117, RG13/1460/73, RG11/1591/7

²⁹⁷ B. Jones, *The Peterborough Book of Days* (The History Press, 2014), p, 106.

²⁹⁸ A. S. Langley, 'Some notable names in Midland Baptist History', *Baptist Quarterly*, 3.6, April 1927, p. 286 https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/bq/03-6_280.pdf (Accessed 30/4/2018)

²⁹⁹ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 30th April 1913. Rev'd Henry Knee's obituary.

children for Sunday classes, but capacity for only 100 scholars, and that did not take into consideration space for adults.³⁰⁰

Like St. Margarets Church influential locals were also closely involved in the chapel. Mr H. S. Colman, of Cadge and Colmans, was a Sunday school teacher and committee member and he would later donate land for the building of a new chapel. Joseph Farrow was a Baptist. Adam Adams Hill's brickyard manager was a Wesleyan Methodist preacher and Hill and Itter shared a religious adherence to non-Conformity. Davidoff and Hall have observed that in the mid-nineteenth century there grew an association between the middle classes and 'evangelical protestant forms' of religion; attendance and membership at church or chapel became a 'social necessity' and gave the middle classes justification for their desire for status and power.³⁰¹

But as with all chapels who operate the circuit system congregation members were drawn from a wide area which resulted in a diverse chapel community.³⁰² The chapel was central to many community activities including an annual trip to Hunstanton, a flower show for the men, a weekly women's meeting and the Band of Hope for the younger members to divert them away from 'strong drink'.³⁰³

Conclusion

As discussed the definition of community should not be too restrictive and it should have real meaning. The parish of Fletton developed into two separate and distinct communities: the railway centred 'New' Fletton and brickyard centred 'Old' Fletton. As migrants arrived into Fletton, or as soon after as possible, they gravitated to these two areas. Barriers, either real or perceived, such as: the geographical landscape, provision and availability of housing, occupation, family and the presence of kin, then acted to either aid or limit integration. There was little

³⁰⁰ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 21 October 1899.

³⁰¹ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Routledge, 1987), p. 76.

³⁰² Bloodworth, 'Memories'.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

integration between the two distinct districts unless there was real benefit to be gained, such as home ownership.

Both 'New' and 'Old' Fletton held little long term attraction for unmarried males, unless they married, and for these unmarried males Fletton was only a step on a longer migration journey. It was families who found the attraction of occupation and housing a strong inducement to stay, and persistence, especially in Old Fletton, increased to create an increasingly stable community. This community attracted other family members, especially siblings, and a connection of kin became visible providing assistance with occupation and housing. In the absence of kin co-workers, in both the railways and brickyards, often acted as extended family.

Community is created by people and Fletton provided many opportunities for people to come together on a daily basis: for work, education, in worship, sport and festivals. These events provided a common ground where feelings of belonging and loyalty could be grown and developed. A critical aspect in the creation and development of community was marriage and the impact of marriage on community is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Marriage

‘man has the advantage of choice, woman only the power of refusal’.

Northanger Abbey, J. Austen⁶⁹²

~

Introduction

Alongside migration the other thread that should be considered in the creation of community is marriage. Marriage had the power to unite, integrate, segregate and move individuals. With some acknowledged exceptions, such as an obligation where the bride is with child, marriage is largely an expression of an individual's choice. Because of this freedom of choice, Ascott and Lewis have stated, that marriage is a good indicator of the level to which migrants were willing or able to integrate into the local community, or desire to remain within a known group.⁶⁹³ Richards and Robin support this view when they suggested that the most successful way to integrate seems to be by marriage.⁶⁹⁴ Day has further added that marriage was a females ‘best utility-maximisation strategy’ rather than employment.⁶⁹⁵ The income potential for females, from employment, was limited by ‘institutional and structural barriers’, therefore it was advantageous for a female to seek out a husband who could provide the best income in the long term, to provide for a future family.⁶⁹⁶

Any analysis of marriage has to start with a general overview of the marital community and this will enable Fletton to be placed within the national context. As Miles reminds us, context and local studies are vitally important as an enhancement to the raw statistics.⁶⁹⁷ From this useful starting point a more in depth analysis can take place. The marital choices that brides and grooms made had an impact on

⁶⁹² J. Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (Wordsworth Editions, 1992), p.74.

⁶⁹³ Ascott and Lewis, 'Motives to move', p, 101.

⁶⁹⁴ J. Richards and A. Robin, *Some Elmdon Families* (Richards, 1975), p. 33.

⁶⁹⁵ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 240.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁶⁹⁷ A. Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth- Century England* (MacMillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 35.

patterns of migration and creation of community in Fletton. Therefore it is not sufficient to only consider the couple on their wedding day. The fifth aim of this research is to consider marriage as part of a longer transaction and so place it within the broader context of the individual's journey. Central to this aim and the overarching objective of this thesis are the use of migration narratives. Migration narratives are well placed to consider the questions: What were the marriage horizons of the bride and the separation distance of bride and groom?⁶⁹⁸ Was it possible for a bride to find a groom locally or did she have to look further afield? What was the bride's circumstance prior to marriage? What impact did the occupation of the groom have on the community the newly married couple settled in? Did the origin of the groom affect the location of the first marital home and were existing connections in the community important?

Methodology

Before turning attention to the aims, objectives and key questions of this chapter the methodology of the analysis should be reviewed.

Marriage registers- context and challenge

The source that is best placed for analysing marriage is the parish marriage register. Civil registration came into existence with the Registration and Marriage Acts of 1836. Higgs describes the detail of this process but importantly this Act dictated that the clergy officiating at a marriage would keep a register of the event and submit a copy quarterly to the local superintendent.⁶⁹⁹ After the register is completed the parish was required to deposit it at the appropriate records office. As part of the marriage entry valuable information is recorded, such as: name of bride and groom, address and occupation at time of marriage, name and address of bride and groom's father and their occupation.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁸ Schürer, 'Regional Identity', p, 21.

⁶⁹⁹ E. Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil registration, censuses and the work of the General Register Office, 1836-1952* (University of Hertfordshire, Local Population Studies, 2004), p. 2.

⁷⁰⁰ Appendix D Locality of St. Margarets, Fletton Marriage Registers.

Migration narratives

Although a vital source, the marriage register has its limitations as it only reflects one point in time and taken alone is unable to provide the information required to answer many of the research questions. By carrying out record linkage longitudinal profiles can be used to create migration narratives and a more complete picture of family circumstances, surrounding a marriage can be created. But this strategy must be employed with caution. Not all absent or misleading information can be found or confirmed by record linkage and the further in time a marriage takes place away from a census year the more caution must be applied especially in terms of residence and occupation which can change over time.

Two examples highlight how useful migration narratives can be in confirming and expanding known information or piecing together unknown information. Firstly, in 1908 the marriage register lists a marriage between William James Hatfield, brickyard labourer, and Ellen Mace.⁷⁰¹ They both recorded an address of 14 Victoria Place, Old Fletton which was rented by Hill. The 1901 census records that Hatfield's brother Harry, also a brick worker, was boarding in Ellen's family home. However Ellen was not resident and a search for Ellen Mace was unsuccessful. The 1891 census reveals that Ellen was also referred to as Nellie and a new search for Nellie Mace shows that she was living in Lincoln Road, Peterborough and she was a domestic servant. The census records also show that Hatfield's place of birth was Shoreditch and Ellen's was Alconbury, Huntingdonshire. After marriage the couple lived close to Ellen's family home at 11 Victoria Place, Old Fletton. They assisted with supporting the family as resident in the household were two of Ellen's brothers, Walter and Charles, also brick workers. Secondly, in 1906 Nellie Hibbins and Joseph William Painmentor were married and in the marriage register Nellie's father was recorded as 'dec'd'.⁷⁰² By linking back to the 1901 census it is discovered that his occupation was a blacksmith foreman.

⁷⁰¹ RG13/1460/79, RG14/8669/241, RG13/1464/67

⁷⁰² RG14/8671/123, RG13/1461/39, RG13/1463/141

‘of this parish’ marriages – ‘OTP’

Two issues were found in the recording of ‘OTP’ entries in the marriage register. To be married in a parish according to the Marriage Act 1836, either the bride or groom had technically to be resident within the parish for three weeks.⁷⁰³ In the period 1891-1911 it was increasingly found that often brides and grooms were listed as ‘of this parish-OTP’ but residency could not be confirmed by reference to the census for either themselves or other family members. The links between the parish and the bride and groom were increasingly becoming more tenuous or more difficult to locate. It could be that individuals had dual residence but it could also indicate that individuals were becoming more mobile and were only temporary members of the community moving in and out without leaving a trail in the sources available.

Migration narratives together with a knowledge of the local area, people and its history are invaluable. Mabel Kathleen Hempsted, pictured in plate 7.2, married George Henry Holloway at St. Margarets Church in 1905, see plate 7.3. At the time of marriage Holloway was a telegraphist resident in Rowno Voltignie, Russia.⁷⁰⁴ Although recorded as being resident in Fletton at the time of her marriage, in 1901 Mabel was resident with her family in Hammersmith, London. Mabel’s father who is pictured with his wife in plate 7.1, was Nathaniel Hempsted and his role in the development of the Fletton brickyards is well documented by Hillier.⁷⁰⁵ Nathaniel died in 1903 in a hansom cab accident. Mabel was the niece of the brickworks manager Edward Dickinson, who was resident in Fletton in 1901. Mabel and her family must have had strong feelings for Fletton or the Dickinsons as she turned to her uncle at this important life event, although this connection seems to have been brief. George Holloway would later die in the Russian Revolution and Mabel would settle as a widow in Stoke Newington.

⁷⁰³ Act for Marriages in England 1836, 6 & 7 Wm IV, c. 85 (17 August 1836).

⁷⁰⁴ RG13/48/154, RG14/7281/125. Supporting family details provided by Julian Baldwin family member.

⁷⁰⁵ Hillier, *Clay that burns*.

Plate 7.1: Nathaniel and Mary Hempsted, circa 1880 Plate 7.2: Mabel Holloway nee Hempsted, circa 1950



Source: Personal possession of Julian Baldwin

Plate 7.3: St. Margarets Church, circa 2000



Source: Sadie McMullon

Secondly as can be seen in table 6.1 in the later years of the period analysed, 1899 to 1911, of the 'of this parish' marriages analysed 28.7% recorded the same place of residence for both the bride and groom. For the period 1901 to 1911 this accounted for 46.5% of the 'of this parish' marriages. This figure seems unlikely but the

transcriptions were checked and the accuracy and competency of the incumbent were researched and so the figure appears accurate.⁷⁰⁶

Table 6.1: Residency of 'both of this parish' marriages, 1891 -1911

Dates	All marriages	'of this parish' marriage	Same address recorded for both 'of this parish' marriage as a percentage of total both 'of this parish' marriages	
	No	No	No	Percentage
6 April 1891- 31 March 1901	160	103	7	6.8% ¹
1 April 1901-1 April 1911	184	127	59	46.5% ¹
Total	344	230	66	28.7% ¹
Note: 6 April 1891 - 16 April 1900 registers transcript by HFHS 19 April 1900 – 28 December 1901 parish register held by Huntingdonshire Archive 29 December 1901 – 1 April 1911 registers on microfiche Peterborough Archive ¹ percentage of both 'of this parish' marriages that recorded the same address for bride and groom				

Source: Marriage registers

One potential explanation why the bride and groom should record the same residence at marriage, offered by Schürer in his study of Southend-on-Sea parishes, was that the address of residency could be the couples 'home to be'.⁷⁰⁷ This is certainly a possibility, although difficult to confirm unless the newly married couple remained at the address until the next census. In the case of William Lightfoot and Minnie Quincey that confirmation is possible. Their migration narrative shows that at the time of marriage in 1905, both recorded their place of residence as 23 Park Street, New Fletton.⁷⁰⁸ Minnie was a widow in 1901 and was recorded as 'head' at this privately owned and rented address with her 4 year old son Thomas.⁷⁰⁹ At this time Lightfoot was resident only a few doors away at privately owned and rented 11 Park Street, New Fletton with his family. By 1911 the newly married couples address can be confirmed as 23 Park Street, New Fletton. Lightfoot's recording of 23 Park Street, New Fletton as his residence, at the time of marriage, could be explained by his parents change in circumstances which meant that he moved into the marital home. Lightfoot's father John's death was recorded in 1906, in the Peterborough

⁷⁰⁶ HP28/1/7/1 – See Appendix D Locality of St Margarets, Fletton marriage registers.

⁷⁰⁷ K. Schürer, *Marriage Register Analysis of a Nineteenth century Resort*, Occasional Paper, Bedford College, University of London (1982), p.6.

⁷⁰⁸ RG13/1461/16, RG14/8671/325, RG14/8675/33

⁷⁰⁹ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

registration district so perhaps Lightfoot's parents had moved away, potentially to Jauncey's Yard in Peterborough, where Sarah was residing in 1911 with her son Isaac, a coal porter.

Another potential explanation could be that the groom was boarding in the household of the bride's family at the time of marriage.⁷¹⁰ Henry Langley married Matilda Rowell in 1901. Langley was a boarder in the Rowell's family home, brickyard rented Rowell Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton. Matilda was in service at the time in Bedfordshire but would have returned home often enough for a courtship to take place.

However even with record linkage there are many instances where it is just not obvious why the bride and groom would record the same residence at the time of marriage as the groom and his family were either living in Fletton or a neighbouring parish or there seems no apparent explanation why either party should be in Fletton according to records available.

Recording of occupations

Migration narratives can also provide a fuller picture of the bride and groom's occupation at the time of marriage. In the marriage register there is an under recording of bride's occupations. In several instances on the census records the bride's occupation was recorded but this was absent from the parish marriage register. When using the recorded occupation of groom, father and father-in-law it is worthwhile remembering the occupation given in the marriage register is only a snapshot of a point in a man's occupational life. A groom would most likely not have achieved his ultimate employment potential or 'destination' in comparison to his father or father-in-law who may be at their peak of their employment career or

⁷¹⁰ RG13/1460/68, RG13/1490/18

indeed in decline.⁷¹¹ But according to Miles 'the basic framework of class relationships remained intact across the life course'.⁷¹²

Absent marriages

During this period the parish marriage registers would not include all marriages that took place involving Fletton residents. Men may have left Fletton to marry in the bride's parish, ceremonies may have taken place in the Registry office, in the Catholic Church or at the Non-Conformist Chapels. These marriages would have been entered in the civil registers, but the index to the registers records minimal details. Despite contacting local records offices and those with specialist knowledge of the retention of Catholic and non-Conformist records, none have been traced so other methods have to be employed to ascertain what numbers might be involved and what impact there may be on the analysis.⁷¹³

Miles has concluded that by 1914 the non-Conformist congregation may have accounted for 40% of the population.⁷¹⁴ The evidence of expansion and construction that is witnessed in Fletton demonstrates that the non-Conformist congregation was thriving, and conforms with Snell and Ell's findings that non-conformity could be found in areas with rapid population growth rates.⁷¹⁵ However Obelkevich has also commented that despite a move towards non-Conformist attendance, for the major life milestones a return to the local parish church was often made.⁷¹⁶ Despite the limitations that the lack of Non-Conformist records pose between 1891 and 1911, a total of 327 marriages from the parish marriage register were analysed in a variety of ways so this should be a good indicator of trends and patterns.

⁷¹¹ D. Vincent 'Mobility, bureaucracy and careers in early-twentieth-century Britain', in A. Miles (ed.) *Building European Society-Occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 213.

⁷¹² Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 115.

⁷¹³ A discussion on the growth of religion can be found in Chapter 5 Integration and Community.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷¹⁵ K. D. M. Snell and P. S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalem: The Geography of Victorian Religion*, (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 5.

⁷¹⁶ J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875*, (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 46-61.

Marriage market and horizons

Central to the writings of Austen, the Brontë's and other middle-class nineteenth century writers was the desire of a bride to find a suitable marriage partner. Fletton was not inundated with 'young ...[men]... of large fortune'⁷¹⁷ and yet the same concerns remained true that most young females were in search of a partner and for them the marriage market was a reality. An unmarried female seeking a partner only had limited strategies available. She could either move to seek work and or a partner, or remain in her own parish. Day argues that females found it necessary to move to where there were economically attractive males in order to marry.⁷¹⁸ A females marriage horizon could be affected by the availability and choice of an eligible partner, by a barrier whether that be physical, cultural established and handed down from generation to generation, economic or a residential limitation, such as can be witnessed in an occupational mining or railway community.⁷¹⁹ After marriage the couple would then have to integrate and establish a home within an existing or new community.

Explanation of distance

The distances that were decided upon for the analysis of marriage horizons were based on how far it was practical for a man to walk or cycle, after a day's work, to court their bride. Perry asserted that if a man was on foot then 5 or 6 miles was perhaps the limit for frequent visits, but this would increase to 12 miles if the suitor had access to a bicycle and 'a paved highway'.⁷²⁰ The Stanley safety bike was launched in 1885 but this innovative mode of transport was expensive. In 1892 an advertisement in *Cycling* promised a Humber no 11 for £15.⁷²¹ Therefore a bicycle was not an item that could be purchased without considerable saving. However there

⁷¹⁷ J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (Wordsworth Classics, 1992), p. 11.

⁷¹⁸ Day, 'Leaving Home'.

⁷¹⁹ Constant, 'Geographical background', p.79. Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship*, pp. 39-42. D. Mitch 'Inequalities which every one may remove': Occupational recruitment, endogamy, and the homogeneity of social origins in Victorian England', in A. Miles and D. Vincent (eds.), *Building European society: Occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 149.

⁷²⁰ Perry, 'Working-Class Isolation and Mobility', p. 123.

⁷²¹ *Cycling*, 18 June 1892, p. 16.

developed a lucrative second hand market bringing bicycles into the reach of young bachelors prepared to work and save. In 1902, 10 years later, an advertisement in the *Peterborough Advertiser*, promised second hand cycles in good working order for between £1 and £5.⁷²² By 1911 Walter Rimes ran a bicycle repair shop from his owner-occupied house in Bread Street, New Fletton. Walter who is pictured in plate 6.5 with his family, ran the shop in addition to working for the railways. Peterborough also boasted a cycling club which was established in 1878. Walter's son Arthur Rimes, resplendent in his cycling gear in plate 6.4 was a shining light in the cycling world.⁷²³

Plate 6.4: Arthur Rimes in cycling apparel, circa 1910



Plate 6.5: Rimes family, circa 1900



Source: Private possession of Phil Bradley and James Alexander Knighton

In addition to travel by foot and bicycle courting couples could also arrange meetings by using the numerous carrier carts that travelled through Fletton on their way to Peterborough from places such as Whittlesey, Yaxley, Farcet, Huntingdon and Cambridge. For example in 1898 Yaxley carriers William Webster and Frank Arson ran six trips per week to Peterborough via Fletton.⁷²⁴ These carts would

⁷²² *The Peterborough Advertiser* Wednesday May 7th 1902, p. 4.

⁷²³ <http://peterboroughcyclingclub.co.uk> (accessed 14/9/2016). RG14/8672/87. Supporting details provided by Phil Bradley and James Alexander Knighton.

⁷²⁴

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/utills/getfile/collection/p16445coll4/id/167113/filename/186508.pdfpage/page/327> (Accessed 22/6/2017)

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/utills/getfile/collection/p16445coll4/id/167113/filename/186451.pdfpage/page/270> (Accessed 22/6/2017). In 1898, from Farcet, Robert Hales ran a daily carrier cart and

pause innumerable times along their journey for business so meeting a sweet heart would be relatively easy. An example of a horse bus can be seen in plate 6.6.

Plate 6.6: A horse bus at the Peterborough Show, circa 1900



Source: Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History*, p. 138.

As well as local transport, the impact of the railways on the mobility of individuals must be considered. Constant has stated that 'the opening of railway communication... quickly stimulated mobility and encouraged long distance movement'.⁷²⁵ Bogart, Shaw-taylor and You have observed, that on average, in 1841 there were 0.65 railway journeys per head of population, this increased to 20 plus by 1881 and by 1911 the number of journeys was 32.⁷²⁶ This mobility was encouraged by Gladstone's Railway Act in 1844, which made the provision of third-class accommodation, on at least one train per route per day, obligatory at a cost of no more than a penny a mile. In 1874 the Midland Railway abolished second-class and increased the comfort of third-class and other railway companies soon followed.⁷²⁷

Joseph Tee and John Watt's ran a carrier cart on a Wednesday and Saturday. See also Chapter 4 Migration.

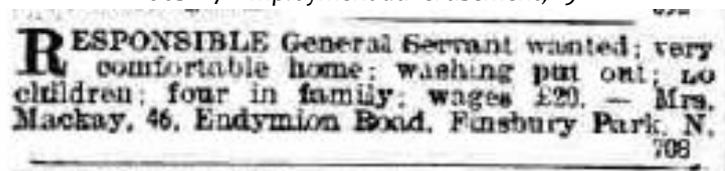
⁷²⁵ A. Constant, 'The geographical background of inter-village population movements in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, 1754-1943', *Geographical*, 33, (1948), p. 79.

⁷²⁶ D. Bogart, L. Shaw-Taylor, X. You, The development of the railway network in Britain, 1825-1911, <https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/transport/onlineatlas/railways.pdf> (Accessed 16/8/2018).

⁷²⁷ P. S. Bagwell, *The transport revolution from 1770*, (Batsford Ltd, 1974), p. 109.

The railway allowed travel for pleasure but most importantly it opened up and extended the distances and places that females could travel to to gain employment and potentially to find marriage partners.⁷²⁸ The migration narrative of Emily Timms, a ‘returned’ bride demonstrates the lure of faraway places and the value of family when moving to a new community. Emily married Charles Edward Owlett in 1896.⁷²⁹ Emily’s family lived in Village Street, Old Fletton in 1891, and her father was a brickyard labourer. Advertisements such as that in plate 6.7, could be found in the local newspapers for a range of employment opportunities in London. Emily perhaps took advantage of the rail link between East Station and Kings Cross when she sought employment as a shop woman in London and found lodgings at 10-12 Farnworth Street, St. George Hanover Square. Emily met her partner, Charles a commercial traveller in London. At the time of their marriage Charles was resident in South Tottenham but they returned to Fletton and were married at St. Margarets. After marriage the couple took advantage of family contacts and established their marital home in Hackney, London in the household of Emily’s brother-in-law.

Plate 6.7: Employment advertisement, 1902



Source: *The Peterborough Advertiser*, Wednesday May 7th 1902 p. 4.

But transport was not the only factor that affected the opportunities that potential partners had to meet or communicate with one another. By the end of the nineteenth century many workers experienced a decrease in working hours, and a half day on Saturday had become the norm, allowing greater time and opportunity for social interaction.⁷³⁰ Perry has also commented that increased literacy may have had an impact on marriage horizons, as letter writing could sustain courtship between meetings.⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ Perry, 'Working-Class Isolation and Mobility', p. 128.

⁷²⁹ RG12/72/162, RG13/214/14. See explanation below regarding 'migrant' 'returned' and 'stayer' bride.

⁷³⁰ Perry, 'Working-Class Isolation and Mobility', p. 133.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Analysis period

The period 1891-1911 was chosen for analysis as, firstly as shown in Chapter 4 Migration (fig 4.1) Fletton experienced population growth between 1891 and 1911, from 2,194 inhabitants to 4,742 and secondly, the analysis that this research addresses requires a run of data prior to marriage to enable a foundation for migration narratives to be created and the I-CeM dataset provides this.⁷³²

Exogamy and endogamy

Table 6.2: Comparison between rates of exogamy and number of marriages per annum in various study areas

Area	Period of study	No of marriages	% of exogamous partners	Mean no of marriages per annum
Otmoor, Oxon	1851-1900	137	47.4	2.7
Elmdon Essex	1853-1902	210	55.7	4.2
27 parishes, Dorset ¹	1887-1936	1240	56.3	0.9
Eastwood	1850-1899	149	39.6	3.0
Leigh	1850-1899	417	30.7	8.3
Prittlewell	1850-1899	2575	19.2	51.5
Southchurch	1850-1899	221	36.2	4.4
Fletton	1891-1901 ²	163	40.5	16.3
Fletton	1901-1911 ³	178	36.0	17.8

Note: 1911 has only four marriages analysed before census date
 Areas were chosen with similar date ranges to Fletton study period
¹This study only includes labouring classes.
²The period 1891-1901 includes marriages between 5th April 1891 and 31st March 1901.
³The period 1901-1911 includes marriages between 1st 1901 and 2nd April 1911.

Source: Schürer, 'Marriage Register Analysis'. CEBs. Fletton Parish Register.

The impact of seeking a partner from out of the parish, either by necessity or desire, is seen in the exogamy rates and at this point it is useful to view Fletton's exogamy rates within the wider national picture. From an extensive table, produced by Schürer, a variety of study areas have been selected that cover the Fletton marriage study period 1891 to 1911 and can be referred to in table 6.2, above.⁷³³ The drawback of these figures is that they cover just one time span whereas the advantage of the Fletton figures is that they cover two consecutive timespans so a trend becomes visible. In addition the data for the 27 Dorset parishes includes only the labouring

⁷³² The period 1891-1901 includes marriages between 5th April 1891 and 31st March 1901. The period 1901-1911 includes marriages between 1st 1901 and 2nd April 1911.

⁷³³ Schürer, 'Marriage Register Analysis', p. 18.

classes whereas the other analysis, including Fletton, covers all classes. The parishes of Eastwood and Otmoor are quite rural whereas Fletton is increasingly urban. However if these differences are borne in mind the analysis is still instructive. The exogamy rate for Fletton males and females 1891 to 1901 is 40.5% and for 1901 to 1911 decreases to 36%. This appears to be comparable with other more rural study areas such as Eastwood where 39.6% of marriages had exogamous partners and less than Otmoor, Oxon where 47.4% of all marriages had exogamous partners.

Table 6.3: Exogamous marriages, 1891-1911

Year	Total No of marriages	% of exogamous marriages		
		Female	Male	Total exogamous
1891	12		33.0	33.0
1892	12		38.5	38.5
1893	15		60.0	60.0
1894	10	20.0	50.0	70.0
1895	13		69.0	69.0
1896	18	5.5	44.4	50.0
1897	11		18.0	18.0
1898	20		30.0	30.0
1899	24		29.0	29.0
1900	28	3.6	25.0	29.0
1901	19		31.6	31.6
1902	20	10.0	30.0	40.0
1903	17	11.8	29.4	41.0
1904	23		30.4	30.4
1905	22	9.1	36.4	45.5
1906	15	13.3	33.3	46.6
1907	22	9.1	31.8	40.9
1908	19		10.5	10.5
1909	18		16.6	16.6
1910	18	11.1	38.8	50.0
1911	4		50.0	50.0
Note: Yearly figures of exogamous grooms as a percentage of total marriages. 1911 are not representative as only 4 marriages analysed prior to the 1911 census date				

Source: Parish marriage register

In Snell's study covering the period 1700-1837, involving 18,442 marriages over eight counties, he observed that there was a relationship between the population size of a parish and the percentage of exogamous marriages.⁷³⁴ As the population increased the percentage of exogamous marriages decreased and so endogamous marriages increased. With improved transport links it could be expected that individuals would be able to travel further to seek a partner. But in Fletton, as Snell

⁷³⁴ Snell, *Parish and belonging: Community*, p.199.

predicted, with an increase in the population, due to migration, the exogamous marriages decreased. Schürer, however, warns against comparing figures from two different time-spans and also over long periods of time, as this might conceal fluctuations.⁷³⁵ This apprehension is borne out in Fletton, as looking only at the general trend conceals years where rates of exogamy were either abnormally high or low. As shown in table 6.3, above, in 1894 the exogamy rate was at a high of 70% and in 1908 a low of 10.5%.

Bride ‘stayer’, ‘migrant’, ‘returned’

Table 6.4: ‘Stayer’, ‘migrant’, ‘returned’ bride

Bride’s status	1881	1891	1901	Entry in marriage register
stayer	S	S	S	married June 1907 ‘OTP’
stayer	M or not listed on Fletton census	M	S	married June 1907 ‘OTP’
migrant	Not listed on Fletton census	Not listed on Fletton census	M	married June 1907 ‘OTP’
migrant	M or S	Not listed on Fletton census	M	Married June 1907 ‘OTP’
returned	-	-	Family listed on Fletton census, bride does not appear on Fletton census	Married June 1901 ‘OTP’

Note: The table gives examples how a female can be a ‘stayer’, ‘migrant’ or ‘returned’ bride with a marriage date of June 1901. Birthplace does not affect subsequent status of the bride.

Source: CEB 1851-1911

As can be seen in table 6.4 (above), when analysing the marriage registers the Fletton brides can be attributed to three types. First there are the ‘stayers’, females who were recorded as being ‘OTP’ and who are recorded on at least one other census return as being a stayer.⁷³⁶ Second there are the ‘migrants’, females who were recorded as being ‘OTP’ in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or who were recorded on at least one other census return as being a migrant. A third group, ‘returned’, were females whose family was resident in Fletton but they themselves had moved away. As Day explained, this quitting the family home could be by ‘parental diktat’ or to maximise the chances of finding a potential partner in a new area.⁷³⁷ These females

⁷³⁵ Schürer, ‘Marriage Register Analysis’, p. 20.

⁷³⁶ For discussion about using the terms ‘stayer’ and ‘migrant’ see Chapter 3 Source and Methodology.

⁷³⁷ Day, ‘Leaving Home’, p. 249.

then returned to Fletton for their marriage ceremony. Some of these brides would subsequently make Fletton their home, some would go to the groom's parish and some would make their home elsewhere.

Marriage Horizon

The fifth aim of this research is to include marriage, alongside migration, in the study of community and to use migration narratives to consider marriage as part of a larger transaction and so place it into the broader context of the individual's life time journey. By exploring the marriage horizons of the bride several questions can be addressed including: What was the bride and groom's separation distances? What was the bride's circumstance prior to marriage? Was it possible for a bride to find a partner within their home parish or did they have to look further afield?

Table 6.5 reveals that between 1891-1901 and 1901-1911 Fletton 'stayer' brides were predominantly drawn to endogamous grooms, grooms that also resided in Fletton, 61.9% and 75%. This pattern is replicated by both 'migrant' and 'returned' brides, who for the same periods were also able to find economically eligible grooms locally in Fletton. The increasing percentages of all brides who married endogamous grooms confirms that as the Fletton population increased, due to the influx of both independent and family unmarried male migrants drawn by employment opportunities, so too did the 'pool of partners' and was sufficient enough that these brides did not find it necessary to move away from their family and home parish.⁷³⁸

One such bride who married an endogamous groom was Edith Annie Shepherd, who in 1908 married brickyard labourer Harold Joseph Lucy.⁷³⁹ Both Edith and Harold were born in Old Fletton. In 1901 Edith was living at home with her family at 35 High Street, Old Fletton and her father Thomas was an engine driver. Harold also lived at home, at Fletton Lodge, Old Fletton, and his father James was a brickyard

⁷³⁸ Schürer, 'Marriage Register Analysis', p. 20.

⁷³⁹ RG14/8669/193, RG13/1460/72, RG12/1226/62, RG13/1460/51, RG12/1226/55

labourer. After marriage the couple settled in brickyard rented housing at 191 High Street, Old Fletton, only two doors away from Edith's family.⁷⁴⁰

Table 6.5: *Marriage horizons, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911*

Distance partner travelled	'Stayer' brides				'Migrant' brides				'Returned' brides			
	1891-1901		1901-1911		1891-1901		1901-1911		1891-1901		1901-1911	
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Within Fletton	61.9	13	71.4	15	64.7	66	71.8	94	47.8	11	64.0	16
<6 miles	9.5	2	23.8	5	12.7	13	10.7	14	26.0	6	0	1
6-12 miles	14.2	3	0	0	2.9	3	0.8	1	4.3	1	0	0
12 miles +	14.2	3	4.8	1	19.6	20	16.0	21	21.7	5	32.0	8
Within 12 miles	85.6	18	90.5	19	80.3	82	84.0	110	78.1	5	60.0	15
Total marriages analysed		21		21		102		131		23		25

Note: 'Stayer'- an individual is termed a 'stayer' when they are recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were resident in Fletton on at least one census return as a stayer.
'Migrant'- an individual is termed a 'migrant' when they were recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or only on one previous census as a migrant.
'Returned'- an individual whose family are resident in Fletton but they themselves have moved away and returned for the marriage ceremony.

Source: Marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Even amongst 'stayer' and 'migrant' brides whose marriage horizons took them slightly further afield for their marriage partner, the greater percentage still found a partner within 12 miles of Fletton. Over the time period this percentage also increased from 85.6% to 95% for 'stayers' and 80.3% to 84% for 'migrants'. The fact that the majority of marriage partners were still chosen from within a 12 mile distance of Fletton meant that links with family, community and culture could be retained even when integration was taking place into the new community and so stability was created for the newly married couple, a new life could be found without cutting ties to the old. As Snell proposed, and other studies endorse, this also 'underlined... [the]... local nature of marriage'.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁷⁴¹ Snell, 'English rural societies', p. 263. R. F. Peel, 'Local Inter-marriage and the Stability of Rural Population in the English Midlands', *Geography*, (XXVII) (1942), p. 4. In Peel's study of registers from Maidwell, Lamport, Great Everdon and Farthingstone in Northamptonshire 1600 to 1900 although there was an increase in marriage partners coming from further away 'attributed to transport developments' there was still 'overwhelming localism in marriages'.

This 'local nature of marriage' meant that the percentage of 'stayer' and 'migrant' brides who by choice or necessity searched for a groom further afield, was reducing. For 'stayer' brides this reduction was quite large from 14.2% to 5% and for 'migrant' brides a slight reduction from 19.6% to 16%. These figures are comparable with other studies. Perry observed the marriage horizons of individuals in twenty seven West Dorset parishes between 1837 and 1936.⁷⁴² Perry's study differed from Fletton in that he excluded certain groupings such the middle and upper classes, certain occupations such as 'dairymen' and marriages where the bride and groom were from different social classes whereas in the Fletton analysis all marriages were included. Despite these differences the comparison is still worthwhile. Perry found that between 1897 to 1906 54% married partners from within their own parish, 80% married partners from within a 12 mile distance and 20% from further afield.

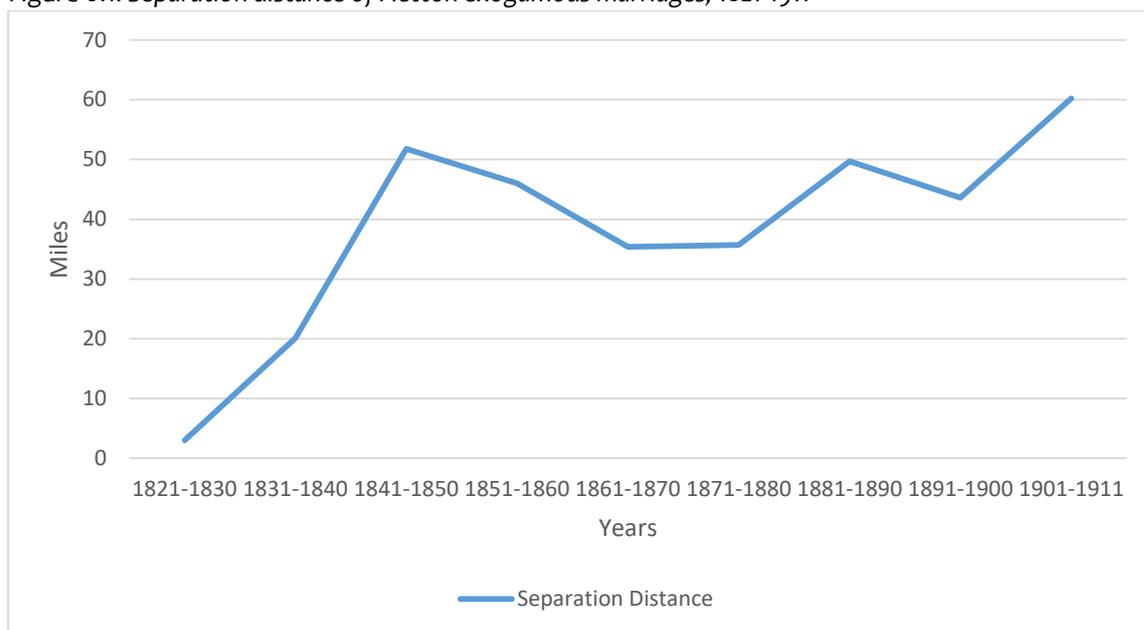
This continued ability or necessity to search further afield for marriage partners by 'stayer' and particularly 'migrant' brides may be due to the links that these individuals still had with their previous communities. In addition the combined factors of improved transport links, diverse employment opportunities and an increase in the level of literacy may have impacted on the increased separation distances. As can be seen in figure 6.1 the separation distance of exogamous marriages in Fletton increased from three miles in 1821-1830 to 60.2 miles by 1901-1911. Schürer observed a similar increase in his nineteenth century resort study, where both male and female separation distances increased from 16.1 km in 1800 to 54.4km in the 1890s.⁷⁴³ An increase in separation distances, from 2.9 miles in 1750-1843 to 12.6 miles in 1844-1943 was also witnessed by Constant, in five parishes in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴² Perry, 'Working-Class Isolation and Mobility', p. 124.

⁷⁴³ Schürer, 'Marriage Register Analysis', p, 22. This equates to 9.9 miles and 33.8 miles. In this study the increased separation distances were linked to the Southend to London railway, p. 26.

⁷⁴⁴ Constant, 'Geographical background', p. 82. Proximity to railway was important in this study.

Figure 6.1: Separation distance of Fletton exogamous marriages, 1821-1911



Source: Parish marriage register

In total there were 46 marriages where the ‘stayer’ or ‘migrant’ bride went further than 12 miles to find their groom. The migration narratives of three of these brides can reveal a broader picture of the circumstances of their marriage that with a reliance on statistical analysis would otherwise remain untold.

In 1897 Annie Lovatt Lucas, resident in Fletton, married Frederick William Wade.⁷⁴⁵ At the time of marriage Wade was resident in Scarning, Norfolk 68 miles away with his family. However a census entry reveals that in 1891 Wade’s cousin Annie Lucas was visiting the family in Scarning. Annie’s marriage horizon was therefore not chosen randomly but determined by family connections resulting in a marriage to her cousin.

In 1909 Amy Gilbert, resident in Fletton, married Arthur Ernest Plumb.⁷⁴⁶ At the time of marriage Plumb was resident in Derby. Both Amy’s and Plumb’s families were resident in privately rented housing at 16 and 18 Park Street, New Fletton.⁷⁴⁷ It

⁷⁴⁵ RG12/1555/86

⁷⁴⁶ RG14/20886

⁷⁴⁷ Amy’s family address is assumed to be the same as her place of residence at the time of marriage. In the previous census 1901 it was Ivy House, Elm Street, New Fletton which is near to Park Street, New Fletton. See Appendix B The Development of New and Old Fletton.

would seem that Plumb a wagon builder, had moved to Derby to seek work before marrying, and thereby securing their future. So rather than Amy seeking a groom from 79 miles away she was actually courting her former next door neighbour.

Rose Martin married Charles Kingston in 1902 and at the time of marriage Kingston was resident in Hove, Sussex.⁷⁴⁸ Kingston was born in Parson Drove and by 1901 he was a baker manager boarding at his place of employment in Park Street, New Fletton. Kingston was evidently drawn to Fletton by the new opportunities that could be found there including, it would seem, his future bride. Rose did not have to travel 153 miles away to seek a groom as Fletton's opportunities brought her groom to her. Kingston then sought greater opportunities that were available in Hove and returned to Fletton to marry his bride before returning back to Hove with Rose to begin married life.

Plumb and Kingston's example is replicated through several Fletton families. Both had moved away from Fletton taking advantage of links they had, to gain employment and housing and so establish a new life before returning to Fletton to marry their bride. In these cases separation distances are misleading as courtship was already established in Fletton prior to the groom moving away.

Day views exogamous marriages as being economically driven, but an analysis of the unmarried female migrants in Fletton would suggest otherwise. The evidence indicates that females did not migrate to Fletton following a male migration flow, in order to find a groom, as Day suggested.⁷⁴⁹ Of the brides, where record linkage was successful and who married in Fletton, it would appear that they migrated to Fletton as part of a family prior to finding a groom, not alone in order to seek employment and a husband.

But unmarried migrant females were not idle, many gained employment locally like Amy Gilbert who was a tailoress. As can be seen in table 6.6 in 1891-1901 31.5% of unmarried migrant females who married an exogamous groom worked prior to

⁷⁴⁸ RG14/5196/401, RG12/1303/102, RG11/1694/125, RG13/1461/4, RG12/1226/73

⁷⁴⁹ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250.

marriage and by 1901-1911 this had increased to 56.8%. In contrast as can be seen in table 6.7, for migrant brides who had an endogamous groom this figure was 35.5% in 1891-1901 only increasing to 37.3% by 1901-1911.

Other unmarried females like Rose Martin may not have employed outside the home, but may have assisted in household tasks. Rose was the eldest of six children, four of whom worked hard and long days as general labourers and a groom. As Day commented if finances were favourable then the unmarried female might enjoy leisure while being supported by her family.⁷⁵⁰ The experience of Fletton brides supports Day's argument that there did not appear to be a great need or desire for daughters, in these instances, to be exited from the household any earlier than their own desire, providing that the relationship of co-existence was mutually beneficial and that the daughter was contributing in some way to the family economy.⁷⁵¹

The migration narrative of the only bride, Sarah Sismey, who migrated to Fletton as an independent unmarried female migrant and subsequently married reveals her family circumstances.⁷⁵² Sarah and her sister Harriet were born in Black Drove Thorney daughters of Edmund, a shepherd, and Susan. In 1901 both sisters made the journey to Fletton and became domestic servants. Sarah was a domestic servant for Henry Pank, a solicitor's clerk, and Harriet was a domestic servant for Henry Bates, a farmer for Farrows. Sarah married endogamous groom Alfred Sutton in 1904. Sutton, like her father was a shepherd and they returned to Sarah's home community of Thorney to establish their first marital home.

Contrary to Day's argument, those few unmarried females who did migrate to Fletton, attracted by the possibility of gaining employment, tended not to subsequently marry in Fletton.⁷⁵³ Rather Fletton was a stepping stone to their ultimate destination. Harriet Sismey did not find a marriage partner in Fletton, in 1911 she was a domestic servant at 152 Broadway, Peterborough. Similarly Ellen

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁷⁵² RG13/1461/12, RG14/8719/59, RG13/1461/8, RG14/8683/24

⁷⁵³ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250.

Browning who was born in Helpston, Northants, only spent a short time in Fletton.⁷⁵⁴ In 1891 at the age of 16, she was recorded as a domestic servant in the household of Johnathan Bodger, timber merchant manager and by 1901 she had moved to Rastrick, Yorkshire and was a domestic servant for Harry Kirby, a licenced victualler.

Table 6.6: Circumstance of 'Migrant' bride prior to marrying an exogamous groom, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911

	1891-1901		1901-1911	
	No	%	No	%
Work prior to marriage	15	31.5	21	56.8
Home prior to marriage	16	33.3	11	29.7
Unknown	17	35.4	5	13.5
Total marriages analysed	48		37	
Note:				

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

Table 6.7: Circumstance of 'Migrant' bride prior to marrying an endogamous groom, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911

	1891-1901		1901-1911	
	No	%	No	%
Work prior to marriage	26	34.2	41	37.3
Home prior to marriage	27	35.5	38	34.5
Unknown	23	30.2	31	28.2
Total marriages analysed	76		110	
Note:				

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

When conducting such an analysis, it is misleading and unwise to always think of brides and grooms who were resident in Fletton prior to marriage as settled in the parish assuming they 'belonged' to that parish.⁷⁵⁵ To marry in a parish one party, bride or groom, only had to be resident in the parish for three weeks. There are numerous instances where both the bride and groom appear to have no obvious long-term connection to Fletton itself. For example, Henry Harbor married Mary

⁷⁵⁴ RG12/1226/35/1, RG13/4117/7

⁷⁵⁵ Snell, *Parish and belonging: Community*, p. 162. More detailed record linkage would be required to ascertain if these marriage partners had any link to the Fletton parish that is not immediately evident. This would be a time consuming exercise.

Ann Briggs on 27 May 1901 and on their marriage certificate they were both resident in Hill housing at 18 Princes Road, Old Fletton. Only a few months earlier both bride and groom were recorded as being resident in Retford, Nottinghamshire.⁷⁵⁶ Harbor, a coal merchant's son, was resident with and employed by his family at 29, 31 and 33 Woolpack Street, North Retford, Nottinghamshire, whilst Mary Ann was living with her family at 9 East Street, East Retford, Nottinghamshire. By 1907 the family had emigrated to Canada with Harbor's father, see plates 6.8 and 6.9. But the birthplaces of their children reveal an unusual migration journey with Peterborough playing a central role. Just four months after Harbor and Mary's marriage their first son Charles was born in Peterborough. This was followed by the birth of their daughter Mary Ann in 1904 in Retford and then in 1906 the birth of their second daughter Beatrice in Peterborough. Perhaps as a coal merchant's son Harbor and Mary's visits to Peterborough were work related.

Plate 6.8: *Edward and Mary Ann Harbor, circa 1910*⁷⁵⁷ Plate 6.9: *Henry and Mary Ann Harbor, circa 1950*



Source: Personal possession of Kathleen Dimsdale

One group of brides not discussed in detail yet are the 'returned' brides. The Fletton 'returned' brides search for a marriage partner took a different path as the bride had already moved away and made connections in a new community, perhaps in

⁷⁵⁶ RG13/3119/19, RG13/3121/66. Year: 1916; Census Place: Manitoba, Brandon, 21; Roll: T-21925; Page: 1; Family No: 4

<http://www.ourroots.ca/page.aspx?id=933607&qryID=e191689e-a9a6-4498-84c9-c167bf8385b3> (Accessed 14/8/2017)

⁷⁵⁷ Henry's parents

pursuit of work or a partner or both. As can be seen in table 6.5 not surprisingly, in both time periods, out of all three groupings, fewer 'returned' brides found a partner within 12 miles of their home parish, 78.1% 1891-1901, reducing to 60% for 1901-1911. It is also the 'returned' brides whose marriage horizons meant that for 1891-1901 21.7% of grooms came from more than 12 miles away increasing to 32% for 1901-1911. What is surprising is that despite the fact that the 'returned' brides had moved away from home, between 1891-1901, 47.8% of brides found their partner within their home parish of Fletton and by 1901-1911 this had increased to 64%, their migration away from Fletton being only a temporary sojourn. This perhaps demonstrates that connections the 'returned' brides made with the new parish were not as strong as those she had with her home parish, and were potentially very temporary in nature.

Migration narratives can again reveal the circumstances surrounding these marriages. 'Returned' bride Catherine Belson, who can be seen in plate 6.10, was in 1891 a live in domestic servant in Peterborough.⁷⁵⁸ In 1896 she married Arthur White, who is pictured in uniform in plate 6.11, a brickyard labourer who lived with his family in Gladstone Cottages, Queens Road, Old Fletton. Belson's father George was also a brickyard labourer. Catherine returned to Old Fletton to marry the groom she courted before she moved away. Their first marital home was Belsize Avenue, in the neighbouring parish of Woodston which was Hill owned and rented housing.

Plate 6.10: *Catherine Belson, circa 1900*



Plate 6.11: *Arthur White, circa 1914*



Source: Private possession of Chris Beighton

⁷⁵⁸ RG13/1460/66, RG13/1460/101, RG12/1231/24

Onward journey

Understanding where marriage partners came from prior to marriage, is only a small part of a longer journey. As already discussed the fifth aim of this research is to consider marriage as part of a longer transaction and so place it into the broader context of the individual's lifetime journey. Part of this lifetime journey is to identify where newly-married couples settled after marriage: the bride's home parish of Fletton, another community where the couple had pre-existing family or economic links such as the groom's parish, or somewhere with no obvious connection. In doing this two connected questions can be addressed: What impact did the occupation of the groom have on the choice of community the newly married couple settled in? and were other existing connections they may have had in the community important?

Because the groom's employment was a major deciding factor in where the marital home would be, the three groupings 'stayer', 'migrant' and 'returned' brides were further divided dependant on whether the groom was endogamous at the time of marriage or exogamous.

Initially the couple's first marital home was located by referring to the first census after their marriage. But it became clear that residence at the census after marriage was not always an accurate measure of the couple's first marital home. A wider range of sources were required and information within those sources needed to be utilised.⁷⁵⁹ Therefore a couple's first marital home could only be accurately established by referring to migration narratives. A good example of this was Elijah Daniels and Maggie Rosetta Rowell.⁷⁶⁰ Daniels a brickyard labourer, married Maggie on 22 October 1901 and in 1911 their residence was 8, Claypit Terrace, Farcet. But using the children's birthplaces it is revealed that the couple's first marital home was Old Fletton. Their eldest daughter was born two years after their marriage in Old Fletton, followed by the birth of Arthur three years later in Stanground and

⁷⁵⁹ For marriages after 1901 the WW1 servicemen's records were also used to locate the couple's place of residence where it was not traceable on the 1911 census.

⁷⁶⁰ RG14/8663/77

finally their daughter Constance was born three years after that in Farcet. It would appear that the family were moving with Daniel's employment from brickyard to brickyard.

As shown in table 6.8, for the period 1891-1901, in all three groupings of brides, where the groom was endogamous there was a greater possibility of the couple's first marital home being within the parish, 38.5% for 'stayer' brides, 36.4% for 'migrant' brides and 54.5% for 'returned' brides. This suggests that the grooms had taken advantage of the opportunities that Fletton offered and were settled in their employment prior to marriage. It also suggests that although the 'returned' brides had moved away from home for employment they retained links with their home community and were returning home to marry a 'local boy'.

Table 6.8: Destination of newly married couples, 1891 -1901

Distance to first marital home	'Stayer' brides with endogamous grooms		'Stayer' brides with exogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with endogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with exogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with endogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with exogamous grooms	
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Within Fletton	38.5	5	-	0	36.4	24	8.3	3	54.5	6	16.6	2
<6 miles	23.1	3	25.0	2	33.3	22	13.8	5	27.3	3	50.0	6
6-12 miles	-	-	25.0	2	3.0	2	19.4	7	-	-	16.6	2
12 miles +	23.1	3	25.0	2	18.2	12	50.0	18	9.0	1	16.6	2
Within 12 miles	61.6	8	50.0	4	72.7	48	41.5	33	81.8	9	83.2	10
Unknown	15.4	2	25.0	2	9.1	6	8.3	3	9.0	1	-	-
Total marriages analysed		13		8		66		36		11		12

Note: 'Stayer'- an individual is termed a 'stayer' when they are recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were resident in Fletton on at least one census return as a stayer.

'Migrant'- an individual is termed a 'migrant' when they were recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or only on one previous census as a migrant.

'Returned'- an individual whose family are resident in Fletton but they themselves have moved away and returned for the marriage ceremony.

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

For these particular 'returned' brides their migration was not driven by male migration, as Day had proposed, as their grooms were found in the bride's home parish.⁷⁶¹ Brides, such as Annie Lenton, who married brickyard labourer Harry

⁷⁶¹ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250.

Burton in 1900.⁷⁶² Annie was a domestic servant in Aldermans Drive, Peterborough and her family lived in Love Lane, Old Fletton. Although living with his family in a privately rented house at 2 Queens Road, Old Fletton, he had previously also lived in Love Lane, Old Fletton so the couple had been neighbours. After marriage they established their first marital home with Annie's father at Hicks and Gardener brickyard rented housing at 19 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton, which was next door to Annie's brother.

It would appear that to endogamous couples if it was not possible or desirable to remain in the couple's home parish then rather than seek assistance elsewhere, through family connections, (table 6.10) they would venture to pastures new for their first marital home: 'stayer' bride 30.8%, 'migrant' and 'returned' bride 45.5%. This could of course be due to the fact that both sets of families were based in Fletton so the couple had few connections elsewhere.

As can be seen in table 6.9 by 1901-1911, the percentage of couples, where the groom was endogamous, choosing or able to establish their first home in Fletton had increased, for the 'stayer' brides to 60% and 39.8% for the 'migrant' brides. For 'returned' brides the percentage remained fairly static at 56.3%. For the newly-married couples it must have been reassuring to remain in a familiar community with family living in close proximity to offer support, especially when children arrived. But a desire to stay in an area cannot be achieved without employment to support the family. Fletton provided this with employment in the railways and brickyards and in the new and expanding factories of Farrows Canning factory, Cadge and Colman mill and Symington corset factory.

Predictably this is in contrast to when the groom was exogamous. It is traditional for the bride to marry in her home parish, so if the groom was not resident in Fletton it would be expected that a greater percentage of couples would make their first home away from Fletton. As can be seen in table 6.8, between 1891-1901 no 'stayer' brides, and only a small percentage of 'migrant' and 'returned' brides, 8.3%

⁷⁶² RG13/1460/52

and 16.6% respectively, established their first home in Fletton, when the groom was exogamous.

Table 6.9: Destination of newly married couples, 1901-1911

Distance to first marital home	'Stayer' brides with endogamous grooms		'Stayer' brides with exogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with endogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with exogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with endogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with exogamous grooms	
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Within Fletton	60.0	9	33.3	2	39.8	37	11.4	4	56.3	9	11.1	1
<6 miles	13.3	2	33.3	2	32.3	30	20.0	7	25.0	4	11.1	1
6-12 miles	13.3	2	-	-	1.0	1	2.9	1	-	-	-	-
12 miles +	6.6	1	33.3	2	19.4	18	60.0	21	18.8	3	55.5	5
Within 12 miles	93.3	14	66.6	4	73.1	68	34.3	12	81.3	13	22.2	2
Unknown	6.6	1	-	-	5.4	5	5.7	2	-	-	22.2	2
Total marriages analysed		15		6		93		35		16		9

Note: 'Stayer'- an individual is termed a 'stayer' when they are recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were resident in Fletton on at least one census return as a stayer.
'Migrant'- an individual is termed a 'migrant' when they were recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or only on one previous census as a migrant.
'Returned'- an individual whose family are resident in Fletton but they themselves have moved away and returned for the marriage ceremony.

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

It would appear that the groom had already become established elsewhere with employment or family, to which he could then take his bride. This is confirmed when exploring the connections that the bride and groom may have had with the destination of their first marital home. As can be seen in table 6.10 between 1891-1901, the majority of 'stayer' and 'migrant' brides, where the groom was exogamous, established their first marital home where they, or their groom, had a previous family connection, 50% and 47.2% respectively. The migration narrative of Mary Heugh reveals the family connections that were important when they established their first home. Mary, a dressmaker, boarding in Queens Walk, New Fletton married George Ford a model maker from Oakham, Rutland in 1901.⁷⁶³ Ford had been living with and working for his family and it was to Oakham and to the family business of upholsterers that the newly married couple returned to establish

⁷⁶³ RG14/19386, RG13/3015/53

their home in the same street as Ford's family. In contrast the percentage of 'returned' brides, who established their first marital home where there was a family connection was lower at 33.3%. The greater majority of 'returned' brides established their first home where there was no obvious previous connection ascertainable from the records available.

By 1901-1911 Fletton increasingly provided opportunities for grooms that they could not find in their own parish. As can be seen in table 6.9 more 'stayer' and 'migrant' brides with an exogamous groom were establishing their first marital home in Fletton, 33.3% and 11.4% respectively and slightly fewer 'returned' bride couples 12.5%. But despite this increase, perhaps not surprisingly for exogamous grooms, the greater percentage of couples, in all groups, moved further than 12 miles away for their first home, 'stayer' brides 33.2%, 'migrant' brides 60% and 'returned' 55.5%.

Table 6.10: Connection between newly married couple and first residence, 1891-1901

Connection	'Stayer' brides with endogamous grooms		'Stayer' brides with exogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with endogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with exogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with endogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with exogamous grooms	
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Fletton connection¹	30.7	4	-	-	34.8	23	8.3	3	45.5	5	16.6	2
Groom/bride connection²	15.4	2	50.0	4	10.6	7	47.2	17	-	-	33.3	4
No obvious connection³	30.8	4	25.0	2	45.5	30	36.1	13	45.5	5	50.0	6
Not traceable⁴	23.1	3	25.0	2	9.0	6	8.3	3	9.0	1	-	-
Total marriages analysed		13		8		66		36		11		

Note: 'Stayer'- an individual is termed a 'stayer' when they are recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were resident in Fletton on at least one census return as a stayer.

'Migrant'- an individual is termed a 'migrant' when they were recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or only on one previous census as a migrant.

'Returned'- an individual whose family are resident in Fletton but they themselves have moved away and returned for the marriage ceremony.

¹Fletton connection- Couples remained in the Fletton community.

²Groom/bride connection- Couples had moved away from Fletton to a place with a connection to either the bride or the groom.

³No obvious connection-Couples had moved away from Fletton to a place where there is no identifiable connection to either the bride or groom.

⁴As searching via Ancestry is required, with it's difficulties, the percentage of newly-weds untraceable may appear high.

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

It would appear that this ability or necessity to move further away was greatly assisted by the connections that either the bride or groom had made in the receiving community. As can be seen in table 6.11 in all groups, where the groom was exogamous and the first marital home was not Fletton, the majority of couples had a previous connection with the new community via either the bride or groom, 'stayer' brides 40%, 'migrant' brides 65.7% and 'returned' brides 44.4%.

Table 6.11: Connection between newly married couple and first residence, 1901-1911

Connection	'Stayer' brides with endogamous grooms		'Stayer' brides with exogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with endogamous grooms		'Migrant' brides with exogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with endogamous grooms		'Returned' brides with exogamous grooms	
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Fletton connection¹	60.0	9	40.0	2	41.9	39	14.3	5	56.3	9	11.1	1
Groom/ bride connection²	-	-	40.0	2	10.8	10	65.7	23	12.5	2	44.4	4
No obvious connection³	26.6	4	20.0	2	41.9	39	14.3	5	31.3	5	22.2	2
Not traceable⁴	13.3	2	-	-	5.4	5	5.7	2	-	-	22.0	2
Total marriages analysed		15		6		93		35		16		9

Note: 'Stayer'- an individual is termed a 'stayer' when they are recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were resident in Fletton on at least one census return as a stayer 'S'.
'Migrant'- an individual is termed a 'migrant' when they were recorded as being 'OTP' in the marriage registers and were either not listed as being resident in Fletton on the previous census return or only on one previous census as a migrant 'M'.
'Returned'- an individual whose family are resident in Fletton but they themselves have moved away and returned for the marriage ceremony.
¹Fletton connection- Couples remained in the Fletton community.
²Groom/bride connection- Couples had moved away from Fletton to a place with a connection to either the bride or the groom.
³No obvious connection-Couples had moved away from Fletton to a place where there is no identifiable connection to either the bride or groom.
⁴As searching via Ancestry is required, with it's difficulties, the percentage of newly -weds untraceable may appear high.

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

In an extensive study on Welsh migration covering 4,622 households, Pooley and Doherty utilized records to create 'longitudinal migration histories' to probe more deeply beyond the generalizations that aggregate figures provide and commented that it would be unlikely for individuals to move to an area where there were no

previous links established whether family, cultural or economic.⁷⁶⁴ This research has emulated this example which has enabled the connections between the Fletton couples and their first marital home to be identified and analysed. This analysis confirms how critical family, cultural and economic links were in the location of a couple's first marital home.⁷⁶⁵

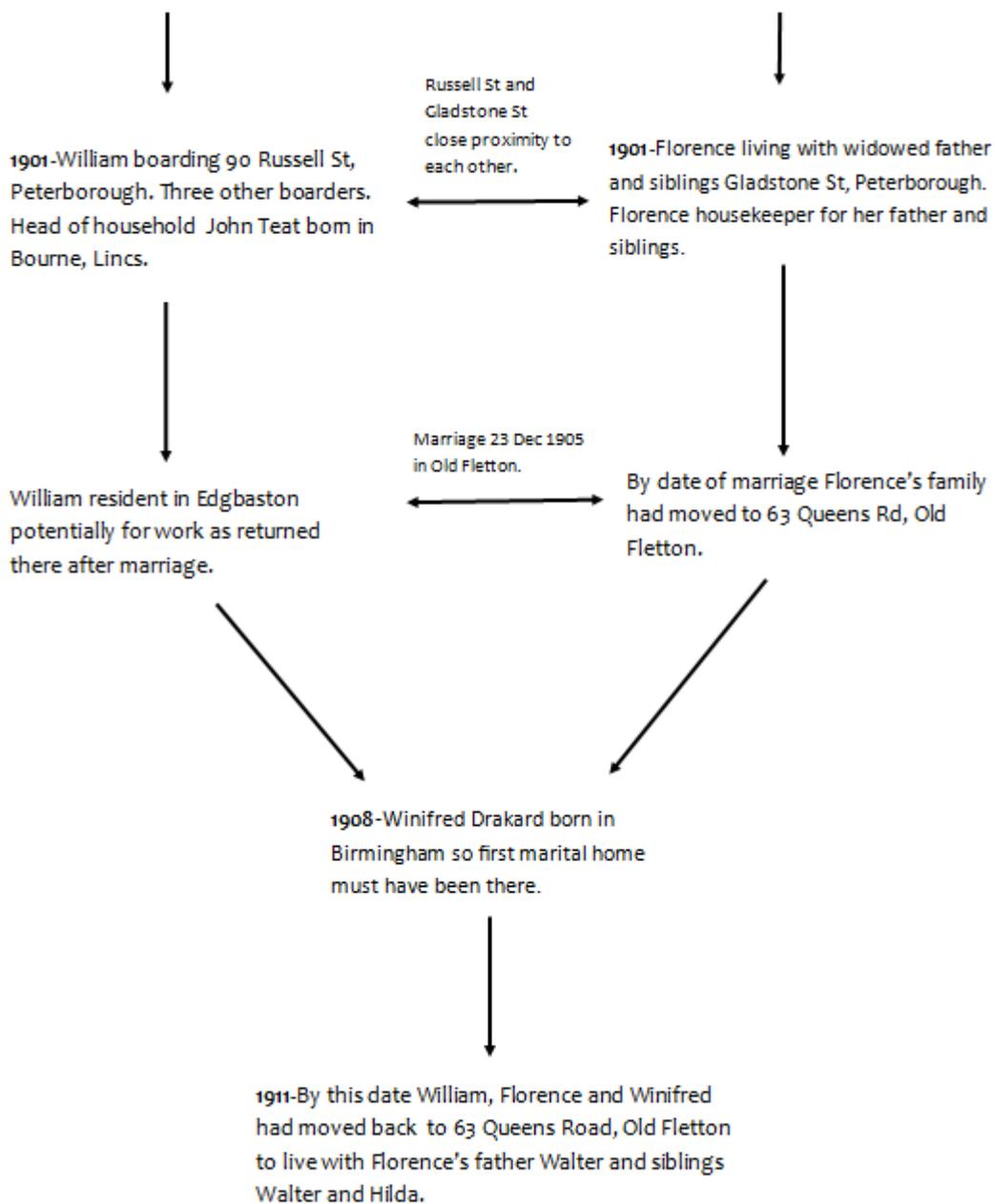
William Drakard's migration narrative, which has been visualised in plate 6.12 shows how important these connections are. Drakard, a coach body maker, of Edgbaston married Florence Gibbons in 1905.⁷⁶⁶ In the 1911 census they were resident in Hill housing at 63 Queens Road, Old Fletton. It would appear that a Fletton bride married an exogamous groom from 84 miles away and remained in the bride's home parish after marriage. However the migration narrative reveals a different context. The couple's daughter Winifred, was born in Birmingham in 1908 so their first marital home was not Old Fletton but a community where the groom had an established employment connection. The census records reveal that Drakard originated from Bourne, Lincolnshire and in 1901 he was boarding in Russell Street, Peterborough just a few streets away from where Florence was living with her family in Gladstone Street. Therefore it would appear that the couple met in Peterborough before Florence's family moved to Old Fletton and Drakard ventured further afield to Edgbaston, perhaps in order to gain better employment prospects for his forthcoming nuptials. At either a convenient point in his career or due to family commitments the family returned to Old Fletton. Family connection was also important when they returned to Old Fletton as in 1911 they resided at 63 Queens Road, which was also the residence of Florence's widowed father.

⁷⁶⁴ Pooley and Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration', pp. 143 and 169.

⁷⁶⁵ Pooley and Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration', p. 143.

⁷⁶⁶ RG14/8669/47, RG13/1463/121, RG13/1463/144

Plate 6.12: William Drakard's longitudinal migration history



Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs

Mobility

As has already been witnessed in this research at a time when transport links were improving and separation distances increasing the marriage horizons of the majority of Fletton brides was decreasing. As can be seen from table 6.6 between 1891 and 1911 an increasing number of brides were able to choose their groom from a greater pool of local males, both endogamous and within the local area. By 1901-1911 90.5% of 'stayer' brides married a groom from within 12 miles of Fletton, for 'migrant' brides this was 84% and 'returned' brides 60%. Migration narratives can enable a valuable question to be addressed in order to consider the community that the newly married couple settled into: Did the increasingly localised marriage horizons affect the location of the couple's first marital home?

As can be seen in table 6.12 and 6.14 perhaps predictably for 'stayer' brides, 1891-1901, who married an exogamous groom all of the couples made their first marital home away from Fletton and for 'migrant' brides all except 3.2% of couples moved away. Brides such as Ada Hill who in 1895 married grocer's assistant Henry Foster Young.⁷⁶⁷ Young was resident in Stamford at the time of marriage, employed in the family's grocery business. The newly-married couple returned to Stamford the groom's home community to continue the family business and to establish their first marital home. As can be seen in table 6.13 and 6.15 by 1901-1911 a small percentage of couples, where the groom was exogamous, were making their first marital home in Fletton, drawn by the occupational opportunities that Fletton offered: 10% for 'stayer' brides and 3.3% for 'migrant' brides but the majority of couples still established their first marital home away from Fletton.

But it was not only the couples, where the groom was exogamous that established their first home away from Fletton and so were mobile. For 'stayer' brides, 1891-1901, 64.7% of grooms were endogamous and yet 35.2% went on to establish their

⁷⁶⁷ RG12/1226/51, RG13/3020/9, RG12/2552/112

first marital home away from Fletton. For 'migrant' brides, 65.3% of grooms were endogamous but 37.9% moved away to establish their first home.

The migration narrative of these couples can reveal what opportunities were available in the new community. For Emily Davison and her groom Ernest Reed, mobility was aided by Reed's employment in the railways. Emily married Ernest Reed in 1910. Reed, a painter with London and North Western Railway was resident in Fletton at the time of marriage.⁷⁶⁸ By 1911 the couple had established their first marital home in Clifton on Dunsmore, Near Rugby, a well-known railway town, and Reed was recorded as a painter of stations for L. N. W. R.⁷⁶⁹ Born in Paulerspury, Northants, Reed was a mobile individual. In 1901 he was boarding in Walthamstow with a family who were also native of Paulerspury. Reed's journey supports Pooley and Doherty's conclusion that no-one appears to make a migration journey without a prior connection.⁷⁷⁰ Initially, for Reed his lodgings were run by a native born family and for the newly married couple the L. N. W. R. railway provided the employment that made their journey possible. It is also relevant here to consider Emily's circumstance prior to marriage. Emily, the daughter of a railway guard, the eldest of eight children, was able to remain in her home parish working as a domestic nurse and so contributing to the family income in a mutually beneficial way until she had sought an eligible groom.⁷⁷¹

As can be seen in table 6.13 and 6.15, by 1901-1911 even more brides were choosing an endogamous groom. As the population increased so too did the pool of prospective marriage partners, 70% of 'stayer' brides and 72.7% of 'migrant' brides were able to choose a groom from the Fletton parish. However for 'stayer' brides 45% of couples still made their first marital home in a new community away from Fletton and for 'migrant' brides this was 65%.

⁷⁶⁸ RG13/1460/70, RG14/18613, RG13/1633/119

⁷⁶⁹ <http://www.warwickshirerailways.com/lms/index.htm> (Accessed 20/6/2017) The Development of Rugby as a railway centre is explained in detail.

⁷⁷⁰ Pooley and Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration', p, 169.

⁷⁷¹ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 225.

As Day proposed family and employment circumstances meant these brides did not have to move away from home in search of a partner. They were able to stay in their home parish until they had found a suitable partner and they then moved after marriage.⁷⁷² But some brides, the 'returned' brides, had already moved away from the family home and made a life in a new community, either by choice or necessity. As can be seen in table 6.16 it comes as no surprise that from 1891-1901 54.3% of 'returned' brides, who had already moved away from Fletton had exogamous grooms. These brides were most likely meeting their grooms either in their new community or as part of their wider mobility. Of these couples, 45.3% went on to establish their first marital home away from Fletton. But as can be seen from table 6.17, the number of 'returned' brides who had an exogamous groom in 1901-1911 reduced to 30.3%, but of these couples 56.5% went on to establish their first marital home away from Fletton.

The 'returned' brides may have moved away for employment but they did not move away in pursuit of a groom. They were not being driven by male migration as Day suggested.⁷⁷³ Some, although working away to either support themselves or their wider family, were already courting grooms from their home parish. Being away from home was purely an economic necessity, their hearts were firmly in their home community. As can be seen in table 6.16 in 1891-1901 45.5% of 'returned' bride's grooms were endogamous and 27.3% remained in Fletton to establish their first marital home. By 1901-1911 this had increased to 69.1% of 'returned' brides grooms being endogamous and 39.1% established their first marital home in Fletton. An increasing number of grooms were established in their home parish of Fletton, taking advantage of opportunities in employment and housing.

⁷⁷² Ibid., pp. 225-230.

⁷⁷³ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 243.

Table 6.12: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for 'stayer' brides, 1891-1901

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	5	29.4	3	17.6	-	-	3	17.6	11	64.7
<6 miles ²	-	-	2	11.8	-	-	-	-	2	11.8
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	2	11.8	1	5.8	3	17.6
12 + miles ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.8	1	5.8
Total	5	29.4	5	29.4	2	11.8	5	29.2	17	99.9
Note: 21 marriages analysed. 4 unknown destinations. Endogamous groom ¹ Exogamous groom ²										

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.13: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for 'stayer' brides, 1901-1911

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	9	45	4	20	-	-	1	5	14	70
<6 miles ²	2	10	2	10	-	-	1	5	5	25
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 + miles ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	1	5
Total	11	55	6	30	-	-	3	15	20	100
Note: 21 marriages analysed. 1 unknown destination. Endogamous groom ¹ Exogamous groom ²										

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Table 6.14: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for 'migrant' brides, 1891-1901

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	26	27.4	23	24.2	2	2.1	11	11.6	62	65.3
<6 miles ²	3	3.2	6	6.3	2	2.1	1	1.1	12	12.6
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	3	3.2	1	1.1	4	4.2
12 + miles ²	-	-	1	1.1	-	-	16	16.8	17	17.9
Total	29	30.6	30	31.6	7	7.3	29	30.6	95	100
Note: 102 marriages analysed. 7 unknown destinations. Endogamous groom ¹ Exogamous groom ²										

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.15: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for 'migrant' brides, 1901-1911

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	38	31.6	31	25.8	-	-	18	15.0	87	72.5
<6 miles ²	3	2.5	7	5.8	-	-	2	1.6	12	10.0
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 + miles ²	1	0.8	1	0.8	-	-	19	15.8	21	17.5
Total	42	35.0	39	32.5	-	-	39	32.5	120	100

Note: 131 marriages analysed. 11 unknown destinations.
Endogamous groom¹
Exogamous groom²

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Table 6.16: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for 'returned' brides, 1891-1901

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	6	27.3%	3	13.6%	-	-	1	4.5%	10	45.5%
<6 miles ²	-	-	6	27.3%	-	-	-	-	6	27.3%
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	1	4.5%	-	-	1	4.5%
12 + miles ²	2	9%	-	-	1	4.5%	2	9%	5	22.5%
Total	8	36.3%	9	40.9%	2	9%	3	13.5%	22	99.8%

Note: 23 marriages analysed. 1 unknown destination.
Endogamous groom¹
Exogamous groom²

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.17: Link between groom's home parish and couple's first marital home for returned' brides, 1901-1911

Groom's home parish	Couple's first marital home									
	Fletton parish		<6 miles		6-12 miles		12 + miles		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fletton parish ¹	9	39.1	4	17.4	-	-	3	13.0	16	69.6
<6 miles ²	-	-	1	4.3	-	-	-	-	1	4.3
6-12 miles ²	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 + miles ²	1	4.3	-	-	-	-	5	21.7	6	26.0
Total	10	43.5	5	21.7	-	-	8	34.8	23	99.9

Note: 25 marriages analysed. 2 unknown destination.
Endogamous groom¹
Exogamous groom²

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Side's view that 'widening marriage horizons are suggestive of increasing mobility' is only partially true in Fletton.⁷⁷⁴ In Fletton marriage horizons were becoming more localised but this did not prevent couples being mobile in their post marital

⁷⁷⁴ Side, 'Migration from the Wiltshire Village of Chute', p. 55.

destination. To support this mobility and integrate into their new communities couples can be seen utilizing existing family, economic and cultural connections.

Returned Brides

The 'returned' brides warrant further analysis as their circumstances were unique. These are brides who have moved away from Fletton, but their families are resident in Fletton at the time of marriage, so the bride's address is recorded as Fletton.

The overarching objective in this thesis is to place centrally migration narratives and it is by these that it is possible to ascertain if these 'returned' brides had migrated for employment or in pursuit of a groom, and to what extent they integrated into a new community, or if Fletton still held strong ties. In both time periods 1891-1901 and 1901-1911 the brides travelled to a variety of destinations, both near and further afield, to seek employment or a partner.⁷⁷⁵ These destinations covered the length and breadth of the country, from Blackpool to Ashford and from Wandsworth to Lancashire. The occupations that the 'returned' brides were engaged in were also diverse. In 1891-1901 these consisted of domestic service, shop girl and nurse and by 1901-1911 included: teacher, a draper's assistant, a dressmaker, two nursemaids and seven domestic servants.

Of the 13 brides that could be traced in 1891-1901, eight brides (61.5%) returned to Fletton not only for the marriage ceremony but to marry an endogamous groom. The remaining five brides could have potentially made contact with their groom in the course of their daily interactions in their new community. Of these one couple moved to a new parish after marriage, one couple remained in Fletton and three couples returned to the groom's parish. In 1901-1911 of the 12 brides who could be traced, seven brides (58.3) married an endogamous groom, and so all were returning to begin married life in their home community.

⁷⁷⁵ 1891-1901 13 brides traced, 5 made their first marital home within 6 miles of Fletton, 8 made their first marital home more than 12 miles away

1901-1911 12 brides traced, 6 made their first marital home within 6 miles of Fletton, 6 made their first marital home more than 12 miles away

Day advocated that a daughter would only remain at home if the arrangement was mutually beneficial to the family and daughter, if it was not then the daughter would leave home in search of employment until a suitable marriage partner could be found.⁷⁷⁶ It would appear that in Fletton, as Day suggested, daughters did move away from home, when it was in their economic interest to do so and for the majority this migration was for employment not to seek a groom. The majority of brides returned to Fletton to marry endogamous grooms who were already secure in their employment in Fletton.

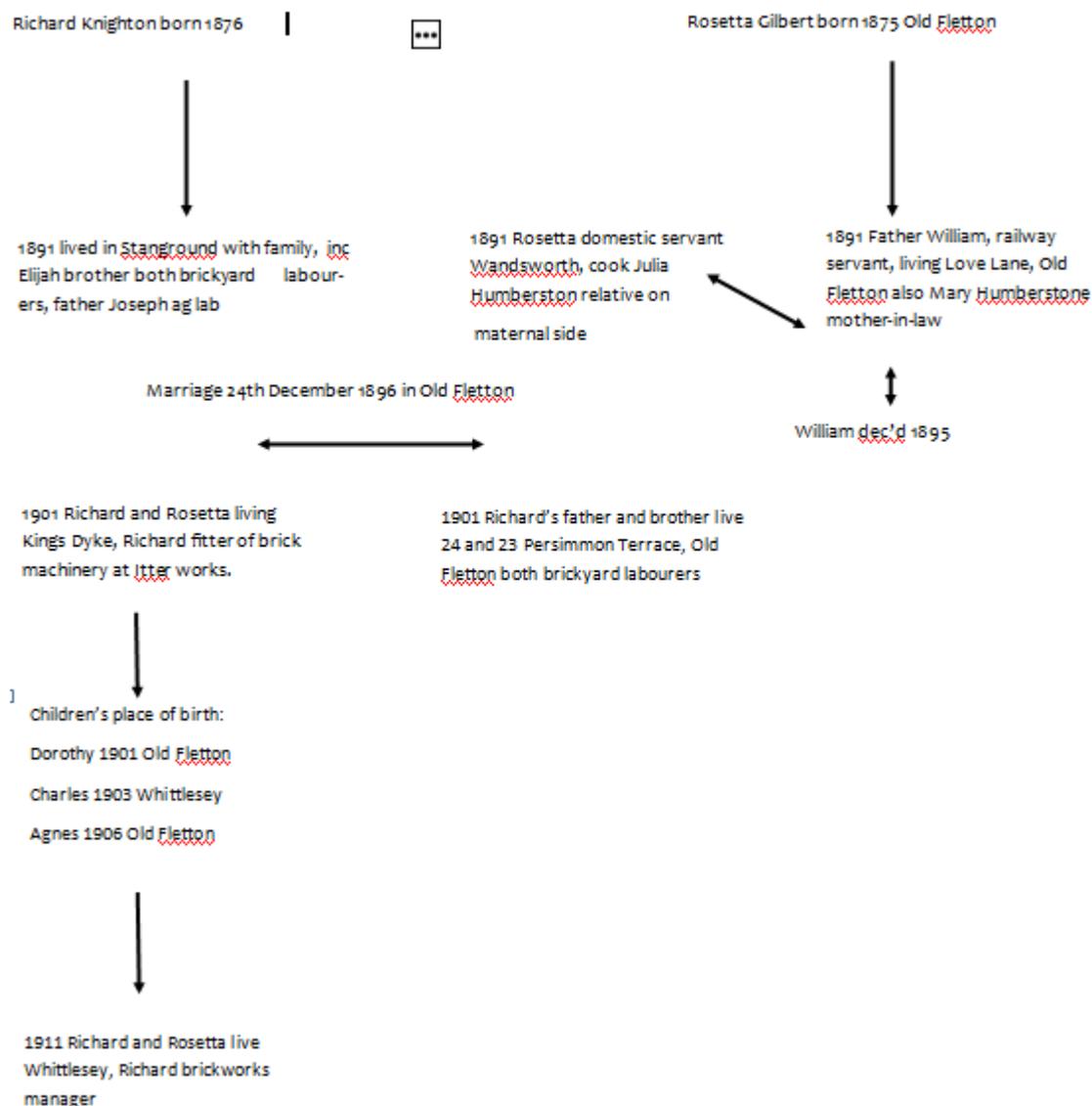
Three examples of 'returned' brides and their marital circumstances are: Rosetta Gilbert, Fanny Burroughs and Emma Garfoot. Rosetta married Richard Leonard Knighton, a brickyard labourer, in 1896 and a visual representation of their migration narrative can be seen in plate 6.13.⁷⁷⁷ Born in Alconbury Hill, Huntingdonshire, in 1891 Knighton was living in Stanground, with his family, and he and his brother Elijah were both brickyard labourers, whilst his father Joseph was an agricultural labourer. Prior to 1896 the family moved to brickyard rented housing at Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton and they resided in numbers 23 and 24. In 1891 Rosetta was employed as a domestic servant in Wandsworth, whilst her family, headed by her father William, a railway servant, resided in Love Lane, Old Fletton.⁷⁷⁸ The newly married couple established their first marital home in Kings Dyke, Whittlesey where the brickworks and village were owned and developed by Arthur Itter. When the birthplaces of the children are considered their residence echoes moves that were perhaps made due to Knighton's fluctuating roles and responsibilities in the brick industry, alternating between Kings Dyke and Fletton.

⁷⁷⁶ Day, 'Leaving Home', pp. 1-22.

⁷⁷⁷ RG13/1553/11, RG12/1226/10, RG14/9273/107, RG12/1226/52, RG12/446/114

⁷⁷⁸ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

Plate 6.13: Richard Leonard Knighton longitudinal migration history



Source: Parish marriage registers and CEBs

It would appear that rather than migrating to find a husband, Rosetta moved away for employment to perhaps save for her own marriage or to assist with her family's household income. Rosetta's migration was not, as Day proposed, driven by male migration, as her marriage partner was found in her home parish, taking advantage of the opportunities that were there.⁷⁷⁹ Rosetta was the third eldest daughter and she followed her sisters' examples by leaving the family home and gaining

⁷⁷⁹ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250.

employment. Her two sisters Kate and Agnes were a trainee teacher in Norfolk and a domestic servant for a general practitioner in Whittlesey. Rosetta then returned to Fletton to marry an endogamous groom and to establish a home nearby. As Day observed a bride would 'attach themselves to a good earner' and Rosetta chose wisely.⁷⁸⁰ Knighton had aspiration and by 1911 was a brickworks manager and when he passed away in 1922, at 134 High Street, Old Fletton, would bequeath £813 4s 6d to his wife. Rosetta's migration was not unaided. As Pooley and Doherty demonstrated, very few moves can be made without prior contact, Rosetta had connections with her migration destination as a relative, Julia Humberstone, was a cook in the household where Rosetta gained employment.⁷⁸¹

'Returned' bride Fanny Burroughs married Arthur Savill, a farm labourer of Manuden, Essex, in 1906.⁷⁸² In 1901 Savill was living with his family in Manuden and Fanny was a domestic servant for the Rev'd Joseph Forster, in Manuden. Fanny was born in Woodston and in 1901 her family, headed by her father William, a railway guard, were residing in privately rented housing at 52 Tower Street, New Fletton.⁷⁸³ Fanny married Savill in Fletton and this is where they established their first home and where their first two children, Arthur and Sidney were born. However by 1911 the family had returned to Savill's family village of Manuden and he was employed as a gardener.

Fanny's migration, contrary to what Day discovered, must have been driven by her own employment prospects. It would be unlikely that a move to a small village of 925 inhabitants, 66 miles away from Fletton where the closest railway station was Bishops Stortford, 3 and half miles away, would have been primarily in search of a husband. There would not be a large enough population of eligible males with attractive salaries or prospects to warrant Fanny's journey.⁷⁸⁴ Fanny was the

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 250.

⁷⁸¹ Pooley and Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration', p. 169.

⁷⁸² RG13/1287/129, RG12/1226/78, RG14/7513, RG13/1287/128

⁷⁸³ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁷⁸⁴ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250. Census of England and Wales, 1901, County of Essex. Area, houses and population; also population classified by ages, condition as to marriage, occupations, birthplaces, and infirmities BPP 1902 CXVIII [Cd.1148] 2

youngest of four children and they all contributed to the family income, although Fanny would appear to be the only child to move away. Fanny's sister, Frances Ada, was a dressmaker and her brother, William, a railway office boy. If Pooley and Doherty's theory is correct it would also seem likely that Fanny had a previous connection to the village of Manuden, although this is not immediately traceable via the census records. Perhaps there was a distant family connection, a recommendation from the local vicar or a response to an advert. Fanny was employed as a domestic servant and Day comments that it is unusual for brides to remain in the same parish that they were employed in after marriage. But for Fanny this was not the case as she returned, with Savill, to establish their home in Manuden, albeit after a short delay.⁷⁸⁵ They perhaps returned for family reasons, or perhaps Savill received an employment opportunity as by 1911 he was listed as a gardener.

The final bride of the trio was Emma Garfoot, see plate 6.16. Emma married John George Braybrook in 1899, their wedding photo can be seen in plate 6.14.⁷⁸⁶ When they married Braybrook, a carpenter joiner was living at home at 23 Tower Street, New Fletton and Emma was in service in Lyddington, Rutland. Emma, born in St. Stephens, Bow was the daughter of Robert and Ann Garfoot. Robert had been a successful farmer in Cottesmore, Rutland farming 85 acres and employing 8 men. But the agricultural depression in the 1870s may have encouraged Garfoot to seek the security of railway employment, as by the time Emma was born in 1874, he was employed as a railway passenger guard and living in St. Stephens, Bow. Mobility within the railways was usual and the family moved to Cottesmore House, Oundle Road, New Fletton where on 12 August 1889 Robert died. Emma's sister Mary, a school mistress, and mother Ann remained at Cottesmore House but Emma had already entered service in Lyddington-cum-Caldecott, Rutland for curate Alfred Whistler.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁷⁸⁶ RG9/2305/43, RG10/577/58, RG11/489/54, RG12/1226/112, RG13/1461/37, RG11/1591/71, RG12/1226/74, RG13/1460/86, RG14/8674/220, RG13/1461/46, RG14/8672,149

Braybrook, son of George and Elizabeth, seen in plate 6.15 was born in Fletton. His father George was a miller with Cadge and Colman, he had been successful as he had funded the purchase of four properties and a workshop in Tower Street.⁷⁸⁷ Following their marriage Emma and her husband moved to live at Cottessmore House where they settled to raise six children. Braybrook was also attracted by the railways and used his carpentry skills when he became a railway wagon repairer.

Emma, like Rosetta and Fanny before, was not as Day proposed following male migration streams in search of a groom.⁷⁸⁸ Despite being in service in Rutland, her county of birth, Emma was drawn back to her own parish of Fletton where she married an endogamous groom. The families lived just a couple of streets away from one another and visits home would have provided opportunity for courting. Once married the couple were able to settle locally as Braybrook was drawn by the employment opportunities that were available to him in Fletton.

Plate 6.14: *The marriage of Emma Elizabeth Garfoot and John George Braybrook, 1899*



Source: Private procession of Amelia Bennett

⁷⁸⁷ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁷⁸⁸ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250.

Plate 6.15: *George and Elizabeth Ann Braybrook, circa 1900*



Plate 6.16: *Emma Eliabeth Garfoot, circa 1890*



Note: The parents of John George Braybrook (left photo). George was a miller (overlooker) with Cadge and Colman.

Source: Private procession of Amelia Bennett

There were 48 ‘returned’ brides between 1891 and 1911 and migration narratives successfully produced for 25 of these. This has allowed narratives to be told that would otherwise remain concealed. Although this method does entail some conjecture on behalf of the researcher good indications have been obtained and it has been possible to reveal the nature of the ‘returned’ brides. For the majority of the brides who were traced a move away from Fletton was to seek work, not a marriage partner. Although they may have integrated into their new community their ‘hearts’ lay firmly within their home parish of Fletton, and it was here, where they had met, courted and returned, to celebrate their marriage, one of life’s most important event and establish their first marital home.

Social and occupational mobility

The hymn ‘All Things Bright and Beautiful’ indicated what an individual might have expected in life, ‘The rich man in his castle, The poor man at the gate’. But as discussed in the opening chapter, through their studies Robins and Miles, have

indicated that it was possible 'to rise or fall' in the social scale.⁷⁸⁹ Although contemporaries Smiles and J. S. Mills held opposing and contrasting viewpoints on the potential and volume of this social progression.⁷⁹⁰

This research's analysis of social mobility, using the marriage registers, does not as Miles's study does use the classic definition of social mobility. Miles outlined social mobility as the process by which individuals move between occupations and social groups, either between generations, or over the course of a lifetime. In his consideration of social mobility the occupations of the groom and bride's father as recorded in the marriage register, were analysed by applying the 1951 Register General's occupational system in conjunction with a five-class social classification system. Miles also considered mobility in wider economic, cultural and earning terms. He also employed data modelling to identify and isolate single factors at work. These could then be used to assess expected and observed rates of social mobility.⁷⁹¹

In contrast, although utilizing some of the ideas and methods that Miles used, when social mobility is discussed in this research it is in the context of tracing individuals moving in and out of occupations in a highly structured labour market within a mobile local population. It does not witness social mobility in the wider community but the particular mobility of a self-selecting sub-group of stayers.

The sixth aim of this research is to consider social and occupational mobility and to what degree that mobility could be achieved through marriage? In so doing, and always bearing in mind the overarching aim of placing centrally migration narratives, questions can be addressed such as: Did a groom's change of occupation result in integration into a new occupational community? What impact did kinship recruitment have on opportunity? Was occupational endogamy experienced in

⁷⁸⁹ J. Robin, *Elmdon-Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 162. A. Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England* (MacMillan Press Ltd, 1999).

⁷⁹⁰ See Introduction. S. Smiles, *Self-help*. Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?', p. 20.

⁷⁹¹ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*. Miles and Vincent (eds.), *Building European society*.

marriages? and did this affect community? Did social mobility also require geographical mobility?

Social mobility via marriage

The initial question that this research addresses is could social mobility be achieved by marriage? It was possible for a groom to achieve social mobility by marrying a bride whose father was of a higher social status than his own. Miles summarizes extensive research when he states that social mobility was easiest via marriage rather than the labour market.⁷⁹² But as can be seen in tables 6.18 to 6.20, this fortuitous climb up the social ladder, via marriage, only affected a small percentage of grooms in Fletton marriages: 20.8% in 1891-1901 and 21% in 1901-1911. Those individuals who married in Fletton, and who improved their social background, would remain in the minority.⁷⁹³

However, it must be remembered that improvement in social class may be potential and not occur immediately, a good marriage may provide the opportunity for social mobility. The migration narrative of Emma Caroline Rowell can reveal this opportunity. Emma married James Henry Coles, agricultural labourer, in 1895.⁷⁹⁴ Emma's father Robert Rowell was a miller, most likely at Cadge and Colmans, although this is not stated on the census return or marriage register living in privately rented housing at 28 Grove Street, New Fletton.⁷⁹⁵ This match proved beneficial for Coles as by the 1901 census, living at 12 Silver Street, New Fletton, he is recorded as being a miller's porter, a position that has perhaps been gained by his family connection with Robert.⁷⁹⁶ Coles was one of the minority who successfully managed to elevate himself from class VIII to class IV. Importantly in making this move Coles left behind the precarious life of an agricultural labourer and gained occupational security as a miller's porter, a position he still held in 1911.

⁷⁹² Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 145.

⁷⁹³ Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?' p, 23.

⁷⁹⁴ RG12/1220/20, RG13/1461/24, RG12/1221/129, RG14/8671/8

⁷⁹⁵ See Appendix B Development of roads and streets.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

For grooms who married in Fletton between 1891-1911 a 'decline' in their social class on marriage was a real possibility. From 1891-1901 the majority of grooms, 39.6% had a higher social class than their father-in-law decreasing slightly to 32% by 1901-1911. Conversely of course, this situation meant that the potential for the bride to be upwardly socially mobile on marriage was good. Equally likely was for Fletton grooms to experience equally. In 1891-1901 34.7% and in 1901-1911 34.8% of grooms remained in the same social class on marriage.

The grooms who married in Fletton faced a more mobile future than those in Ashford, Kent which also had a high percentage of railway workers. In Ashford Pearce found that 52.6% (649 out of 1,234 grooms) of grooms married within their own class.⁷⁹⁷ As in Ashford, in Fletton marriages, upward social mobility for grooms via marriage was in fact relatively rare: 20.8% 1891-1901 and 21% 1901-1911. This restricted scope for upward social mobility, and in some cases the decision or necessity to move down the social scale, may be the result of the narrow field of occupations that were available in Fletton. The majority of grooms in Fletton were railway and brick workers and workers from manufacturing and service industries. These occupations were in the highly populated and expanding middle and lower social classes. Here there may have been a lack of opportunity within the employment market and as Miles observed a promotion may not have taken the individual out of the social class they were already in.⁷⁹⁸

Although it is valuable to consider social class at the point of marriage this has its limitations. As Miles commented, in Goldthorpe's terms if a groom married in his late 20's this was eight years short of 'occupational maturity'⁷⁹⁹ and only time can reveal what path that will take. Miles's study did not consider what happened to the groom's social class in the years following marriage.⁸⁰⁰ This raises the possibility that using marriage registers can distort the 'true' pattern of mobility as they fail to account for career mobility. Miles explored this failing by using evidence taken from

⁷⁹⁷ C. Pearce (ed.), *Social mobility through marriage in Ashford (Kent) 1837-70*, ESRC Project. (1969) Unpublished.

⁷⁹⁸ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁰⁰ Mitch, 'Inequalities which every one may remove', p. 142.

479 career histories.⁸⁰¹ He concluded that although Booth was correct when he stated that employment could ‘carry men along, up and down, and down and up again, in the industrial as in other roads of life’⁸⁰² this ‘meandering occurred within structured trajectories’.⁸⁰³

This research has the potential to utilise migration narratives to consider the career progression of all individuals who married within Fletton and so eliminate the bias that is inherent in the use of autobiographies. In reality from a methodological viewpoint the marriages that took place between 1891 and 1901 are the ideal ones to consider as then the groom’s social class can be traced from marriage through the next two censuses 1901 and 1911. Given the time constraints of this research to trace all grooms, their occupations and their subsequent social class, would not be feasible, and in some cases impossible due to the restrictions of record linkage already discussed in Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology. However a small sample will indicate if this method could produce useable data for analysis.

From the grooms, that married between 1891 and 1901, nine were extracted that could be traced over the next two censuses, three where the groom was in the same social class as their father-in-law, three where the groom had a higher social class than their father-in-law and three with a lower social class than their father-in-law. In the first group, where the groom and father-in-law had the same social class at marriage, the groom remained in that class through the 1901 and 1911 census. These grooms were employed in the railways and brickyards. In the second group, where the groom had a higher social class than their father-in-law at marriage, again the groom remained in the same social class through the 1901 and 1911 census. One groom was a joiner, one worked on the railways and one was a butcher. In the final grouping, where the groom had a lower social class than their father-in-law at marriage, one groom remained in the same social class however the father-in-law, in

⁸⁰¹ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, pp. 97-115. The 479 career histories were drawn from 1,000 plus abstracts in the first volume of Burnett et al’s anthology of working-class autobiographies. J. Burnett, (ed.), *Useful Toil. Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s*, (Harmondsworth, 1977).

⁸⁰² C. Booth and E. Aves, ‘The Choice of Employment’, in Booth, *Life and Labour*, Vol. IX, p. 393.

⁸⁰³ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 98.

this case, had died prior to marriage so would have not influenced the grooms progression. The other two grooms were socially mobile. One progressed from class VIII (division of class V) agricultural labourer at marriage to class II innkeeper by 1911 and the other from class VIII (division of class V) agricultural labourer to class V labourer.

From this small sample two indicators can be drawn. Firstly for those grooms where a father-in-law had a higher social class then social mobility was ultimately possible however it also confirms Miles conclusion that for the majority of grooms the occupation recorded by the groom at the point of marriage is an accurate prediction of their ultimate career path and therefore their social class.⁸⁰⁴

The bride's social mobility

As Miles reminds us any account of social mobility must take into consideration the mobility of the bride on marriage, moving away from her family 'to enter a conjugal family'.⁸⁰⁵ For the bride her social status came first from her father then her husband, and so this analysis of the social mobility of grooms also reveals important information regarding the brides social status after marriage. As can be seen from tables 6.18 and 6.19 in 1891-1901 39.6% of brides made an advantageous match resulting in a rise in her social status. Conversely only 20.8% experienced a downward move in social status and 34.7% of brides remained in the same social class on marriage. As can be seen in tables 6.19 and 6.20 these figures changed little for 1901-1911 except that fewer brides, 32% were upwardly mobile. Compared to other areas locally the prospects for Fletton brides to achieve social mobility on marriage were good.⁸⁰⁶ In 1888, in nearby Whittlesey and Peterborough 60.5% and 51.5% of brides married within their own social class. 18.6% and 21.3% were upwardly socially mobile whilst 13.9% and 15.4% experienced a decline in their social class.

⁸⁰⁴ It may be co-incidence but in this small sample no groom experienced a decline in their social class after marriage.

⁸⁰⁵ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 146-148.

⁸⁰⁶ J. Elliott, 'Social Mobility Through Marriage: a study of Peterborough and Whittlesey 1888', Final Project Report for Open University Course, DA301/FPR/M2046036 (1994), p. 11.

Table 6.18: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father-in-law, 1891-1901

Social class of groom	Social class of father-in-law							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI ⁴	VII ⁴	VIII ⁴
I	3	3	3	1	5			
II	2	2	3		4			1 ¹
III	1	3	14	5	16			1 ²
IV	2	1	2	1	5			1 ³
V		4	8	2	30			9
VI ⁴			1					
VII ⁴								
VIII ⁴				1	3			

Note: 144 grooms were analysed
7 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
¹ groom butcher and father-in-law ag lab ² groom joiner and father-in-law ag lab
³ groom warehouseman and father-in-law ag lab ⁴ VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.19: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father-in-law, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911

Groom same social class as father-in-law		Groom lower social class than father-in-law		Groom higher social class than father-in-law		Father-in-law not traced	
1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911
50	63	30	38	57	58	7	22
34.7%	34.8%	20.8%	21%	39.6%	32%	4.9%	12.2%

Note: 1891-1901
144 grooms were analysed
7 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
1901-1911
181 grooms were analysed
22 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

Table 6.20: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father-in-law, 1901-1911

Social class of groom	Social class of father-in-law							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI ²	VII ²	VIII ²
I	4	2	3	3	3			
II	2	4	5	1	9			
III	2	5	21	5	17		1	1 ¹
IV		2	3	3	7			
V		1	19	2	31			1
VI ²								
VII ²								
VIII ²				1	1			

Note: 181 grooms were analysed
22 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
¹ groom farm foreman father-in-law ag lab
² VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Social mobility-the reality

In Fletton the associated differences in what life might entail for both brides and grooms, may have been minimal when movement occurred either up or down the social scale as individuals of different social classes lived side by side in the same community. This is evident in the migration narrative of Fannie Elizabeth Hankins. Fannie married George Neale in 1900.⁸⁰⁷ At marriage Neale was a labourer (class V), and his father, George, was a gardener and groom (class IV). Fannie's father Charles was a coal porter (class IV). In the 1901 census the newly-married couple lived next door to Fannie's family at 26 and 28 Bread Street, New Fletton, which were both privately rented from Joseph Hunting.⁸⁰⁸ Neale was recorded as a mail driver (class III). Fannie's social class changed over these years from her father's (class IV) prior to marriage, then to her husband's (class V) on marriage and by the 1901 census via her husband's new employment to class III. Through all these changes in social class Fannie remained living in the same street.

Fannie's example emphasises the reality of the social class classification system. Within Bread Street a variety of individuals with differing social classes lived alongside one another. Close to Fannie's family at number 22, there was a butcher, property and business owner Fred Fowler (class II) and at number 20 there was an innkeeper, John Sharpe (class II).⁸⁰⁹ Within Fannie's family there was a coal porter (class IV) and a mail driver (class III). In daily life were the occupations very different to one another in terms of status within the community and disposable income?

As can be seen in table 6.21, and as mentioned previously, the majority of grooms in both 1891-1901 and 1901-1911, 43% and 36% respectively, remained in the same social class on marriage. In 1891-1901, where mobility either up or down the social classes did occur, in 47.8% of cases this move was no more than three class levels and 38.8% of moves were within two class levels so daily life may not have changed very

⁸⁰⁷ RG14/8681/358, RG13/1461/41, RG12/1231/52, RG11/1591/81. Before marriage Fannie was a domestic servant to Charles Strong Thorpe Hall, Peterborough.

⁸⁰⁸ See Appendix B The Development of New and Old Fletton.

⁸⁰⁹ RG12/1226/ 69, RG13/1461/41. Access database John Sharpe. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets. Fred Fowler also owned property at 39 Tower Street, New Fletton.

much. By 1901-1911 moves across three class levels had not significantly changed at 50.3% and moves over two class levels had increased to 43.1%. Between 1891-1901 only 4.2% of grooms moved four social classes on marriage, and three of these individuals experienced the largest geographical move away from Fletton. By 1901-1911 fewer grooms, only 2.5%, moved four social classes on marriage and one of these grooms also resided away from Fletton.

Table 6.21: *Social mobility between social classes, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911*

Number of classes moved	Number of movements between classes		Percentage	
	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911
Unknown	7	22	4.9	12.2
No movement	62	65	43.0	36.0
1 move up or down social class	26	32	18.0	17.7
2 moves up or down social classes	30	46	20.8	25.4
3 moves up or down social classes	13	13	9.0	7.2
4 moves up or down social classes	6	5	4.2	2.8
<p>Note: 1891-1900 144 grooms were analysed 7 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)</p> <p>1901-1911 181 grooms were analysed 22 father-in-laws occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)</p>				

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

Another migration narrative that of newly married couple Bertha West and Thomas Bird, also reveals the reality of social mobility. Bertha lived with her family in brickyard rented housing at 35 Persimmon Terrace, Old Fletton. Despite living in brickyard housing and having brick workers as neighbours Bertha's father Thomas did not work in the brickyards, he was a railway engine driver (class III). Bertha married James Bird a brickyard labourer (class V) and their first marital home was in Hill housing at 34 Duke Street, Old Fletton. On marriage Bertha experienced a decline in her social class, moving from her father's social class III to her husband's class V. Conversely Bird gained connections with a worker in a different social class (class III). But the way that the Fletton community lived and integrated with one another, accepting of families of different classes in the same area and same street the move geographically and socially may not have been significant to either Bertha

or her husband. In fact the residential move from Persimmon Terrace to 34 Duke Street was a definite improvement. From a small back to back terrace fronting the High Street, to a larger modern terrace with long rear garden for pig keeping and vegetable growing and a small front garden looking out onto a tree lined street, a wash house and separate personal access.

In Fletton, it would appear that Smile's optimistic viewpoint of men marrying into a socially elevated class, although not unknown, was not a common occurrence. However, Mill's view of a totally static community is not borne out either. Miles discovered from his research of 10,835 marriages that there was mobility but it was restricted in volume and direction.⁸¹⁰ Between, 1839-1914, the percentage of the marriage cohort who were socially mobile increased from 32% to 43% but the majority remained static.⁸¹¹ As can be seen in tables 6.22 and 6.23, grooms in Fletton were less socially mobile than Miles's cohort. In Fletton 1891-1901, the majority of grooms 51.3%, retained the same social class at marriage as their father and so were not socially mobile. But nonetheless 34.1% of grooms were socially mobile, 19% had a higher social status to their fathers at marriage and 15.1% experienced downward mobility.

Tables 6.23 and 6.24 reveal that between 1901-1911 grooms had become more mobile. Although 43% retained the same social class at marriage as their father 42.8% experienced mobility. However the increase in mobility was not an increase in grooms being upwardly mobile. 21.7% of grooms were upwardly socially mobile, a slight increase of 1.7% from 1891-1901. But more grooms were experiencing a decline in their social class on marriage, 20.1%, an increase of 5% since 1891-1901. The grooms who were not socially mobile may have resulted in a central stable community, if they continued to reside in Fletton after marriage. However, if their stay in Fletton was due to a lack of opportunity, this may have been an enforced stay, not one of choice.

⁸¹⁰ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 21.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, p, 28.

Table 6.22: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father, 1891-1901

Social class of groom	Social class of groom's father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
I	9	3	1	1	1			
II	2	4	1	2				
III		1	25	4	7			6
IV	1		5	3	1			2
V	2	1	6	3	25			9
VI			1					
VII								
VIII				1	2			1

Note: 152 grooms were analysed
 22 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
 VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.23: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911

Groom same social class as father		Groom lower social class than father		Groom higher social class than father		Father not traced	
1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911
78.0	79.0	23.0	37.0	29.0	40.0	22.0	28.0
51.3%	43.0%	15.1%	20.1%	19.0%	21.7%	14.5%	15.2%

Note: 1891-1901
 152 grooms analysed
 22 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)

1901-1911
 184 grooms analysed
 28 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
⁴VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

Table 6.24: Social mobility of grooms in relation to father, 1901-1911

Social class of groom	Social class of father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI'	VII'	VIII'
I	5	3	3	2	1			
II	1	9	8		2			
III	3	3	25	2	13			3
IV			4	4	2			1
V	1	6	9	1	30			4
VI'								
VII'								
VIII'								2

Note: 1901-1911
 184 grooms analysed
 28 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
⁴VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Social mobility via occupation

It would appear that in Fletton marriage did not provide the social mobility that some commentators believed it could. So an important question to be asked is could social mobility be achieved via occupation. For grooms in Fletton it would appear that the greater chance of social mobility did come through occupational mobility. As can be seen from tables 6.25 to 6.27 of the 160 marriages that took place in Fletton between 1891 and 1901 95 grooms, 59.4%, recorded a different occupation to their fathers and father-in-laws. During the period 1901-1911 this had increased so that of the 181 marriages that took place 121 grooms, 66.9%, recorded a different occupation to their fathers and father-in-laws. As Mitch noted there was an openness to outsiders in occupations and increasingly, it would appear, patriarchy was not of prime importance when securing employment.⁸¹²

As can be seen in table 6.25 and 6.26, in 1891-1901 of the 95 grooms where the creation of migration narratives was possible 35.8% found upward social mobility through a change in occupation from that of their father and father-in-law. Of those who were upwardly socially mobile, 14.7%, were taking advantage of the opportunities available in occupations such as the railways, brickyards and general labouring, to escape the uncertainty that their fathers had experienced in agricultural labour. Men such as Albert Yates, from Woodston, who was recorded as a railway guard (class III), in the marriage register, married Mary Annette Whitmore in 1895.⁸¹³ Yate's father, Thomas, was an agricultural labourer (class VIII), and his father-in-law, Sam, a traveller (class IV). But Yates took advantage of the expansion in the railways by gaining employment as a railway guard (class III) and so improved his social class. After marriage the couple remained in Fletton living in privately rented accommodation at 28 George Street, New Fletton.

However not all grooms benefitted from an occupational change, as upward social mobility was not guaranteed. There was a total of 51.5% of grooms who did not experience upward social mobility when they changed occupation. 30.5% of grooms

⁸¹² Mitch, 'Inequalities which every one may remove', p. 153.

⁸¹³ RG13/1461/40, RG12/1226/ 66

remained in the same social class as their father and 21% were downwardly mobile in comparison to their father.

The 1901-1911 figures, which can be seen in table 6.26 and 6.27 must be treated with more caution, as the percentage of fathers that were untraceable was 21.5% and so fewer comparisons could be made. In 1901-1911 fewer Fletton grooms, 28%, found upward social mobility via occupation than in 1891-1901. Despite changing occupation 21.5% of grooms were more likely to have a decline in their social class, or have the same social class as their father 29.8%. But an increasing percentage of grooms, 36.9%, found occupation in the railways 21%, and the brickyards 15.8%.

Table 6.25: *Social mobility of grooms, in relation to father, 1891-1901*
(Where groom has different occupation to father and father-in-law)

Social class of groom	Social class of groom's father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI'	VII'	VIII'
I	6	4	1	1	1			
II	2	1	1	2				
III			9	3	6			4
IV	1		4	1	1			2
V	1	1	4	3	12			8
VI'			1					
VII'								
VIII'			1	2				

Notes: 95 grooms were analysed
12 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
¹VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.26: *Social mobility of grooms, in relation to father, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911*
(Where groom has different occupation to father and father-in-law)

Groom same social class as father		Groom lower social class than father		Groom higher social class than father		Fathers not traced	
1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911
29	36	20	26	34	34	12	26
30.5%	29.8%	21%	21.5%	35.8%	28%	12.6%	21.5%

Note: 1891-1900
95 grooms were analysed
12 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)
1901-1911
121 grooms analysed
28 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records)

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

Table 6.27: *Social mobility of grooms, in relation to father, 1901-1911*
(Where groom has different occupation to father and father-in-law)

Social class of groom	Social class of groom's father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI'	VII'	VIII'
I	3	3	3	2	1			
II	1	3	7		2			
III	3	3	12	2	10			
IV			4	3	2			1
V	1	5	8	1	15			1
VI'								
VII'								
VIII'								
<p>Note: 121 grooms analysed 28 groom's fathers occupation unknown (usually this is because they are recorded deceased and then untraceable in Ancestry records) ¹VI, VII, VIII are all divisions within class V</p>								

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

The brickyards and especially the railways, could provide career progression for the individual. McKenna recorded in his correspondence that if your duty was completed 'faithfully... advancement is sure'.⁸¹⁴ As Miles and Vincent proposed the groom's occupation was important as this was the factor that most influenced an 'individual's social space'.⁸¹⁵ The migration narrative of David Hamps demonstrates how an individual's social space could change dependent on his occupation. Hamps, the son of agricultural labourer John Hamps, from March (class VIII), married Elizabeth Strickson in 1901.⁸¹⁶ Hamps, at the time of his marriage was a police constable for G. E. R. railway (class IV). By 1911 Hamps and Elizabeth were living in the Police Station in Dogsthorpe, Peterborough and Hamps had received promotion and was recorded as an acting police sergeant. Hamps and Elizabeth's social space in Peterborough would have been different to that of an agricultural labourer in rural March and a railway worker in Fletton.

Another question that can be addressed using migration narratives is: Did a groom's change in social class through occupation also indicate an integration into the new occupational community and did this impact on the links with the old community?

⁸¹⁴ McKenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970*, p. 27.

⁸¹⁵ A. Miles and D. Vincent 'The past and future of working lives', in A. Miles (ed.) *Building European society-Occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 3.

⁸¹⁶ RG14/8697/62

For this analysis seven grooms were chosen who were resident in Fletton at the time of their marriage, between 1891 and 1901, and who could be traced to the 1911 census. Using record linkage their subsequent occupational journey was analysed. The fathers of these grooms were engaged in various occupations and varying social classes, four agricultural labourer's (class VIII), two millers (class IV) and a joiner (class III). The grooms were upwardly mobile in comparison to their father's social class. Of the seven grooms, two found employment in Fletton and a further three found employment locally in Whittlesey and Peterborough. For these community and family links would be easily retained as they remained close to family and friends and they would have also had their occupational communities for support.

For those who moved further away links with the new community would need to be created. Frederick Bolton married Ida Bird in 1894.⁸¹⁷ In 1891 Bolton, a telegraph clerk for the Post office (class I), was living with his family in Peterborough. His father Samuel was a joiner (class III).⁸¹⁸ In the marriage registers Bolton's residence at the time of marriage was Fletton, so he perhaps met Ida whilst working in Fletton. After marriage Bolton remained a Post Office clerk and they settled in Holbeach, Lincolnshire. By 1911 they had returned to Peterborough and Bolton had received promotion. He was now an assistant superintendent (class I) with the Post Office. It would appear that Bolton and Ida 's mobility was driven by occupation. Their integration into the new community would have perhaps depended, at least initially, on Bolton's occupational contacts, although being employed by the Post Office Bolton and Ida would have also been at the centre of the local community.

Another groom Elijah Knighton married Eliza Simpson in 1896.⁸¹⁹ In 1891 Knighton was a boarder in Woodston and was a railway servant (class V). His father, Richard, was an agricultural labourer (class VIII) and Knighton himself was recorded as such

⁸¹⁷ RG14/8689/139, RG13/3039/56, RG12/1228/29

⁸¹⁸ This is an example of an occupation that has been assigned inappropriately by the Registrar General, see Chapter 3 Sources and Methodology for the discussion. All civil servants would be class I, but in reality a clerk would be quite lowly. When Bolton received promotion, to assistant superintendent, that would represent a real upward move in social status.

⁸¹⁹ RG13/1429/ 66, RG12/1226/110, RG11/1588/20

in the 1881 census, when he was just 11 years old. In the marriage register Knighton is recorded as a railway shunter and was resident in Fletton. In 1901 the couple were resident in Dallington, Northampton and Knighton was a railway guard (class III). Again Knighton and Eliza's social and geographical mobility was driven by occupational progression. For the newly married couple integration into a new community would have been made easier as the bonds that exist in railway communities have been well documented.⁸²⁰

Migration narratives can provide a valuable glimpse into how social mobility through occupation can occur, and the subsequent integration into a new community that takes place. This brief excursion reveals that upward social mobility can be achieved without leaving Fletton. However, where migration does take place integration into the receiving community can be aided by contacts established through the occupation itself. Whether these individuals retained links with their previous lives and families cannot be easily ascertained through the records available but it would seem likely that they were, even at the most intermittent of levels. As Schürer argued, a move away from a community due to economic necessity does not mean the end of social communication by desire.⁸²¹ In this analysis there were no individuals who had family connections, traceable in census records, in the receiving community but that would not conclude that these did not exist.

Kinship recruitment, occupational endogamy and opportunity

To achieve occupational mobility a groom had to have opportunity. A series of questions which are worth exploring are: What impact did kinship recruitment have on opportunity? Was occupational endogamy experienced in marriage? Did this limit opportunity? and What was the effect on community?

Not all grooms who married in Fletton had the opportunity or necessity to tread new occupational paths. In 1891-1901, 31.9% of grooms had the same occupation as

⁸²⁰ Drummond, Crewe. Discussion of the growth of the railway town of Crewe also refers at great length to railway communities. Also refer to: Mckenna, *The Railway Workers 1840-1970*.

⁸²¹ Schürer, 'Regional Identity', p. 223.

either their father 22.5%, father-in-law 7.5% or both 1.25%. By 1901-1911 this had hardly changed as 28.7% of grooms had the same occupation as either their father 21%, father-in-law 7.7% or both 0%.

Fletton supported two main industries known for their patriarchy, the railway and the brickyards. In Fletton in 1891-1901 of the grooms who had the same occupation as their fathers 29.7% were employed in these industries, 18.9% in the railways and 10.8% in the brickyards. By 1901-1911 this had increased so that 42% of grooms, whose fathers worked in the railways and brickyards, also worked in the same occupation, 28.9% in the railways and 13.2% in the brickyards. The apparent increasing importance of 'kinship recruitment', by the railways and brickyards in Fletton occurred at a time when both the industries were experiencing expansion and large numbers of workers needed to be employed quickly. This method of recruitment achieved an increase in workforce fast by personal recommendation. Fletton's experience does not support Miles autobiographical research. Miles witnessed between 1723 and 1914, a gradual decrease in the numbers of individuals who procured employment as a result of family and friends or a benefactor's patronage in favour of other methods such as: entrance exams, application, advertisement and interview increasing.⁸²² These new methods of seeking employment occurred at a time when literacy rates for the lower classes was also increasing until by 1914 nearly all the population possessed 'rudimentary literacy skills'.⁸²³

In Fletton marriages, kinship recruitment also remained important in occupations as diverse as butchers, farmers, carters and ironmongers. These were perhaps more family orientated concerns where it was beneficial to retain skilled sons in employment, especially where there would be a family business to pass on. This is seen in the migration narrative of Frederick Limbrich. In 1891, Limbach lived with his

⁸²² Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?' p. 33-34.

⁸²³ Ibid., p. 33. These literacy levels are based on who signed their name on the marriage certificate rather than who made their mark of a cross. Increase in literacy levels 1839-1914: percentage literate Class III 63.6% to 97.7%, class IV 63.3% to 98.45% and class V 32.1% to 95.1%. In Fletton, despite the deficient provision of schooling, literacy levels were also increasing. 40 marriage entires were analysed 16 April 1900 to 22 October 1901 and all brides and grooms signed their name. Also: Bysouth, *Hertfordfordshire's Icknield Way*.

family, who were pork butchers, in Peterborough.⁸²⁴ In 1898 Limbach married Edith Farr daughter of Alfred Farr an innkeeper. In 1901 the couple lived in Gladstone Street, Peterborough. Limbach was recorded as a grocer and shopkeeper whilst his mother ran the butchers shop with his brother George. By 1911 Limbach was running the butcher shop. When Mary died in 1913 Limbach was a beneficiary in her will.

Despite a gradual decline Miles, in his autobiographical research, found that, between 1865 -1914, 61% of individuals still cited family or friends as important in procuring employment.⁸²⁵ Mitch observed that 'occupational endogamy' could influence social mobility, integration and creation of community.⁸²⁶ This limitation of opportunity does seem to be supported by the Fletton marriages. As is shown in table 6.28, in 1891-1901 of the grooms who had the same occupation as their father 94% remained in the same social class as their father. Table 6.29 shows that by 1901-1911 social mobility had not improved greatly as 92.1% of grooms with the same occupation as their father remained in the same social class.

Table 6.28: *Social mobility of grooms, in relation to father, 1891-1901*
(Where groom has the same occupation as father)

Social class of groom	Social class of groom's father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI'	VII'	VIII'
I	2							
II		3						
III		1	15					
IV				2				
V	1				11			
VI'								
VII'								
VIII'								1
Note: ¹ VI, VII, and VIII are divisions of class V								

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

⁸²⁴ RG12/1231/21, RG14/8687/112, RG13/1464/30, RG13/1463/162

⁸²⁵ Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?' p. 33.

⁸²⁶ Mitch, 'Inequalities which every one may remove', p. 140.

Table 6.29: *Social mobility of grooms, in relation to father, 1901-1911*
(Where groom has the same occupation as father)

Social class of groom	Social class of groom's father							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI'	VII'	VIII'
I	2							
II		5						
III			12		1			
IV				1				
V		1	1		13			
VI'								
VII'								
VIII'								2

Note: ¹ VI, VII, and VIII are divisions of class V

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

When considering the 'kinship recruitment' that Miles referred to, important in Fletton was not just the impact that fathers had but wider kin as well. The influence of father-in-laws in both the railways and brickyards is evident.⁸²⁷ Between 1891-1901, where Fletton grooms were employed in the same occupation as their father-in-law, the percentage employed in the brickyards or railways was high at 83.3%, although this only represented 10 grooms. Six grooms were employed by the railways and so were their father-in-laws and 4 in the brickyards. The other grooms were a labourer and a bootmaker. By 1901-1911 this had reduced to 71.4% and represented 10 grooms, four in the brickyards and six in the railways. The other grooms were two labourers, one timber sawyer and a publican.

The potential impact of wider kin in recruitment can also be witnessed in migration narratives. Charles Simmonds, born in Ringwood, Hampshire, migrated to Fletton with his wife, Elizabeth, from Whittlesey and is recorded on the 1881 census as resident Nr London Road, Old Fletton.⁸²⁸ Living with the family is John Templeman, Elizabeth's younger brother. Simmonds was employed in the brickyards and so too was John. Simmonds had perhaps passed on news of an employment opportunity to his brother-in-law.

⁸²⁷ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, p. 76.

⁸²⁸ RG10/1612/13, RG11/1591/81

Thomas Jaggard, a railway shunter, migrated to Fletton, with his wife Sarah and young family, and in 1891 was recorded as resident at 34 Park Road, New Fletton.⁸²⁹ With the family is also Walter, Jaggard's brother, a railway goods porter. Jaggard had migrated to Fletton from March where he was a railway porter. Walter had moved to Fletton from the family home in Stetchworth, where their father, Thomas Snr, was an agricultural labourer. Jaggard had perhaps sent word home of the opportunities that were available in New Fletton. For both brothers Fletton was only a step on their migration journey as by 1901 Jaggard had returned to March and was a G. E. R. Guard whilst Walter had moved on to Gaywood, Norfolk and was a railway goods guard. Walter had also offered lodgings to another brother Herbert.

Charles Morris, son of William Morris brickyard labourer, migrated to Hill housing at Fellowes Road, Old Fletton to take a position as a railway clerk.⁸³⁰ Morris lived with his uncle and aunt Ernest and Ann Ingle. Ernest was a railway guard and may have assisted his nephew, in some capacity, when he sought employment.

Miles observed that occupational endogamy may have led to a stable community.⁸³¹ As can be seen in tables 6.30 and 6.31 from 1891-1911, when considering the residences of groom and father-in-law when they had the same occupation, this stable community extended beyond Fletton into Woodston, Stanground and Peterborough. These are all neighbouring parishes with brickyard and railway connections themselves. Of the two grooms remaining one emigrated to Canada and one migrated to Rugby, also known for its railway community. For these individuals being part of this community was undoubtedly important but the community itself was created by other factors outside of 'occupational endogamy'.

⁸²⁹ RG12/1226/41, RG11/1690/37, RG13/1551/49, RG13/1887/ 6, RG11/1675/67

⁸³⁰ RG13/1460/36, RG14/8670/191

⁸³¹ Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England*, pp. 77 and 84.

Table 6.30: Residence of groom and groom's father-in-law, 1891-1901
(Where groom has same occupation as father-in-law)

Occupation	Residence of groom prior to marriage	Residence of father-in-law prior to daughter's marriage	Address of couple after marriage
Brick worker	Love Lane (OF)	Love Lane (OF)	Princes Road (OF)
Brick worker	Mile End Road (OF)	Church Lane (OF)	North Stanground, Hunts
Brick worker	Yaxley, Hunts	Fletton	Woodston, Northants
Brick worker	Fletton	Love Lane (OF)	Woodston, Northants
Railway worker	Love Lane (OF)	Grove Street (NF)	Woodston, Northants
Railway worker	Oxhey	Tower Street (NF)	Unknown
Railway worker	Grove Street (NF)	Grove Street (NF)	Woodston, Northants
Railway worker	Grove Street (NF)	Fletton	Woodston, Northants
Railway worker	Fletton	Fletton	Unknown
Railway worker	P'Boro, Northants	Love Lane (OF)	P'Boro, Northants
Note: (OF) Old Fletton-where brick workers tend to be located (NF) New Fletton-where railway workers tend to be located			

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.31: Residence of groom and groom's father-in-law, 1901-1911
(Where groom has same occupation as father-in-law)

Occupation	Residence of groom prior to marriage	Residence of father-in-law prior to daughter's marriage	Address of couple after marriage
Brick worker	Queens Road (OF)	Queens Road (OF)	Canada
Brick worker	Victoria Place (OF)	Persimmon Terr (OF)	High Street (OF)
Brick worker	Victoria Place (OF)	Victoria Place (OF)	Belsize Ave, Woodston
Brick worker	Princes Road (OF)	Princes Road (OF)	Farcet
Railway worker	Old Fletton	Old Fletton	Stanground
Railway worker	Duke Street (OF)	Duke Street (OF)	Alma Rd, P'Boro
Railway worker	Orchard Street (NF)	Orchard Street (NF)	Orchard Street (NF)
Railway worker	Fletton	Fletton	Rugby
Railway worker	New England, P'Boro	Woodville Terrace (OF)	Harris St, P'Boro
Railway worker	Cemetery Road, Woodston	Unknown	Palmerston Rd, Woodston
Note: (OF) Old Fletton-where brick workers tend to be located (NF) New Fletton- where railway workers tend to be located New England, Peterborough is a residential development for railway workers Rugby- railway town			

Source: CEBs 1901-1911

Miles's image of the workplace becoming an 'extension of the family' as daughters of railwaymen were drawn to railwaymen, brick workers to brick workers with familiar patterns of life is not borne out in Fletton.⁸³² Although railway and brick workers were drawn to separate residential areas, marriages were not, as Lawton

⁸³² Ibid., p. 145.

proposed, endogamous within the segregated migrant groups.⁸³³ In Fletton the daughters of the railway workers and brick workers were more likely to marry grooms with a different occupation to their father. As can be seen in table 6.32, of the 144 marriages analysed between 1891-1901, 24 bride's fathers were employed in the railways and 15 in the brickyards. Only six daughters of railway men married grooms employed by the railways and only four brick worker daughters married grooms employed by the brickyards. So, 75% of railway daughters married grooms with a different occupation to their father and 73.3% of brick workers daughters married grooms with a different occupation to their father.

By 1901-1911 daughters of railway men and brick workers were even more likely to marry grooms with a different occupation to their father. Of the 181 marriages analysed 31 bride's fathers were employed in the railways and 26 in the brickyards. However only five daughters of railway men married grooms employed by the railways and likewise only five brick worker daughters married grooms employed by the brickyards. So 83.9% of railway daughters and 80.8% of brick worker daughters married a groom with a different occupation to their father.

Table 6.32: *Railway and brickyard marital endogamy, 1891-1901 and 1901-1911*
(Groom and bride's father)

Brickyard workers- Groom and bride's father same occ		Brickyard workers- Groom and bride's father different occ		Railway workers- Groom and bride's father same occ		Railway workers- Groom and bride's father different occ	
1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891-1901	1901-1911	1891- 1901	1901-1911
4	5	11	21	6	5	18	26
26.6%	19.2%	73.3%	80.8%	25%	16.1%	75%	83.9%
Note: 1891-1900 144 marriages analysed 1901-1911 181 marriages analysed							

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

This would potentially have resulted in brides integrating into new occupational communities with a different way of life but in Fletton this was not always the case. For example Elizabeth Woods married a groom with a different occupation to her father but life would perhaps not have changed significantly as she moved only a

⁸³³ Lawton, 'Mobility in 19th Century British Cities', p. 281.

few houses away on marriage.⁸³⁴ Elizabeth was the daughter of William Woods, a brickyard labourer (class V). In 1891 they lived at 6 Summerville Terrace, High Street, Old Fletton. Elizabeth married Alfred Shepherd, a railway fireman (class III), son of Thomas an engine driver (class III).⁸³⁵ The Shepherd family lived at Woodville Terrace, High Street, Old Fletton. Although employed by the railways the couple established their first home in brickyard owned and rented housing at Persimmon Terrace, High Street, Old Fletton just a few doors away from both their families.

Linking social mobility and geographical mobility

Although of great value to date there has been little research which links geographical mobility and social mobility. The final question that this research asks is: Did social mobility also require geographical mobility and conversely were those who either chose to stay or who were forced to stay in their parish limited in their social mobility by the choice of marriage partner that was available?⁸³⁶ By looking at marriage, migration mobility and social mobility as united and interlocking elements, rather than separate entities this important omission in the research to date can be filled. In order to address this a sample was taken and the destination of the newly-married couples was traced following marriage.

The process of selection, for this preliminary analysis, has an element of inherent bias as only grooms whose residence could be traced after marriage could be employed. This resulted in a group of 30 grooms, 15 for each time period 1891-1901 and 1901-1911. These grooms were then assigned to three groupings described previously: groom the same social class as the bride's father at marriage; groom higher social class than the bride's father at marriage; and the groom a lower social class at marriage than the bride's father. For ease of comparison the only additional

⁸³⁴ RG12/1226/55, RG13/1460/54, RG12/1226/57

⁸³⁵ Neither Summerville Terrace nor Woodville Terrace, Old Fletton can be identified on the Land Valuation survey due to the re-numbering of houses. See Appendix B Development of roads and streets. Brickyard owners must have also been willing to rent to non-brick workers.

⁸³⁶ Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British society?', p. 18.

criteria was that both bride and groom had to be resident in Fletton at the time of marriage.

As can be seen from table 6.33, the greater percentage of couples did move away from Fletton, 66.5% between 1891-1901, and 73% between 1901-1911. In general of those grooms who either chose to stay in Fletton, or who were compelled to stay in 1891-1901, the majority were of a lower social class than their father-in-laws 20%. In 1901-1911 those who stayed were equally likely to be of a higher or lower social class than their father-in-laws. Of those grooms who moved away the relationship of the grooms and father-in-laws social class was not a crucial factor.

Table 6.33: Destination of newly-married couple in relation to social class, 1891-1911

	1891-1901				1901-1911				1891-1911			
	Stayed		Moved		Stayed		Moved		Stayed		Moved	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
L	3	20.0	2	13.3	2	13.3	3	20.0	5	16.6	5	16.6
H	1	6.6	4	26.6	2	13.3	3	20.0	3	10.0	7	23.3
S	1	6.6	4	26.6	0	0	5	33.3	1	3.3	9	30.0
Total	5	33.2	10	66.5	4	26.6	11	73.3	9	29.9	21	69.9
Note: L - Groom lower social class than bride's father. H- Groom higher social class than bride's father. S- Groom same social class as bride' father.												

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1911

It is also important to link geographical and social mobility with occupation. For example for those employed in the railways or brickyards geographical mobility may have been easier as skills were transferable and housing was available in established communities amongst likeminded individuals. In comparison tradesmen, such as fishmongers and publicans, may prefer to remain local where their customers were known to them and family businesses were already established.

The occupations of the 30 grooms analysed, and the results can be seen in tables 6.34 to 6.39. The occupations were diverse but still dominated by the railways and brickyards. As was predicted the railway workers were mobile. Of the nine grooms who were railway workers eight moved after marriage; to Rugby, March and Woodston whilst one remained in Fletton. There were also six brickyard labourers and of these four moved to other known brick producing parishes locally, Woodston and Whittlesey and two remained in Fletton. Five grooms were involved in trade including a carpenter, two bakers, fishmonger and a plumber. Two of these

remained in Fletton and three moved to Peterborough. As Peterborough was only a mile away from Fletton this move may not have had a significant impact on occupation. There were two agricultural labourers, one moved to Whittlesey and one remained in Fletton. These individuals were evidently being drawn to where the available employment was locally. Also remaining in Fletton was a fireman and a bakers assistant who were perhaps fixed by their occupations whilst amongst those moving away were a telegraph operator, salesman, hairdresser and a gardener.

Table 6.34: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1891-1901*
(where the groom's social class is the same as the bride's fathers)

Social class of groom and bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
V	Railway employee	Railway employee	Woodston, Northants
V	Brickyard lab	Brickyard foreman	Woodston, Northants
III	Railway guard	Railway fireman	Woodston, Northants
III	Wagon lifter	Wagon lifter	March, Cambs
V	Railway lab	Railway servant	Fletton
Note:			

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.35: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1891-1901*
(where groom has a higher social class to the bride's father)

Social class of groom	Social class of bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
III	V	Railway fireman	Labourer	P'Boro ² , Northants
III	V	Bricklayer	Railway man	P'Boro, Northants
V	VIII'	Railway labourer	Farm labourer	P'Boro, Northants
V	VIII'	General labourer	Farm labourer	Fletton, Hunts
II	V	Baker	Labourer	P'Boro, Northants
Note: ¹ VI, VII and VIII are divisions of social class V ² P'Boro is Peterborough				

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.36: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1891-1901*
(where groom has a lower social class to the bride's father)

Social class of groom	Social class of bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
VIII'	V	Farm labourer	Brick burner	Fletton, Hunts
VIII'	V	Ag lab	Labourer	Whittlesey, Cambs
V	III	Brickyard labourer	Mason's labourer	Woodston, Northants
III	II	Carpenter	Publican	Fletton, Hunts
IV	III	Engineer	Engine driver	Fletton, Hunts
Note: ¹ VI, VII and VIII are divisions of social class V				

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1891-1901

Table 6.37: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1901-1911*
(where the groom's social class is the same as the bride's fathers)

Social class of groom and bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
V	Brickyard labourer	Labourer	Whittlesey, Cambs
III	Gardener	Shepherd	Conquest Cottage, Farcet
V	Railway porter	Sawmill labourer	Cambridge
II	Plumber	Publican	P'boro', Northants
III	Painter L. N. W. R.	Guard L. N.W. R.	Clifton, Rugby

Note: 'P'boro is Peterborough

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Table 6.38: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1901-1911*
(where the groom's social class is higher than the bride's fathers)

Social class of groom	Social class of bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
I	IV	Telegraph operator	Basket maker	P'Boro', Northants
II	V	Fishmonger	Labourer	P'Boro, Northants
IV	V	Private R. M. Fusiliers	Brickyard labourer	Folksworth
III	V	Fireman	Labourer	Fletton, Hunts
II	III	Baker ass	Timber carrier	Fletton, Hunts

Note: 'P'Boro is Peterborough

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

Table 6.39: *Geographical and social mobility of grooms, 1901-1911*
(where the groom has a social class lower than the bride's father)

Social class of groom	Social class of bride's father	Occupation of groom	Occupation of bride's father	Destination of groom and bride
V	III	Brickyard labourer	Carpenter	Haconby Fen, Bourne
V	III	Brickyard labourer	Engine driver	Fletton, Hunts
IV	III	Salesman	Railway guard	Hawkins St, Lancs
II	I	Hairdresser	Gentleman	Handsworth, Staffs
V	III	Brickyard labourer	Engine driver	Fletton, Hunts

Note:

Source: Parish marriage register and CEBs 1901-1911

It would appear from this analysis that geographical mobility was neither hindered nor assisted by social class, and vice versa. Rather, it was occupation that was integral to social mobility and an imperative consideration in any geographical move. To enable an individual to consider a move was not dependent on their social class but the availability of employment in their destination community. The Fletton

grooms were assisted by the fact that they were employed by the railways and brickyards, where transferring between places of employment was not only easy but often encouraged.

Conclusion

Analysis of the Fletton parish marriage registers has revealed the effects that marriage horizons and marriage choice had on migration and social and geographical mobility. Miles and Day generalized that unmarried females found it necessary to move to find employment and a partner, often following male migration streams. But Fletton brides do not fit this generalized model. In Fletton unmarried females arrived with their families and were able to stay in the parish due to the diverse employment opportunities. Those who did subsequently move away often returned to marry local 'sweethearts'. The marriage registers conceal this narrative of a locally based marriage market and because of this concealed narrative the marriage horizons in Fletton are often misleading.

Marriage had the potential to bring about integration, both social and geographical. However, for Fletton grooms it has been demonstrated that for the majority social mobility came not via marriage but through occupational opportunities. For those who forged new paths away from Fletton, previous connections with the receiving destination, whether familial or economic, were crucial in making the move possible.

A new narrative of social and geographical mobility has also been told. Geographical mobility was neither hindered nor assisted by social class, or vice versa, but largely dependent on occupational opportunities, especially in Fletton's twin industries of the railways and brickyards.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

‘the voices from the past ... deserve to be heard... collectively they provide unique insights into migration and mobility in the past’⁸³⁷

There has been extensive census based research undertaken concerning migration, marriage and social mobility. These studies have been conducted with both a national and local focus and yet, as indicated in the Introduction, there are still gaps in the secondary literature. It has been the purpose of this research both to add to the studies already available and to begin to address the gaps in the secondary literature using the parish of Fletton as the study area.

In this conclusion it is appropriate first to re-visit in outline the key gaps in the secondary literature, to review why these gaps leave the historical argument lacking, and then summarise how this thesis has addressed them. In so doing, the main areas of study within the thesis have been: the migration journey; family migration; stayer and residential persistency; the creation of community; the impact of marriage; and social and occupational mobility.

Most studies consider migrants when they arrive into the area: their sex, marital status and occupation. This provides a useful snap shot in time of the migrant population. However this momentary image does not consider the migrants broader migration experience, it does not locate them ‘in both place and time’.⁸³⁸ It ignores the decision making process and the motive that prompted the migration. It also ignores the family context in which the migrant both moved within and moved to. Chapter 4 of the thesis focussed on migration but throughout the thesis migration narratives have been used to highlight and extend analysis. As a consequence it has been possible to observe a migrant within their longer migration journey. It has also been possible to identify: The context in which the migrant lived prior to migration. If Fletton was a step in a longer migration journey where did the

⁸³⁷ Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century*, p. 51.

⁸³⁸ Lawton, ‘Mobility in 19th Century British Cities’, p. 210.

migrant go next? And What were the possible motives behind the migrant's migration decision?

In Fletton family migration was important, especially between 1891-1911 when families were attracted by the occupational and residential opportunities that were available. However a consideration of the nature and impact of family migration, especially at the end of the nineteenth century has only been addressed in a few studies. This is despite its very different nature to the family migration which Anderson and Dupree discussed in their studies in the 1850s and 1860s, due to changing occupations, the evolution of transport and the declining influence of patriarchy.⁸³⁹ Chapter 4 focussed specifically on the nature and impact of family migration but the extensive use of migration narratives elsewhere in the thesis made it possible to continually observe a migrant in their family context. This enabled a wide ranging exploration of the extent, nature and impact of family migration. It was possible to assess: what influence changing occupations had on family migration? What the impact of housing had on family migration? What the combined effect of occupation and distance was on family migration? Did family migration have an impact on the household composition of the migrant? Did the availability of employment for all family members have an impact of family migration? And what role did paternal influence have in gaining employment?

Migration research has previously overlooked the importance of an individual's persistence in an area and concentrated instead on the migrants. This is understandable as due to the dearth of studies in persistency accepted parameters for research have not been established: What is persistency? How should it be measured? And what constitutes high or low levels of persistency? But the difficulties surrounding the analysis of persistency should not be a deterrent to it's study. The understanding of stayers and their persistence is vital as they place any study of migration into context. As French observed it is only by studying the characteristics of the stayers that the migrants can be truly understood.⁸⁴⁰ Both

⁸³⁹ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. Dupree, *Family Structure*.

⁸⁴⁰ French, 'Persistence in a Local Community', p. 18.

Chapters 4 and 5 witness this consideration of the ‘stayer’ and their persistency, not just as a supporting cast, to the migrant’s narrative, but with equal focus. The use of migration narratives has made it possible to explore: the impact of occupation, residence, kinship connections, neighbours and boarding, on an individual’s ability or desire to persist.

Migration and community studies often consider these elements separately, as if they operated independently of one another. But to gain a real understanding of what underpins the creation of community, how migrants affected both the breakdown and the establishment of a community, they should be considered together as they are threads that are infinitely connected and woven together. The role of the stayer is also often ignored and yet they are the ones who provided the stability that the establishment of community required and Dennis and Daniels confirmed the importance of persistency in an urban context when they made the point that a stayers persistency along with employment, kinship, marriage and special interest groups are one of the aspects that forms creation of community.⁸⁴¹

What this thesis has set out to do in Chapter 5 is to view migration and community as the interconnected strands they are. This combined approach, in conjunction with the use of the Land Valuation Survey 1910, has allowed an exploration of the effect of the type of housing available, rented or owner occupied, on the creation of community, subsequent persistency and what Lawton termed an individual’s ‘action space’.⁸⁴² There was also an analysis of the role that employment played in persistency? And a discussion regarding the relationship between the workplace and home in the creation of community? Migration narratives also enabled this thesis to conduct a detailed study of 16 families who had migrated to Fletton, to assess what factors encouraged them to stay and how these families supported each other as they established a new life in a new community.

The vital event which has the power to move people and so has a significant impact on the creation of community through migration, is marriage. However rather than

⁸⁴¹ Dennis and Daniels, ‘Community’, pp. 201-224.

⁸⁴² Lawton, ‘Mobility in 19th Century British Cities’, p. 210.

viewing marriage alongside migration and community, as a unified entity, studies tend to consider marriage independently, as a single event. Additionally studies also concentrate on the bride and groom only at the point of marriage. Understandably so perhaps as the marriage registers provide this information. However these are isolated perspectives providing only an element of the full narrative. To gain a fuller understanding of how marital choices affected a couple and the communities they lived in marriage should be considered in the broader context of migration and community and as part of an individual's much longer life journey.

Chapter 6 of this thesis considers marriage, not in isolation, but as the third thread woven within the migration and community narrative. Utilising migration narratives this thesis considers the bride and groom, not only at the point of marriage, but as part of a longer life journey. In doing this the questions that are addressed have both an immediate and a longer focus: What were the marriage horizons of the bride and the separation distance of bride and groom? Was it possible for a bride to find a groom locally or did she have to look further afield? What was the bride's circumstance prior to marriage? What impact did the occupation of the groom have on the community the newly married couple settled in? Did the origin of the groom affect the location of the first marital home and how important were existing connections in the community?

Making a good marriage was also a means whereby a groom could achieve social and occupational mobility. As discussed most studies consider the bride and groom at the point of marriage and as a result the social and occupational mobility of the groom is only considered at the time of this event. But to leave the exploration at this point is to ignore the social and occupational journey that the groom might have experienced after or as a result of marriage. In Chapter 6 rather than only observing mobility at the point of marriage this thesis, through migration narratives, has followed the groom's social and occupational journey through the establishment of the couple's first home together and further into his occupational career. In taking the longer viewpoint other questions can be answered including: Did a groom's change of occupation result in integration into a new occupational

community? What impact did kinship recruitment have on opportunity? Was occupational endogamy experienced in marriages and did this affect community? and Did social mobility also require geographical mobility?

It can therefore be seen that the Fletton study has sought not to compartmentalise, but to consider migration, community and marriage as unified and interconnected elements. It has been shown that to achieve this, although data analysis sets the context, the real experience is gained from the use of migration narratives. Migration narratives have allowed the detail to be revealed and it is the detail that explains why local areas, such as Fletton, do not always conform to previously upheld opinion and consequently why they are valuable to migration historians. Not only to gain knowledge, and so add breadth to what is already known, but to eradicate generalisations and in so doing avoid the danger that Pryce observed, the assumption that the behaviour of the many replicates the individual within that group.⁸⁴³ The danger of making generalisations from data analysis alone is highlighted in the Fletton study and emphasises why migration historians need to consider it's findings. Three examples demonstrate why it is important for historians to consider the Fletton work.

The migrants who made the journey to Fletton were predominantly families. They were not restricted in their movement by family responsibility as traditionally thought. Rather the opportunities available in Fletton in terms of employment for all members of the family and accommodation was an attraction. An element of analysis was to consider co-residency as in previous studies areas of high migration created high co-residency.⁸⁴⁴ However the Fletton experience did not support this. When the composition of the co-resident families was analysed further rather than finding predominantly dependent family members requiring support the majority of co-resident individuals were siblings. This narrative demonstrates that one sibling was making the migration journey to Fletton to seek out employment and

⁸⁴³ Pryce, p. 66.

⁸⁴⁴ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, p. 44. Dupree, *Family Structure*, p. 102.

accommodation before other siblings followed secure in the knowledge that support was waiting for them.

Data analysis alone also misleads the researcher when considering separation distances between bride and groom. Migration narratives reveal that in Fletton the pattern of increasing separation distances concealed a different reality. In some instances grooms had moved away and established employment and accommodation before marrying a bride from their home parish. In other situations the couple had perhaps been neighbours before one party moved away or they were relatives or known to each other through relatives. Migration narratives also reveal that although some brides had moved away from Fletton they were not following the male migration streams referred to by Day.⁸⁴⁵ As shown by the 'returned' brides if females moved away from Fletton in search of employment they would then often return to Fletton to marry an endogamous groom.

The unique way in which Fletton developed, created by two main industries the railways and brickyards allowed two distinct communities to develop within Fletton: New and Old Fletton. By utilising an underused source the Land Valuation Survey 1910, integration and persistency within and between the separate areas of the community can be explored. Accepted thought would suggest that with the investment of finances and emotional attachment home ownership would encourage persistency. However in Fletton home ownership was only one element that encouraged persistency. Persistency both within the separate areas of New and Old Fletton, and in the parish, and integration between the two areas was affected by a several factors including occupation, marriage and kinship connections.

Looking beyond this thesis and considering avenues for future research it is appropriate to reflect on Pooley's comment that population movement should not be disconnected from the 'society and culture in which it is situated'.⁸⁴⁶ Pryce has

⁸⁴⁵ Day, 'Leaving Home', p. 250

⁸⁴⁶ Pooley, p. 58.

also observed that increasingly research should focus on meaningful concepts such as behaviour.⁸⁴⁷ These are often difficult concepts to analyse but both concur that the local scale study can meet this exacting task where decision making can be identified and impact on community can be explored all within 'a longitudinal framework'.⁸⁴⁸ The Fletton research provides an ideal base from which themes, which fit within this framework, can be addressed. Three such areas for further research are identified below.

As an element of family migration and persistency this research observed 16 families who had migrated to Fletton. Some were supported by family members who had made the journey prior to them and some were providing that support themselves. These extended families were held together by a network of co-operation in occupation and residence. However due to the time restraints of the thesis it was not possible to explore these networks outside of the Fletton parish or to pursue family branches in depth. There would be great value in extending the number of families observed, in extending the geographical boundary into the neighbouring parishes, as they are closely linked by similar occupations, and to explore more family lines. This would build up a more comprehensive understanding of how kinship connections operated in an area of high migration and if a central core of families created the persistency required for the creation of community. This line of research would also provide the opportunity to extend the analysis of co-resident families, to look closely at their composition, an avenue of research that Schürer has commented is under explored.⁸⁴⁹

Although the methodology used in this research for exploring marriage horizons placed the marriage event into the individual's longer life journey there has been no attempt to consider if there was a commonality between the origins of the partners, ie the residence prior to marriage of the exogamous partners, except for distance travelled. If the origins of the partners were mapped then 'desire' lines

⁸⁴⁷ Pryce, p. 67.

⁸⁴⁸ Pooley, p. 59.

⁸⁴⁹ Schürer, Garrett, Jaadla and Reid, 'Household and Family Structure', p. 23.

could be observed.⁸⁵⁰ These could be linked to occupation, transport routes, cultural or physical boundaries, real or perceived, to ascertain if there existed more of a link than has already been identified by this research and if either the origins or the link changed over time. This would reveal what, if any, external agents existed in the choice of marriage partners or if marriage was purely an individual's choice governed by nothing more than attraction.

As demonstrated by this thesis New and Old Fletton were segregated by the occupations that the residents were engaged in, by the way the housing developed and by the amenities that were available in both of the districts. Even today Old Fletton is still considered a desirable location to live in 'south of the river' whereas New Fletton is seen as an urban extension of Peterborough. The creation of community relies on the establishment of places where individuals can interact with one another, in their leisure time by choice, unrestricted by external forces. The time restrictions of this thesis limited an extensive search for and appraisal of the various societies and groups that may have existed within Fletton. However this would be a worthwhile avenue to take, to find out what leisure pursuits were available both in Fletton and locally, and if they were equally accessible to all or whether they were as heavily influenced by hierarchy, occupation and influential men as daily life was.

In conclusion, this thesis offers a new exploration of migration and community. It demonstrates that the two need to be examined alongside one another and can only be understood by an in depth examination of the available sources in a longitudinal perspective. In so doing, it raises questions as well as provides answers, and establishes challenges for future researchers.

⁸⁵⁰ Mitson, 'Kinship Networks'. A. Fox, *A Lost Frontier Revealed: Regional Separation in the East Midlands*, (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2009), p. 109.

Appendices

Appendix A Fletton Enumeration Districts

	1811	1821	1831	1841
Population	153 (males 77, females 76)	159 (males 76, females 83)	189 (males 91, females 98)	256 (males 111, females 145) Under 21s males 45 females 73 20 plus males 65, females 74 Born in county 157 out of county 99
Occupation	31 families in agriculture, 3 families in trade and manufacturing	26 families in agriculture, 8 families in trade and manufacturing	26 families in agriculture, 10 in trade and manufacturing, 10 elsewhere	
Houses	31 houses inhabited by 34 families, 1 uninhabited, 0 under construction	34 houses inhabited by 34 families, 0 uninhabited, 0 under construction	41 house inhabited by 46 families, 0 uninhabited, 0 under construction	Inhabited houses 57, uninhabited 0, under construction 0
Acreage			780	780

1851

1851 enumeration district details

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending
2 HO107/1747	Thomas Bourne	James Deaton, Panthers Road	Robertson Farside, Near Station Gate
The whole of the Parish of Fletton from the Mile House Peterborough Bridge including Railway Station and all the houses south side of the Woodstone Road called the new building companies houses. The new houses of Trowells and others. The Cherry tree, houses on London Road Nr Lawrences's House. Whyman Lodge, Panter's House and Fletton Village.			
Population 603 (males 692, females 318) Households 113			

Source: CEB 1851

1861*1861 enumeration district details*

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending
4 RG9/965	Charles Jenkins	John Marshall, Fletton Wharf	William Bedwar, Fletton Tower
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Wharf, Eastern Counties Railway Station and employers houses, hotel and steam mill crown Hotel and other houses south and east thereof, Toll House, Pickings and Weston's houses. Alma Place belonging to Peacock Inn and houses in the vicinity of Park Street and Saxon Villas London Road including Fletton Tower.			
5 RG9/965	Charles Brookes	Henry Fuller, Cherry Tree, Oundle Road	Burrows Butler, Fletton Cottage
New Fletton Part of the Parish of Fletton in the County of Huntingdonshire comprising the Cherry Tree, National School, Albion Terrace, Victoria Terrace, Bread Street and George Street and Pleasant Place on the Oundle Road, with Tower Street and Fletton Cottage.			
6 RG9/965	Rob Hurney	William Wyman, Fletton Lodge	Arthur Hardy, Fletton Spring
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Wyman's Lodge and houses near railway Bridge, Fletton Village including houses near Fletton Spring and houses on Stanground Road.			
Population 1,449 (males 692, females 757)			
Households 97			

Source: CEB 1861

1871*1871 enumeration district details*

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending
4 RG10/1516	Thomas Holdich	Thomas Mills, Fletton Tower	Thomas Winkley, Toll bar House
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Wharf, eastern Counties Railway Station and companies houses, hotel, steam mill and work shop. Crown Hotel and other houses, south and East through Toll House, Barrass, Alma Place, Peacock Inn and houses in Park Street, Saxon Villas, London Road including Fletton Tower and houses on Fletton Road as far as the Brook at Fletton and pointsman boxes on railways. Remark-pointsmen are scheduled at their own houses.			
5 RG10/1516	Robert Hardy	Thomas Parnell, Cherry Tree	Charles Squires, Tower Street
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising the Cherry Tree, national school, millers lodge, Selbon terrace, Bread and Grove Street, Tower street and other roads comprising New fletton on the Oundle Road to the New Lane inclusive.			
6 RG10/1516	Thomas Selby	Paul Garrett, 1 Spring House	Fred Fowler, Stilton Road
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Lodge and houses near Railway Bridge, Fletton Village including houses near Fletton Spring and houses on the Stanground Road in the parish of Fletton.			
Population 1,662			

Source: CEB 1871

1881*1881 enumeration district details*

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending
4 RG11/1591	Mr Tuck	Herbert Bird, Shortacre, New Fletton	John F. Martin, New Fletton
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Wharf, Great Eastern Railway Station, companies houses, hotels, steam mill and workshops, Crown hotel and other houses south and east thereof, Toll House occupied by Barrass, thence to houses on the Fletton Road to Alma Road Place thence to Peacock Inn to houses on the London Road to Park Street, Elm Street and all houses on London Road as far as and including Birds thence to Fletton Tower and houses on the Fletton Road as far as the Brook on Fletton Spring and Pointsmen's Boxes on the railways in the east parish of St. Margaret all in Parliamentary Boro of Peterborough Municipal and Urban District and south ward.			
5 RG11/1591	Mr Loomes	Dan Wilson, Tower Lodge, New Fletton	Moss Mason, 28 Tower Street, New Fletton
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising the 'Cherry Tree' national school, Miller's Lodge, Albion Terrace, Bread and Grove Street, Tower Street, Davies's Terrace and other streets comprising New Fletton on the Oundle Road to the 'New Inn' inclusive.			
6 RG11/1591	Mr Russell	Robert Gollings, London Road, Fletton Lodge, Old Fletton	Harriett Skeath, The Spring, Old Fletton
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Lodges and houses adjacent and houses of Ball and others, houses in Fletton Lane, houses near Railway Bridge, Fletton Village. Houses on Stanground Road in parish of Fletton. Houses near Fletton Spring as far as Garratts. In Ecclesiastical parish of St. Margarets.			
Population 1,841 (males 888, females 953)			
Households 337 Houses 317 (9 uninhabited, 0 under construction)			
Northampton (New Fletton) 290 acres Huntingdon (Old Fletton) 762 acres			

Source: CEB 1881

1891*1891 Fletton housing details*

	New Fletton (220 acres)	Old Fletton (752 acres)
Inhabited houses	334	135
Uninhabited	11	4
Under construction	7	1

Source: CEB 1891

1891 enumeration district details

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending
4 RG12/1226	Jabex Cornelius Russell	William Reynolds, Bridge End, New Fletton	Gertrude Allison, Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton
Part of the parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Wharf, Eastern Railway Station and companies house, hotel, steam mill and workshops, Crown Hotel and other houses south and east thereof, Toll House, house occupied by Barrass thence to houses on Fletton Road to Alma Road thence to Peacock Inn to houses on London Road to Park Street, Elm Street, South Street and all houses on London Road as far as and including Birds thence to Fletton Tower and houses on the Fletton Road as far as the Brook at Fletton Spring and Pointsmen's Boxes on railway.			
5 RG12/1226	Charles Butler Jnr	Alfred English, Neville Lodge, Fletton Road, Old Fletton	John Smith, Village Street, Old Fletton
Part of the Parish of Fletton comprising Fletton Lodge and houses adjacent and houses of Ball and other houses in Fletton Lane, houses near Railway Bridge, Fletton Village house on Stanground Road in parish of Fletton, houses near Fletton Spring as far as English's south side Fletton Spring.			
6 RG12/1226	Charles Frederick Waite	Sam Whitmore, Oundle Road, New Fletton	Margaret Jane Whitchrist, Oundle Road, New Fletton
Part of the parish of Fletton comprising the Cherry Tree, national school, Miller Lodge, Albion terrace, Bread and Grove Street, Tower Street, Davies Terrace and other streets comprising New Fletton on the Oundle Road to the New Lane inclusive			
Population 2,194 in 477 households			

Source: CEB 1891

1901

1901 enumeration district details

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending	Households
4 RG13/1460	Charles Butler Jnr	Robert Childs, Peterborough Road, Nr Church,	Alfred Little, Manor House, High Street, Old Fletton	156
North of Fletton Spring, east to Stanground parish, south by Beebys and New Peterborough brickyards, west by G. N. R main line.				
5 RG13/1460	Walter Thurley	Walter Thurley, Rosebank, Old Fletton	Jayne Joyce, 16 St. Margaret's Place, Old Fletton	239
North and west by centre of Norman Cross Road, east by Great Northern railway, south by parish of Yaxley. Princes Road, Duke Street and Queens Road and district.				
6 RG13/1461	G. E. Sellars	David Handford, G. E. Station Road, New Fletton	Ernest Mellor, 1 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton	187
North by River Nene, east by Stanground parish, south in part by Fletton Spring and other part by fence of Lawrence House. West in part by Woodstone Urban. Further part by Silver Street and Orchard Street, remainder by G. N. Railway.				
7 RG13/1461	Ed Noble	John Clarke, 1 Silver Street, New Fletton	William Whetsone, Queens Walk, New Fletton	130
South east by London Road, north end by open space between Queens Walk, Woodstone and Grove Street, Fletton.				
8 RG13/1461	Charles Waite	Alfred Farr, Cherry Tree, Oundle Road, New Fletton	Frederick Clarke, 62 Tower Street, New Fletton	198
North by the L. N. W. Railway. South east by a line from Cherry Tree Inn to London Road Railway Bridge. South west by the New Road from London Road to Palmerston Road and west by Palmerston Road.				
Population 4,089 (New 2,256, Old 1,833) in 910 households				

Source: CEB 1901

1911*1911 enumeration district details*

District	Enumerator	Starting	Ending	Households
3 RG14/8669		Eliza Vergette, 102 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton	William Whalley, 26 St Margaret's Place, Old Fletton	298
4 RG14/8670	Charles Butler	Peter Low, 101 Fletton Avenue, Old Fletton	John Perry Parsons, 1 Princes Road, Old Fletton	203
5 RG14/8671	Buckworth	Harriet Wilmot, 1 Silver Street, New Fletton	Henrietta Brown, Fairfield Road, New Fletton	401
6 RG14/8672	Edward Noble	Jacob Rower, 1 Oundle Road, Cherry Tree, New Fletton	S. Burroughs, 58 Tower Street, New Fletton	193
Population 4,741 (New 2,486, Old 2,255) in 1,095 households				

Source: CEB 1911

Appendix B Development of roads and streets

The tables below show when the roads and streets in each district, were built or first appeared in the census. Fletton was not divided into New and Old Fletton until 1874, however for the purpose of this exercise the roads and streets are divided into the two districts from 1851 so the development of them can be seen. An entry in one census then a subsequent absence from a following census does not mean that a road or street did not exist anymore but it may have been consumed by another road or street or changed it's name entirely. Conversely an entry in a census does not mean the street or road did not exist prior to that date but may not have had a street or road name.

The 1851 census is difficult to analyse as many houses were just referred to by name or general locality. In this census the railway workers, perhaps for the only census, were primarily housed in railway provided housing around the East Station complex. There were 113 households, 48 in Old Fletton and 65 in New Fletton.

By 1861 New Fletton was beginning to look like an urban development with road and street names that are familiar to the modern eye. However Old Fletton still retained a rural feel with houses described as 'the village' or 'near church'.

There are also below lists of houses and their ownership and rental where this is relevant to discussion within the thesis.

New Fletton

New Fletton ownership

Street name	No	Owner	Rented
George Street	25	J. Hunting	
Tower Street	9-11	Susannah Boon ¹	
Tower Street	29, 27, 25, 23	G. Braybrook of Tower Cottage, New Fletton	29-George Thompson, 27, 23 and a workshop members of Braybrook family
Tower Street	39	Fred Fowler	
Tower Street	52	J. Marriott	
Tower Street	73	J. Hunting	
Park Street	11	Alfred Humm	
Park Street	16	H. Pettitt	
Park Street	18	J. J. Botterill	
Park Street	19-23	Catherine Wells	
Park Street	24	W. Juiles	
Park Street	34	E. Neale	
Bread Street	4	Mary Russell ²	
Bread Street	26 and 28	Joseph Hunting	
Grove Street	9	Alfred Mould	
Grove Street	28 and 30	Elizabeth Wells ³	
Silver Street	12, 18 and 52	Keeble, A. ⁴	

Note: ¹9 -11 Tower Street were owned and rented by Susannah Boon of 168 Star Road, Peterborough. Susannah is recorded on the 1911 census as living on her own means away from her husband. Her two sons were recorded as farm labourers. In 1901 Susanna was running the 'Boon' lodging house on St. Johns Street with her husband Joseph James, who was also recorded as a coal carrier and tavern keeper. In 1911 James Joseph was recorded as a timber merchant lodging in North Kilworth, Near Rugby.

²Mary Russell lived Park Street, Peterborough, this might be New Fletton as on the census there was a widowed Mary Russell.

³of 22 Oundle Road

⁴of Wereham, Stoke Ferry on behalf of G. Smart

Queens Walk was being built when the 1910 Land Valuation was taken. The majority of the houses in Queens Walk that are listed are owner occupied.

The Hythe- This house is listed on the 1911 census but it is not listed on the 1910 Land Valuation survey therefore ownership cannot be determined.

New Fletton Roads and Streets

Woodstone Road	Albion Terrace/ Oundle Road	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Railway Cottages	Station Cottages	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Bridge End	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Alma Place	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Prospect Place	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Belmont Place	Belmont Terrace?	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	-
Sexton Villas/ Saxon Villas	-	1851	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Park Street	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Eden Place	-	-	1861	-	-	-	-
Victoria Terrace	Victoria Place	-	1861	1881	1891	-	-
Pleasant Place	-	-	1861	-	-	-	-
Bread Street	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Davis Row	-	-	1861	-	-		
Grove Street	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
Tower Street	-	-	1861	1881	1891	1901	1911
South View	South Street?	-	-	1881	1891	1901	1911
Elm Street	-	-	-	1881	1891	1901	1911
Cross Street	-	-	-	1881	-	-	-
Tower Terrace	-	-	-	1881	-	-	-
Spring Villas	-	-	-	1881	-	-	-
Nene View	-	-	-	-	-	1901	-
Glebe Road	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Silver Street	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Orchard Street	-		-	-	-	1901	1911
Queens Walk							1911
Woodbine Street							1911
Fairfiled Road							1911
George Street							1911
London Road	Prior to the 1911 census much of London Road was referred to as an individual house name, a Terrace or Place.						1911

Street name	No	Owned	Rented
Queens Road	10	T. Dunkley, Aninda Villa, Fletton Road, Old Fletton	
Queens Road	17-31	M. Dall, Norfolk Street ¹	
Queens Road	33-39	E. Willett for A. Butcher, Priestgate, Peterborough ²	
Queens Road	49-55	J. Simmonds ³	
Queens Road	-	2 Inkerman Cottages, Ann Bolton, 6 Park St, London Rd, New Fletton	
Princes Road	-	2 Hawthorn Villas, 1 Willow Villa, J. Rowe ⁴	
Princes Road	14-16	J. Rowe	
Fletton Lodge	-	Hicks and Gardener	
High Street	-	Persimmon Terrace Hicks and Gardener	
High Street	35 and 191	Hicks and Gardener	
Haydn Terrace	-	William Hawkins builder	
Milton Road	-	6 Falcon Villas Farrows ⁵	
Drill Hall, London Road	-	J. C. Hill	
Southwood	-	G. W. Bloodworth	

Note: House building in Old Fletton was instigated by J. C. Hill. Hill owned houses throughout Old Fletton and Woodston. On the rent roll these totalled 340 in 1909. He also owned houses through other agents acting on his behalf. By the dates on the buildings and census records it can be established that Princes Road was built 1900, Melville Terrace 1901, Duke Street 1901-1903, Milton Road 1905-1906, St, Margarets Road between 1891 and 1901, Victoria Road between 1891 and 1901 and Queens Road 1897-1898.

Other brickyard owned houses

Gardner and Ellum owned Persimmon Terrace, High Street approx. 42 houses.

Hicks and Co (part owned by James Bristow) owned 4-6 houses around Brickyard Lane.

Kate Craig (daughter of James McCallum Craig brickyard owner) owned six houses and workshops.

¹ includes 3 or 1 Beaconsfield Cottages and 4 Livingstone Cottages

² includes 1 Burleigh Cottages

³ includes 3 Bright Cottages

⁴ J. Rowe was the agent for London Brick Co

⁵ This part of Milton Road backed onto Farrows factory on land owned by Hill. These houses were owned and rented by Farrows.

Old Fletton Roads and Streets

Panters Row	-	1851	-	-	-	-	-
Church Lane	-	-	1861	1881	1891	-	1911
Fletton Spring	-	-	1861	-	1891	-	-
Fletton Lane	Fletton Road is modern Fletton Avenue north of Fletton Spring. Fletton Avenue is south of Fletton Spring. When re-numbering occurred the two became Fletton Avenue.			1881	-	-	-
Fletton Avenue				-	1891	1901	1911
Fletton Road				-	1891	-	-
Village Street	These roads were centred around the old village			-	1891	-	-
Main Road				-	1891	-	-
Stanground Road	1861						
Haydn Terrace	Part of Fletton Avenue				1887	1901	1911
Woodville Terrace	-	-	-	-	1891	1901	-
Stones Cottages	-	-	-	-	1891	-	-
Mile End Road	Mile End Road became St. Margarets Road				1891	1901	1911
Brickyard Lane	-	-	-	-	1891	1901	1911
Hicks yard, London Road	-	-	-	-	-	-	1911
Yaxley Road	-	-	-	-	1891	-	-
London Road						1901	
Peterborough Road (Nr Church)	-	-	-	-	-	1901	-
Selection of Villas such as Marshall Villas, Carr Villas. Woodlands	-	-	-	-	-	1901	-
Love Lane High Street	Love Lane became High Street (London Road to Bridge)				1891	1901	1911
Persimmon Terrace	Persimmon Terrace				-	1901	1911
Princes Road	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Duke Street	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Queens Road	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Milton Road						-	1911
Fellowes Road						-	1911
Victoria Place	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
St Margarets Place	-	-	-	-	-	1901	1911
Kings Road	-	-	-	-	-	-	1911

Even given the limitations mentioned of this analysis, by referring to the date when a road or street first appeared on the census it is evident that New Fletton developed sooner than Old Fletton. With Old Fletton developing later this then encouraged much of the integration from New to Old Fletton that has been observed by individuals looking for modern housing.

Appendix C The use of Ancestry as a tool for record linkage

Ancestry is a family history website, the content of which is best explained by referral to it's own website description:

<http://www.ancestry.co.uk/cs/legal/Overview> (Accessed 18/9/2016)

Ancestry holds datasets from around the world and these are available through varying levels of subscription: <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/CardCatalog.aspx> (Accessed 18/9/2016). This research was conducted with a worldwide subscription with allows access to all datasets.

Ancestry has many international partners which allow its record collection to be expanded continually: <http://www.ancestry.co.uk/cs/legal/Partners> (Accessed 18/9/2016)

The best known dataset, and for this research the most used, are the Census Records of England and Wales, 1841 to 1911.

Ancestry records are digitised copies of original records which have been transcribed. Records are linked so that once one search is completed with an accurate result Ancestry generates other possible matches for you. Access to records is through search criteria inputted into a search form and this is where most problems arise due to either; poorly transcribed records, false information entered or poor linkage. Caution must be exercised at all stages as Ancestry only offers a best fit result. This process can be extremely time consuming in order to filter false results, enter new criteria and check possible matches. Some latitude, common sense and local knowledge is extremely useful in order to make full use of the search facility.

Appendix D Locality of St. Margarets, Fletton Marriage Registers

Locality of St. Margarets, Fletton Marriage Registers

Type of register	Dates covered	Format	Repository
Marriage register	1 st January 1891 to 31 st December 1900	Transcription made by Huntingdon Family History. CD. 20. 2006	Original registers held by Huntingdon Records Office.
Marriage register	1 st January 1901 to 16 th November 1901	Photocopy of original register.	Original registers held by Huntingdon Records Office.
Marriage register	17 th November 1901 to 15 th February 1911	Fiche copies of the original register.	Original held by Huntingdon Records Office. Fiche copy held by the Peterborough Archives.

Source: Huntingdon and Peterborough Archives

The Fletton parish marriage registers were viewed on the Huntingdon Family History CD for the period 1891-1900 and were a transcription, the accuracy of these was checked at several stages. The Marriage registers for 1901-1911 were viewed on micro fiche at the Peterborough Archive and photocopies produced by Huntingdon Archive. Parishes vary in their diligence at depositing the registers, for example St. Margarets still retains it's registers from 1940.

Register of Services of St Margaret's Church, Fletton, 1887 – 1911. Although the competence of the clergy was often called into question Rev'd Dowman's appears to be diligent and meticulous in his record keeping. He kept cuttings from local newspapers that mentioned his activities in Fletton and Peterborough. These were kept in a register which detailed all of the services he took at St. Margarets, the topics his sermons covered and the readings used. These registers covered a period of 24 years. Where he was absent for a Sunday this was also recorded with the name of his replacement.

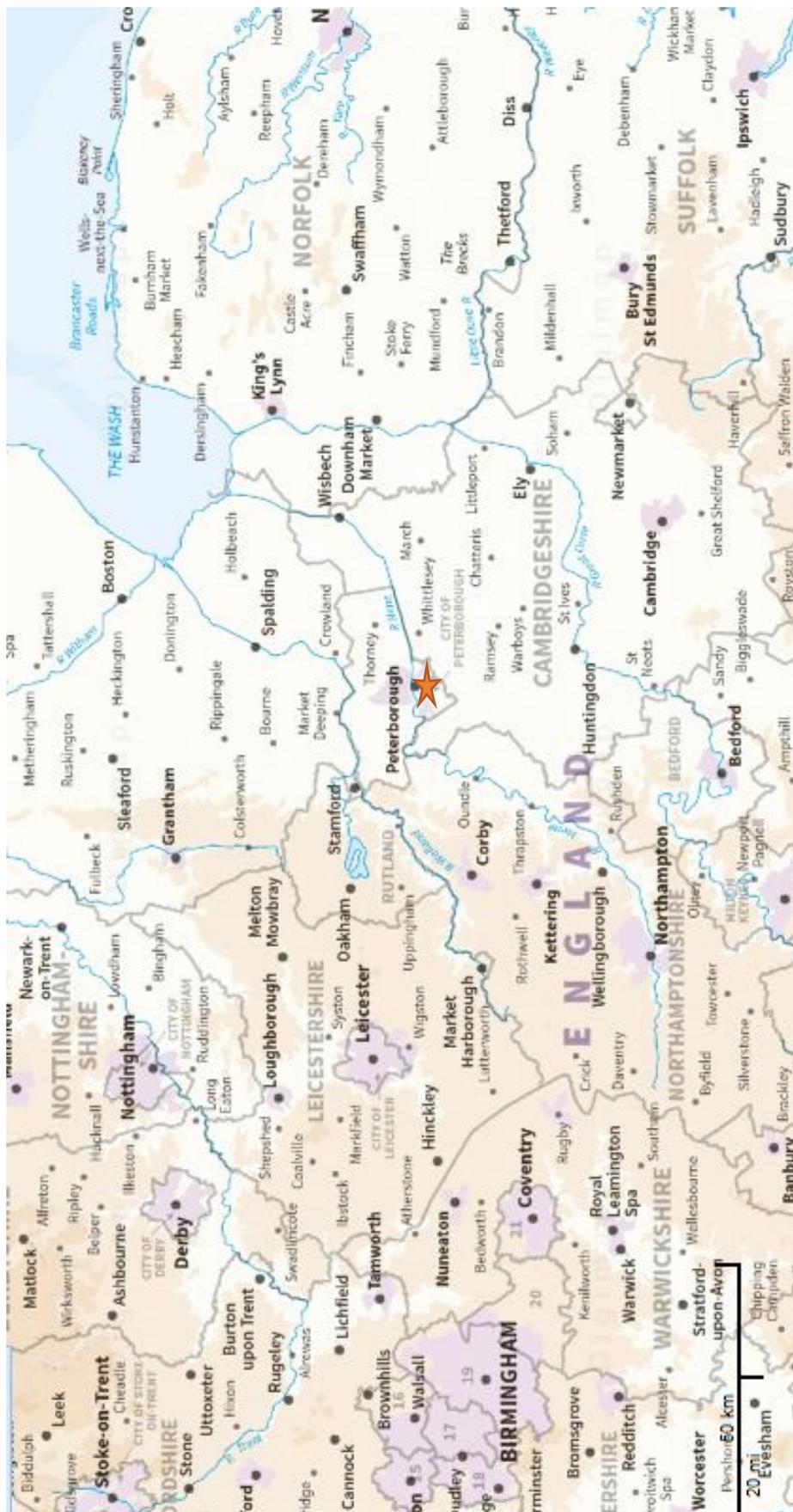
Appendix E Location of Fletton

The map below *Location of migrant's previous residences and birthplaces, local to Fletton*, places Fletton in it's immediate locality and the location of migrant's previous residences and birthplaces, which are local to Fletton, can be identified. Fletton itself is one mile south of Peterborough and identified by an orange star.

Appendix F Family Connections

The table below summarizes the family connections.

Location of migrant's previous residences and birthplaces, local to Fletton.



Source: <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/> (Accessed 14/5/2018)

Appendix F: Family Connections

Name and Relationship	Migration Distance to Fletton	Order of moves¹¹	Persistence/ destination	Proximity of family members	Occupation	Own/rent¹²
Brookbanks, John(f) ¹ , William (b) ² , Nathaniel (s) ² , William (s)	Yaxley, Hunts	(f)(b)(s)	10y+ (s) P'boro	3 Old Fletton 1 New Fletton	2 brick workers, shoemaker, carman	
Bigley, Henry (b), Stephen (b), Alfred (ne) ⁴ , niece?(ni) ⁵	Wigsthorpe Titchmarsh	(b)(ne)(ni)	(b) 30y+ (ne)(ni) London and Thorp Achurch	All New Fletton	2 railway porters, grocery assistant, housekeeper	
Beaumont Frederick (c) ⁶ , James (c), Albert Lawson (sl) ⁷	Comberton Whittlesey	(c)(c)(sl)	Woodston 10y+ 30y+	Between New and Old Fletton	Railway and 2 brick workers	
Upex William (f), Wibey (s), John (s), Edmund (s)(gs) ⁸	Farcet	(f)(s)	All 10y+	Old Fletton and Woodston	Railway platelayer, brickyard manager, brick workers	owned
Hunting George (b), John (b), Joseph (b), Frederick (b)	Yoxford	George first	10y+ and 20y+	3 New Fletton 1 Eye, Cambridgeshire	2 coal merchants, railway guard, publican	
Rimes Martin (b), Francis (b), William (b), Walter (c)(b), Frank (c)(b)	Farcet	Martin and William first	All 10y+	4 Old Fletton 1 New Fletton	4 brick workers, railwayman	rented
Simmonds Charles (sl), Templeman John (fl) ⁹ , John (s)	Whittlesey	n/k	Between 10 and 20y	All Old Fletton then 1 New Fletton	Brick workers	
Colman Samuel (f), Herbert (s), Nicholas Drew (fl)	Marlingford, P'Boro, Lewisham	(f)(s)(fl)	Until death 60y and 10y+	P'Boro Old Fletton	2 millers, drapery stock taker	owned
Sulch Joseph (b), William (b)	Stanground	Joseph then William	10y+	Old Fletton	Brick workers	
Aspital Hephzibah (m), Thomas (s), Vernon (s), Edward (s), Frederick (s), John (s)	Great Gidding	(m)plus 3x(s)then Frederick last	10y+	Old Fletton	Brick workers	
Bentley Thomas (b), Harry (b), Charles (b), Mantle Charles (b)	Stanground	Charles, Thomas, Charles, Harry	20y+	Old Fletton	Brick workers	
Broughton John (b), George (b), Daniel (b)	Stanground	John, Daniel, George	20y+	Old Fletton	Brick workers	

Hitchbourn James (b), John (b), William (b)	Stanground	William, James, John	20y+	Old Fletton	Brick workers	
Crowson Henry (u) ¹⁰ , William (n)(b), Alfred (n)(b)	Stanground	(u)William, Alfred	30y+	Old Fletton	Brick worker, 2 railway engine drivers	
Medlock Joseph (f), Joseph (s), James (c), Frank (b), Walter (b)	Nassington	(f) the all (b)	20y+	4 Old Fletton 1 New Fletton then 2 New Fletton	Hurdle maker, ladder manufacturer, railway engine driver	At least one house rented
<p>Note: (f) father¹, (b) brother², (s) son³, (ne) nephew⁴, (ni) niece⁵, (c) cousin⁶, (sl) son-in-law⁷, (gs) grandson⁸, (fl) father-in-law⁹, (u)uncle¹⁰</p> <p>¹¹The order the individuals moved to Fletton has been deduced by referral to census records, newspapers, registers of marriage and births. In many cases the exact date or even year is unknown so what has been constructed are 'best fit scenarios' based on source evidence.</p> <p>¹²Many of these migration moves were made prior to 1910 and the Land Valuation Survey, therefore little is known about home ownership or rental.</p> <p>It is difficult to say with certainty if a family member assisted another family member with employment or housing. However definite links have been made, for example all brothers working in the brickyards or housing being rented from the same landlord.</p>						

Source: CEBs, oral history, primary sources eg: diaries, photographs, Land Valuation 1910, parish registers

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 15/3020/3039/3044/3045/3119/3121/3303/3314/3451/4117/4401
 1901
 RG14/610/867/1316/1891/1976/3453/5196/5326/6991/7150/7232/7281/7513/7689/8663/8
 664/8670/8671/8673/8674/8675/8679/8681/8683/8684/8685/8687/8689/8697/8719/
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